

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!**

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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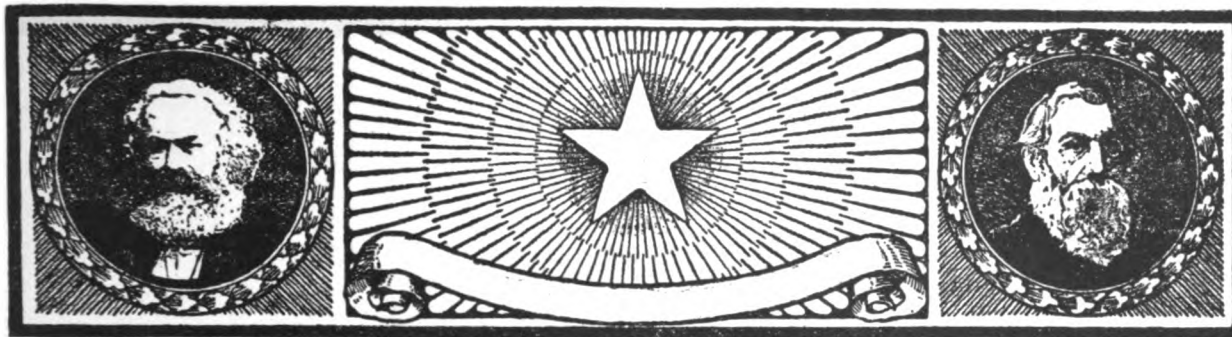


**PETROGRAD  
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**11-12**







WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,  
UNITE!

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN RUSSIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH.

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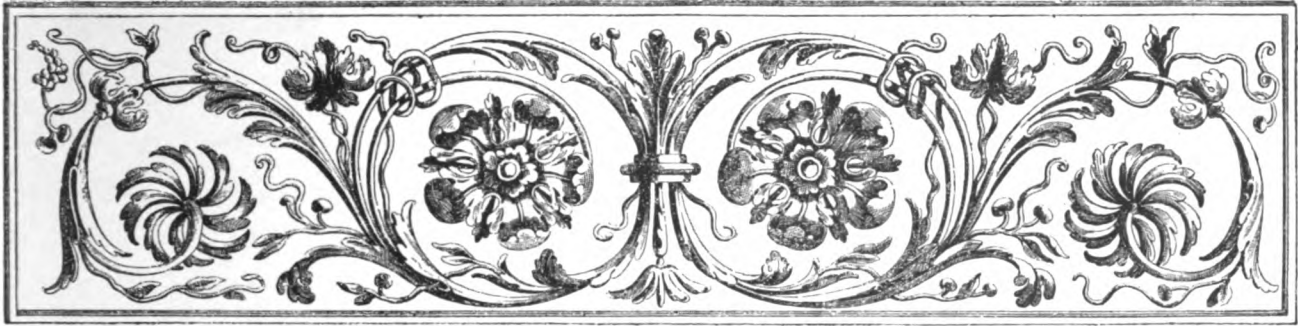


*Karl Marx*

**KARL MARX**

This Portrait of Karl Marx was found by Comrade N. Riazanov in the Private Archives of Nicholas — on. Probably this Portrait was intended for the first Russian edition of „Capital“, but the Tsar's Censor forbade it.





**The Second Congress of the Communist International will show the workers of all the world the shortest way to the victory over the bourgeoisie.**

**Long live the Second Universal Congress of the Third Communist International!**







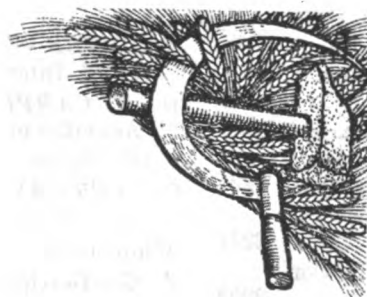
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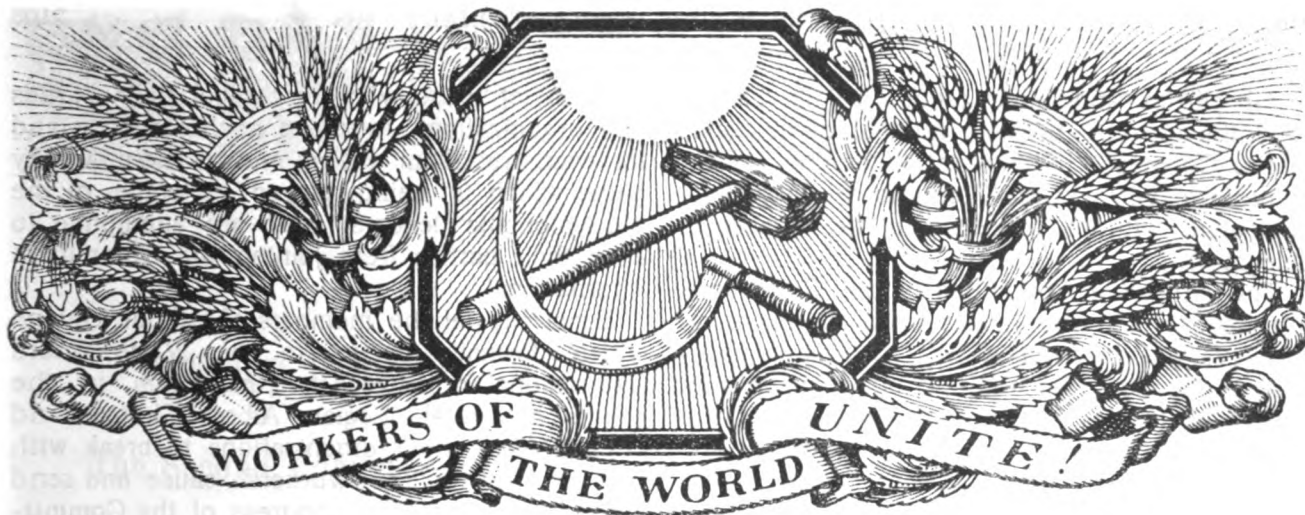
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## Concerning the Convocation of the Second World Congress of the Communist International

**To all Communist Parties and Groups, to all Red Labour Unions, all Organizations of Communist Women, all Unions of Communist Youth, all Workers' Organizations adhering to Communism, and to all honest workers:**

**C**OMRADES! The Executive Committee of the Communist International decrees:

To convene the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow on the 15th of July, 1920.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has drawn up the following provisional order of business for the Second Congress:

1. Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
2. Reports of the representatives of different countries. The reports are to be submitted in written form.
3. The actual world political situation and the tasks of the Communist International.
4. The question of Parliamentarism.
5. Labour Unions and Shop Committees.
6. The role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the workers have won the State power.
7. The National and Colonial question.
8. The Agrarian question.
9. Attitude of the „Center“ toward the new tendencies, its pretence of accepting the Communist platform, and the conditions of joining the Third International.
10. Constitution of the Communist International.
11. The question of Organization (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations, etc.).
12. The Youth movement.

13. Elections.

14. Other business.

All the Communist Parties, groups and Labour Unions which have officially joined the Communist International, and have been recognised by the latter's Executive Committee, are invited to participate in the Congress with a decisive vote.

All groups and organizations adhering to the Communist International, but in opposition to the official affiliated Communist Parties, are also invited to the Congress, which will decide the status of such groups.

Further, all groups of revolutionary Syndicalists, unions of the Industrial Workers of the World and other such organizations, are also invited, and the Executive Committee shall enter into relations with them.

The Unions of Communist Youth shall be represented not only by the Central Committee of the International of Youth, but also by the Communist organizations of all the different countries.

In connection with the forthcoming Congress, it is proposed to convene an international conference of Communist Women, and an international conference of the Unions of Communist Youth.

Also, if it is at all possible, it would be well to hold a first international conference of revolutionary Labour Unions.

All parties and organizations are invited to send the greatest possible number of delegates to the Congress. (The question of the number of decisive votes at the Congress will be settled, of course, without reference to the number of delegates).

The Executive Committee of the Communist International strongly insists upon the condition that every Communist Party sending its delegates to the Congress, shall be bound to appoint one of its delegates as permanent representative of the Party in the Executive Committee of the Communist International, so that such representative may reside in Russia for a considerable time.

From the above outline it may be seen that the meeting will deal with most important problems, which are now awaiting the decision of the Communist workers of the whole world. The rapid spread of Communist ideas compels us to hasten the convocation of the Congress, which will be able to give clear and precise answers to the workers of all countries as to the questions stated in the order of business, which demand immediate solution.

The First Congress of the Communist International raised the banner of Communism. At this moment millions and millions of workers in every country are followers of this banner. The question is no longer one of the propagation of Communist ideas; the time has now come for the organization of the Communist workers and a direct struggle for the Communist revolution.

The Second International has collapsed like a house of cards. The efforts of several „Socialist“ diplomats to create a new bastard International, standing between the Second and Third International, are simply laughable, and meet with no support on the part of the workers. Divided one from another by military censorship, martial law, the calumnious campaign of the yellow Social Democrats and the capitalist press, the working men of the whole world are nevertheless stretching out their hands one to the other. During its short existence of little more than a year, the Communist International has won a decisive moral victory among the worker masses of the world. Millions and millions of workers are yearning to join us, the honest international association of workers, which is called the Third International.

Then let those workers compel their parties and organizations to make a choice once and for ever. Let them put an end to the unworthy game which is being played by some of the old diplomatic „leaders“ who are attempting to keep their parties from joining the Communist International.

Especially let the members of Labour Unions which formally belong to the White Guard International organized in Amsterdam by the agents of capital—Legien, Albert Thomas and others—force their organizations to break with the betrayers of the workers' cause and send their delegates to the congress of the Communist International.

Let the coming Second Congress of the 15th of July really be a world gathering of real revolutionists, believers in the true Communist program and revolutionary Communist tactics.

Let the order of business proposed by the Executive Committee be discussed by every workers' organization, every gathering of working people. Let the workers themselves propose their own resolutions concerning each of the proposed questions. Let the whole Communist press give up its pages during the next weeks to the discussion of these most important problems. Start the preparatory work in real earnest. Only in such case will our Congress be able to summarize the experience of the intelligent workers of the world, and give voice to the actual will of the Communist workers of all countries.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends a fraternal greeting to the workers of all the world, and calls to them to join the ranks of their brotherhood.

Long live the International Communist Workers' Association!

Long live the Third International!

With Communist greetings,

G. Zinoviev,

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

C. Radek,

Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.



## Pressing Questions of the International Labour Movement

### The Second Congress of the Communist International and its Tasks

By G. Zinoviev.

**M**ORE than a year has elapsed since the first constituent congress of the Communist International took place. During that time the Communist movement has been gradually developing throughout the whole world. In almost all countries where the working class is living and struggling, we have a wide spreading Communist press and rapidly growing Communist organisations. Constantly and day by day new and complicated problems are arising before the Communists. Naturally the Communist International sees the necessity of convening a Second Congress, which we may affirm with certainty will be really a world congress of the advanced workers. At the coming Congress we shall be able to draw upon the rich experience which we have accumulated between the spring of 1919 and the summer of 1920. We shall have to give the workers of the world clear and precise answers to all the immediate questions of the movement.

As though on purpose to give the workers of all countries an opportunity of making a final choice, the social traitors have appointed their congress of the Second International to take place on the 31st of July, at Geneva. Let us hope that this time Mr. Huysmans and his partisans will not have to adjourn the congress of the Second International.

About six months ago these gentlemen had everything in readiness for the convocation of a congress of the Second International. The invitations had been issued, the place of meeting appointed—when suddenly Messrs. Huysmans and C<sup>o</sup> adjourned their congress. The reason for this is now clear. They had found out that the German Independent Party was preparing to leave the sinking ship of the Second International. They learned that the French Socialists were thinking of doing the same. So Messrs. Huysmans thought it bet-

ter to adjourn their congress. We very much fear that similar surprises will again occur this time. It is true, there is hardly any one left to quit the Second International, but nevertheless Messrs. Huysmans are not insured against disagreeable surprises.

It would be a great pity if they should be compelled to adjourn their congress again. For the sake of clearness, for the sake of making a comparison, we sincerely wish that alongside of the world congress of the Third International there could be at least a semblance of that of the Second International. In the order of business of the meeting which Huysmans and C<sup>o</sup> have appointed at Geneva, are the questions of dictatorship and democracy, the methods of the struggle for Socialism, etc. It would be highly desirable that both congresses should pass before the mind's eye of the workers of the world, that they should have laid before them two clear, precise, and definite programs, to be compared and a choice made once and for all.

The yellow Second International has been and is being abandoned, not only by the intermediary elements of the „center“, but also by the more far-seeing opportunists, those who have a prevision of what the coming day will bring them, who understand that if they wish to exercise some kind of influence over the working class they must, at least outwardly, have nothing to do with the doubtful Second International of traitors and murderers.

It is well known that during the last few months the Second International has been left by:

1. The Independent Party of Germany.
2. The United Socialist Party of France.
3. The Independent Labour Party of England.
4. The Socialist Party of Switzerland.
5. The Socialist Party of America.
6. The Socialist Party of Spain.

Among the leaders of the above named parties the prevailing elements are the intermediary centrist ones; fluctuating between the Second and Third International, i. e. between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Besides these the Russian Menshevik Party has also left the Second International. In the present number of the „Communist International“ we are inserting an extract from the official stenographic report of the meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies, containing the formal declaration of L. Martov, the principal leader of the Russian Mensheviks, regarding the withdrawal of his party from the Second International. This fact has no bearing upon the fate of the Russian workers. The influence exercised by the Russian Mensheviks over the Russian proletariat is most insignificant. But as a symptom of the collapse of the Second International, the departure therefrom of even the Russian Mensheviks is undoubtedly of great importance. Our comrades arriving from different countries have frequently related to us how Messrs. Branting, Scheidemann, Renaudel, Huysmans and Henderson spoke at length at the workers' meetings to the effect that the real workers' movement in Russia is not represented by the Communist Party, but by—the Mensheviks; and proudly pointed out that the latter party was a staunch adherent of the Second International.

At present this „argument“ is taken away from the social-traitors. The Second International has also been left (at least one foot is out) by the Polish Bund, whose leader is the well-known V. Medem. Meantime the conference of all the Bund organisations operating in Soviet Russia has lately passed a resolution by an enormous majority of votes, expressing its solidarity with the Third International.

Who has remained in the Second International? If we were to be asked to name, say, three of the best-known names personifying the Second International at this moment, we could not indicate any more prominent than those of Pilsudsky, Noske and Branting.

*Joseph Pilsudsky*, the murderer of Polish and Russian workers, the paid agent of the French bankers, engaged now in war against the Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants, is the father and practically the inspirer of the very same Polish „Socialist“ Party which is represented in the Executive Committee of the Second International by Mr. Dashinsky. The workers of all the world, and we

venture to think even the workers constituting the Belgian Socialist Party, whose leader is still Mr. Huysmans, dislike the executioner Pilsudsky, who has undertaken a most dirty commission from the French Stock Exchange. But unfortunately not all the workers are aware of the fact that this same dishonest agent of the most disreputable group of bankers is a shareholder in the Huysmans joint-stock company called the Second International.

*Branting* is a recognised leader of the Second International. He is now the Prime Minister of Sweden. The King of Sweden and the Swedish bourgeoisie have discovered that the best watchdog to guard their fat profits from the Swedish proletariat just awakening to the struggle, is Branting, the head of the Swedish Social Democracy. We do not know whether the King of Sweden has *officially* joined the Swedish Social Democratic Party. Perhaps at the forthcoming Congress of the Second International Branting will sing the same praises of his „King“, as he and Henderson sang at the memorable Berne Conference of the Second International of their quondam patron Woodrow Wilson. We only know one thing: the greatest meanness which has ever been practised in Sweden, the greatest derision which the Swedish working class ever had to suffer, from the darkest tricks which were ever practised by the sharpers of the internal diplomacy of Sweden, are now being practised by the leader of the Second International Branting, and his friend and colleague, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Palmstierna.

*Noske*. One need not say much of his career during the past year. The most bloody general of the French bourgeoisie, the butcher of the Paris Communards, Gallifet, is only a puppy in comparison with Mr. Noske, former Minister of War of the almost „Socialist“ German Republic. At the present moment Noske has been dismissed from his honourable functions of Minister of War, and he is enjoying more leisure. Our German comrades, with whom we have lately had occasion to converse, have quite seriously informed us that the official German Social Democracy has now elected as one of its chief representatives to the Executive Committee of the Second International no other person, than—Gustav Noske. We sincerely congratulate the Second International. Branting, Pilsudsky, Noske—the most suitable leaders and inspirers of the yellow organisation which bears the name of Second International.

From the old Socialist parties which formerly served as foundation for the Second International,



there remain only Scheidemann's leavings, represented by Mr. Noske; and the Austrian Social Democracy, which may any day follow the German Independent Party. The rest are the Finnish White Guard Social Democrats, partisans of the Finnish Gallifet, General Mannerheim, and several other insignificant groups.

But one must not forget that in the ranks of the Second International there are still some large organisations, supported by the workers and serving as a powerful support to the bourgeoisie. We are speaking of the English Labour Party, the moderate English Trade Unions, and the old Trade Unions of America under the leadership of Mr. Gompers. I remember, about ten years ago in the Executive Committee of the Second International, a great debate was held concerning the question, as to whether the English Labour Party was to be received into the Second International or not. Kautsky said then that the party was penetrated through and through with bourgeois tendencies. At the present moment this „Labour Party“ is the only considerable Labour party remaining in the Second International. The same must be said of the American Trade Unions, headed by Gompers, a well-known agent of the bourgeoisie. These two important labour organisations are the real basis of the Second International; it is true, they have nothing in common with Socialism (as far as the question lies with the „leading“ part of these organisations) but as to numbers they represent a considerable force.

When the Communist International will enroll in its ranks those worker groups which are now still following the lead of the Labour Party in England and the Gompers Trade Unions in America, then one may say that the bourgeoisie has lost its last support in the labour movement.

\* \* \*

When in March 1919 we organised the Communist International, we heard some scattered objections tending to show that the official proclamation of the Communist International was premature as yet. The reader will remember that the only representative of the German Spartacists present at our First Congress in 1919, expressed his opinion that it would

be well to *delay* the official organisation of the Communist International.

A little more than a year has elapsed, and it is now perfectly clear that such pessimistic views were groundless. The proclamation of the Communist International was not only not premature, but on the contrary we have been rather late with its organisation, and have thus delayed an organised *uniting* of the international proletariat.

Fifteen months have passed since our first congress met. During this time the political influence of the Communist International has been developing day by day. The number of our partisans is increasing constantly. The fascination of our banner is growing ever stronger. Like a great magnet the Communist International is drawing to itself the hearts of the advanced workers of the whole world. But at the same time we do not hide from ourselves the fact that our organising influence in the international movement is comparatively weak as yet. We are far from possessing the international organisation which is needful for a successful struggle.

It is, however, just because the mental influence of Communism is growing greater and greater every day, that it becomes necessary for us to establish immediately the *precise* organisation limits, within which our international association of workers called the Communist International is to exist. We do not hide from ourselves that the Communist International is becoming the „fashion“ in some places. Every day in some country or another dozens of resolutions are passed to the effect that such and such an organisation has decided to join the Communist International. So long as such organisations are really proletarian ones, so long as they express the sincere wish of workers of one country to grasp the friendly hands of workers of another country, so far as they express the growing readiness of the proletarians to engage in a final fight against the bourgeoisie, so far, naturally, such resolutions are worthy of the warmest reception. But when one hears that Messrs. Crispin and Hilferding in Germany, Morris Hillquit and his adherents in America, are unexpectedly showing sympathy with the Third International, and are not unwilling to join it under certain conditions, then we say: *We must lock the door and place a trustworthy guard at the gates of the Communist International.*

We understand very well that it is not out of self-sacrifice that these experienced opportunists are now knocking at the gates of the Communist International. If the official leaders of the

\*) We have just heard that the Austrian Social Democratic Party has refused to take part in the Geneva Congress of the Second International. This in a covert form means leaving the Second International.

American Socialist Party headed by Hillquit are passing resolutions to join the Communist International, this means that the rank and file of the American workers are becoming more and more revolutionary every day, and are now extending a brotherly hand to us. Such parliamentary heroes as Hillquit and C<sup>o</sup>. are looking not „upwards“ towards the parliamentary Olympus, but „downwards“ towards the ant-hill of the workers, who are shaking off the influence of the bourgeoisie and social traitors and taking their places in the proletarian revolution.

The same must be said regarding the „Right“ leaders of the German Independent Party. At the meeting of the Belgian Labour Party Mr. Huysmans lately triumphantly repeated the following words spoken to him by Kautsky: „If my party (i. e. the German Independent Party) should compel me (Kautsky) to make a choice between the Independent Party and the Second International, I would choose the latter“. Huysmans cited these words of Kautsky as the greatest argument in favour of the vitality of the Second International. But we know otherwise.

At one time Kautsky exercised a considerable influence in the German Labour movement. But now we may say without the least prevarication that Kautsky has only one follower—his inkstand with thin watery ink. The more acute business men among the leaders of the German Independent party, if faced with the alternative of joining (certainly, not sincerely, certainly only verbally) the Communist International, or ceasing to be the leaders of the Independent Party, they would naturally choose the former. And thus, the task of the coming Second Congress of the Communist International consists in not *permitting* such „leaders“ to commit such an unworthy act. The Communist International must remain the International of *action*, it must be the honourable international association of workers who have sworn to fight the bourgeoisie to death; it must be an organisation welded out of one single piece of metal. The idea itself of a Communist International does not allow of any double dealings or old „Socialist“ diplomacy of the „business man“ school.

It is on this that depends our relation towards the group which is sometimes jestingly called the group of the „two and a half“ (neither the Second, nor the Third, but the Two and a Half) International. We mean such parties as have left the Second, but have not yet joined the Third International. They are those

which we have mentioned above, namely: the German Independent Party, the French United Socialists, the English Independent Labour Party and so on. Our reply to the German Independent Party, printed in numbers of the „Communist International“, is our categorical declaration on the question. We know that a great majority of the workers constituting these parties are for us. They sincerely wish to fight in the ranks of the Third International against the bourgeoisie and social traitors. We send them our warmest greetings, and tell them that we shall always be glad to see them in our ranks. We are however perfectly convinced that the workers who are members of these parties, will the sooner be free from the pernicious influence of the bad shepherds who determine the policy of their party leaders, the more unsparingly we reveal the actions of all such Kautskys, Hilferdings, Hillquits and C<sup>o</sup>. Welcome! we say to the worker members of such parties. But first free yourselves from your ballast, first drive away those of your „leaders“ who are only agents of the bourgeoisie in your midst.

What must the forthcoming Second Congress of the Communist International be? A meeting of partisans, of people fully penetrated with the same idea and striving to establish a completely clear theoretical program—or a large universal congress which will fulfill the rôle of a great political demonstration, and unite the most widely spread masses of workers? We think it should be both one and the other. But most of all it must be a congress of those who think alike. The situation of the Labour movement in all the decisive countries, and the growth of revolutionary ideas in the whole world, are such that unless external obstacles prevent it the Second Congress of the Communist International will undoubtedly be a grandiose demonstration of the political forces of the world proletariat, marching onward to its victory.

Still the chief task of the coming congress is to determine clearly and precisely the practical policy of the Communist International, to consolidate the Third International, as an organisation of true partisans having the same program, the same tactics, and moving along the same road.

The First Congress of the Communist International in 1919 had for its principal task to raise the banner of Communism before all the world and to proclaim the Communist program. This task has been accomplished. The success has *exceeded* all expectations. Now it is time

for the second step. The Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 must *define* the Communist program and *proclaim the tactics* of the Communist movement.

That does not mean that all the Communist parties are to be cut out on the same pattern. The Communist International understands perfectly well that the workers of different countries have to deal with a great diversity of conditions, and to adapt themselves to the same in their tactics. In reviewing the principal countries in which Communism has struck solid roots, we may divide them into three classes:

1) *Russia*, where the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact, where the working class has been in power for the last three years, and where the chief task consists in repulsing the enemy's attacks with one hand and in organising a Communist State and management with the other.

2) *Germany, Austria* and partly the *Balkan States*, where the revolution has already begun and where the new proletarian order is coming to life under especially cruel difficulties.

3) *England, France, Italy*—countries with a victorious bourgeoisie, with the most ancient parliamentary traditions, where a deep upheaval, the separation of the different layers among the working class, and a revaluation of things are going on.

4) Oppressed nationalities and colonies, like *Ireland, India, Turkey* and others, where the liberation movement cannot but bear at the same time a national colour and interests, and where in connection with these conditions the Communists are faced with quite a special task.

The Second Congress of the Communist International will take note of all this diversity of conditions. In all its decisions it will start from this very diversity, and remember that the reconstruction of the capitalist world which was and is supported by the universal bourgeoisie, is a sufficiently complicated task.

The Second Congress of the Communist International will naturally concentrate its attention upon the tactical questions which are now arising in the principal countries of the advanced *European* labour movement.

But it will not forget America, nor India, Persia, Japan and other countries.

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One of the chief tactical questions which will occupy our Second Congress is undoubtedly that of *Parliamentarism*. The hottest debates are being held on this question in Germany, England, Italy and other countries.

First of all certainly we must ask ourselves: What are we disputing about? We are *not* disputing as to whether the proletariat after it has won the victory over the bourgeoisie should *retain* the parliamentary system. We are fully aware that the parliamentary regime is that of *bourgeois* states. The Soviets *and not the democratic parliaments* are the form of proletarian dictatorship.

Parliamentary „Democracy“ everywhere always was and will remain a form of *bourgeois* dictatorship. Among the Communists consequently the *only* question is, whether we should under certain conditions utilise the bourgeois parliament *so long as it exists*—in the interests of the struggle for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, and only thus can the question be posed.

And in this case we are certain that the Second Congress of the Communist International will answer: Not only we may, but we *ought* to make use of the bourgeois parliaments, in the same way as we utilise the possibility of publishing lawful newspapers under the bourgeois regime, in the same way as we profit by every other lawful possibility under the dictatorship of capitalism.

In all the world except Soviet Russia, the country where the proletariat is in power, the press is an instrument for the oppression of the masses, just as is the bourgeois parliament. Nevertheless, however, not one even of the most „left“ Communists has ever bethought himself that Communists should not use the lawful labour press, although the latter would have sometimes to take account of the conditions of censorship and adapt itself to the bourgeois laws. It is the same thing with the bourgeois parliaments. Six labour delegates to five hundred landowners and bourgeois in the reactionary Imperial Duma in Russia rendered an invaluable service to the proletarian revolution. At the beginning of the war they were sent to penal servitude by the Tsar, but thanks to their work they carried with them the sympathies of hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants.

Let no one tell us that such a thing could only be possible in Russia! Do not say „I cannot —“ Say, „I will not“. Liebknecht alone—to 500 delegates, bourgeois, junkers and Social Democrat business men—rendered an invaluable service to the proletarian revolution in Germany, when he alone against everyone else voted against war credits and from his delegate's place in his brief replies pitilessly denounced the bourgeois order.

Höglund—alone against several hundred Swedish landowners and bourgeois—rendered an enormous service to the Swedish working class when he exposed the tricks of militarism and called the working class to battle. We see the same in Serbia, in Bulgaria. We shall soon see the same in all countries where there is a serious Communist Party worthy of respect. To attempt to storm the fortress of capitalism, to pretend to be the leaders of millions of men, and at the same time not to find sufficient power and organisational skill to have in a bourgeois parliament at least a small group of fighters for Communism, who would proof against the pernicious influence of the parliamentary bourgeoisie, incapable of slipping on the smooth floor of the „democratic“ parliament—this would make people think: Those men know how to *talk*, but they cannot do any serious revolutionary business.

And let no one tell us that we have plenty of other opportunities of speaking to the people, that we are in no need of the parliamentary tribune. That is the point of view of the minority. That is an aristocratic view. It is the point of view of those who have already tasted of the tree of knowledge, and have studied the fundamental machinery of the bourgeois order. We wish to deal with the larger masses. We Communists must learn to operate with multiple figures. We must regulate each of our steps so as to influence not thousands, or tens of thousands, but millions and tens of millions of people. Besides the advanced guard of workers in the cities who know the value of bourgeois democracy, there are millions of people in the towns who are blinded by the bourgeoisie. And in the smaller places, in the rural districts, millions and millions of farmers and other humble workers live, who before the war patiently bore the yoke and bent their necks to the will of the bourgeois despots. These people are only now beginning to awake to real life. A bold word thrown from the parliamentary tribune, a word that cannot be suppressed by the smallest local paper, or explained away by the priest from the pulpit, will be of the greatest importance to them.

In the question of utilising parliamentarism, it should be considered not only as a means of propaganda, but also as a means of organization.

We remember that when in March 1917, we received the first telegram in Switzerland bearing the news of the first Russian Revolution, Comrade Lenin, in his very first telegrams to our Petrograd friends, especially pointed out the necessity of organizing elections to the Petro-

grad Municipal Duma. What made him do this? Comrade Lenin had in his mind the prototype of the Paris Commune, which was formed, as we all know, from the municipal elections. He was well aware that although our party, which had been in existence for about 10 years, had even then acquired a very considerable influence in Russia, we were nevertheless not sufficiently well equipped as far as organization was concerned. We were in search of some means by which our party would obtain the possibility of striking deep and wide-spreading roots in each town for organizing purposes, and we came to the conclusion that elections to the Municipal Duma under revolutionary conditions would undoubtedly give us the desired possibility. We remember further that about six weeks before the great October revolution of 1917, new municipal elections were held in Petrograd.

The workmen were mostly on our side. All the tramcars in Petrograd on the days of the elections bore large placards calling the population to vote for the Communists. All the other parties united against us, but nevertheless we won a brilliant victory.

Query: Did the use of the parliamentary system hinder or help us?

We are sure that it *really helped us*.

During the eight months which elapsed between the bourgeois revolution in February and the proletarian revolution in October, our Party worked every day, every hour at the creation of a whole network of organizing nuclei; which afterwards served as a basis for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If, during those eight months, we had not managed to create large Communist factions in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, in the Trade Unions, in all the institutions of the municipal administration, we would not have been able to seize the power in October. And even more—we could not have held it. We had groups of our people in every town, studying practically the dwelling question, the food question, and other vitally important subjects. Without this we would have remained only a party of propaganda and speech-making. We could not have taken the Government into our hands.

This did not in the least prevent our Soviets, a few months after our victorious proletarian revolution, from dissolving the Municipal Duma, elected by universal suffrage, and replacing it by sections of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, elected by proletarian suffrage. But just in that transitional period before

taking the power, we made use of every possibility, we clutched at every legal possibility. We remembered that the Communist Party must build its nest in each of the larger towns, in each important Trade Union, each factory, each House Committee, every institution of municipal administration. It is a well-known fact also that the Communist Party of Russia, having already seized the power, appointed and carried out the elections to the Constituent Assembly, took part in the elections and had its own faction in the Constituent Assembly. And there is no doubt that the existence of a serious Communist faction in the Constituent Assembly only helped to sweep the Assembly out of the way of the proletarian revolution at the necessary moment.

The Communist International is of the opinion that no division among the Communists can be allowed on account of this question of parliamentarism. We are certain that the second congress of the Communist International will take the same point of view. At the same time it will openly proclaim that the Communists ought to make use of the parliamentary system in all the bourgeois democracies, bearing in mind that this is one of the best means of opening the eyes of the masses to the real nature of the capitalist parties.

The second important problem which will be placed before the Second Congress of the Communist International is the question of the *Labour Unions*. We have pointed out above that if the Second International still has a vestige of importance for the bourgeoisie, it is because the labour unions of Germany, England and America still support this yellow International. Some of our ultra „left“ comrades may come to the conclusion that this only makes it the worse for the labour unions, and we need pay the less attention to them. However, such a conclusion can have nothing in common with Communism. If we are not pleased with some fact, we cannot get rid of it by saying that it is the worse for the fact. Our task consists not only in explaining such cases, but in *changing* them. In the question of the Labour Unions the task of the Communists consists not only in explaining how in the soil of a lasting, peaceful, reformist bourgeois-democratic epoch, many-millioned petty-bourgeois reformist labour unions have taken root and developed, which have become the defences of the bourgeoisie and its agents. Our task consists also in creating strong Communist nuclei within such unions by means of continuous, stubborn and insistent work,

and then, by the help of such Communist fractions, in turning the Unions the way they ought to go.

The international proletarian movement has now, one might say, come to a standstill before the question of Labour Unions. The Second International has fallen to pieces. That is so. But at the same time the International of the „free“—properly speaking of the yellow—Trade Unions in Amsterdam, has begun to revive. Having become lame in one foot, the bourgeoisie is energetically using the other foot. Having lost almost the whole Second International, as an international union of *political* organizations, having survived the complete exposure of the old Social Democratic Parties, the faithful servants of capital, the bourgeoisie is now trying to ride another horse: the International of Trade Unions. And one may say without exaggeration: the brigand League of Nations is now less dangerous to the international proletarian revolution, than the Amsterdam International of yellow Trade Unions. That the League of Nations is a band of robbers is a fact which the most backward workers in Western Europe and America are now beginning to understand. But that the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions is, properly speaking, an agency of the League of Nations, is not yet clear to millions and millions of organized workers of those countries. One may affirm with assurance: by attracting to our side the large labour unions which are at present the only support of bourgeois politics, we would remove the chief obstacle to the successful and rapid march of the proletarian revolution. The international proletariat would then stand face to face with the band of international imperialistic robbers. The blinders would be removed. A collision would follow inevitably and immediately, and the victory would most certainly be on our side.

This is why the question of our relation to the labour unions will be of first rate importance for the Second Congress of the Communist International.

Some of the quasi „left“ Communists are preaching the necessity of a departure en masse from the labour unions. These „left“ high-talkers think that it is sufficient to throw the contemptuous appellation of „free-yellow“ unions in the face of the German Trade Unions, to consider their task accomplished.

Yes, the unions which permit such gentlemen as Legien, Sassenbach, Robert Schmidt and other agents of capital to be among their leaders, yes, such unions are really „free-yellow“ unions, that is true. But even if they were to

be thrice as yellow as they are now, even then we would have no right to leave them, once millions of workers are organized in such unions. When the Government of the Tsar organized the yellow-priests' labour unions in Russia by means of its gendarme colonels, such as the well-known gendarme „Socialist“ Zoubatov, then the Bolsheviks did not leave such unions, but remained in them, in order to combat the reactionary influences from within and to open the eyes of the workers to the part played by these unions. When the same government introduced the institution of factory elders by the most reactionary of suffrages, the Bolsheviks made use of even this organization for their purposes. And only organizations that are afraid of their own shadows, that do not trust in their own powers, that are not sufficiently organized and disciplined to withstand the demoralising of the enemy, only such organisations will be afraid to join the reactionary labour unions with the object of utilising them in their own interests.

In the free-yellow Trade Unions of Germany there are now seven millions of workers. These seven million members are at present almost entirely under control of the Labour bureaucracy. The entire official machinery of the German „free-yellow“ Trade Unions is constituted in such a way that the Labour bureaucracy may turn the unions in any direction it wishes. It is only gradually, slowly, by painfully slow degrees that the advanced workers organised in these unions are beginning to gain head against the Labour bureaucracy. Nevertheless it is a fact that millions of German workers are organised in these Trade Unions. The week of Herr Kapp's counter-revolutionary attempt showed what a tremendous role these „free-yellow“ Trade Unions continue to play, when they alone proved to be able to save the crown of Ebert and Scheidemann, and through this the crown of the bourgeoisie.

Now what can our ultra „left“ friends set against the „free-yellow“ Trade Unions as regards organisations? The German „left“ Communists have organised their „All-German Labour Union“ (*Arbeiterunion*).

The name is a good one, the signboard chic, but what lies behind it? The „left“ Communists themselves acknowledge that throughout the whole of Germany there are at best about 100.000 members in their Labour Unions. The German Syndicalists are also very free in their abuse of the „free-yellow“ Labour Unions. German Syndicalism is the growth of the petty

bourgeois localist unions. What is the result? The German Syndicalists themselves declare that during a long series of years they have managed only to organise in their ranks about 250.000 members at the utmost. That is all that our „left“ friends are in a condition to set against the seven-million unions headed by such leaders as Legien!

To talk high and hurl words at the „free-yellow“ unions is easy, but not a serious matter. If in their struggle against the Mensheviks the Russian Communists had only limited themselves to idle chatter and such slogans as „Away from such unions“, the Trade Unions would still have been in the hands of the Mensheviks, i. e. the Russian Legiens. Our „left“ friends should study the history of our struggle in Russia, and then they would know that for many years the Labour movement in Russia was in the hands of the social-traitors. After the overthrow of Tsarism, after the February revolution of 1917, at the All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions in June, 1917, the Russian Mensheviks still had a majority in the Labour Unions. Even in August, 1917, at the celebrated Moscow Conference, organised by the Russian bourgeoisie with the help of its agents Kerensky & Co, the Mensheviks were very strong in the delegations of the Trade Unions. The Russian Communists did not adopt the motto: „Away From such unions“. On the contrary they sent their best forces to the „free-yellow“ Russian Trade Unions at that time. In each union, in each district, in each section of the union they organised their *Communist nucleus*, their faction. Sometimes such factions contained only three members. At each stage of the struggle, at each turn of events, at each twist of the road, at the slightest opportunity these Communist factions in the unions entered into open warfare against the „free-yellow“ majority. Gradually all that was most honest and intelligent in the Russian Trade Unions began to group itself around such small Communist factions. Step by step the struggle was carried on for an office in the Boards of the Trade Unions. With great difficulty, by stubborn and insistent efforts, the most hateful of the Labour bureaucrats were removed from their posts. The result of such a stubborn struggle was that gradually the Trade Unions were won over by us. We had wrested this strongest weapon out of the hands of the „free-yellow“ leaders.

That is how serious parties fight against the influence of the social-traitors. But if we had



limited ourselves to high talk against the union functionaries, to more or less witty abuse of the same, like our „left“ friends are doing now in their struggle against the so-called „Bonzen“ (idols), the state of things would have remained unchanged: we would have remained with our speeches and the yellow leaders with their million-unions.

To follow at present in Germany or in England the motto „Away from the unions“ means to act on the principle „Away from the ranks of organised workers“. In the old „free-yellow“ unions millions of workers are organised at present. These millions have thousands of prejudices, in some cases they are completely under the influence of the business men who are at the head of the unions, and trade with them, like gypsies trade with horses. But these millions in the labour unions will sooner or later inevitably turn from such leaders and tread the way of the proletarian revolution. This is as inevitable as the victory of Socialism over Capitalism. One is impossible without the other. Socialism cannot conquer unless it weans away from the influence of the bourgeoisie the millions of workers who are at present organised in these unions. Such a liberation of the workers from the influence of the bourgeoisie shall occur the sooner, the less we follow such mottoes as, „Away from the unions“, and the more insistently we work *within* such unions.

The Communists must be everywhere where there are organised masses of workers. Communists must know how to be in the minority. They must, at any rate, have their own special organisation, independent of any „free-yellow“ or free, or any other unions. They must have their own Party which, however small it might be, should always defend the interests of the working class in general. But the Communists, while working in an organised manner as a party, systematically, must always send their best forces where there are masses of deceived workers; and the blinder these workmen are, the more skillfully constructed the apparatus by which these workmen are deceived, the more must the Communists use their efforts to free the workmen from the influence of such apparatus. To permeate all labour organisations with the antennae of Communism, to spread the influence of Communist ideas to the most far-lying provincial corners where any section of the „free-yellow“ labour unions is in existence, this will certainly be more difficult than to proclaim „Away from the Unions“, and to create for one's consolation a pretence of a „Labour Union“ with a small

handful of members. Every one knows it is easier to paint an ideal village, generally speaking, than to carry out serious proletarian work. Whoever prefers the former cannot march with the Communist International.

In Germany and in other countries an idea has arisen of replacing the old labour unions by so-called factory councils (*Betriebsräte*). These factory councils represent an organisation corresponding to the factory committees which we had and still have in Russia. They are elected by the workmen of a given plant for the management, first of all, of factory affairs.

Naturally the Communist International wholly approves of the formation of such factory committees—especially if they are formed on a revolutionary basis, under revolutionary conditions. But at the same time not for one minute should one suppose that such factory committees could replace the industrial labour unions. In Soviet Russia these factory committees *have become the fundamental units* of industrial labour unions. The factory committees (or industrial factory soviets) in Russia represent the primary organisations of labour on the basis of which the industrial labour unions are formed.

These factory committees will collaborate in the most valuable way in the renovation of the present „free-yellow“ labour unions. The reconstruction of the latter will to a large extent proceed by *means* of these factory committees. That is so. The Communists must direct all their attention to the winning of these committees, these primary nuclei of the reorganized labour unions. But at the same time, at whatever cost, win over the unions themselves. One cannot obtain the power and retain it, without taking possession of the colossal apparatus which, for instance, the tremendous unions of the Transport Workers now represent. There is much that is rusty in this apparatus, much rubbish. The proletarian revolution will throw it all overboard, it will remodel everything after its own fashion. All our attention must be directed towards the task of *taking possession of this apparatus*, throwing all that is useless away and reforming it after the image and model of the revolutionary proletariat.

A deep upheaval is beginning in the midst of the old labour unions. The English Trade Unions are no longer the same as they were five years ago. The same may be said even of Gompers' Labour Federation in America. In Germany the process of removing the old experienced Labour bureaucrats has begun and

is now in full swing. The Triple Alliance, i. e. the union of the three largest Trade Unions in England, is visibly beginning to break with the old bourgeois traditions of „classical“ English Trade Unionism. The meeting of the left delegates of the English Labour movement, which took place in March, 1920, in London, during and parallel with the congress of Trade Unions, is an important event in the history of the English Labour movement (see report thereon in № 10 of the „Communist International“).

If the Communist Parties in the different countries will take the right course toward the labour unions, such a turn towards the left will grow not by days, but by hours.

One could not do a greater service to the Legiens, Gompers and Jouhaux, than by boycotting the old unions and leaving them. The Legiens, Jouhaux, Gompers and Appletons only wish to see the best elements of the workers to go out of „their“ unions, and leave them sole masters of such organisations.

The Communist International does not, however, intend to give this pleasure to the yellow leaders. The Second Congress of the Communist International will undoubtedly give the following directions: The creation of a small Communist faction of even a few dozen members in each labour union has a deeply revolutionary significance; but high-sounding resolutions to leave the „free yellow“ Unions have a deeply reactionary significance.

The Communist International, after completely vanquishing the Second International, as a union of political organizations, now turns to the struggle for influence over the unions. The labour unions will pass through the evolution which the political parties of the proletariat have passed through.

The differentiation within the Labour movement has begun and is moving rapidly forward. In some places the movement will pass through open divisions among the labour unions. The Communist International will have nothing against this so long as it is unavoidable. But after a comparatively short time, a large majority of the workmen constituting at present the „free yellow“ unions, will pass over to our side, take possession of their unions, remodel them into real proletarian organisations, on the industrial principle, throw out all the agents of capital and transform them into fighting organisations, which will become, as they have in Russia, the backbone of proletarian dictatorship.

Finally the Second Congress of the Communist International will have to express itself definitely on the role of the Communist Parties, both before and after the acquisition of power by the proletariat. The questions of the mutual relations between the Party and the class, the dictatorship of the Party and the dictatorship of the class, the mutual relations between the masses and the leaders, all these questions play an important role in the debates of the Communists in different countries.

Strange as it may seem, some groups, who consider themselves to be the followers of Marx—that most convinced partisan and teacher of proletarian centralism—doubt the necessity of a centralised Communist Party, and in some cases the necessity of a Communist Party in general.

The First Congress of the Communist International expressed the opinion that, for example, the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) *ought* to be invited to join the Communist movement as possible allies, and this was undoubtedly a right decision. The I. W. W. is a typical product of the epoch when the old Labour movement came a standstill and fell completely into the hands of the social traitors, while at the same time the birth struggles of a new form of organisation were beginning, and the first signs of the coming proletarian revolution were appearing. The I. W. W. had acquired a certain influence in America, i. e. in the country where the leaders of the Labour movement were especially corrupt, where the yoke of the „democratic“ bourgeoisie was especially shameless and the conditions for the proletarian revolution were especially ripe. The tactics of the I. W. W. are neither well-studied nor consistent. The I. W. W. is a proof of the fact that separate groups of workers groaning under the double yoke of the American millionaire skinner and the corrupt American Labour „leader“ of the Gompers type—are beginning to close their fists. A closed fist raised threateningly against a capitalist shearing yard—this is what the tactics of the I. W. W. come to. There is no doubt that it is much more agreeable to see the raised fist of a worker against the capitalist than the see a worker in dumb submission before the capitalist boss and his paid social traitor servant. But a closed fist does not and cannot be the only expression of the tactics of an oppressed class, which has to fight against a whole world of foes, and must *clearly see the way it must go* from the beginning to the end.

The I. W. W. pronounce themselves against the necessity for the working class of having its own political party, even a Communist one. The I. W. W. call themselves Communists in some cases, but they are against all political struggle, confounding it with „politics“. The I. W. W. want to rebuild modern society on the basis of labour unions. In the center,— a chief council of labour unions; at the periphery, separate labour unions according to the professions, or at the best according to the industries. All parties, including the Communist Party, from the point of view of the I. W. W., are an evil group of politicians serving their own narrow group interests. All centralism, including the centralism of the Communist Party, for the followers of the I. W. W. is an insufferable yoke. The I. W. W. repudiate not only parliamentarism as one of the forms of political struggle, but even the political struggle in general. Nevertheless we have said that the I. W. W. could be companions and allies of the Communist International. In comparison with Gompers and Legien the I. W. W. have made a step in advance. The former are the paid agents of capital, the latter men who sincerely abhor the yoke of capital, but who have no clear conception of the means by which the capitalistic regime might be thrown off, a regime founded on a complicated network of oppression and deceit.

*Yes, in comparison with the „free-yellow“ Labour movement* which is still completely in the hands of the agents of capital, the revolutionary Syndicalism and tactics of the I. W. W. are a step forward.

*But in comparison with revolutionary Marxism,* in comparison with consistent Communism, the so-called revolutionary Syndicalism and tactics of I. W. W. *are a step backwards, a reactionary movement.*

Without a strong Communist Party it is impossible to free the proletariat from the yoke of capitalism. The Communist party is the brain of the working class. It is the eyes of the working class. A man without eyes, without a head on his shoulders, will not find the way, nor his object; will not win all that a free man needs.

In the same way the working class without a Communist Party can not accomplish the historical mission which it is its destiny to accomplish. The Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class. The Communist Party represents all that is most honest, brave, noble, far-seeing, capable of self-sacrifice and

struggle, in the working class. The Communist Party is the *lever* in the hands of the advance guard of the working class, by means of which only it is possible to move *the whole class* to the fight. Without the Communist Party the working class is a body without a head.

When we meet a man who says he is a Communist, and at the same time is willing to give up the idea of an independent Communist Party, we say to such a comrade: To renounce the idea of the necessity of our party, is the same thing as to cut off your right hand. Just imagine that you have to fight a daring robber. What would you say to a well-wisher who would give you the following advice: Before starting to fight the robber, first cut off your right hand?

It is just such kind of advice that our „left“ comrades are giving us, not understanding that for a struggle with capitalism we must have a right hand (our Party), and that such a hand must be firm, strong as iron. This simple truth has not been understood by some of the „left“ Communists, who are repeating the old formulas of the adherents of the I. W. W. One cannot but smile bitterly in reading how, for instance, Fritz Wolfheim, one of the leaders of the German „left“ Communists, quite seriously tries to prove to the German advanced workers that in the question of the Party's tactics, they must follow the I. W. W. Fritz Wolfheim and his followers consider themselves very advanced Communists. As a matter of fact they are dragging the movement backward from revolutionary Marxism to confused obscure Syndicalism. One cannot read without bitterness, how the „left“ German Communists, in their program-declaration adopted by the meeting held on April, 1920, in Berlin, announce: We have formed a new Communist Labour Party, but „it is not a party in the traditional sense of the word“. The German „left“ Communists do not explain their idea to the end, but it is quite clear that they are also following in the steps of Fritz Wolfheim and his partisans, who repudiate the necessity of a Communist Party in general and imagine that it is possible to carry out a proletarian revolution by means of a shapeless, non political „Labour Union“.

About thirteen years ago, after the defeat of the first revolution in Russia, the Russian Mensheviks proposed the calling of a non political Labour congress, which, according to the opinion of many of the Mensheviks, would be a substitute

for a political party of the proletarians i. e. a party „in the real sense of the word“. The advanced Russian workers laughed this reactionary idea to scorn at the time. Some of our „left“ comrades in Germany and other countries, without noticing it, are now repeating the reactionary nonsense proposed by the Russian Mensheviks in 1906—1907.

The Communist Party is as necessary to us as air to the lungs, as bread to the hungry. Without it the working class is without a rudder or sails. Without such a party we are not capable of making either a moral or an organised physical resistance against the bourgeoisie and its agents. But what we need is not purely and simply a Communist Party; we need a strictly centralised Communist Party with an iron discipline, with a military organisation. Yes, with a military organization! This has been proved by the experience of the Russian Communist Party—the party which up to now is the only party in power in its country. This Party was developed during a period of twenty years, by means of a natural selection of the best proletarians, who formed its basis. The rules of this party proclaim the principle of „democratic centralisation“. This party maintained a strict centralism under the most various conditions; under the difficult conditions of the Tsarist reaction, as well as in the years of civil war. The Russian Communist Party has at present about 600.000 members. The Trade Unions of Russia count about four and a half million. The number of persons with a right to vote at the elections to the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies in Russia, is approximately eighty millions. The number of inhabitants of the territory of Soviet Russia, is about 120 millions.

Such are the elementary figures. Our opponents, the Russian Scheidemanns and Gompers, our Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, are constantly accusing our Party of creating in Russia a dictatorship of the Party, not that of „the working people“. But every conscious proletarian in Russia knows that without the iron dictatorship of the Communist Party the Soviet Government would not have retained the power for three weeks, let alone three years.

Every conscious worker must understand that the dictatorship of the working class cannot be realised otherwise than by means of the dictatorship of its advanced guard — the Communist Party. When the working class was compelled to defend itself against a throng of foes, when it was forced to fight

against a countless host of enemy forces, when half the world had declared war against it—then the Communist Party of Russia conducted the fight and was its General Staff. When it became necessary to mobilise under Party discipline tens of thousands of people and send them to the battle-fronts, when the workers had to give up their lives day by day, when every twenty-four hours the Workers' Government had to make decisions, each of which was pregnant with the most serious results—then was felt the necessity of a centralised Party with an internal military discipline, unwavering loyalty to the cause, an absolute confidence of the members in the full-powered center, and a welding of proletarian comradeship in the ranks. Only thus could we conquer, only under such conditions could the Party order thousands of its members to one battle-front one day, and on the next dispatch them to another, on the next again move the best forces to serve the transport, after that detail tens of thousands of its members to the producing provinces to procure food supplies for the famishing central places, etc. etc. One cannot carry on a war against a countless number of foes without one's own authoritative general staff, without the strictest iron discipline, without having created an organisation which receives all directions from one single center.

It is not of a federative type of organisation, not of the „autonomy“ of local groups, that the Communist countries where the struggle for power lies yet before them, must think. They must proceed to create a single strictly centralised Party, welded into one piece, with an iron discipline and constituted on the basis of a definite proletarian centralisation. Without these conditions victory is impossible, without this the defeat of the revolution is inevitable.

One must not think that after acquiring the power the role of the Communist Party will in any degree be diminished. On the contrary, the experience of the Russian proletarian revolution shows that even after the acquisition of power the role of the Communist Party still remains a gigantic one, and grows day by day.

All the questions of economic management, military organisation, public instruction, food-supply policy, etc., etc.—all these questions upon which depend the fate of the proletarian revolution, are solved in Russia first of all and most of all within the limits of Party organisations. And as these Party organisations contain all that is best in the working class of Russia, all the most hardy and experienced fighters, the

control of the Party over the Soviet organisations, over the Trade Unions, is an absolute guarantee that not the interests of certain guilds or groups shall prevail, but the interests of the proletariat in general.

The partisans of revolutionary Syndicalism, the I. W. W. and some of the „left“ Communists, draw up very good plans of how they are going to form the „state of the future“ (Zukunftstaat) without superfluous centralisation, without pressure from above, exclusively on the basis of comradely solidarity.

This is all very well, but one should not be carried away by Utopian novels of the Bellamy kind. One must remember the terrific civil war which awaits us before we shall finally overthrow capital. Our „left“ friends forget to inform us by means of what organisation they will dethrone capitalism, proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend such dictatorship against the attacks of the enemy, if they have no centralised organisation. Our left friends forget to give an answer to the principal question, namely: What forms of organisation shall the proletarian dictatorship assume during the immediate transition period, which will occupy more than one year, and during which a centralised military proletarian organisation is an essential condition?

To any proletarian who has given a serious thought to the probable course of the proletarian revolution in any given country, it must be quite clear that without the formation of a proletarian Red Army there can be no talk of the victory of Communism. And how can a serious Red Army be formed otherwise than on the same scale for the whole country, on the basis of the strictest centralisation and an iron discipline? One cannot form, as a matter of fact, a special Red Army of metal workers, a parallel, independent Red Army of weavers, of woodcutters, and so on. But if the principles of the I. W. W. and our „left“ but unreasonable comrades be followed, one would have to recur to the formation of just this kind of Red Army, and the Proletarian Revolution would be doomed beforehand to a sure defeat.

All these questions must be exhaustively discussed and explained by the coming Second Congress of the Communist International. It will have to put an end to all Syndicalist prejudices on the question of the role of the Communist Party; it will have to crush without pity all the petty bourgeois views on the question of proletarian centralisation, it will have to establish regular mutual relations between the

Communist parliamentary factions and the Communist Party as a whole (naturally on the basis of a complete subordination of the Communist parliamentary members to the Communist Party — lawful or illegal, no matter). It will have to separate the Communist wheat from the Syndicalist weeds.

At the last moment the Executive Committee of the Communist International has added a new question to the order of business — our relation to the new attitude of the „center“, which is pretending to accept the Communist platform, and the conditions for joining the Third International.

This is a very important item in the order of business.

The theses published in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International constitute material most important from the ideological and political point of view, indicating the way in which the Executive Committee would like to direct the policy of the coming Second Congress. We wish to point out to our „left“ comrades their mistakes, we wish to warn them most decisively against the gross errors into which they have fallen. Especially we, Russian Communists, are bound to do this. We have not carried through all the struggle against the „left“ absurdities on a national scale, in order to renounce at the present moment the duty of carrying on the same struggle on an international scale — once these questions have become international ones.

We shall not be deterred from a most decided ideological, and if necessary, organisational struggle against the „left“ opponents of the Communist tactics. But at the same time, we shall not for a moment forget that among the „left“ there are many faithful followers of our cause, who are willing to lay down their lives for Communism and who, recognising their errors to-morrow, will be fully with us.

We see now in some countries groups of „Communists“ whose members only verbally accept the principles of „Communism“. The Third International is becoming „the fashion“. There are persons who endeavour to insure themselves by joining the Third International, for the purpose of continuing in reality to lead the Kautsky policy of the „center“. There are others who consider themselves to be „Communists“, and yet remove the prospect of a proletarian revolution to the dim future — like some of the „orthodox“ used to do at one time,

for whom the final aim (Endziel) was but a beautiful dream.

Groups of Communist „statesmen“ are arising, who are arranging the order of revolutionary rotation: „Let such and such a country first accomplish a Soviet revolution, our turn will come next“, and so on. Against such „Communists“ we are going to conduct the most implacable warfare.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International considers that the Second Congress should make an attempt to draw up the Constitution of the International. In this matter, it is not the formal or written side that is important, but the essence of it. We must create an international Communist organisation corresponding to the spirit of the times, i. e. capable of practically conducting the struggle of the proletariat in all countries, the struggle which in the course of events is becoming more and more international.

According to our opinion, the Second Congress of the Communist International will have to order certain parties who have joined the Communist International to carry out absolutely all the necessary practical consequences inherent on this joining of the Communist International. We consider that all parties joining the Communist International must accept the program and tactics of the Communist International and change their name accordingly. This question is rather important. We desire that even the last most retrograde agricultural labourer, poor peasant or workwoman should see clearly the difference between the Communists, who stand up for the Proletarian Revolution, and the Social Democrats, who help the bourgeoisie to strangle the working class. Certainly the change of name alone will not mean anything, if the content is the same. But whoever has changed the character of his work, whoever has fully accepted the precepts of Communism, must also change the name of his Party.

We shall further have to claim from the parties joining the Communist International that they should eliminate from their ranks those Social Democrats who, although constituting the minority in the parties joining the Communist International, still remain members of such parties for the purpose of sabotage. We

may indicate as an example the Italian Party, which was the first to join the Communist International, and has rendered many services to the proletarian revolution. We quite agree with our Swiss comrade Humbert-Droz, who not long ago in a special article demanded the exclusion of Messrs. Turatti and Co. from the ranks of the Italian Party.

Turatti and his friends are determined opportunists, adherents of the Second International. The majority of the Italian Party shares the point of view of Communism. But at the same time Turatti remains a member of the Party and is formally a member of the Communist International. It is impossible to allow such a state of things. It would mean to continue the worst traditions of the Second International. It would mean for the sake of an outward show of unity, to allow within one's ranks such people, who in a decisive moment might betray the proletarian revolution. Who says A must say B. Whoever says, „I am joining the Communist International“, must know how to part once and for all with his own Social Democrats. Whoever joins the Communist International, not for the sake of following the fashion, not for the sake of conciliating the workers, not out of despicable „diplomacy“, must know how to carry out all the practical consequences of such an act.

Two worlds are standing face to face. Class against class! The proletariat against the bourgeoisie! The least ambiguity in such a situation is pregnant with the most ruinous results. For the slightest doctrinary-political or organisational mistake in such a situation, the proletariat will pay with thousands of victims. A clear program, simple tactical lines, precise forms of organisation—all these are absolutely necessary to the Communist International if it desires to carry out the great historical mission which it has taken upon itself.

The forthcoming Second Congress of the Communist International will be a general roll-call of the advanced workers of all the world before the coming decisive battles. The Communist workers must do all they can to enable the Second Congress to write into the history of the liberation movement of the proletariat the page it ought to write.

Kursk-Klarkov  
May 14th, 1920.







## Theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for The Second Congress of the Communist International.

### A. The Role of the Communist Party in the Workers' Revolution.

**T**HE first year of work of the Communist International was occupied chiefly in the propagation of Communist ideas. At present, just before the Second Congress, the International is entering upon a new phase. A period of organization and construction lies before us. Until now in different countries there have been only vague tendencies and ideas about Communism among the working people. But at present, in almost all the countries where there is a serious workers' movement, one may now perceive not only tendencies and influences, but Communist organizations and parties. This circumstance should persuade the Second Congress of the Communist International to take a perfectly clear and precise position on the question concerning the part to be played by the Communist Party before and after the moment when the power passes into the hands of the working class. Among some of the adherents of Communism (the „Left“ party in Germany, the I. W. W. in America, several groups of revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists) there exists a certain tendency to undervalue the work of the Communist Party, as such, and even a direct denial of the necessity of any Communist Party at all. This should serve as an additional motive for the Second Congress to answer the above question precisely and definitely.

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1. The Communist Party forms part of the working class; namely, its most advanced, most intelligent and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is created by selecting the best, most intelligent, most self-sacrificing and most farseeing workers. The Communist Party has no other interests but those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class, and at all the turns of the

road it endeavours to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but those of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class directs the whole mass of workers in the right direction.

2. As long as the governing power is not in the hands of the workers, as long as the proletariat has not consolidated its rule once for all and guaranteed the working classes from a return of the capitalist order, so long will the Communist Party as a rule have only a minority of the workmen in its ranks. Up to the time when the power will be in its grasp, and during the period of transition, the Communist Party may under favourable conditions enjoy an undisputed political influence over the working masses and the semi-proletarian class of the population; but it will not be able to organize and enroll them in its ranks. Only when the dictatorship of the workers has deprived the bourgeois elements of such powerful weapons as the press, the schools, parliament, church, the governing apparatus, etc, only when the final defeat of the capitalist order will become an evident fact — only after that will all or almost all the workers enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. A sharp distinction must be made between the conception of „party“ and „class“. The members of the „Christian“ and the Liberal trade unions of Germany, England and other countries are undoubtedly part of the working class. More or less considerable circles of working people, followers of Scheidemann, Gompers and C<sup>o</sup>, are also part of the working class. Owing to certain historical conditions, the working class has numerous reactionary groups and strata. The task of Communism is not to adapt itself to such retrograde specimens of the working class, but to raise the whole of it to the level of the Communist advance guard. The confounding of these two conceptions can only lead to the greatest mistakes and confusion.

Thus, for instance, it is clear that notwithstanding the frame of mind or prejudices of a certain part of the working masses during the imperialistic war, the workers' party was forced to act against such prejudices in defending the interests of the workers, which demanded from the workers' party a declaration of war against war.

Thus in the beginning of the Imperialistic war of 1914, the social-traitor parties of all countries, while upholding the capitalists of their „own“ countries, unanimously declared that such was the will of the people. They forgot at the same time that even if this were so, the duty of the workers' party would have been to go against such a frame of mind of the majority of the workers, and to defend the interests of the workers at whatever cost. At the very beginning of the XXth century the Russian Mensheviks (minimalists) of the time (the so-called „economists“), denied the possibility of an open political struggle against Tsarism, on the ground that the working class in general was not capable of understanding the meaning of a political struggle.

4. The Communist International is firmly convinced that the collapse of the old „Social Democratic“ parties of the Second International cannot be represented as the collapse of the proletarian party organisations in general. The period of the open struggle for the dictatorship of the workers has created a new party—the Communists.

5. The Communist International emphatically rejects the opinion that the workers could carry out a revolution without having an independent political party of their own. All class struggles are political ones. The object of such a struggle, which inevitably turns into a civil war, is the obtaining of political power. However, such a power cannot be acquired, organised and directed otherwise than by means of some political party. Only in case the workers have for their leader an organized and experienced party, with strictly defined objects, and a practically drawn up program of immediate action, both in internal and foreign policy—then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, but it will serve as starting point for a lasting Communist organisation of the workers.

The same class struggle demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the workers' movement be united in one central organisation. Labour unions, cooperative associations, cultural-educational work, elections, etc.). Only a political party can be such a

unifying and guiding centre. To refuse to create and strengthen such a party and submit to its dictates, would mean to abandon the idea of unity in the guidance of the separate proletarian groups operating on the different arenas of the fight. Lastly, the class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda, throwing light on the various stages of the fight from the same point of view, and directing the attention of the proletariat at each given moment to the definite tasks to be accomplished by the whole class. This cannot be done without the help of a centralised political apparatus, i. e., without a political party. Therefore the doctrine of the revolutionary syndicalists, and the partisans of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), against the necessity of an independent Workers' Party, as a matter of fact has only served and continues to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary „Social Democrats“. In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the syndicalists and industrialists desire to replace by the labour unions alone, or by shapeless indefinite „general“ workers' unions, they approach the opportunists. After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labour Congress, which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class: all kinds of „Labourites“ of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among the workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and industrialists desire to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but they do not know how to do it. They do not see that the working class without an independent political party is like a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, musty counter-revolutionary ideology of the Second International. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, they are a step backwards. The declaration of the „Left“ Communists of Germany (in the program-declaration of their Constituent Congress in April) to the effect that they are forming a party but not one in the traditional sense of the word („Kein Partei im überlieferten Sinne“)—is a capitulation before the views of Syndicalism and industrialism which are reactionary ones.

6. The Communists fully approve of the formation of the most widely various workers' organisations, not belonging to any particular political party. They consider it their most important task to carry on the work of organisation and instruction within such organisations. But in order that their efforts should bring forth the desired results, and that such organisations should not become the prey of opponents of the revolutionary proletariat, the most advanced Communist workers should always have their own independent closely united Communist Party, working in an organised manner, and standing up for the general interests of Communism at each turn of events and under every form of the movement.

7. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers' organisations which belong to no party, even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature (yellow unions, Christian Associations, etc.). The Communist Party carries on its work inside such organisations, and untiringly instructs the workers, and proves to them that the idea of no political party as a principle is consciously cultivated among the workers by the bourgeoisie and its adherents, with the object of keeping the proletariat from an organised struggle for Socialism.

8. The old classical division of the labour movement into three forms (party, labour unions and cooperatives) has evidently served its time. The proletarian revolution in Russia has brought forward the fundamental form of the workers' dictatorship—the Soviets. But the party of the proletariat, that is to say, the Communist Party, must constantly and systematically direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionised industrial unions.

Those who propose to the Communist Party to „conform“ to the Soviets, those who perceive in such „conformation“ a strengthening of the „proletarian nature“ of the party, are rendering a bad service both to the Party and to the Soviets, and do not understand the importance of the Party, nor that of the Soviets. The stronger the Communist Party in each country, the sooner will the Soviet idea triumph. Many „independent“ and even „right“ Socialists profess to believe in the Soviet idea. But we can prevent such elements from distorting this idea, only if there exists a strong Communist Party capable of determining the policy of the Soviets and making them follow it.

9. The Communist Party is necessary to the working class not only before it has acquired power, not only while it is acquiring such power,

but also after the power has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party, for three years at the head of such a vast country, shows that the rôle of the party after the acquisition of power by the working class has not only not diminished, but on the contrary, has greatly increased.

10. On the morrow of the acquisition of power by the proletariat, its party still remained, as formerly, a part of the working class. But it was just that part of the class which organised the victory. During twenty years in Russia—thirteen years in Germany—the Communist Party, in its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against those Socialists who are the transmitters of bourgeois ideas among the proletariat, has enrolled in its ranks the staunchest, most farseeing and most advanced fighters of the working class. Only by having such a closely united organisation of the best part of the working class was it possible for the party to overcome all the difficulties which arose before the proletarian dictatorship in the days following the victory. The organisation of a new proletarian Red Army, the practical abolition of the bourgeois governing apparatus, and the building in its place of the framework of a new proletarian state apparatus, the struggle against the narrow craft tendencies of certain separate groups of workers, the struggle against local and provincial „patriotism“, clearing the way for the creation of a new labour discipline—in all these undertakings the final decisive word was said by the Communist Party, whose members were a living example to the majority of the workers of the way they should follow.

11. The necessity of a political party for the proletariat can cease only with a complete suppression of classes. On the way to this final victory of Communism it is possible that the relative importance of the three fundamental proletarian organisations of modern times (party, soviets and industrial unions), shall undergo some changes, and that gradually a single type of workers' organisation will be formed. The Communist Party, however, will become absorbed in the working class only when Communism ceases to be the object of struggle, and the whole working class shall be Communists.

12. The Second Congress of the Communist International must not only serve to affirm the historical mission of the Communist Party in general, but it must indicate to the international proletariat, in rough draft, what kind of Communist Party is needed.

13. The Communist International assumes that especially during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party should be organised on the basis of a severe proletarian centralism. In order to direct the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party in its successful leadership of the civil war of the working class during three years, has proved that the victory of the workers is impossible without a severe discipline, a perfected centralisation and the fullest confidence of all the organisations of the party in the leading organ of the party.

14. The Communist Party should be based on the principle of democratic centralisation. The chief principle of the latter is the elective nature of the lowest unit, the absolute authority of all the decisions of a higher unit upon the one immediately beneath, and a strong party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of party life between party conventions.

15. In view of the state of siege introduced by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, a whole series of Communist Parties in Europe and America are compelled to exist illegally. It must be remembered that under such conditions it may become necessary sometimes temporarily to deviate from the strict observance of the elective principle, and to delegate to the leading party organisations the right of cooptation, as was done in Russia at one time. Under the state of siege the Communist Party cannot have recourse to a democratic referendum among all the members of the Party (as was proposed by part of the American Communists) but on the contrary it should empower its leading central organ to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all the members of the party.

16. The doctrine of a wide „autonomy“ for the separate local organisations of the party at the present moment only weakens the ranks of the Communist Party, undermines its working capacity and aids the development of petty-bourgeois, anarchistic, centrifugal tendencies.

17. In countries where the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, the Communist Party must learn to unite systematically the legal with the illegal work; but all legal work must be carried on under the practical control of the illegal party. The parliamentary groups of

Communists, both in the central as well as in the local government institutions, must be fully and absolutely subject to the Communist Party in general, irrespective of whether the party on the whole be a legal or an illegal organisation at the moment. Any delegate who in one form or another does not submit absolutely to the party shall be expelled from the ranks of Communism.

The legal press (newspapers, publications) must be unconditionally and fully subject to the party in general and to its Central Committee. No concessions are admissible in this respect.

18. The fundamental principle of all organisational work of the Communist Party and individual Communists must be the creation of a Communist nucleus everywhere where they find proletarians and semi-proletarians — although even in small numbers. In every Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in every labour union, every cooperative institution, workshop, house committee, in every government institution, everywhere, even though there may be only three people sympathising with Communism, a Communist nucleus must be immediately organised. It is only the power of organisation of the Communists that enables the advance guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class. Communist nuclei working in organisations adhering to no political party must be subject to the party organisations in general, whether the party itself is working legally or illegally at the given moment. Communist nuclei of all kinds must be subordinate one to another in a strictly hierarchical order and system.

19. The Communist Party almost always begins its work as a party of theory among the industrial workers residing for the most part in cities. For the easier and more rapid victory of the working class it is necessary that the party should also work in the country, in the villages. The Communist party must carry out its propaganda and organisation work among the agricultural labourers and the poorer farmers. It must especially endeavour to organise Communist nuclei in the rural districts.

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The international organisation of the proletariat will be strong only if in all the countries where the Communists are living and working these conditions of party organisation and activity are accepted. The Communist International invites to its Congress all labour unions which recognise the principles of the Third International and are ready to break with the yellow Interna-

tional. The Communist International intends to organise an international section composed of the red labour unions which recognise the principles of Communism. The Communist International will not refuse to cooperate with purely nonpolitical workers' organisations desirous of carrying on a serious revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But at the same time the Communist International will never cease to repeat to the workers of all the world:

1. The Communist International is the chief and essential instrument for the liberation of the working class. In each country there must now be not only Communist groups, or tendencies, but—a Communist Party.

2. In every country there must be only one Communist Party.

3. The Communist Party must be founded on the principle of the strictest centralisation, and during the period of civil war it must introduce military discipline in its ranks.

4. In every place where there are a dozen proletarians or semi-proletarians, the Communist Party must have an organised nucleus.

5. In each nonpolitical organisation there must be a Communist nucleus strictly subordinate to the Party in general.

6. While firmly and faithfully supporting the program and revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be closely united with the most widely spreading workers' organisations and beware of sectarianism as much as of lack of principle.

The work in the Soviets as well as in the revolutionary industrial unions must invariably and systematically be guided by the party of the proletariat, i. e., the Communist Party. The organised advance guard of the working class, the Communist Party, serves in the same degree the interests of the economic, political and industrial struggle of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party must be the soul of all industrial unions and Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and all other forms of workers' organisations.

The formation of the Soviets as the chief historically-created form of proletarian dictatorship, does not diminish in the least the leading rôle of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. When the German „Left“ Communists (see the address of their party to the „German Proletariat“, April 14th, 1920, signed „Communist Labour Party of Germany“) declared that „the Communist Party must also adapt itself more and more to the idea of Soviets and acquire a proletarian aspect“ („Wird gefordert, dass auch die Partei sich immer mehr dem Räte-

gedanken anpasst und proletarischen Charakter annimmt“ — Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung, № 54)—this is only an obscure expression of the idea that the Communist Party must become dissolved in the Soviets and that the latter may be the substitute for the party.

Such an idea is deeply erroneous and reactionary.

In the history of the Russian revolution we have seen a whole period of time, during which the Soviets went against the workers' party and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same is to be noticed in Germany, and may be the case in other countries also. On the contrary, in order that the Soviets may accomplish their historic mission, the existence of a powerful Communist Party is absolutely necessary, so that it should be able not to „adapt itself“ simply to the Soviets, but to exercise an influence on their policy in a decisive manner, to compel them to refuse to „conform“ to the bourgeoisie and White Guard Social Democrats.

## B. The Communist Parties and the question of Parliamentarism.

1. In many countries of Western Europe and America one of the most acute questions of Communist tactics is that of Parliamentarism. The division in the German Communist Party, the formation of an anti-parliamentary fraction in the Italian party, the position of the Belgian Communist group, and lastly, the attitude of the revolutionary Syndicalist circles and the I. W. W.—all these demand precise and definite directions on this question from the Communist International.

### I.

2. Parliamentarism, as a State system, is a „democratic“ form of the rule of the bourgeoisie, which at a certain stage of its development needs the fiction of a national representation, that outwardly would be an organisation of the will of all the classes, but in reality would be an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists.

3. Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognises neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.

4. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of *proletarian* government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie

and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the class struggle turns into civil war the proletariat must inevitably form its organisation as a fighting organisation, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes; all fictions of a „national will“ are harmful to the proletariat at the time, and a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it; the only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

5. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical.

6. The same relates to the communal institutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to consider as State organisations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

7. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments: its aim is to *destroy* parliamentarism. *Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilising the bourgeois state organisations with the object of destroying them.* The question can only and *exclusively* be discussed on such a plane.

## II.

8. Every class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads through the whole country, is a threat to the bourgeois State and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to *destroy* its State by any means whatever, means to carry on political warfare. To create one's own *class* apparatus — for the management and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie — whatever such an apparatus may be — means to gain political power.

9. Consequently, the question of a political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It

is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, in so far as the struggle grows from a small and private one to a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalistic order.

10. The elementary method of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of bourgeoisie, is first of all the method of demonstrations *en masse*. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by organised masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined centralised Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to command all the operations during all the stages of the fight.

11. The struggle in masses means a whole system of developing demonstrations, growing ever more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the directing party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure all and every lawful position, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the struggle *en masse*.

12. One of such auxiliary supports is the tribune of the bourgeois parliament. Against participation in a political party struggle one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution.

The Communist party enters such institution not for the purpose of organisation work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the „Democratic Conference“, in the „Pre-parliament“ of Kerensky, and lastly, in the „Constituent Assembly“, and also in the Municipal Dumas).

13. This work within the parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune, the denunciation of enemies, the ideological uniting of the masses, etc., must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments.

14. The following conditions are indispensable: 1) The absence of all „autonomy“ for the parliamentary Communist groups, and their unconditional subordination to the Central Committee of the Party; 2) Constant control and direction by the Party Executive Committee; 3) The adaptation of parliamentary demonstrations to those going on outside the parl-

liament; 4) Revolutionary attitude in the parliament, i. e., the absence of all „principled“ fear of overstepping the limits of parliamentary regulations; 5) The execution of part of the work outside the parliament, especially in connection with the mass demonstrations, by the Communist members of the parliament; 6) To be in constant touch with the illegal work and to profit by parliamentary immunity, as far as it exists, for these purposes; 7) An immediate remand or exclusion from the Party of any member of the parliamentary group who violates in his parliamentary work any of the orders of the Party.

15. The elective campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilisation of the masses around the mottoes of the Proletarian Revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the demonstrations of masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the given moment; it is necessary to summon all the masses of the proletarian organisations to active work.

16. In complying with all these conditions the parliamentary work must present a contrast to the dirty „politics“ which is practised by the Social Democratic parties of all countries, who enter parliament with the object of supporting that „democratic“ institution, or at the best to „win it over“. The Communist Party can only recommend a revolutionary use of the parliament, exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Höglund and the Bolsheviks.

### III.

17. „Antiparliamentarism“, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot therefore bear criticism, and is a naïve childish doctrine which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite erroneous representation of the role of the Party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralised advanced guard of the workers, but as a decentralised system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei!

18. On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work does in no wise lead to an absolute, in-all-and-any-case acknowledgement of the necessity of concrete elections and a concrete participation in parliamentary sessions. The matter depends upon a series of specific conditions. In certain combinations it may become necessary to leave the parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left the Pre-parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviet, which was then prepared to head the uprising; they acted in the same way in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, transferring the meeting to the Third Congress of Soviets. In other circumstances a boycotting of the elections may be necessary, and a direct violent storming of the parliamentary bourgeois clique, or a participation in the elections with a boycott of the parliament itself, etc.

19. In this way, while recognising as a general rule the necessity of participating in the elections to the central parliament, and to the institutions of local selfgovernment, as well as in the work in such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given moment. Boycotting the elections or the parliament, or leaving the parliament, is allowable, chiefly when there is a chance of an immediate transformation into an armed fight for the power.

20. At the same time one must constantly bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the center of gravity lies in a struggle for the power *outside* the parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship and a fight *in masses* for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using the parliament.

21. Therefore the Communist International insists categorically that it considers any division or attempt at a division within the Communist Parties united on this aim as a crime against the Labour movement. The Congress calls upon all the elements which are in favour of the struggle in masses for the proletarian dictatorship, under the direction of a centralised Party of the revolutionary proletariat gaining influence over all the mass-organisations of the working class—to strive for a complete unity between the Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of parliamentarism.





## DRAFT OF INSTRUCTION

By G. Zinoviev

**To Communist members of the bourgeois parliaments and to the Central Committees of Communist Parties, whose duty it is to direct the Communist factions of the bourgeois parliaments.**

### **Annex to Theses on Parliamentarism.**

**T**HE opposition to the Communists entering the bourgeois parliaments is sustained mostly by the remembrance of Social Democratic parliamentarism during the epoch of the Second International. The conduct of the majority of the Social Democratic members in the bourgeois parliament was really so unprincipled and frequently treacherous, that this bitter experience cannot be forgotten by the working class.

That is why it is necessary for the Communist International, which has in the interests of the revolution advocated the utilisation of the parliamentary tribune by the Communists, to observe very strictly the activity of the Communist members and to take all measures to create a new type of parliamentarian—revolutionary parliamentarian Communist warrior.

To this end it is necessary that:

1) The Communist Party in general and its Central Committee should during the preparatory stage, before the parliamentary elections—inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary factions. The Central Committee should be responsible for the parliamentary faction of Communists. The Central Committee shall have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organisation, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy when in parliament.

The Communist Parties must desist from the old Social Democratic habit of electing as delegates only the so-called „experienced“ parliamentarians, chiefly lawyers and so on. As a rule workmen should be put forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that these may sometimes be simple rank-and-file workmen without much parliamentary experience. The Communist Party must treat with merciless

contempt all elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before the elections in order to get into parliament. The Central Committees of Communist Parties must sanction the candidature of only such men who by long years of work have proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2) When the elections are over, the organisations of the parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a lawful or illegal one at the given moment. The chairman and the presidium of the parliamentary faction of Communists must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary faction with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary faction shall ask for preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in the parliament the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the theses of his speech or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate, entered in the list of the Communists, must sign a paper to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party, he shall be bound to give up his mandate, so that the party might obtain re-elections.

3) In countries where reformist, semi-reformist or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary faction of the Communists (as this has already happened in several places) the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound to radically weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist



faction, than a numerous one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4) A Communist delegate by decision of the Central Committee is bound to combine lawful work with illegal work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilised by way of rendering assistance to the illegal organisation and for the propaganda of the Party.

5) The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside the parliament. The regular proposal of demonstrative law-projects, not for them to be passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation and organisation, must be carried on under the directions of the Party and its Central Committee.

6) In the event of labour demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements, the Communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7) The Communist members must enter into relations (under the control of the Party), either by writing or otherwise, with the revolutionary workmen, peasants and other workers, and not resemble in this respect the Social Democratic members, who try to enter into business relations with their constituents.

8) Each Communist member must remember that he is not a „legislator“, who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the

Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the dispersed mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or illegal.

9) The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman, shepherd; so that the Party might publish his speeches on sheets of paper and spread them in the most remote villages of the country.

10) The rank and file worker Communists must not be shy of speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need the workmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech might be printed afterwards in the papers or on sheets.

11) The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social-patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and for the propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

12) The Communist delegates, even though there should be only one or two of them in the parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only such are worthy of the name of Communists—who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkeys.





# Preliminary Draft of some Theses on the National and Colonial Questions

For the Second Congress of the Communist International

By N. Lenin

**T**HE abstract or formal raising of the question of equality in general, including national equality, is inherent in bourgeois democracy by its very nature. Under the aspect of equality of human beings in general bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or juridical equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, the employer and the employed to the great deception of the oppressed classes. This idea of equality, which is a reflection of the relations of industrial production, is transformed by the bourgeoisie into an instrument of struggle against the abolition of classes on the pretext of an absolute equality among human beings. A real demand for equality can be expressed only by a demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its task of a struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and hypocrisy, the Communist Party, as the conscious leader of the struggle of the proletariat to cast off the yoke, must in the national question also consider chiefly not the abstract and formal principles, but, first, make a precise record of the historical and first of all the economical conditions of a people; second, it must distinctly separate the interests of the oppressed classes, the worker, the employed, from the general conception of national interests as a whole, which only mean the interests of the ruling class; third, it must make a similar clear separation of the oppressed-dependent nations not possessing equal rights with other nations, from the oppressing and ruling sovereign nations, as a counterweight to bourgeois-democratic lies, which screen the colonial and financial enslavement of a tremendous majority of the earth's population, by an insignificant minority of the richest and most intellectually advanced capitalist countries, such enslavement being inherent in the epoch of capitalism and imperialism.

3. The imperialistic war of 1914-1918 has shown with especial clearness to all the nations and oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois-democratic phrases, practically proving that the treaty of Versailles of the illustrious "western democracies" is a still more barbarous and base violation of the weaker nations than the Brest-Litovsk treaty of the junkers and the Kaiser. The League of Nations and the entire post-war policy of the Entente demonstrate this truth even more sharply and clearly, strengthening everywhere the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the advanced countries, and the worker masses of the colonial and dependent countries, and accelerating the dissipation of all bourgeois-national illusions regarding the possibility of a peaceful existence and the equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the above fundamental propositions that the cornerstone of the Communist International's

national and colonial policy must be the uniting of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries in a joint revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Only such a union can guarantee the victory over capitalism without which it is impossible to suppress national inequality and oppression.

5. The world political situation has placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day, and all the events of international politics are inevitably concentrated around one central point, namely, the warfare of the world bourgeoisie against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself on the one hand the Soviet movements of the advanced workmen of all countries, and on the other hand all the national-liberation movements of the colonies and the oppressed nationalities, which have passed through a bitter experience and see that there is no help for them except in the victory of the Soviet power over world imperialism.

6. Consequently at the present moment one cannot stop at a simple recognition or proclamation of the necessity for a union between the workers of different nations, but it is necessary to carry out a policy for a close union between all the national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, determining the form of such union in conformity with the development of the Communist movement among the proletarians of each country, or the bourgeois-democrat liberation movement of the workmen and peasants in the retrograde countries, and among the backward nationalities.

7. Federation is the transitional form towards a complete union of the workers of different countries. Federation has proved its efficiency in practice in respect to the relations between the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and other Soviet republics (Hungary, Finland, Latvia, in the past, and Aserbeidjan, Ukraine at present), as well as inside the R. S. F. S. R. in respect to nationalities which had neither a separate state order nor autonomy (for instance, the Bashkir and the Tartar autonomous republics within the R. S. F. S. R., created in 1919 and 1920).

8. The duty of the Communist International in this respect consists in the further development and in study and verification by experience of these new federations, arising outside the Soviet order and Soviet movement. Acknowledging federation as a transition form towards a complete union, it is necessary to make efforts to attain a closer federative union, bearing in view, first, the impossibility of defending the existence of Soviet Republics, surrounded by the imperialistic countries of the whole world, incomparably stronger in military power, without a close union of all the Soviet Republics; second, the neces-

sity of a close economic union of Soviet Republics, without which the restoration of the productive forces destroyed by imperialism, and the guaranteeing of the well-being of the workers, is irrealisable; third, the tendency towards the creation of a single economic management regulated on a general plan by the proletariat of all nations, as a whole; this tendency visibly manifested itself already under the capitalist order, and undoubtedly deserves further development and final perfection under Socialism.

9. In respect to internal state relations, the national policy of the Communist International cannot be limited by the simply formal, purely declarative and in no wise binding recognition of the equality of nations, like that of the bourgeois-democrats—either calling themselves such openly, or passing under the name of Socialists like the Socialists of the Second International.

Not only in the whole propaganda activity of the Communist Party—both in the parliaments and out of them—must the constant violations of the rights of nations and guarantees of rights of nationalist minorities occurring in all the capitalist states, notwithstanding their “democratic” constitutions, be infallibly denounced, but it is necessary also, *first*, to explain constantly that the Soviet order can alone be in a position to establish the equality of nations, uniting first the proletarians, and afterward the whole mass of workers, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; *second*, all the Communist Parties must render a direct assistance to the revolutionary movements of the dependent or subordinated nations (for instance, in Ireland, to the negroes in America, etc.), and in the colonies.

Without this last and specially important condition, the struggle against the oppression of the dependent nations and colonies, and likewise the recognition of their rights to a separate existence as states, is only a deceitful signboard, such as we see in the parties of the Second International.

10. The recognition of internationalism verbally and its substitution in practice, in all the propaganda, canvassing and other practical work by petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism, constitute a habitual occurrence not only among the parties of the Second International but among those who have left it, and even frequently among such who now call themselves Communists. The struggle against this evil, against the more deeprooted petty bourgeois-national prejudices, becomes of paramount importance the more pressing the necessity becomes to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national basis (i. e. in one country only, not capable of exercising an influence over world politics) into an international one, a dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries, capable of exercising a decisive influence over world politics. Petty bourgeois nationalism declares that internationalism is a recognition of the equality of the rights of nations and nothing else, preserving (without mentioning the purely verbal nature of such a declaration) intact all national egoism; whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of such struggle on a world scale; secondly, the capacity and readiness on the part of a nation realising a victory over the bourgeoisie to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism.

Thus in the countries of the capitalist order, without labour parties representing really the advance guard of the proletariat, the struggle against the opportunist and

bourgeois-pacifist perversions of the idea and policy of internationalism, is the first and most important duty.

11. In respect to the more backward countries and nations with prevailing feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations, it is necessary to bear in mind especially:

(a) The necessity for all Communist parties to render assistance to the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in such countries; especially this duty falls to the lot of the workers of such countries upon which the backward nation depends, colonially or financially;

(b) The necessity of a struggle against the clergy and other reactionary and mediaeval influences possessing an influence in such backward countries;

(c) The necessity of a struggle against Pan-Islamism and such tendencies, which strive to unite the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with a strengthening of the position of the khans, landowners, moolahs, etc.

(d) The necessity of supporting the peasant movement in backward countries against the landowners, against the possession of large estates, against all customs and remnants of feudalism, and of striving to give the peasant movement a revolutionary nature, bringing about a closer union between the West European Communist proletariat and the revolutionary movement of the peasants in the east, the colonies and in the backward countries in general;

(e) The necessity of a decisive struggle against the tendency to dress up the bourgeois-democratic liberation tendencies in the backward countries in the colours of Communism; the Communist International must support the bourgeois-democratic national movements in the colonies and backward countries only on the condition that the elements of the future proletarian parties, Communist in name only, should be grouped and educated in the knowledge of their special tasks—those of a struggle against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their nation; the Communist International may enter into a temporary union with the bourgeois-democracy of colonies and backward countries, but not intermingle with it, and invariably preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most primitive form;

(f) The necessity of an ever-constant explanation and denunciation among the working masses of all countries, and especially all backward countries, of the deceit which is systematically practised by the imperialistic powers; which, under the pretext of creating politically independent nations, really create countries completely depending on them economically, financially and in a military respect; under the present international conditions there is no other help for dependent and weak nations than a union of Soviet Republics.

12. The century-long oppression exercised over the colonial and weaker nationalities by the imperialistic powers has left in the worker masses of the oppressed countries not only a bad feeling but a mistrust towards the oppressors in general, including the proletariat of such nations. The base betrayal of Socialism by the majority of the official leaders of this proletariat in 1914-1918, when, under the term “defense of the fatherland,” the social-chauvinists concealed the defense of the “rights” of their “own” bourgeoisie to oppress and rob the colonies and financially dependent countries, could not but strengthen this perfectly just mistrust. On the other hand, the more backward a country is, the stronger developed is its small agricultural production, its patriarchal and provincialism inevitably reinforcing the special

strength and stubbornness of the deepest of petty bourgeois prejudices, namely, national egoism and national narrowmindedness. As such prejudices can only disappear with the disappearance of imperialism and capitalism in the more advanced countries, and after a radical change in the whole basis of the economic life of the backward countries, the dying out of such prejudices cannot but proceed very slowly. Hence, the duty of the communist proletariat in all countries is to deal very care-

fully and attentively with such survivals of national feeling in the longer oppressed countries and nationalities, likewise to make even certain concessions for the purpose of a more rapid conquest of the above-mentioned mistrust and prejudices. Without a voluntary striving after union and unity on the part of the proletariat, and of all the worker masses of all countries and nations of the whole world, the victory over capitalism cannot be successfully brought about.





## When and Under What Conditions Soviets of Workers' Deputies Should Be Formed

Theses by G. Zinoviev

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a moment when the revolutionary movement of Russian workmen was at its height. Already in 1905 the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive steps towards a seizure of the power. And at that time the Petrograd Soviet was strong only as far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the Labour movement slackened, the Soviet, after a short vegetation, ceased to exist.

2. When in 1905, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia regarding the immediate organisation of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik party warned the workmen against the immediate formation of the Soviets, and pointed out that such a formation would be well-timed only at the moment when the revolution would have already begun and when the turn would have come for the direct struggle for the power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the popular masses and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blows, and when the social traitors, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its hands, the importance of the Soviets began to dwindle. Only after the July days and after the ill-success of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the wider popular masses began to move, and when the threat of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois coalition government came quite near, then the Soviets began to flourish again; and

they soon acquired a prominent importance in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same. When the popular masses revolted, when the revolutionary wave rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the monarchies of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs, in Germany and in Austria the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were formed with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become practically the power. But owing to a whole series of historical conditions, as soon as the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats then the Soviets began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp-Lüttwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity, but when the struggle ended again in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to revive, once more died away.

5. The above facts prove that for the formation of Soviets certain definite premises are necessary. To organise Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and transform them into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the following conditions are necessary:

a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circles of workmen and workwomen, the soldiers and the workers in general.

b) The acuteness of a political economical crisis attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the government;

c) When in the ranks of considerable masses of the workmen and first of all when in the ranks of the Communist Party a serious decision to begin a systematic and regular struggle for the power has become ripe.

6. In the absence of these conditions the Communists may and should systematically and insistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popu-

larise it among the masses, demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets are the only efficient form of Government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to a direct organisation of Soviets in the absence of the above three conditions is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social traitors in Germany to introduce the Soviets into the general bourgeois-democratic constitutional system, is treason to the workers' cause and deceit of the workmen. Real Soviets are possible only as a form of state organisation, relieving bourgeois democracy, breaking it up and replacing it by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the right leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky and others), proving the compatibility of the „Soviet system“ with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete misunderstanding of the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the working class with that of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The propaganda of some representatives of the Left Independents in Germany presenting the workers with a ready-made, literary plan of a „Soviet system“, which has no relation whatever to the concrete process of the civil war is a doctrinary pastime which draws the workers away from their essential tasks of the real struggle for power.

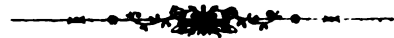
10. The attempts of separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America, England to

form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses and unable therefore to enter into a direct struggle for the power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial hot-house „Soviets“ soon become transformed in the best of cases into small associations for propaganda of the idea of a Soviet power, and in the worst case such miserable „Soviets“ are capable only of compromising the idea of the power of Soviets“ in the eyes of the popular masses.

11. At the present time there exists a special condition in Austria, where the working class has succeeded in preserving its Soviets, which unite large masses of workers. Here the situation resembles the period between February and October 1917 in Russia. The Soviets in Austria represent a considerable political force, and appear to be the embryo of a new power.

It must be understood that in such a situation the Communists ought to participate in these Soviets, help the Soviets to penetrate into all phases of the social economic and political life of the country; they should create Communist factions within these Soviets, and by all means aid their development.

12. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of the power of Soviets should deal cautiously with the idea of Soviets, and while indefatigably propagating it among the masses, proceed to the direct realisation of such Soviets only under the conditions mentioned above.





## **Theses of the Executive Committee**

### **on the agrarian question.**

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the labouring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and from war, if they shut themselves within their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a „labour aristocracy“, which forms the basis the would-be Parties of the Second International, being in fact the worse enemies of socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie within the Labour movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the country, without making the labouring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of the town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The labouring and exploited masses in the country which the town proletariat must lead on to the fight, or at the least win over on its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following classes:

In the first place by the agricultural proletariat, the hired labourers (by the year, by the

job, by the day) making their living by wage labour in capitalistic agricultural establishments. The independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, professional, cooperative, educational sense) an energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat—such is the fundamental task of the Communist Parties in all countries.

In the second place the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for his family. This class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalistic countries, but its existence and its peculiar position is hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow „Socialists“ affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the „peasantry“. Such a method of bourgeois deceit of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organised, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, and the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring them being enormous and immediate.

In the third place the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by the right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labour. This part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation



from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance the metayers in France, the same arrangement in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates. b) Abolition of all mortgages. c) Abolition of many forms of pressure and dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use etc.). d) Immediate help for the farming from the proletarian power (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and partly the buildings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural cooperatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for support of the poor peasantry, that is to say the proletarians, semi-proletarians, the small peasants), etc.

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the transitional period leading from capitalism to Communism, i. e. during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favour of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralised by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy, and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants, the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All the three groups of the agrarian population taken together constitute its majority in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the towns but in the country as well. The contrary view is very widely spread, but it holds only by a systematic cheating on the part of bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated and the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, as well as the half-proletarians and small peasants on one hand, and the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the heroes affiliated to the yellow Second International and the „labour aristocracy“, demoralised by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work for the benefit of the prole-

tarian revolution, organizing work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see about these classes further down) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view holds by the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices), the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxian theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above, being extremely oppressed, parceled and doomed to live in half-savage conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will firmly support the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat had taken hold of the political power, after it had done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses will be able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

4. The „middle peasantry“ consists in the economic sense of small landowners who possess, according to the right of ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may 1) yield usually under capitalist rule not only a scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also a possibility to get a certain surplus which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) to need to employ (for instance in a family of two or three members) wage labour. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country we may take in Germany, according to the registration of 1907, a group with farms tilling from five to ten acres and in which farms the number of hired agricultural labourers makes about a third of the whole number of farms in this group <sup>1)</sup>. In France, the country of a greater

<sup>1)</sup> These are the exact figures: number of farms from 5—10 acres 52,798 (out of 5,736,082); they have all sorts of hired workers, 427,704— the number of workers with their families (Familienangehörige) being 2,013,633. In Austria, according to the registration of 1910 there were 383,351 farms in this group, 126,136 of them employing hired labour; 146,044 hired workers, 1,215,969 workers with their families. The total number of farms in Austria amounts to 2,856,349.



development of special cultures, for instance the vine-yards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labour probably in a somewhat larger proportion.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot make it its object, at least for the nearest future, and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. It will be sufficient to neutralise it—to make it take a neutral position in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The hesitations of this class in siding with one or the other force are inevitable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its preponderant tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be to side with the bourgeoisie. The ideas and feelings of the possessing class are those prevailing in these countries. This leads to a direct interest in profit-hunting, in „free“ trade and private property, and to an antagonistic attitude toward the hired workers. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the position of this class by doing away with rent and by the abolition of mortgages. The proletarian power should by no means abolish at once private property in most of the capitalist countries, but it will at least not only secure to the small and the middle peasantry the ownership of their portions of land but enlarge these portions, giving the peasants the ownership of the whole area they used to rent (abolition of rent payment).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralisation policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

5. The landed peasants (Grossbauern) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their land usually with several hired labourers. They are connected with the „peasantry“ only by their rather low standing of culture, their way of living, their personal manual work on their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and a decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the communist parties in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the labouring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns this class will inevitably oppose it by all means from sabotage to open armed counter-

revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must therefore immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry the proletariat must deal a relentless crushing blow to this class. In view of that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize councils in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material and further of the social conditions necessary for the socialisation of such land. In some probably exceptional cases parts of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the surrounding small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave to the landed peasants their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the power of the labouring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and very long because of a series of particular circumstances, has nevertheless shown that this class has been at least taught what it costs to make the least attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the ends of the proletarian State. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the power which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The special conditions which have complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist chiefly in the fact that after the coup d'état of October 25—November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of „generally democratic“, actually bourgeois democratic struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there was further the low standard of living and scarcity of the city proletariat, and finally the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. As far as these adverse conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy

and carry out a much quicker and more complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of the least possibility to resist. This is of the utmost need, considering that until such a complete, absolute victory is won, the masses of the rural proletariat, the semi-proletarians and the small peasants will not acknowledge the stability of the proletarian State power.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of all the estates of the landowners and the big landlords, that is of all those who systematically employ wage labour, directly or through their tenants, exploit all the small (and partly sometimes the middle) peasantry in their neighbourhood, do not share in the manual work and are mostly the descendants of the feudal class (the nobility in Russia, Germany, Hungary, the restored seigneurs in France, the lords in England, the former slave-owners in America) or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of these two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the ranks of the communist parties in favour of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean a treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the labouring and exploited masses, who have already suffered most from the war—which has increased the number of millionaires and multiplied their wealth.

In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large landed property, the prevailing practice in Russia, because of economic backwardness, was that of a partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and comparatively rare exceptions were the preservation of the so-called „Soviet Farm“, managed by the proletarian State at its expense, and transforming the former wage labourers into workers employed by the State, and into members of the councils managing these Farms. In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the „Soviet Farms“ in Russia.

But it would be the greatest mistake to exaggerate or to standardize this rule, and never to admit the free gift of a part of the land expropriated from the neighbourhood.

In the first place, the usual reason against it, pointing to the technical advantage of the big farming, amounts very often to a substitution of the worst opportunism to an undeniable theoretical truth, which is treason to the revolution. The proletariat has no right, whenever the success of the revolution is at stake, to halt because of a temporary decrease of production, just as the bourgeois enemies of slave ownership in North America did not halt because of the temporary falling off of the cotton industry as a result of the civil war of 1863—1866. The bourgeoisie cares only for industrial production as such, whereas the working and exploited population is chiefly concerned with the overthrow of the exploiters and the securing of conditions which would give a chance to the workers to work for their own benefit, and not the benefit of the capitalist. To secure the victory of the proletariat and its stability, is the first and the fundamental task of the proletariat. And there is no safeguard of this stability possible without the neutralisation of the middle peasantry, and without securing the support of a large part if not of the whole mass of the small peasantry.

In the second place not only the enlargement but even the preservation of large production in agriculture requires a fully developed country proletariat with a ripe revolutionary consciousness, a thorough professional training and an experience in political organization. Whenever such conditions are not available and there is no possibility to entrust the work to conscious and competent workers, all experiments of a hasty transition to the management by the State of large farming establishments would only compromise the proletarian power. The organization of „Soviet Farms“ requires an extreme care and a solid preparation.

In the third place all capitalist countries, even the most advanced, have still some remnants extant of medieval forms of semi-servitude, exploiting the small peasants of the neighbourhood for the benefit of the owners of large estates, as for example the „in-leute“ in Germany, the „metayers“ in France, the farmers paying the rent out of the profits in the United States (not only the negroes are being exploited in the southern states in this particular way, but also the whites). In such cases the proletarian state must transfer the land rented by small peasants to the former farmers for their free use, as there is no other economic and technical base, and it can not be created all of a sudden.

If just at first after the proletarian coup d'état the immediate confiscation of the big esta-

tes becomes absolutely necessary, and moreover also the banishment or the internement of all land-owners as leaders of the counter revolution and relentless oppressors of the whole country population, the proletarian power, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizational gifts, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable communist workers) to organize the gross agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism will be definitely at the time when the proletarian State power after having definitely subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself a complete and full will reorganize the whole industry on the base of gross collective production and a new technical base (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such a radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create a material base for an enormous increase of the productivity of agricultural and the general farming work, and will incite the small farmers by the force of example and the care for their own profit to pass to the gross collective machine agriculture. This undeniable theoretical truth, nominally acknowledged by all Socialists, is in fact being distorted by the opportunism prevailing in the yellow, Second International and among the leaders of the German and the English „Independents“, as well as the French Longuetists, etc. The distortion consists in turning the attention to a comparatively distant and beautifully rosy future, driving it away from the immediate problems of the present hard transition and the preparation for this future. In practice this amounts to the preaching of a conciliation with the bourgeoisie and „social peace“, that is to say of complete treason to the cause of the proletariat struggling now under conditions of unheard-of destruction and pauperization created all over the world by the war and in the face of an unheard-of enrichment and of a batch of millionaires the war.

Most particularly in the country a real possibility of successful struggle for socialism requires in the first place that all communist parties educate in the industrial proletariat the consciousness of the necessity of sacrifice on

its part and the readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of the proletarian power. The dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the proletariat knowing how to organize and to lead the working and the exploited masses, and the vanguard being ready for the greatest sacrifices and for heroism. In the second place a possibility of success requires that the labouring and the most exploited masses in the country experience an immediate and great improvement of their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and at the expense of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the country and can not secure the provisionment of the towns with food-stuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian labouring masses placed by capitalism in conditions of particular oppression, dispersion and often a middle-aged dependence, require from the Communist Parties a special care for to the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires an enforced support and a wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and half proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers.

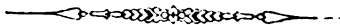
The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International but also among the three most important European parties who have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent in regard to the strike struggle in the country but who oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programs and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not there in evidence, testified by actual deeds, that the Communists and the labour leaders know how to put above all the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory, and are ready to make the utmost

sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no issue, no escape from starvation, dissolution and new imperialistic wars.

It is also necessary to mention in particular that the leaders of the old Socialism and the representatives of the „Labour aristocracy“, who are making now verbal concessions to Communism and pass even nominally into its ranks to preserve their popularity in the working masses, which are becoming rapidly revolutionised, that these all are to be tested in regard to their allegiance to the proletarian cause, and their ability to take responsible posts in a work where the development of revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary struggle is of a particular keenness, where the resistance of the landowners and the bourgeoisie (landed peasants, exploiters) is particularly violent, where the difference between the conciliatory Socialists and the revolutionary Communists shows with the greatest clearness.

9. The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible

setting up councils in the country, and these councils must be chiefly composed of hired labourers and half-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass strike struggle and by means of the most oppressed class will the councils be able to serve fully their ends and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include into their midst) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the hard oppression by the land owners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the soviets in the rural districts will require a long preparation by the means of creating small Communist cells, of enforced propaganda expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation and pressure, by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.





# The Labour Movement. Shop Committees and the Third International

## Theses.

By Karl Radek.

1.

**T**HE labour unions, created by the working class during the period of the peaceful development of capitalism, were organizations of the workers for the struggle for the increase of the price of labour at the labour market, and the improvement of labour conditions. The revolutionary Marxists endeavoured by their influence to unite them with the political party of the proletariat, the Social Democracy, for a joint struggle for Socialism. For the same reasons that the international Social Democracy, with a few exceptions, proved to be not an instrument of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism, but an organisation which held back the proletariat from revolution in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the labour unions proved to be in most cases, during the war, a part of the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, helping the latter to pump out of the working class as much sweat as possible in order that the more abundantly might the blood of the proletariat flow in the interests of capitalist profits. Containing chiefly the skilled workmen, the better paid, limited by their professional narrowmindedness, fettered by a bureaucratic apparatus, which had removed itself from the masses, demoralised by their opportunist leaders, the labour unions betrayed not only the cause of the Social Revolution, but even also the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of the workmen organized by them. They set aside the point of view of the industrial struggle against the employers, and replaced it by the program of an amicable arrangement with the capitalists, at any cost whatever. This policy was carried on not only by the independent unions of England and America, not only by the would-be „Socialist“

free industrial unions in Germany and Austria, but by the Syndicalist unions in France as well.

2. The economic consequences of the war, the complete disorganisation of world economy, the insane prices, the unlimited application of the labour of women and children, the aggravation of the dwelling conditions, all these are forcing the large masses of the proletariat into the struggle against capitalism. This struggle is revolutionary warfare, by its proportions and the character that it is assuming more and more every day; a warfare destroying objectively the bases of the capitalist order. The increase of wages, obtained one day by the economic struggle of one or other category of workers, is the next day nullified by the high prices, which must continue to rise, because the capitalist class of the victorious countries, ruining by their policy of exploitation central and eastern Europe, is not only not in a position to organize world economy, but is indefatigably disorganizing it. For the success of their economic struggle, the larger masses of workers who up to this time have stood apart from the labour unions, are now flowing into their ranks in a powerful stream. In all capitalist countries a tremendous development of the labour unions is to be noticed, which now become organisations of the chief masses of the proletariat, not only of its advanced parts. Flowing into the labour unions, these masses strive to make them their weapons of battle. They compel the labour unions to lead strikes, which flow in a broad wave over the entire capitalist world, constantly interrupting the process of capitalist production and exchange. Increasing their demands in proportion to the rising prices and their own exhaustion, the working masses undermine the bases of all capitalist calculations—that elementary premise of every well-organised economic management. The labour unions,

which during the war had been organs of compulsion over the working masses, become in this way organs for the annihilation of capitalism.

3. The old labour bureaucracy and the old forms of organization of the labour unions are in every way impeding such a change in the nature of the labour unions. The old labour bureaucracy is even now endeavouring to replace the strike methods, which are ever more and more acquiring the character of revolutionary warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, by the policy of arrangements with the capitalists, the policy of long term contracts, which have lost all sense simply in view of the constant insane rise of prices. At the most tense moments of the struggle the labour bureaucracy sows trouble and confusion among the struggling masses of the workers, impeding the fusion of the struggle of various categories of workmen into one general class struggle. In these attempts it is helped by the old organization of the labour unions according to crafts, which breaks up the workmen of one branch of production into separate professional groups, notwithstanding their being bound together by the process of capitalist exploitation. This old system of organization rests on the force of tradition of the ideology of the old labour aristocracy, which is now constantly being weakened by the process of suppression of the privilege of separate groups of the proletariat through the general decay of capitalism. In this way the professional bureaucracy breaks up the powerful stream of the labour movement into weak streamlets, substitutes partial reformist demands for the general revolutionary purposes of the movement, and on the whole delays the transformation of the struggle of the proletariat into a revolutionary struggle for the annihilation of capitalism.

4. Bearing in mind the rush of the enormous working masses into the labour unions, and also the objective revolutionary character of the economic struggle which these masses are carrying on in spite of the labour bureaucracy, the Communists must join such unions in all countries, in order to make of them conscient organs of the struggle for the suppression of capitalism and for Communism. All voluntary withdrawal from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the labour bureaucracy, such as expulsion of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by the

opportunist officials, represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to tear away the most advanced, the most conscious workers from the masses, already on their way towards Communism; it threatens to hand over these masses to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie... The luke-warmness of the working masses, their ideological indecision, their tendency to yield to the arguments of opportunist leaders, can be overcome only during the process of the ever-growing struggle, by degrees, as the wider masses of the proletariat learn to understand, by experience, by their victories and defeats, that objectively it is already impossible to obtain human conditions of life on the basis of capitalist methods of management; and by degrees as the advanced Communist workmen learn through their economic struggle to be not only preachers of the ideas of Communism, but also the most determined leaders of the economic struggle of the labour unions—only in this way will it be possible to remove from the unions their opportunist leaders, only in this way will the Communists be able to take the lead of the labour movement and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this way can they prevent the division of the labour unions, and replace them by industrial unions—remove the old bureaucracy and replace it by the apparatus of factory-representatives, leaving only the most necessary functions to the center.

5. Placing the object and the essence of labour organizations above their form, the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the labour unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by their incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactic, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the far-away and as yet incomprehensible aims of the Revolution, but on account of the concrete immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The tactics of the Communists, in case a necessity for split arises, must be a continuous most attentive study of the surrounding conditions, and of the question whether such a split might not lead to

the isolation of the Communists from the labour masses.

6. Where a split between the opportunists and the revolutionary labour movement has already taken place before, where, as in America, alongside of the opportunist labour unions, there are unions with revolutionary tendencies—although not Communist ones—there the Communists are bound to support such revolutionary labour unions, to persuade them to abandon Syndicalist prejudices, and to side with the Communist Party, which alone is able to serve as a trustworthy compass in the complicated question of the economic struggle. But the support of the revolutionary labour unions should not mean for the Communists the leaving of the opportunist labour unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle. On the contrary, by approaching this evolution of the unions on their way to a revolutionary struggle, the Communists will be able to play the part of an element uniting the politically and industrially organized workmen in their joint struggle for the suppression of capitalism.

The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political one during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic collision may end in an open revolutionary engagement, in which the workers will be placed face to face with the question of Revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers, that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organisation of a Socialist order. Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the labour unions and the Communist Party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advanced guard of the workers' revolution. For this purpose the Communists ought to have Communist factions in all the labour unions, and acquire by their means an influence over the labour movement and direct it.

## II.

1. The economic struggle of the proletariat for the increase of wages and the improvement of the conditions of life of the masses, is developing more and more into a blind alley. The economic crisis, embracing one country after another in ever-increasing proportions, is showing

to even unenlightened workmen that it is not enough to demand an increase of wages and a shortening of the work—hours, that the capitalist class is less capable every day of reestablishing the normal conditions of public economy, and of guaranteeing to the workers at least those conditions of life which it gave them before the world war. Out of this growing conviction of the working masses are born their efforts to create organizations which would be able to commence a struggle for the salvation of the situation by means of workers' control over production, by means of shop committees. This aspiration to create shop committees, which is more and more taking possession of the workmen of different countries, must be supported most energetically by the Communist Parties. Therefore it is a mistake to form the shop committees out of such workmen only, who are already struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the contrary, the duty of the Communist Party is to organize all the workmen on the ground of the economic crisis, and to lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the struggle for workers' control over production, which they all understand.

2. The Communist Party will be able to accomplish this task, if, taking part in the struggle in the shop committees, it will instill into the minds of the masses the consciousness that a systematic reconstruction of the public economy on the basis of a capitalist order, which would mean its new enslavement by the government in favour of the capitalist class, is now totally impossible. The organization of the economic management corresponding with the interests of the working masses, is only possible when the government is in the hands of the working class, when the strong hand of the labour dictatorship will proceed to the suppression of capitalism and to the new Socialist organization.

3. The struggle of the shop committees against capitalism has for its immediate object workers' control over production.

The workers of every enterprise, every branch of industry, no matter what their trade, suffer from the „sabotage“ of production on the part of capitalists, who frequently consider it more profitable to stop production in order that it might be easier to compel the workmen to agree to unsatisfactory labour conditions, or not to invest new capital in industry at a moment of a general rise in prices. The need to protect themselves against such



sabotage of production by the capitalists unites the workmen independently of their political opinions, and therefore the shop committees elected by the workmen of a given enterprise, are the organizations in which the widest masses of the proletariat enter. But the disorganisation of capitalist management is the result not only of the conscious will of the capitalists, but it is in a still greater degree the result of an inevitable decline of capitalism. Therefore in their struggle against the consequences of such a decline, the shop committees must go beyond the limits of control in separate factories. The factory committees of separate factories will soon be faced with the question of workers' control over whole branches of industry and their combinations. And as any attempt on the part of the workmen to exercise a control over the supplying of the factories with raw material, or to control the financial operations of the factory owners, will meet with the most energetic measures against the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist government, the struggle for workers' control over production must lead to the struggle for a seizure of power by the working class. After such a seizure of power by the proletariat the shop committees will be the first managers of the industry, until the time when general state economic organisations will be formed in which the working class will establish the management of the factories and the direction of the whole economic life of the country from the point of view of the interests of the whole population, and will utilise for this purpose all the scientific forces bequeathed by capitalism.

4. The campaign in favour of the shop committees must be conducted in such a way that into the minds of the popular masses, even not directly belonging to the factory proletariat, there should be instilled the conviction that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the economic crisis, while the proletariat, under the motto of workers' control of industry, is struggling for the organization of production, for the suppression of speculation, disorganization and high prices. The duty of the Communist Parties is to struggle for control over production on the ground of the most insistent questions of the day, the lack of fuel, the transport crisis—to unite the different groups of proletariat and to attract wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more proletarianized day by day, and is really suffering extremely from the economic crisis.

5. The shop committees cannot be substitutes for the industrial unions. During the process of struggle they may form unions according to the industries, and create a general apparatus for the direction of the struggle. The industrial unions are already now centralized fighting organs, although they do not embrace such wide masses of workmen as the shop committees are capable of, these latter being organizations which are accessible to all the workers of a given enterprise. The division of tasks between the shop committees and the industrial unions is the result of the historical development of the Social Revolution. The industrial unions organize the working masses for the struggle for the increase of wages and shortening of workhours on a national scale. The shop committees are organized for workers' control over production, for the struggle against the crisis, embracing all the workmen of the enterprises; but their struggle can only gradually assume the character of a national one. Only after the seizure of the power will the shop committees be able to become the factory nuclei of industrial unions, which jointly with the local and central labour authorities, will form special economic managing organs.

6. The duty of the Communists consist in inspiring the industrial unions and the shop committees with a spirit of determined struggle, and the consciousness and knowledge of the best methods of such struggle — the spirit of Communism. In execution of this duty the Communists must practically subordinate the shop committees and the industrial unions to the Communist Party, and thus create a proletarian mass organ, a basis for a powerful centralised party of the proletariat, embracing all the organisations of the proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, to the victory of the working class, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### III.

1. The labour unions tried to form international unions even in time of peace, because during strikes the capitalists used to invite workers from other countries, as strike-breakers. But the International of the labour unions had only a secondary importance before the war. It made one union support another when needful, it organized social statistics, but it did nothing for the organization of a joint struggle, because the labour unions, under the leadership of opportunists, strove to avoid all revolutionary collisions on an international scale. The opportunist leaders

of the labour unions, who each in his own country during the war was the flunkey of his bourgeoisie, are now striving to revive the International of labour unions, attempting to make it the weapon against direct struggle between world capital and the world proletariat. Under the direction of Legien, Jouhaux, Gompers, they are creating a Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, that organization of international capitalist robbery. In all countries they are attempting to crush the strike movement by means of laws, compelling the workmen to submit to the arbitration of representatives of the capitalist State.

They are endeavouring to obtain concessions for the skilled workers by means of agreements with the capitalists, in order to break in this way the growing unity of the working class. The Amsterdam International of labour unions is thus a substitute for bankrupt Second International of Brussels.

The Communist workers who are members of the labour unions to all countries must on the contrary strive to create an international

battle front of labour unions. The question now is not monetary relief in case of strikes; but when a danger is threatening the working class of one country, the labour unions of the others, being organizations of the larger masses, should all arise to its defense; they should make it impossible for the bourgeoisie of their respective countries to render assistance to the bourgeoisie of the country engaged in the struggle against the working class. The economic struggle of the proletariat in all countries is daily becoming more and more a revolutionary struggle. Therefore the labour unions must consciously use their forces for the support of all revolutionary struggles in their own and in other countries. For this purpose they must not only, in all other countries, strive to attain as great as possible centralisation of their struggle, but they must do so on an international scale by joining the Communist International and uniting into one army, the different parts of which shall carry on the struggle conjointly, supporting one another.





## **Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International.**

**By N. Lenin.**

1. A characteristic feature of the present moment in the development of the international Communist movement, is the fact that in all the capitalist countries the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat have completely understood the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely: the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets; and with a loyal enthusiasm have placed themselves on the side of the Communist International. A still more important and great step forward is the unlimited sympathy with these principles manifested by the wider masses not only of the proletariat of the towns, but also by the advanced portion of the agrarian workers.

On the other hand two mistakes or weaknesses of the extraordinarily rapid increasing international Communist movement have shown themselves. One, very serious and presenting a great direct danger for the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat, consists in the fact that part of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International, partly half-unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the Labour movement, are declaring their conditional or even unconditional joining of Third International; while remaining in reality, in the whole practice of their party and political work, on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralises the masses, lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats, who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists. The second much less important mistake, which is for the most part a malady inherent to the rapid growth of the movement, is the tendency to be extremely „left“, which leads to an

erroneous valuation of the role and duties of the party in respect to the class and to the mass, and the obligation of the revolutionary Communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary labour unions.

The duty of the Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticise them openly, in order to get rid of them promptly and radically. To this end it is necessary, 1) to establish concretely, especially on the basis of the already acquired practical experience the meaning of the terms: „Dictatorship of the Proletariat“ and „Soviet Power“; and 2) to point out in what could and should consist in all countries the immediate and systematic preparatory work to realising these formulas; and 3) to indicate the ways and means of our movement from its defects.

### **I. The Substance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of the Soviet Power.**

2. The victory of Socialism (as the first step of Communism over capitalism), demands the accomplishment of the three following tasks by the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class:

The first is to lay low the exploiters, and first of all the bourgeoisie as their chief economic and political representative; to completely defeat them; to crush their resistance; to render impossible any attempts on their part to reinstate the yoke of capitalism and wage-slavery.

The second is to inspire and lead in the footsteps of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, its Communist party—not only the whole proletariat or its larger majority, but the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capital, to enlighten, organize, instruct, and discipline them during the course of the bold and mercilessly firm struggle against the exploiters; to wrench this enormous majority of the population in all the capitalist countries out of their

state of dependence on the bourgeoisie; to instil in them through practical experience confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary advance guard. The third is to neutralise or render harmless the inevitable fluctuations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and Soviet Power, on the part of that rather numerous class in all advanced countries—although constituting a minority of the population—the small owners and proprietors in agriculture, industry, commerce, and the corresponding layers of intellectuals, employees, and so on.

The first and second tasks are independent ones, demanding each of them its special methods of action in respect to the exploiters and to the exploited. The third task results from the two first, demanding only a skilful, timely, supple combination of the methods of the first and second kind, depending on the concrete circumstances of each separate case of fluctuation.

3. Under the circumstances which have been created in the whole world, and most of all in the most advanced, powerful, most enlightened and free capitalist countries by militarist imperialism, oppression of colonies and the weaker nations, the universal imperialist slaughter, the „peace“ of Versailles, to admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited—of a peaceful, reformist passage to Socialism—is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois dull-headedness, but it is a direct deceiving of the workmen, a disguising of capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth. This truth consists in the fact that the bourgeoisie, the most enlightened and democratic bourgeoisie, is even now not stopping before deceit and crime, before the slaughter of millions of workmen and peasants, for the retainment of the right of private ownership over the means of production. Only a forcible defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois government apparatus, from top to bottom, parliamentary, juridical, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., up to the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repressing of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

On the other hand, it is the same disguising of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, the same

deceiving of the workmen, when the old parties and old leaders of the Second International admit the idea that the majority of the workers and exploited will be able to acquire a clear Socialist consciousness, firm Socialist convictions and character under the conditions of capitalist enslavement, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, which assumes an endless variety of forms—the more refined and at the same time the more cruel and pitiless, the more cultured the given capitalist nation. In reality it is only when the advanced guard of the proletariat, supported by the whole class as the only revolutionary one, or a majority of the same, will have overthrown the exploiters, crushed them, freed all the exploited from their position of slaves, improved their conditions of life immediately at the expense of the expropriated capitalists—only after that, and during the very course of the acute class struggle, will it be possible to realise the enlightenment, education and organization of the widest masses of workers and exploited around the proletariat, under its influence and direction, to cure them of their egotism, their non-solidarity, their vices and weaknesses engendered by private ownership, and to transform them into free workers.

4. For the success of the victory over capitalism a correct correlation between the leading Communist Party—the revolutionary class, the proletariat—and the masses, i. e. the whole mass of workers and exploited, is essential. Only the Communist Party, if it is really the advanced guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes the best representatives of the class, if it consists of perfectly conscious and loyal Communists, enlightened by the experience gained in the stubborn revolutionary struggle—only if this Party is able to become bound indissolubly with the entire life of its class, and through the latter with the whole mass of the exploited, and to inspire full confidence in this class and this mass, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most pitiless decisive last struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party will the proletariat be able to deploy all the force of its revolutionary onslaught, nullifying the inevitable apathy and partial resistance of the insignificant minority of the demoralised labour aristocracy, the old trade-union and guild leaders, etc. Only then will the proletariat be able to deploy its power, which is immeasurably greater than its share in the population, by reason of the economic organization of capitalist society itself.

Lastly, only when practically freed from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governing apparatus, only after acquiring the possibility of freely (from all capitalist exploitation) organizing into its own Soviets, will the mass—i. e. the total of all the workers and exploited—deploy for the first time in history all the initiative and energy of tens of tens of millions of people, formerly crushed by capitalism. Only when the Soviets will become the only State apparatus, will effectual participation in the administration be realised for the entire mass of the exploited, who even under the most cultured and free bourgeois democracy remained practically excluded from participation in the administration. Only in the Soviets does the mass really begin to study, not out of books, but out of its own practical experience, the work of Socialist construction, the creation of a new social discipline, a free union of free workers.

## **II. In What should the Immediate and Universal Preparation for a Dictatorship of the Proletariat consist?**

5. The present moment in the development of the International Communist movement is characterised by the fact that in a great majority of capitalist countries the preparation of the proletariat to the realisation of its dictatorship is not yet completed—very often it has not even been begun systematically. It does not follow that the proletarian revolution is not possible in the most immediate future; it is quite possible, because the economic and political situation is extraordinarily rich in inflammable material and causes of its sudden inflammation; the other condition for a revolution, besides the preparedness of the proletariat, namely the general state of crisis in all the ruling and all the bourgeois parties, is also at hand. But it follows from the above that the duty for the moment of the Communist Parties consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in continuing to prepare the proletariat. On the other hand, the above instance in the history of many Socialist parties draws our attention to the fact, that the „recognition“ of the dictatorship of the proletariat should not remain only verbal.

Therefore the principal duty of the Communist Parties, from the point of view of an international proletarian movement, is at the present moment the uniting of the dispersed Communist forces, the formation in each country of a single Communist party (or the strengthening and

renovation of the already existing one) in order to multiply the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of the governing power, and especially for the acquisition of the power in the form of a dictatorship of the groups and parties recognising the dictatorship of the proletariat, has not been sufficiently subject to the radical reformation, the radical renovation which are necessary for it to be recognised as Communist work, and corresponding to the tasks of the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

6. The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary it makes the struggle especially broad, acute and pitiless. All the groups, parties, leaders of the Labour movement, fully or partially on the side of reformism, the „centrer“ and so on, turn inevitably, during the most acute moments of the struggle, either to the side of the bourgeoisie or to that of the fluctuating ones, or the most dangerous add to the number of the unreliable friends of the vanquished proletariat. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands not only an increased struggle against all reformist and „centrist“ tendencies, but a modification of the nature of this struggle.

The struggle should not be limited by an explanation of the erroneousness of such tendencies, but it should stubbornly and mercilessly denounce any leader in the Labour movement who may be manifesting such tendencies, otherwise the proletariat will not know whom it must trust in the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is such, that at any moment it may replace and has replaced, as experience has proved, the weapon of criticism by the criticism of the weapon. The least non-consecutiveness or weakness in the denunciation of those who show themselves to be reformists or „centrists“, means a direct increase of the danger of the power of the proletariat being overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which will on the morrow utilise in favour of the counter-revolution all that which to short-sighted people appears only as a „theoretical difference of opinion“ to-day.

7. In particular one cannot stop at the usual doctrinary refutation of all „collaboration“ between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The simple defense of „liberty and equality“, under the condition of preserving the right of private ownership of the means of production, becomes transformed under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will never be able to suppress completely all private

ownership — into a „collaboration“ with the bourgeoisie, which undermines directly the power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the strengthening and defense, by means of the ruling power of the State, of the „non-liberty“ of the exploiter to continue his work of oppression and exploitation, of the „inequality“ of the proprietor (i. e. of the person who has taken for himself personally the means of production created by public labour and the proletariat). That which before the victory of the proletariat seems but a theoretical difference of opinion on the question of „democracy“, becomes inevitably on the morrow, after the victory, a question which can only be decided by force of arms. Consequently, without a radical modification of the whole nature of the struggle against the „centrists“ and „defenders of democracy“, even a preliminary preparation of the mass for the realisation of a dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such a struggle can be successful only when the most revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat will lead the greatest majority of it. The preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands therefore not only the elucidation of the bourgeois nature of all reformism, all defense of „democracy“, with the preservation of the right to the ownership of the means of production; not only the denunciation of such tendencies, which in practice mean the defense of the bourgeoisie inside the Labour movement—but it demands also the replacing of the old leaders by Communists in all kinds of proletarian organizations, not only political, but industrial, cooperative, educational, etc. The more lasting, complete and solid has the rule of the bourgeois democracy been in any country, the more has it been possible for the bourgeoisie to appoint as labour leaders men who have been educated by it, imbued with its views and prejudices and very frequently directly or indirectly bribed by it. It is necessary to remove a hundred times more boldly all these representatives of the Labour aristocracy, or such „bourgeois“ workmen, from their posts and replace them by even inexperienced workers, so long as these are in unity with the exploited masses, and enjoy the latter's confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will demand the appointment of such inexperienced workmen to the

most responsible State functions, otherwise the rule of the Labour government will be powerless and it will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most complete realisation of a leadership over all workers and exploited, who have been oppressed, beaten down, crushed, frightened, dispersed, deceived by the class of capitalists, on the part of the only class prepared for such a leading role by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be begun immediately and in all places by means of the following method, among others.

In every organization, union, association—beginning with the proletarian ones at first, and afterwards in all those of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses (political, professional, military, cooperative, educational, sporting, etc. etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of Communists—mostly open ones, but also secret ones which become obligatory in each case when their closure may be expected, or the arrest or exile of their members on the part of the bourgeoisie; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central Party, exchanging experiences, carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organization, adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the worker masses, must systematically train themselves, the Party, the class and the masses by such multiform work.

At the same time it is most important to elaborate practically the necessary development of the methods of the whole work, on the one hand in respect to the „leaders“ or responsible representatives, who are very frequently hopelessly infected with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices; on the other hand in respect to the masses, who, especially after the imperialist slaughter, are mostly inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine of the necessity of leadership of the proletariat as the only way out of capitalistic enslavement. The masses must be approached with patience and caution, in order to understand the peculiarities, the special psychology of each layer, profession, and so on, of these masses.

10. In particular one of the groups or nuclei of the Communists deserves the exclusive attention and care of the party, namely, the parliamentary faction, i. e. the group of members of the Party who are members of bourgeois representative institutions (first of all a governmental one, then local, municipal and others). On

the one hand, such a tribune has a special importance in the eyes of the wider circles of the backward of prejudiced working masses, therefore from this very tribune the Communists must carry on their work of propaganda, agitation, organization, explaining to the masses why the dissolution of bourgeois parliament (Constituent Assembly) by the national Congress of Soviets was a legitimate proceeding at the time in Russia (as it will be in all countries in due time). On the other hand, the whole history of the bourgeois democracy has made out of the parliamentary tribune, especially in the more advanced countries, the chief or one of the chief means of unbelievable financial and political swindles, the possibility of making a career, hypocrisy, oppression of the workers. Therefore the deep hatred against all parliaments on the part of the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is perfectly lawful. Therefore on the part of the Communist Parties, and all parties adhering to the Third International, especially in cases when such parties have become formed not by means of a division in the old parties and after a lasting stubborn struggle against them, but by means of the old parties passing over (often nominally) to a new position, it is necessary to be very strict in their attitude towards their parliamentary factions, demanding their complete subordination to the control and the directions of the Central Committee of the party; to include in them mostly revolutionary workmen; to carry out at Party meetings a most attentive analysis of the Party press and of the parliamentary speeches, from the point of view of their Communist Integrity; to detail the parliament members for propaganda among the masses; to exclude from such factions all those who show a tendency towards the Second International, and so forth.

11. One of the chief causes of difficulty in the revolutionary Labour movement in the advanced capitalist countries lies in the fact that owing to colonial dominions and super-dividends of financial capital, etc., capital has been able to separate a comparatively more solid and broader group of a small minority of the labour aristocracy. The latter enjoys better conditions of pay and is most of all impregnated with the spirit of professional narrow-mindedness, bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This is the true social „support“ of the Second International reformists and centrists, and at the present moment almost the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

Not even preliminary preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible without an immediate, systematic, widely organized and open struggle against the group which undoubtedly—as experience has already proved—will furnish plenty of men for the White Guards of the bourgeoisie after the victory of the proletariat. All the parties adhering to the Third International must at all costs put into practice the mottoes: „deeper into the masses“, „in closer contact with the masses“ understanding by the word „masses“ the entire mass of workers and these exploited by capitalism, especially the less organized and enlightened, the most oppressed and less adaptable to organization.

The proletariat becomes revolutionary in so far as it is not enclosed within narrow guild limits, in so far as it participates in all the events and branches of public life, as a leader of the whole working and exploited mass; and it is completely impossible for it to realise its dictatorship unless it is ready for and capable of the everything for the victory over the bourgeoisie. The experience of Russia in this respect has a theoretical and practical importance; where the proletariat could not have realised its dictatorship, nor acquired the respect and confidence of whole working mass, if it had not borne most of the sacrifices and had not suffered from hunger more than all the other groups in this mass, during the most difficult moments of the onslaught, war and blockade on the part of the universal bourgeoisie.

In particular it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses of a larger general strike movement, which is alone able under the yoke of capitalism to awaken properly, arouse, enlighten and organize the masses, and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such a preparation no dictatorship of the proletariat will be possible, and those who are capable of preaching against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany, Turatti in Italy, are not to be suffered in the ranks of parties adhering to the Third International. This concerns still more, naturally, such trade-union and parliamentary leaders, who often betray the workmen by teaching them reformism (by means of strikes not revolution for instance, in England and France during the last years).

12. For all countries, even for the most free „legal“ and „peaceful“ ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle the period



has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist party to join systematically all lawful and illegal work, lawful and illegal organization.

In the most enlightened and free countries, with a most „solid“ bourgeois-democratic regime, the governments are systematically recurring, in spite of their false and hypocritical assurances, to the method of keeping secret lists of Communists, to endless violations of their constitutions for the semi-secret support of White Guards and the murder of Communists in all countries, to secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, the introduction of provocators among the Communists etc. Only the most reactionary small bourgeois, by whatever high-sounding „democratic“ or pacifist phrases it might disguise its ideas can dispute this fact or the necessary conclusion; an immediate formation by all lawful Communist Parties of illegal organisations for systematic illegal work, for their complete preparation at any moment any active steps on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is especially necessary to carry on illegal work in the army, navy and police, as after the imperialist slaughter all the governments in the world are becoming afraid of the national armies, open to all peasants and workmen, and they are setting up in secret all kinds of select military organizations recruited from the bourgeoisie and specially provided with improved technical equipment.

On the other hand, it is also necessary in all cases without exception not to limit oneself to illegal work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organisations under the most various, and in case of need, frequently changing names. This is now being done by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, Hungary, partly in Germany, Poland, Latvia etc. It is thus that the I. W. W. in America should act, as well as all the lawful Communist Parties at present, in case Prosecutors start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, etc.

The absolute necessity principle of illegal and lawful work is determined not only by the total aggregate of all the peculiarities of the given moment, on the very eve of a proletarian dictatorship, but by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie, that there is not and can not be any branch of the work of, which the Communists have not possessed themselves — and still more by the fact that everywhere there are still

wide circles of the proletariat and greater ones of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, which still trust in the bourgeois democracy, and the discussions of which is our most important duty.

13. In particular, the situation of the Labour press in the more advanced capitalist countries shows with special evidence both the falseness of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democracy, and the necessity of a systematic blending of the lawful and illegal work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America all the power of the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and all the tricks of its financial kings are being set in motion in order to deprive the workmen of their press; prosecutions and arrests (or murder by means of hired murderers) of the editors, prohibition of sending by mail, depriving of paper, etc. Moreover, the information necessary for a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the advertisements, without which a large paper cannot pay its way, are at the „free“ disposal of capitalists. On the whole, by means of deceit, the pressure of capital and the bourgeois government, the bourgeoisie deprives the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

For the struggle against this state of things the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen: 1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, would learn to utilise the slightest possibility allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviki did at the time of the Tsar, after 1905.

2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing office by the workmen (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) and giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the a dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

### **III. The Amendment of the Policy—partly also of the Make-up—of the Parties adhering or willing to adhere to the Communist International.**

14. The degree of preparedness of the proletariat to carry out its dictatorship, in the countries most important from the view-point of world

economics and world politics, is manifested most objectively and precisely by the fact that the most influential parties of the Second International, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labour Party of England, the American Socialist Party, have gone out of this yellow International and have passed resolutions to join the Third International, the first three conditionally, the latter unconditionally. This proves that not only the advance guard but the majority of the proletariat has begun to pass over to our side, persuaded thereto by the whole course of events. The chief thing now is to know how to complete this passage and solidly, structurally strengthen it, so as to be able to advance along the whole line, without the slightest hesitation.

15) The whole activity of the above-mentioned parties (to which must be added the Swiss Socialist Party if the telegraphic reports regarding its resolution to join the Third International are correct) proves—and any given periodical paper of these parties confirms it—that they are not Communist as yet, and frequently even are in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely: the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of Soviet power instead of the bourgeois democracy.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International should announce that it does not consider it possible to receive these parties immediately; that it confirms the answer of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German Independents; that it confirms its readiness to carry on negotiations with any party leaving the Second International and desiring to join the Third; that it reserves the right of a consultative vote to the delegate of such parties at all its congresses and conferences, and that it proposes the following conditions for a complete union of these (and similar) parties with the Communist International.

1. The publishing of all the resolutions passed by all the congresses of the Communist International and by the Executive Committee, in all the periodical publications of the party.

2. Their discussion at the special meetings of all sections and local organizations of the party.

3. The convocation, after such a discussion, of a special congress of the party for the summarising of the results, etc.

4. The weeding out from the party of all elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International.

5. The transfer of all periodical papers of the party into the hands of Communist editors.

The Second Congress of the Third International must charge its Executive Committee to receive formally the above-named and similar parties into the Third International after a preliminary verification that all these conditions have been fulfilled, and that the nature of the activity of the party has become Communist.

16. In regard to the question as to what must be the line of conduct of the Communists at present constituting the minority at the responsible posts of the above-named and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Third International should establish, that in view of the evident growth of the sincerest sympathies for Communism among the workmen belonging to these parties, it would be undesirable for the Communists to leave the parties, so long as they are able to carry on their work within the parties in the spirit of a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the criticism of all opportunists and centrists still remaining in these parties.

At the same time the Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favour of the Communist Party, and the groups and organizations sympathising with Communism in England, joining the Labour Party, notwithstanding the circumstance that this party is a member of the Second International. The reason for this is that so long as this party will allow all constituent organisations their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propaganda, and organizational activity in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets, so long as this party preserves its principle of uniting all the industrial organizations of the working class, the Communists ought to take all measures and even consent to certain compromises, in order to be able to exercise an influence over the wider circles of workmen and the masses, to denounce their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, to accelerate the transfer of the political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the „Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class“, so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject.

17. In regard to the Italian Socialist Party, the Second Congress of the Third International considers as perfectly correct the criticism of this Party and the practical propositions which are stated, as propositions to the Regional Council of the Italian Socialist Party on behalf of the Turin section of this Party in the paper „New Order“ (L'Ordine Nuovo) dated May 8th, 1920,

and which completely correspond with the fundamental principles of the Third International.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Italian Socialist Party to convene an extraordinary congress of the party for the discussion of these propositions and the resolutions of both congresses of the Communist International, for the amendment of the line of conduct of the party and its cleansing of all non-Communist elements, in particular in its parliamentary faction.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as not correct the views regarding the relations of the Party to the class and to the masses, and the non-participation of the Communist Parties in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary Labour unions, which have been precisely refuted in the special resolutions of the present congress, and defended in full by the „Communist Labour Party of Germany“ and also partially by the „Communist Party of Switzerland“, by the organ of the West European secretariat of the Communist International „Communismus“ in Amsterdam, and by several of our Dutch comrades; further by certain Communist organisations in England, as for instance „The Workers' Socialist Federation“. Also by the „I. W. W.“ in America, the „Shop Steward Committees“ in England, and so forth.

Nevertheless the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable the immediate affiliation of such of these organizations which have not already done so officially, because in the given case, especially as regards the I. W. W. of America and Australia, and the „Shop Steward Committees“ of England, we have to deal with a deeply proletarian mass movement, which practically shares the principles of the Communist International. In such organizations any mistaken views on the question of participation in the bourgeois parliaments, are to be explained not so much by the role of members of the bourgeoisie advocating their own petty bourgeois views, as the views of the Anarchists frequently are, but by the political inexperience of proletarians who

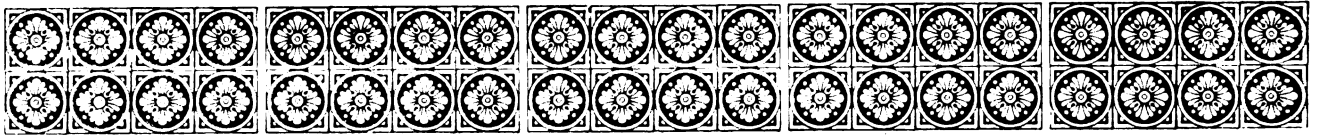
are, nevertheless, completely revolutionary and in contact with the masses.

The Second Congress of the Third International requests therefore all the Communist organizations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries, even in case immediate union between the Third International and the „Industrial Workers of the World“ and the „Shop Steward Committees“ does not take place, to carry on a policy of the most friendly attitude toward these organizations, to enter into closer connection with them and the masses sympathising with them, to explain to them in a friendly way, from the point of view of all revolutions and the three Russian revolutions in the Twentieth Century especially, the erroneousness of their above-stated views, and not to desist from repeated attempts to become united with these organizations so as to form one Communist Party.

19. In connection with this the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, especially in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, to the fact that among the Anarchists since the war all over the world a deep ideological scission is taking place upon the question of their attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets. And it is just among the proletarian elements, which were frequently led into anarchism by their perfectly justified hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International, that there is to be noticed a perfectly correct understanding of these principles, especially among those who are more nearly acquainted with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Lettland, Poland, and Germany.

The Congress considers it the duty of all comrades to support by all measures all the masses of proletarian elements passing from Anarchism to the Third International. The Congress points out that the success of the work of the truly Communist Parties ought to be measured, among other things, by how far they have been able to attract to their party all the uneducated, not petty-bourgeois, but proletarian masses from Anarchism.





## To the forthcoming Congress of the Communist International.

By Trotzki.

### A. Conditions for joining the Third International.

#### I.

The social patriots and their bourgeois inspirers are pointing out that the leaders of the Third International („Moscow“, „Bolsheviki“) sometimes make dictatorial demands upon other Parties as to the expulsion of their members, modification of their tactics, etc., as a condition of their joining the Third International.

The Socialists of the Center (the followers of Kautsky, Longuet) repeat these accusations in a slightly weaker or milder form, endeavouring to stir up the nationalist feelings of the workmen of different countries, by arousing their suspicions that someone is trying to command them from „without“.

As a matter of fact such accusations or insinuations are the most evil-minded bourgeois prevarication, or indicate narrowminded incomprehension of the very essence of the Communist International, which is not a simple combination of labour and Socialist organizations existing in different countries, but represents a complete and independent international organization, pursuing precisely defined aims by means of definite revolutionary measures.

The organization of every country joining the Third International, not only submits to its general, watchful and exacting leadership, but acquires also the right to an active participation in the leadership of all the other Parties of the Communist International.

The joining of the International is not for the fulfillment of international etiquette, but for revolutionary war purposes. It can therefore in no case be based on misunderstandings, omissions or misconceptions. The Communist International rejects with contempt all the conventionalities which bound the relations between the parties of the Second International, based on the pretense of the leaders of each national party, that they did not notice the opportunist or chauvinist declarations and actions of the

leaders of other national parties, in the hope that the latter would pay them back in the same coin. The mutual relations of the national „Socialist“ parties were only a pitiable reflection of the mutual relations between the bourgeois diplomats during the period of armed peace. That is why at the very moment when the capitalist generals threw off capitalist diplomacy, the conventionally diplomatic falsehood of the „brotherly“ parties of the Second International was replaced by the open militarism of its leaders.

The Third International is an organization of revolutionary action for international proletarian insurrection. Elements which declare their readiness to join the Third International, but at the same time revolt against the laying down of conditions from „without“, prove by this their complete unfitness and inefficiency from the point of view of principles and methods of action of the Third International. The creation of an international organization for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible only on condition that only such associations will be allowed to join the third International, which are penetrated with the real spirit of the proletarian insurrection against the rule of the bourgeoisie, and are therefore themselves interested in assuring that there is no place in their midst or in the midst of other political and labour organizations collaborating with them, not only for traitors and betrayers, but also for helpless sceptics, elements of everlasting fluctuation, panic and doctrinary confusion. To attain this is impossible without a constant and careful weeding out of false ideas, false methods of action and their authors. The conditions which the Third International is laying and will lay down for each organization desirous of entering its ranks serve the above purposes.

We repeat: The Communist International is not a combination of national labour parties. It is the Communist Party of the international proletariat.

The German Communists are entitled and bound to demand a categorical answer to the question: On what grounds is Turatti a member of their party? The Russian Communists are entitled and bound to lay down such conditions to the joining of the Third International by the Independent Social Democrats of Germany and the French Socialist Party, as from their point of view will guarantee our International Party from enfeeblement and division. Every organization joining the Communist International acquires, in its turn, the right and possibility of active control over the theory and practice of the Russian Bolsheviks, the German Spartakists, etc.

## II.

In its exhaustive address to the German Independent Party the Executive Committee of the Communist International identifies in principle the German Independents with the French Longuetists. This is absolutely correct. But for the moment when the question regarding the French Socialist Party is considered practically, it is necessary, while admitting the features of resemblance between the two, to establish also the differences.

The fact that the French Socialist Party, as a whole, has manifested a wish to enter the Third International, excites quite natural apprehensions by itself from the very beginning. These apprehensions can only be increased, if one compares more concretely the position of Socialism in France with its position in Germany.

The old German Social Democracy has become divided into three parts: 1) The open governmental chauvinist Social Democracy of Ebert and Scheidemann; 2) the „Independent“ Party, whose official leaders are attempting to keep within the limits of parliamentary opposition at a time when the masses are thirsting for an open uprising against the bourgeois order, and 3) the Communist Party, an integral part of the Third International.

In regard to the question of the Independent Party's joining the Third International, we first of all establish the above inconsistency between the line of conduct of the official leaders and the aspirations of the masses. This inconsistency is the point of opposition of our lever. As regards the Social Democracy of Scheidemann, which at the present moment, with the formation of the purely bourgeois government, is taking up a position of half-opposition, there can be no question of either receiving this party

into the Third International or of carrying on any negotiations with it.

Meanwhile the French Socialist Party is not an organization of equal merit to the German Independent party in its present position, as no division has taken place in the French Socialist Party, and the French Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes all retain their responsible posts.

During the war the conduct of the leaders of the French Socialist party was not by one iota better than the conduct of the most patent of German social traitors. The class betrayal was just as profound both in Germany and there. As to the forms of its expression, they were still shriller and more commonplace in the French Party than in Scheidemann's camp. But at the time when the German Independent Social Democracy, under the pressure of the masses, has broken with its Scheidemanns, Messrs. Thomas, Renaudel, Varenne, Sembat and others still remain in the ranks of the French Socialist Party.

It is true, in distinction to Scheidemann's Party the French Socialist Party left the Second International. But if one considers, that this departure was carried out without any detriment to the unity with Renaudel, Thomas and all the other servants of the imperialist war, it will become quite evident that for a considerable part of official French Socialism, the leaving of the Second International had nothing in common with a refutation of its methods, but was a simple manoeuvre for the further deceit of the working masses.

During the war the French Socialist party so insistently set itself against the „Kaiserist“ Socialism of Scheidemann, that at present not only Longuet, Mistral, Presman and the other Centrists, but even Renaudel, Thomas and Varenne have found it very inconvenient to remain in the Second International face to face with Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, their nearest partisans. Thus the departure from Huysmans' kitchen was dictated to French Socialism by the consistency of its patriotic attitude. It is true it had done all it could to give its patriotic refusal to an immediate collaboration with Noske and Scheidemann—the aspect of an action dictated also by internationalism. But the phraseology of the Strassburg resolutions not only cannot annul, but even mitigate the significance of the fact, that in the party majority of Strassburg there were no French Communists, only the most arrant chauvinists.

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany, opposed, as an organization, to the patriotic Social

Democracy, is compelled to carry on against it an open doctrinary and political struggle in the press and at meetings, and by this means, notwithstanding the super-opportunist nature of its press and its leaders, is aiding in the revolutionising of the working masses. In France, on the contrary, we observe recently an increasing rapprochement between the former majority and the former Longuetist minority, and the cessation of all serious doctrinary-political and organisational struggle. Under these conditions the question of the French Socialist Party's joining the Third International presents still more difficulties and dangers than the joining of the German Independent Social Democracy.

### III.

To the French Socialist party, in so far as it now practically raises the question of its joining the Third International, we must put absolutely clear and distinct questions defined by the above stated considerations. Only direct and distinct answers, confirmed by the „Party“—that is to say, in reality, its corresponding parts—will be able to give a real meaning to the question of its joining the International Communist organization.

These questions will be approximately as follows:

1. Do you recognize as formerly the duty for a Socialist Party of national defense of a bourgeois state? Do you consider it admissible directly or indirectly to support the French Republic in its eventual military collisions with other countries? Do you consider it admissible to vote for war credits, both at present, or in case of a new world war? Do you categorically renounce the treacherous motto of „national defense“? Yes or no?

2. Do you admit the participation of Socialists in a bourgeois government, in time of peace, or in war time? Do you consider the support of a bourgeois government by the Socialist faction of the parliament admissible? Do you consider it possible to permit that scoundrels remain in your party, who sell their political service to capitalist governments, capitalist organizations, the capitalist press, as responsible agents of the depredatory League of Nations (Albert Thomas); editors of the bourgeois press (Varenne); lawyers or parliamentary defenders of capitalist interests (Paul Boncourt) and others? Yes or no?

3. In view of the extortionate and depredatory violence of French Imperialism against a whole series of weak nations, and particularly against the backward colonial nationalities of

Africa and Asia, do you consider it your duty to carry on an implacable struggle against the French bourgeoisie, its parliament, its government, its army, upon the question of this universal robbery? Do you bind yourself to support this struggle by all the means in your power, whenever it may arise, and first of all in the form of an open uprising of the oppressed colonial nations against French Imperialism? Yes or no?

4. Do you consider it necessary to commence immediately a systematic and pitiless struggle against official French Syndicalism, which took its bearings from economic coalition, collaboration of the classes, patriotism, etc., and systematically substituted the program of the nationalisation of the railways and mines by a capitalist state to that of a struggle for the revolutionary expropriation of the capitalists by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Do you consider it the duty of a Socialist party working hand in hand with Loriot, Monatte, Rosmer and others—to carry on among the working masses an energetic propaganda for the weeding out of the French labour movement of Jouot, Dumoulin, Merrheim and other traitors to the working class? Yes or no?

## **B. Grouping of the French Labour movement and the Tasks of French Communism.**

### I.

During the epoch preceding the war the French Socialist party presented in its leading circles the most complete and final expression of all the negative sides of the Second International, a constant tendency towards the collaboration of classes (nationalism, participation in the bourgeois press, voting of credits, and confidence in the bourgeois ministries, etc.); a contemptuous or indifferent attitude toward Socialist theories, i. e. to the fundamental social revolutionary tasks of the working class; a superstitious homage for the idols of bourgeois democracy (republic, parliament, universal suffrage, responsibility of the ministries, etc.); an external, purely decorative internationalism, with a strong national narrowmindedness, bourgeois patriotism, and frequently, the broadest chauvinism.

### II.

A most striking form of protest against these sides of the Socialist party was presented by revolutionary French Syndicalism. In view that the practice of parliamentary reformism and patriotism generally used for its shield scraps of the pseudo-Marxist theory, Syndicalism attempted to strengthen its opposition to parliamentary re-

formism by adopting the Anarchist theory to the methods and forms of the Labour movement of the working class.

The struggle against parliamentary reformism transformed itself into a struggle not only against parliamentarism, but against „politics“ in general, into a plain repudiation of the state, as such. Syndicats (labour unions) were proclaimed to be the only legal and authentic revolutionary form of the Labour movement. Against parliamentary representation and the concealed substitution of the working class, was set the direct action of the worker masses, and the decisive role was given to the initiative minority, as the organ of such direct action.

This brief characterisation of Syndicalism shows that it attempted to find an expression for the needs of the coming revolutionary epoch.

But the fundamental theoretical errors (the errors of Anarchism) rendered the creation of a solid ideologically welded revolutionary nucleus, which would be capable of withstanding patriotic and reformist tendencies, impossible. The social patriot fall of French Syndicalism took place simultaneously with the fall of the Socialist Party. If on the extreme left of the Party the banner of revolt against social patriotism was raised by a small group headed by Loriot, on the extreme left wing of Syndicalism the same role fell to the share of the small group of Monatte and Rosmer; between these two groups there soon became established the necessary ideological and organisational contact.

### III.

We pointed out above that the shapeless and backboneless Longuetist majority of the party is uniting with its Renaudel minority.

As regards the so-called Syndicalist minority, which at the last congress in Lyons amounted in some of the questions to a third part of the total number of delegates, it represents an extremely unformed tendency, in which the revolutionary Communists stand side by side with the Anarchists who have not yet broken with old prejudices, and with the „Longuetists“ of French Syndicalism (coalitionists). In this minority the superstitious Anarchist hostility against the seizure of the power is still very strong, and in many instances these superstitions conceal the simple fear of a revolutionary initiative and a lack of will for action. From this Syndicalist minority the idea of a general strike was born, as a measure for the realisation of the nationalisation of the railways. The program of nationalisation put forward conjointly with the reformists,

as a formula of coalition with the bourgeois classes, stands out, as a general national task, against a purely class program, that is, the revolutionary expropriation of the railways and other capital by the working class. But the coalition-opportunistic nature of the slogan attached to the general strike paralysed the revolutionary impulse of the proletariat, engendered uneasiness and hesitation in its masses, and made it retreat in indecision before the application of such an extreme measure as a general strike, which demands the greatest sacrifices from the proletariat in the name of purely reformist radical-bourgeois aims.

Only a clear and distinct definition of the revolutionary tasks by the Communists will be able to bring the requisite clearness into the ranks of the Syndicalists and their casual fellow-travellers, and give a precise program of action to the revolutionary proletarian masses.

### IV.

Such purely intellectual groups are very symptomatic of the pre-revolutionary epoch, when a small and courageous part of the bourgeois educated class, foreseeing the approach of a deep revolutionary crisis, break from the thoroughly rotten ruling classes and seek for new ideological bearings. According to their nature such elements are naturally inclined to individualism, to assembling in separate groups on the basis of personal sympathies and views; they are incapable of elaborating, and still less of applying, a definite system of revolutionary opinions, and therefore they make of their work a purely idealistic propaganda, coloured with Communism and diluted with purely humanitarian tendencies. Sincerely sympathising with the Communist movement of the working class, such elements, however, frequently draw away from the proletariat at the most important moment, when the weapon of criticism is exchanged for the criticism of the weapon, in order to give their sympathy again to the proletariat when the latter, after seizing the power, is able to deploy its creative faculty. The duty of revolutionary Communism is to explain to the advanced workers the purely symptomatic significance of such groups, and to criticise their idealistic passivity and straitness of mind.

The advanced workers must in no case group themselves as a choir round such intellectual soloists; they must form an independent organization, which must accomplish its work independently of the ebb and flow of the sympha-



thies of even the best part of the bourgeois educated class.

### V.

At the present moment in France, together with a radical revision of the theory and practice of French parliamentary Socialism, a decisive revision of the theory and practice of French Syndicalism is necessary, in order that its surviving superstitions should not encumber the development of the Communist revolutionary movement.

A. It is quite evident that a further „disavowal“ of politics and the state on the part of the French Syndicalism would be a capitulation before bourgeois politics and the state of capitalism. It is not sufficient to disavow the state—one must take possession of it in order to overcome it. The struggle for the acquisition of the governing apparatus is revolutionary politics. To renounce it means to renounce the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary class.

B. The initiative minority, to whom the Syndicalist gives the leadership by placing it practically over the labour organizations of the working masses, cannot remain shapeless. If we should organize properly this initiative minority of the working class; if it should be welded together by an interior discipline corresponding to the merciless demands of the revolutionary epoch; if we should arm it with a correct doctrine and a scientifically drawn up program of the proletarian revolution - then we should obtain nothing else than a Communist Party, standing above the syndicates, as well as above all other forms of the labour movement, mentally fertilising them and directing all their work.

C. The syndicates, grouping the workmen according to the industries, cannot be the organ of a revolutionary government of the proletariat.

Such an apparatus can be handed over to the initiative minority (the Communist Party) only by the Soviets, which embrace the workers of all the departments, all the branches of industry, all the trades, and by this means put forward all the fundamental, general social revolutionary interests of the proletariat. It becomes consequently urgently necessary to create a French Communist Party, which must entirely absorb the revolutionary wing of the present Socialist Party, and the revolutionary section of French Syndicalism. The Party must form its own perfectly independent, strictly centralised apparatus, not depending on the present Socialist Party, nor the C. G. T. and the local syndicates.

The present position of the French Communists who represent on the one hand the internal opposition in the C. G. T., and on the other that in the Socialist Party, makes of French Communism not an independent factor but a kind of negative supplement of the existing fundamental organs (the Party and the Syndicates), and deprives it of its necessary fighting force, direct contact with the masses and a leading authority.

French Communism must emerge from such a preparatory stage at whatever cost. The only way out of it is to proceed immediately to the formation of a centralised Communist Party, and first of all, to create in the chief centres of the labour movement daily papers which—in contradistinction to the present weekly paper—would not be organs of internal organizational criticism and abstract propaganda, but organs of a direct revolutionary propaganda and political direction of the struggle of the proletarian masses. The formation of a military Communist Party in France is at present a question of life and death for the revolutionary movement of the French proletariat.





## Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

By L. Kamenev.

THE conservation of ideology, the theory of principles, the slowness of their adaptation to the rapidly onward coursing life, their constant looking behind the new recurring forms of the struggle—have frequently been noted by the Marxists. In our struggle for Communism we constantly meet with these facts, we constantly have to remark how great is the power of the old ideology even over the best men of the present Labour movement—in so far as these men have grown up in the atmosphere of pre-war Europe.

This mental conservatism is most particularly observed in the question of dictatorship. Six years of war and revolution (1914-1920) it would seem, should have elucidated this finally, from all points of view by practice, by facts out of the everyday life of the masses, and yet, even among the comrades adhering to the Third International, it often occurs to us to hear the question: "What is the dictatorship of the proletariat? . . . Cannot the Labour movement attain its object without a dictatorship? . . . Why is dictatorship inevitable?" I have heard these questions not only from the members of the English Trade Union delegation, but even from some of the members of the delegation of Italian Socialists.

When one hears such questions, one thinks involuntarily that the persons uttering them must have slept through a whole historical period, and first of all they have slept through the world war of 1914-1918. These years have been samples of the epoch of dictatorship, and the methods of carrying on the war were models of the application of dictatorial methods of ruling a country.

From the point of view of the government of a country the imperialist war consisted in the assembling and placing under a single command of millions of men, in providing their equipment and transport, and in compelling these many-millioned masses to carry out certain tasks. These tasks were foreign to these millions of men and accompanied, for each of them separately, with unheard of sufferings, privations and the risk of death. How did the governments of Europe, America and Asia accomplish their task? By what methods did they guarantee the assembling, equipment, transport and command of these millions? By what methods did they attain that the whole administrative, economical and social life of state was adapted to carrying out of the tasks set by the government? Was this achieved by means of democracy? By the means of parliamentarism? By means of the realisation of the sovereignty of the "people"?

The sovereignty of the people, democracy, the state, parliamentarism, even from the point of view of their hypocritical bourgeois defenders cannot but mean the discussion and decision of the most important questions of the state and social life of the "free" citizens, although "sovereign" in the eyes of the law.

However, at present, even the most obscure unenlightened peasant of the most backward of all countries drawn into the war knows that the government of a country in 1914-1918 was in general and in particular a clear, simple, most elementary refutation of these regulations of bourgeois democracy. Democracy, parliaments, elections, freedom of the press remained—in so far as they did remain—a simple screen; in reality all the countries drawn into the war—the whole world—were governed by the methods of a dictatorship, which utilised, when it happened to be convenient and profitable, the elections, and the parliaments, and the press.

One must be a blind fool or a conscious deceiver of the masses, not to see or to conceal the fundamental fact at the most critical period of their history, at the moment of their struggle for existence the bourgeois States of Europe, Asia and America defended themselves not by means of democracy and parliamentarism, but by openly passing over to the methods of dictatorship.

It was the dictatorship of the general staffs of the officers' corps and big industry, to whom belonged not only essentially but also formally all the power in the army and in the country, who commanded not only the lives, but also the property of the whole country and each citizen, not only living at the time, but yet to be born (the military debts of Messrs. Romanov, Hohenzollern, Clemenceau and Lloyd George will cover the lives and work of future generations).

During the course of several years, before the eyes of the whole human race, a picture of the practice of dictatorship is unrolled, a dictatorship ruling over the whole world determining everything, regulating everything and confirming its existence by 20,000,000 corpses on the fields of Europe and Asia. It is natural, therefore, that to the question, "What is dictatorship?" the Communists should answer: "Open your eyes and you will see before you a beautifully elaborated system of bourgeois dictatorship, which has achieved its object, because it has given such a concentration of power into the hands of a small group of world imperialists, which allowed them to *conduct their war and attain their peace* (of Versailles). Do not pretend that dictatorship, like a system of government, like a form of power can frighten any one except the old women of bourgeois pacifism. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not suppress 'equality,' 'liberty' and 'democracy'; that is the function of the bourgeois dictatorship, which in 1914-1918 has shown itself to be the most bloody, most tyrannical, most pitiless, cynical and hypocritical of all forms of power that were ever practised."

The theorists of Communism, beginning with Karl Marx, have proved, however, a long time ago, that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not consist in replac-

ing the bourgeoisie by the proletariat at a given apparatus of government. The duty of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to break up the apparatus of government created by the bourgeoisie, and to replace it by a new one, created on a different basis and reposing on a new correlation of the classes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat appears in the programmes of Socialist Parties not earlier than the seventies of the nineteenth century. However, during the whole period of the Second International, it did not once become the practical duty of the day, and did not attract the attention either of the practitioners or the theorists of the Labour movement; and only when in 1914-1918, through the veil of democracy, parliamentarism and political liberty the ambiguous features of the bourgeois dictatorship were clearly discernible, did the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat become a real force. It became a force because, as Marx says, it took possession of the proletarian masses.

In the programme of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903, which aspired to be only a precise and improved wording of the programmes of the former Social Democratic Parties, and which at the time, in 1903, united both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat was expressed as follows:

"The necessary condition for a social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the proletariat must acquire a political power that will allow it to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters." This definition has entered fully into the programme of the Russian Communist Party.

The authors of the programme of 1903 could not foresee the real circumstances in which the proletariat of some country would have to seize the power into its hands. They certainly did not attempt at the time to define in what measure the dictatorship of the proletariat would be connected with the formation of the proletarian (Red) army, with the practice of Terror, with the limitation of political liberty. They had to underline and they did underline, not these changeable elements—varying in the various countries—of the proletarian dictatorship, but its fundamental feature, unchangeable and obligatory for any country and any historical conditions under which the proletariat seizes the power.

The proletariat not only seizes the power; in grasping it, the proletariat gives to it such a character, such a degree of concentration, energy, determination, unlimitedness, which, according to the words of the programme, "will allow it to crush all resistance of the exploiters," that is the fundamental feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is thus such an organisation of the state and such a form of government of state affairs, which in the transitional stage from capitalism to Communism will allow the proletariat, as the ruling class, to crush all resistance by the exploiters to the business of Socialist reconstruction.

It is thus clear that the question itself of the necessity, the inevitability of a proletarian dictatorship for a capitalist country is connected with the question as to whether the resistance of the exploiters against their expropriation by Socialist society, or, more precisely, by society marching toward Socialism, is inevitable.

In the same way is the question regarding the degree of severity of the dictatorship, of the proportions and conditions of the limitation of the political rights of the

bourgeoisie or of the limitation of political liberty in general, of the application of terroristic methods, and so on, is indissolubly linked with the question of the degree, forms, stubbornness and organisation of the exploiters.

Any one who expresses a doubt as to the inevitability of a dictatorship of the proletariat, as a necessary stage towards a Socialist society at the same time expresses a doubt of the bourgeoisie showing any resistance against the proletariat at the decisive hour of the expropriation of the exploiters.

The propaganda based on this may be dictated either by individual stupidity or the interestedness of a group of persons to conceal from the proletariat the circumstances of the forthcoming struggle and to prevent it from preparing for the same.

When persons, calling themselves Socialists, declare that the course of dictatorship, admissible and explainable for Russia, is in no wise obligatory or inevitable for any other capitalist country, then they proclaim something directly contrary to truth. It is true, the Russian bourgeoisie always was and up to the October Revolution remained the least organised, the least conscientious in the sense of class, the least united of the bourgeoisies in the countries of the old capitalist culture. The Russian peasantry had not time to put forward a group of strong and politically-united peasantry, which is the basis of a series of bourgeois parties in the West. The Russian small bourgeoisies of the towns, crushed and politically-unenlightened, never represented anything like such groups of the population, which in the West form and support the parties of "Christian Socialism" and anti-Semitism.

The first thunder claps of the proletarian revolution broke over this politically backward, inactive and unorganised class. "The resistance of the exploiters" against the blows of the Russian proletariat must therefore be considered as comparatively weak, naturally, weak only in comparison with the activity which the bourgeoisie of any European country will be able to develop. The actively resisting element, which extended the struggle for three years, were not the unorganised forces of the Russian bourgeoisie but first of all foreign interventionists, and after them the bourgeoisie of the frontier countries (Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine), which managed to unite under the flag of nationalism and by playing upon the century-old hatred against the Tsarist Russia certain organised groups for the resistance against the Russian proletariat. If it were not for these external circumstances the resistance of the Russian bourgeoisie would have been broken not in three years, but in three months and the proletarian apparatus of state power would naturally have directed all its energy towards other matters.

In conformity with the nature of the resistance which was to be expected from the Russian rich classes and their organisations the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia had its period of "rosy illusions" and "sentimental youth."

There can be nothing more mistaken than to presume, that the Russian proletariat, or even its leader, the Communist Party, had come into power with recipes prepared in advance of practical measures for the realisation of the dictatorship. Only "Socialist" ignoramuses or charlatans could affirm that the Russian Communists came into power with a prepared plan for a permanent army, extraordinary commissions, and limitations of political liberty, to which the Russian proletariat was obliged to recur for self-defense after its bitter experi-

ence. The cause of the proletariat was saved, because it soon profited by the acquired experience and with un-failing energy applied these methods of struggle when it became convinced of their inevitableness.

The transfer of power of the Soviets and the formation of the new workmen-peasant government took part November 7th, 1917. The discomfiture and unorganisation of the bourgeoisie were so great that it did not move out any serious forces against the workmen. The resistance of the government of Kèrensky was broken after a few days. The elections to the Constituent Assembly still continued. All the political parties—up to Miliukov's party—continued to exist openly. All the bourgeois newspapers continued to circulate. Capital punishment was abolished. The army was being demobilised. In the hands of the government there were no other forces than the volunteer detachments of armed workmen. The Ministers of Kèrensky's government, arrested during the first days, leaders of the Social Revolutionist Party, Avksentiev, Gotz, Zenzinov, Generals Boldarev, Krassnov and others—later on all of them leaders of the armed struggle against the Soviet power and members of the mutinous governments of Siberia, the Don, and the South—are set free. Generals Denikin, Markov, Erdeli and others remain in the hands of the Soviet power up to November 20th and leave its limits alive.

Yes, that was the period of "rosy illusions." It continued for a few months.

The conditions began to change by April-May, 1918. In April, 1919, the decree regarding the formation of a permanent Red Army was published. Only in April the extraordinary commissions acquired the right to apply capital punishment by shooting at robbers caught in the act and to officers going off to Kornilov, according to his secret mobilisation. Only June 18th the Revolutionary Court passed its first sentence of death against the Admiral commanding the Baltic Fleet. Only in May measures were taken to stop the publication of the bourgeois papers (at the moment of this disclosure there were thirty bourgeois papers against three of the Soviets in Moscow alone). Only in June, 1918, were the Mensheviks driven out of the Soviets.

Thus over six months (November, 1917, April-May, 1918,) passed from the moment of the formation of the Soviet power till the proletariat practically applied any harsh dictatorial measures. This increased severity in the dictatorial régime was called forth by a series of very elementary facts: In April the Government of Skoropadsky was organised in Kiev, in May took place the uprising of the Tchecko-Slovaks, their seizure of the railway system and the formation of the Social Revolutionist government in the East; in May, too, the Cossack counter revolution on the Don—the Russian Vendée—acquires increased proportions under the command of General Krassnov.

In conformance with this all the attention and energy of the labour class are concentrated on the tasks of the war and the Soviet State is transformed into a camp of armed proletarians.

Such is the experience of the Russian proletariat. We have now before us the experience of the class struggle for the proletarian power in Finland, Hungary and Germany. The fundamental difference between the experience of Hungary, Finland and Germany and that of Russia consist therein that the bourgeoisie of those countries, proved, as was to be expected, to be much more organised, united and capable of fighting than the Russian

bourgeoisie. Its period of disconcertion was much shorter; it organised a counter attack against the proletariat much more rapidly and energetically and shortened thus the period of illusions of the proletariat itself regarding the nature of its dictatorship.

The experience of the proletariats of Russia, Finland, Hungary and Germany allows us to establish an empiric law on the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it may be expressed approximately in the following words: The fact of the acquisition of the central political power by the proletariat does in no wise complete the struggle for the power, but only serves as the beginning of a new and more obdurate period of warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

After the first blow of the proletarian revolution and the seizure of the central apparatus of the power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie invariably needs a certain time for mobilisation of its forces, the drawing up of reserves and their organisation. Its passage to a counter attack opens an epoch of undisguised warfare, and armed confrontation of the forces of both sides.

During this period the ruling power of the proletariat acquires the harsh features of a dictatorship: the Red Army, a terroristic suppression of the exploiters and their allies, the limitation of political liberty become inevitable if only the proletariat does not wish to give up the acquired power without a fight for it.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is consequently a form of governing the state which is the most adapted to carrying on a war with the bourgeoisie and to guarantee the most rapidly the victory of the proletariat in such war.

Are there any grounds for presuming that such a war in Europe will be carried on in less acute forms? That the European bourgeoisie will submit with a lighter heart to the expropriation of its riches by the proletariat? Can any reasonable person build his tactics on the supposition that the European bourgeoisie will not show all the resistance that it is capable of against the proletariat in power? Can one presume that on entering into the fight against the proletariat in power, the European bourgeoisie will prove to be less armed, less capable of fighting, less united and prudent than the bourgeoisies of Russia, Finland or Hungary? Can one think that it will stop at any means, beginning from the long-existing union with the betrayers of Socialism from the camp of the Second International up to the bombardment of the workmen's quarters and the application of first rate technical methods for the destruction of the enemy in war?

What under these conditions can a doubt in the inevitableness of the methods of a proletarian dictatorship mean but a refusal to work daily for the preparation of the proletariat to utilise all the methods of dictatorship in the coming struggle?

To proceed towards a seizure of the power, not hoping and not preparing the conditions to hold it, is simply adventurism; to recognise the necessity for the proletariat to acquire the power and to doubt the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat, to refuse to instruct the workmen in this direction—means to consciously prepare the betrayal of the cause of Socialism. Any one who does not recognise the necessity of the severest proletarian dictatorship during the transitional period from capitalism to Socialism; who does not prepare the conditions therefor, so that the proletariat, on acquiring the central apparatus of the power, should direct it to the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters; who does not ex-

plain to the proletariat at once, as a necessary condition of its victory, the inevitableness of an armed struggle and harsh measures against treason and fluctuations and does not arm the proletariat with the corresponding means, such a person is preparing the ruin of the proletariat and the victory of the bourgeoisie.

But if the dictatorship of the proletariat is such an organisation of the power, which is the most adapted to the carrying on of the war against the bourgeoisie and the suppression of its resistance, then we have an answer also to the question which is generally set to the Communists by the different syndicalists. The latter, which admitting the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot desist from their old prejudices against the political party of the proletariat. The question, consequently, consists therein, what organisation is capable of realising the tasks of the dictatorship?

There can be no doubt that in the moment of the decisive class war the power of command and compulsion must lie in the hands of a definite organisation capable of bearing the responsibility for each step and of guaranteeing the consecutiveness of these steps.

The army of the proletariat moving in battle order must have its general staff. When leading its regiments to the attack his general staff must be capable of surveying the whole combination of the international, political and economic conditions of the struggle. It must possess equal authority over all kinds of arms, which are at the disposition of the working class. It must be in a position to carry out its revolutions through the Labour Unions, and the workmen's cooperations, through the factory committees, and through the unions of young workmen, by means of written propaganda, and through the fighting militia of armed workmen.

At the moment when the old power is overthrown and the apparatus of government is seized by the revolted proletariat signifies the disorganisation of the old social life. The formation of a new army, the guaranteeing of provisions, the building up of the industry on new principles, the organisation of law courts, the establishment of relations with the peasants, the diplomatic relations with other countries—all these matters become at once the nearest tasks of the general staff of the victorious army of the proletariat. Any delay in the solution of one of these tasks or any hesitation in the decision is capable of bringing the greatest harm to the further victorious development of the proletarian revolution.

Consequently, this general staff must be an organised, responsible and centralised institution prepared to deal with and decide all political, economical, social and diplomatic problems. An organisation which would satisfy these condition and accomplish the tasks laid upon it may certainly be called by any name whatever, but as a matter of fact, such an organisation can only be the political party of the proletariat; i. e., an organisation of the most advanced revolutionary elements of the proletari-

at, united by their common political programme and an iron discipline.

Such an organisation cannot be formed within a day or even a week; it is the result of a lasting selection and assembling of their leaders, who have proved by their daily work to be capable of estimating rightly each form of the labour struggle and the interests of each separate group of the working class from the higher point of view of the general interests of the entire working class as a whole.

The greatest misfortune which could befall the proletarian army, seizing the strongholds of capitalism, would be if the apparatus of leadership would prove to be in the hands of men, or groups or organisations whose preceding work had been carried on only in the sphere of the labour movement.

The suppression of the resistance of the exploiters—which is the fundamental task of the dictatorship—is not only a military, or only a political, or only an economical task, it is all of them, military, political and economical. The resistance of the exploiters requires its most acute form during the armed strife; but the rich peasantry, which does not give the bread for the famishing population; the engineers, refusing to work for the industry, and the bankers bringing confusion into the mutual accounts of the industrial enterprises by concealing their books—are not less important factors in the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The suppression of all these various forms of resistance can no less be the work of an organisation formed in the narrow sphere of the industrial labour movement, as, say, an organisation in the sphere of a labour corporation. It can be successfully achieved only by a general organisation of all the workers, in the form of their Soviets, in which are represented all the forms of the labour movement and which are under the guidance of a political party concentrating in itself the whole experience of the preceding struggle of the working class.

In the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Communist Party is more necessary to the working class than in any other. It is the necessary condition for the victory. A refusal to work for its creation and strengthening means renunciation from the efficient leading of the class war; i. e., a renunciation from dictatorship, from a condition of the victory of Socialism and may engender, although even unconsciously, the most cruel betrayal of the labour cause, by depriving the proletariat at the most grave moment of its most important arm. Any one who doubts of the inevitableness of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a necessary stage towards its victory over the bourgeoisie, facilitates the conditions of the latter's victory; any one who doubts or renounces the political party of the proletariat, is preparing the weakening and disorganisation of the working masses.

June, 1920.





## Theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the Second Congress of the Communist International.

### Conditions for Joining the Communist International.

**T**HE First constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for the joining of the Third International by separate Parties. At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress, in the majority of countries there existed only Communist directions and groups.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is assembling under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and directions, but Communist Parties and organizations.

The Communist International is more and more frequently receiving applications from Parties and groups, but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really Communists.

The Second International Parties and the groups of the „centre“, seeing the complete hopelessness of the Second International, are trying to lean upon the ever-strengthening Communist International, hoping at the same time however to preserve a certain „autonomy“ which would enable them to carry on their former opportunist or „centrist“ policy.

The Communist International is beginning to be 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 sympathies of the majority of conscient workers of the whole world, and that it is growing stronger every day.

Under certain circumstances the Communist International may be threatened with the danger of dilution by the fluctuating and half-and-half groups, which have not yet done with the ideology of the Second International.

Besides, in some of the large Parties (Italy, Sweden), the majority of which are adhering

to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only waiting for the moment to lift its head again, begin an active „sabotage“ of the proletarian revolution, and thus help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

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

The Union between the Hungarian Communists and the reformists cost the Hungarian proletariat very dear.

In view of this, the Second World Congress sees fit to establish the most precise conditions for the joining of new Parties, and also to point out to such Parties as have already joined the Communist International, the duties laid upon them.

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

1. The daily propaganda must bear a truly Communist character.

All the organs of the press which are in the hands of the Party must be edited by reliable Communists, who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current well-learned formula; it must be propagated in such a way that its necessity for each rank and—fileworkman, workwoman, soldier, peasant should follow from every day facts, systematically recorded by our press day by day.

On the pages of the newspapers, at popular meetings, in the labour unions, in the cooperatives, in every place to which the partisans of the Third International have access, they must denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but its assistants, the reformists of all shades and colours.

2. Each organization wishing to join the Communist International shall be bound to remove

systematically and regularly from all the responsible posts in the Labour movement (Party organizations, editor's office, labour unions, parliamentary faction, cooperatives, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and partisans of the „centre“, and to replace them by Communists without troubling about the fact that in the beginning it might be necessary to replace „experienced“ men by rank-and-file workmen.

3. In all countries where in consequence of martial law or exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary. The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communist cannot have any confidence in the bourgeois laws. They are bound to create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment may help the Party to accomplish its duty to the Revolution.

4. An insistent systematic propaganda and agitation in the army is necessary, and the formation of Communist nuclei in each military organization. The Communists must carry on this work for the most part illegally, but a refusal to do such work would be equal to treason against the revolutionary cause, and inconsistent with their belonging to the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda in the rural districts is necessary. The working class cannot gain the victory without having at least part of the rural workers and the poorer peasants on its side, and without neutralising by its policy at least part of the other inhabitants of the country. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a primary importance in this epoch. It should be carried on through workmen—Communists—having connections in the country. To refuse to do this work or to transfer it to untrustworthy half-reformist hands is equal to desisting from the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of joining the Third International is bound to denounce not only open social patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism: it must systematically demonstrate to the workmen that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be able to save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International shall be bound to recognise the

necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the centrists, and to propagate this rupture among the widest circles of members of the Party. Without this condition a consecutive Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be realised with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself with the fact that such acknowledged reformists as for instance Turatti, Modigliani and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the late Second International.

8. In the question of colonies and the oppressed nationalities an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the Parties of countries whose bourgeoisie possess such colonies or oppress other nationalities—is necessary. Each party desirous of belonging to the Third International shall be bound to denounce without any mercy all the tricks of „its own“ imperialists in the colonies, supporting not in words only, but in deeds, all liberation movements in the colonies. It must demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate in the hearts of the workmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the worker population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against any oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every Party desirous of belonging to the Communist International shall be bound to carry on a systematic and persistent Communist work in the labour unions, cooperatives and other labour organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist nuclei within these organizations, which by persistent and lasting work must win over the labour unions to the side of Communism. These nuclei must constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and the fluctuations of the „centre“. These Communist nuclei must 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 must insistently propagate among the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must support by all the means in its power the international unification of Red labour unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.



11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to reinspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, remove all unreliable elements therefrom, subordinate such factions not verbally only, but in reality, to the Central Committee of the Party, and demand from each proletarian Communist to submit his whole work to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. In the same way should all the periodical and other press and all publications be fully subordinated to the Central Committee, whether the Party as a whole at the given moment is lawful or illegal; it is quite inadmissible that any publisher abusing their autonomy might carry on a policy different from that of the Party.

13. The Parties belonging to the Communist International must be organized on the principles of democratic centralism. At the present moment of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able to fulfill its duty only if it is organized in the most centralised form, if it is ruled by an iron discipline, almost a military one, and if its Party center is an organ of authority with full power, enjoying the complete confidence of the members of the Party.

14. The Communist Parties of countries where the Communists may carry on their work lawfully, must periodically weed out (by re-registration) the personnel of the Party organizations, in order to clean the Party systematically from all the petty bourgeois elements which inevitably creep into it.

15. Each Party desirous of belonging to the Communist International shall be bound to render all possible aid to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties shall carry on an unfailing propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport objects of military equipment addressed to the enemies of the Soviet Republics, and also by lawful means or illegally to carry on a propaganda among the troops sent against the Workers Republics, etc.

16. The Parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old Social and Democratic

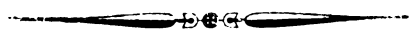
programs within the shortest time possible, and to draw up a new Communist program in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the program of each Party belonging to the Communist International must be confirmed by the next Congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of nonconfirmation of the program of any Party by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

17. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of its Executive Committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, centralised form than the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and its Executive Committee are naturally bound in all their work to consider the variety of conditions under which the different Parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions shall be passed only on such questions, on which such resolutions are possible.

18. In connection with the above all Parties desiring to join the Communist International must alter their names.

Each Party desirous of joining the Communist International must bear the following name:

Communist Party of such-and-such country (Section of Third Communist International). The question of denomination of a party is not only a formal one, but it is political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic Parties. It is necessary that each rank-and-file worker should be able to distinguish clearly the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official „Social Democratic“ or „Socialist“ parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.





## Draft of Constitution of the Communist International

By G. Zinoviev.

**I**N the year 1864 the first International Workingmen's Association—the first International—was conceived in London. In the Constitution of this International Workingmen's Association it was stated:

„The liberation of the workmen must be the business of the workers themselves. In struggling for their liberation, the workers must strive not to create new privileges, but abolish all, and to suppress all class supremacy.

„The economic subordination of the worker to the owner of the means of production, that is to say, all the sources of life, is the chief cause of his political, industrial, economic and moral enslavement.

„Therefore the economic liberation of the workers is the great object to which all political movements as a means must be subordinated.

„All attempts to attain this object have so far remained unsuccessful because of the different industries in each separate country, and the absence of a brotherly union between the workers of different countries.

„The liberation of Labour, being neither a local, nor national, but an International task, touches the interests of all countries in which the modern social order exists, and for its accomplishment it demands mutual material and moral support“.

The Second International, convened in 1889 in Paris, undertook to continue the work of the First International. But in 1914, at the beginning of the world war it suffered a complete collapse. The Second International expired, undermined by opportunism and slain by the treachery of the leaders who had passed over to the bourgeoisie.

The Third Communist International convened, in March 1919 in Moscow, the capital of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, proclaimed solemnly to the whole world that it undertakes to continue and complete the great work begun by the first International Workingmen's Association.

The Third Communist International was organized at the moment the imperialist war of 1914—1918 was drawing to its close, a slaughter in which the imperialistic bourgeoisie of different countries sacrificed twenty millions of men.

„Remember the imperialistic war!“. These are the first words that the Communist International addresses to each worker, wherever he might live, whatever language he may speak. Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalist order, a small group of imperialists was able during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each others throats! Remember that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the whole world into terrible famine and poverty! Remember that without the overthrow of capitalism the repetition of such wars for plunder is not only possible, but even inevitable.

The object of the Communist International is a struggle with force of arms for the suppression of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet Republic, as a transitional stage to the complete suppression of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only mass of delivering humanity from the horrors of capitalism. And the Communist International considers the Soviet power the historically-created form of such dictatorship of the proletariat.

The imperialist war has joined particularly closely the fate of the workers of one country with that of the proletarians of all other countries. It has once more confirmed the truth of the words in the constitution of the First International: „the liberation of labour is not a local, nor national, but an international task“.

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International, for which practically only the white race existed.

The Communist International's aim is the liberation of the workers of the whole world. In the ranks of the Communist International

are united as brothers the white, yellow and black races—the workers of the whole world.

The Communist International supports fully and unswervingly the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious Socialist revolution in the history of the world, and calls upon the proletarians of the whole world to follow its steps.

The Communist International knows that in order to achieve victory sooner, the International Workingmen's Association, struggling for the suppression of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, must have a regular centralised organization. The organized apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee to the workers of each country the possibility at any given moment of receiving the maximum of assistance from the organized proletarians of the other countries.

To this end the Communist International confirms the following articles of the Constitution:

Art. 1. The new International Workingmen's Association is formed for the organization of joint action by the proletariats of various countries, who are struggling for the same aims: the suppression of capitalism, the formation of an international Soviet Republic by means of a dictatorship of the proletariat, the complete liberation of the working class and the establishment of Communism.

Art. 2. The new International Workingmen's Association shall be named the Communist International.

Art. 3. All parties and organizations joining the Communist International shall be called „Communist Party of such-and-such country (Section of the Communist International)“.

Art. 4. The highest organ of the Communist International is a World Congress of all the parties and organizations constituting it.

The World Congress shall be convened as a rule not less than once a year.

The World Congress alone is empowered to modify the program of the Communist International.

The World Congress confirms the programs of the different Parties which joining the Communist International. It discusses and passes resolutions on the most important questions of program and tactics connected with the work of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes for each party and organization at the World Congress shall be determined by special resolutions of the Congress.

Art. 5. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which is the leading organ of the Communist

International during the periods between the World Congresses, and which is accountable to the World Congress only.

Art. 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be determined by the World Congress of the Communist International.

Art. 7. An extraordinary World Congress of the Communist International may be convened by decision of the Executive Committee, or at the request of the Parties forming part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

Art. 8. The chief burden of the work and responsibility before the Executive Committee of the Communist International lies on the Party of the country in which the Executive Committee resides, as decreed by the World Congress. The Party of the given country shall have not less than five representatives on the Executive Committee with decisive vote. Besides this, ten of the largest Communist Parties shall each have one representative with a decisive vote on the Executive Committee: a list of such representatives shall be confirmed by the World Congress. The remaining Parties and organizations, members of the Communist International, shall be entitled to send to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

Art. 9. The Executive Committee shall direct the whole work of the Communist International from Congress to Congress, and it shall publish in not less than four languages a central organ of the Communist International („Communist International“); it shall issue the necessary proclamations in the name of the Communist International and give binding directions to all Parties and organizations constituting the Third International. In case of need the Communist International shall organize in different countries its own technical and other offices, completely subordinated to the Communist International.

Art. 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be entitled to receive with the right of a consultative vote representatives of Parties and organisations not included in the Communist International, but sympathising with Communism.

Art. 11. The organs of all Parties and organizations constituting the Communist International and those sympathising with the Communist International shall be bound to publish all the official resolutions of the Communist International and its Executive Committee.

Art. 12. The general conditions in all Europe and America compel the Communists of all the world to form illegal organizations, parallel with the lawful ones. Both the lawful and illegal organizations are completely subordinated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Art. 13. As a rule, all relations between the separate Parties forming the Communist International, are carried on through the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In case of the urgency the relations are carried on directly, but at the same time the Executive Committee of the Communist International is informed thereof.

Art. 14. Labour Unions which adopt the Communist platform and unite together on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall form Labour Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Labour Unions shall send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the Communist Parties of the given countries. Moreover, the Section of Labour Unions of the Communist International shall delegate one representative to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with the right of a decisive vote. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall

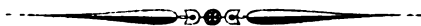
be entitled to delegate its representative with the right of a decisive vote to the Section of Labour Unions of the Communist International.

Art 15. The International Union of Communist Youth is subordinated to the Communist International and its Executive Committee.

One representative of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Communist Youth with the right of a decisive vote, shall be delegated to the Executive Committee of Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be entitled to delegate one representative with a decisive vote to the executive organ of the International Union of Communist Youth. The organisational mutual relations between the Union of Communist Youth and the Communist Party of a given country shall be determined on the same principles.

Art 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall confirm the appointment of an International Secretary of the Women's Communist movement, and it shall organize the Women's Section of the Communist International.

Art. 17. When passing from one country into another all members of the Communist International shall meet with brotherly support on the part of the local members of the Third International.





## British Communists in Conference

By Albert Inkpin, Secretary of the British Socialist Party.

**T**HE British Socialist Party (B. S. P.), the principal Communist organisation in Britain, has just held its Ninth Annual Congress in London. In every respect—in regard to the attendance, the high level of the discussions, and the revolutionary vigour and enthusiasm of the delegates—the Congress was unquestionably the most successful gathering of British Communists that has yet been held.

The proceedings were held at the Town Hall at Bethnal Green—an East London Borough municipally controlled by the Labour Party—whose Bolshevik Mayor, comrade J. J. Vaughan, after welcoming the Congress in the name of workers of the Borough, was unanimously invited to preside over its deliberations. Vaughan is an old Socialist fighter and a leader of the Electrical Trades Union, one of the more revolutionary of British trade unions, and his presidential address was a masterly survey of world-events from the view-point of the Third International and the Communist working class.

He declared that the difficulties of capitalism had not decreased with time, but had swollen to larger proportions as the rate of development had become more rapid. The class war had not abated its fury. On the contrary it had grown fiercer. The mask of hypocrisy had fallen from the face of the politicians, and they too were forced to avow themselves the open enemies of the working class in its struggle, instead of posing as benevolent arbiters outside the scope of the conflict. After dealing with the various industrial struggles which had taken place during the past year, and castigating the official leaders of British Labour for their treacherous policy of opportunism and compromise, Vaughan said that the economic dislocation and disintegration of Britain is not merely a legacy of the war, but also of the economic ruin of the continent of Europe, which is so great as to be past all remedy under capitalism. The capitalist countries of Europe cannot sell and cannot buy. It is like a death dance, in which

the dancers are led to destruction one after the other. Capitalism has reached its last hour and lies in mortal agony. No social order has ever wanted to die, but capitalism, which has just celebrated a bloody orgy, is mad with the lust to live and is fighting death with a savage determination. Look at the fight it has waged for the last two years in Russia, at the savage energy with which it fought for its life in Hungary and Bavaria, at the tenacity with which it is fighting for every inch of power in Germany! Judging by externals, Russia is still the only country in which the revolution has made further progress. Capitalism was able to defeat capitalism, but it has been unable to defeat Socialism—that is the great lesson to be learned. Russia is showing the way along which all will have to walk: first revolution, then labour for the common good. In a few years' time Russia will be the richest and happiest country in the world. The marvellous growth of the Third International, another glorious creation of the Russian Communists, is eloquent proof of the fact that the revolution is moving faster than can as yet be discerned on the surface. Wherever we look, we see a strong fermentation of the masses and a distinct move of the Socialist parties towards revolutionary Communism. There are a good many, of course, in every country, like the Independent Socialists of Germany and the French *majoritaires*, who dearly like trying to sit on two chairs. But the fact that most of them have already made up their minds to move away from the „Right“ chair shows clearly enough where we are, and all talk about forming a Fourth or a combined Third-Fourth International is only an idle waste of breath. Comrade Vaughan concluded an inspiring address by leading three cheers for revolutionary Communism and the Third International.

It is impossible here to do more than refer briefly to the more important subjects discussed at the Congress.

First among these was the question of further action to compel the British Government to take its claws off the Russian Socialist Republic, and to enter into definite negotiations for peace with the Soviet Government. In this connection I read to the Congress a stirring Manifesto that has been received from the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International, calling for the organisation of a General Strike on May the First. Comrade Mary Bamber then moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee:

The B. S. P. expresses its admiration of the boundless courage and glorious achievements of the Russian workers and peasants, who have set an example to the world by the establishment of a Socialist Republic, and thus realised the dream of ages for the first time in history. It condemns the British and Allied Governments in unmeasured terms for the help given by them to the Tsarist generals and counter-revolutionary capitalists, and congratulates the Soviet Government on the continued military successes of the Red Army, and its resistance to the combined forces of world capitalism. The conference calls the attention of the organised workers of this country to the appeal issued by the West European Secretariat of the Communist International for a general strike on May Day in support of the demand for peace with Russia and the full recognition of the Soviet Government, and it pledges the branches and members of the B. S. P. to do everything in their power to bring about a complete cessation of work on May Day as an expression of the solidarity of British workers with the Russian Soviet Republic.

This resolution was supported by comrade George Ebury, one of our National Organisers and propagandists, and was carried unanimously with great acclamation.

After Russia, the thoughts of the delegates were centered on the struggle being waged by the revolutionary German workers against the coalition of sham Socialists and bourgeois politicians now in power in the German Republic. A resolution on this matter was introduced by comrade F. Willis, editor of the party organ, *The Call*, as follows:

This conference of the B. S. P., affirming now as ever the international solidarity of the working class, hails with joy the uprising of the German workers against the militarist and capitalist clique which is endeavouring to maintain its old supremacy over them. It pledges itself to use its whole influence with the organised British workers to prevent support being given by this country to the reaction, and to use all means to break the dastardly blockade threatened by British and American capitalism against a Soviet Germany. The Conference further expresses its detestation of the action of those social democratic traitors who, by treachery and fraud, have assisted the German capitalists to defeat the revolutionary movement. The German revolution is not an isolated national event; it is a phase of the world revolution, and, as such, we affirm our

solidarity with it and send greetings to our comrades who are fighting the battle of the working class.

This resolution was also carried unanimously, together with an addendum suggested by comrade John Mac Lean to the effect that, should the Allies cross the Rhine, the B. S. P. would use every endeavour to bring about a general strike of the British working class.

During the sitting of the Congress a letter was read from a representative of the Communist Labour Party of America now in Britain, asking for the support of British workers for American Communists who are being subjected to brutal persecution by the capitalist government in America. A resolution of protest and sympathy was carried unanimously, in which the name of Eugene Debs was specifically included, and it was referred to the Executive Committee to consider a national campaign of protest against the White Terror in Hungary, Germany and America.

In a series of resolutions the Congress denounced the Versailles treaty as a brigands' peace, involving open and secret annexation, and the suppression of small nations or their reduction to mere pawns in the hands of the great Imperialist Powers, proclaimed its detestation of British imperialist rule in India, Egypt, Ireland and elsewhere, and conveyed the greetings of the revolutionary workers of Britain to the peoples of those countries; and declaring that only Communism can end war between nations and give to all peoples an assured independence and an incentive to peaceful cooperation, called upon all B. S. P. members to expend a maximum effort in arousing the masses for a universal triumph of the Third International.

The principal discussion on party aims and policy took place on the following resolution introduced by comrade H. F. Hodgson on behalf of the Executive Committee:

That this Conference of the B. S. P. reiterates its adherence to the Communist platform as an essential part of its revolutionary attitude towards the State at the present juncture. The time has arrived for the abolition of the capitalist order of society and the establishment of the Communist Commonwealth, in which everyone shall work for the common benefit and everybody shall have his share in the common product of labor and the common benefits of life. To this end the working class must establish its own exclusive domination, in place of that of the capitalist and landlord classes, and reorganise the State on the basis of the transfer of all public power to workers' councils directly elected by the rank and file in their places of work, and amenable to their direct control. The Conference has no faith in parliamentary institutions ever being able to effect this political and social revo-

lution, as they are in their very tendency, mode of construction and working, eminently calculated to serve the interests of the capitalist classes only; and sees in the universal organisation of the working class in such councils and in direct action by them the sole means of achieving such a revolution. The Conference pledges the party to propagate these views incessantly among the working class, availing itself for this purpose, among other means, of the very parliament and other public bodies which it seeks to supplant, as a public platform, and thus, in conjunction with the Third International to which it belongs, to help the working class to bring about a Communist revolution and the realisation of the Communist Commonwealth.

It was during this discussion that expression was found by the small section still remaining in the B. S. P. which does not identify itself unreservedly with the program of revolutionary Communism. The chief spokesman at the Congress for this group, comrade F. A. Broad, president of the Scientific Instrument Makers' Society, moved an amendment which, while not disavowing the fundamentals of the Communist program—the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet system and Revolutionary mass-action, laid greater emphasis upon the use of parliamentary and so-called „constitutional“ methods. The views of the overwhelming majority of party members, however, were clear and unequivocal. The amendment was rejected by 80 votes to 20 and the Executive Committee's resolution was adopted by 82 votes to 16.

The other and not the least important matter dealt with by the Congress was the question of the unification of the revolutionary left wing organisations in a united Communist Party. In submitting a report on this matter on behalf of the B. S. P. Executive, I described the protracted negotiations that took place during the last nine months; reported in detail on the several conferences with the other bodies (the Socialist Labour Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation and the South Wales Socialist Society) and indicated the points of disagreement, all having reference to tactics, that had manifested themselves from time to time. The B. S. P., in accordance with the views expressed by its members, both in Congress and by ballot, considered affiliation to the British Labour Party to be necessary in order that the revolutionary movement here should be kept in contact with the mass of organised workers. Nevertheless, in order to obtain unity, a considerable concession was made on this point, and on the proposal of the B. S. P. delegates it was agreed that the whole question of the relations of the new Communist Party

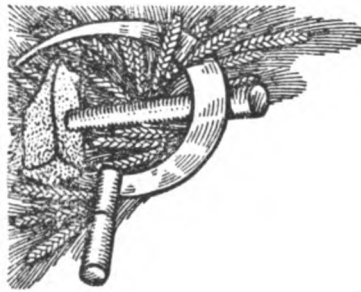
to the Labour Party should be left to a referendum of the new party three months after its formation. The S. L. P. Executive, however, subsequently threw over the whole proposal and repudiated its delegates to the Unity Conference. Later the B. S. P. endeavoured to re-open the negotiations and made even more concessions, so that no possible obstacle to Communist unity should remain. It agreed to waive altogether the question of national affiliation to the Labour Party, provided that branches of the Communist Party had local Autonomy in regard to their relations with local Labour Parties (this suggestion also had been put forward by the S. L. P. delegates) and that we had freedom, as individual members of the Communist Party, to advocate affiliation to the Labour Party. Even this further concession, however, was rejected; the S. L. P. stated categorically that under no circumstances could they consider unity with the B. S. P., and we were reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the W. S. F., also, did not want to unite. It was common knowledge, however, that a considerable section of the S. L. P. membership was profoundly dissatisfied with the attitude adopted by the S. L. P. Executive, which was largely dominated by Party traditions and past enmities, the real basis for which has long since passed away; and this section was understood to be willing to continue the negotiations with the B. S. P. It was on these grounds that I asked the Congress, after endorsing the steps we had already taken in the matter, to pledge itself not to allow minor points of detail or tactics to stand in the way of unity, and to empower us to proceed with the negotiations. The Congress by 90 votes to 16 adopted the resolution I proposed and gave the Executive Committee the mandate suggested. And it must not be imagined that even the 16 votes represented opposition to unity. On the contrary they were given in expression of the fear that the Executive Committee would not act swiftly enough, and were cast by those who preferred that the matter should be taken up by a special committee elected from the conference.

The news has now been received that the unity movement in the S. L. P. has taken definite shape, and at an unofficial S. L. P. Conference held at Nottingham, at which representatives were present from all parts of the country, including all the best known writers and propagandists of the S. L. P., a committee was appointed to carry on unity negotiations with the B. S. P. We shall now make an effort to



re-open negotiations with the other bodies, and so far as we are concerned, no minor points of detail or tactics will be allowed to stand in the way of complete Communist unity. In the meantime, the view we have expressed with regard to the relations of the Communist Party with the general mass of the organised workers, as represented by the Labour Party, have found striking confirmation in the statement dealing with „Parliaments or Soviets“ issued by comrade Zinoviev on behalf of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International. That

statement is a complete vindication of the use by Communists of bourgeois parliamentarism as providing an excellent pulpit for the propaganda of the proletarian revolution. „Being inside the hostile camp“ says Zinoviev, „they (the Communists) drop mines in the way of their enemies“. Precisely. And being inside the political organisation of the slowly awakening masses, we, too, «drop mines in the way of our enemies“, the social-patriotic and opportunist mis-leaders, and gradually and surely win the masses over to our side.





## Report as to the Communist Movement in Britain.

There are four revolutionary Socialist Parties in Britain, and an attempt is being made to weld them into one Communist Party. Several conferences have been held, the last at the end of May—and at the present time subcommittees are at work preparing a scheme that will be submitted to a convention to be held in the first week in August.

The four parties are The British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, The Workers' Socialist Federation, The South Wales Socialist Society.

The four parties are: The British Socialist Party, the of an attempt to establish a united Socialist Party. The attempt at unity was not very successful and in reality what happened was that the old Social Democratic Party became the B. S. P. The Social Democratic Party was the pioneer Socialist organisation in Britain, and to it belonged at one time or another William Morris, Harry Quelch, H. M. Hyndman, Tom Mann, and many other well known figures. It was a Marxian party, carried on an extensive propaganda, its official organ was *Justice* and when it became the B. S. P., the same work and traditions were carried on.

At the outbreak of the European War the old leaders of the B. S. P.—men like Hyndman, Hunter Watts, Victor Fisher, Dan Irving, Adolphe Smith and others attempted to turn the Party into a Social Patriotic organisation. The younger elements in the Party, led by E. C. Fairchild, J. Vineberg, T. Quelch, A. Inkpin, Th. Rothstein, and others opposed this, started a new paper *The Call*, and by March, 1915, had cast out the traitors from the Party. Hyndman & Co., however by a clever manoeuvre obtained possession of *Justice*, and *The Call* then became the official organ of the Party. A strong anti-war campaign was carried on. In *The Call*, by numerous pamphlets and leaflets, at meetings and demonstrations, the war was denounced as a capitalist imperialist venture. The Party at Labour Party Conferences and in the industrial organisations strongly advocated the reestablishment of international proletarian relations, and urged the working class to bring the war to an end. For its propaganda the Party was subjected to persecution by the Government, several members of the E. C., and a large number of comrades were imprisoned, and the Party premises were raided many times by the police. Literature was confiscated and a special number of *The Call* was suppressed.

When the Zimmerwald Conference was called, the Party associated itself with that movement, and applied for passports, which were refused. Tomi Quelch was appointed correspondent to Zimmerwald and a close contact was kept.

Then the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, was accomplished. The Party organised meetings and demonstrations in all parts of the country to welcome the event and exposed the lies spread by the capitalist press that the revolution was made in order that the war might be more vigorously prosecuted. The October Revolution was hailed with great enthusiasm by the Party, and the

E. C. immediately set to work to arouse a response from the British proletariat. We took the initiative in forming a Provisional Committee, which circulated the Socialist organisations.

Trade Unions, in order to get into direct touch with the masses, pointing out the time significance on the October Revolution and responsibility that rested on the British proletariat. A convention was called in 1917, at Leeds, which was a tremendous success, over 1,200 delegates, from all over the British Isles, representing Socialist organisations, Trades Councils and local organisations of Trade Unions attended. A revolution on the basis of peace without annexations or indemnities was carried, and another instructing the Executive to organise National and local Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. This was done. The country was divided into thirteen districts in which district conferences were organised. Support came from workers' organisations all over the country and from the general section of the Army. There is no question that the movement thoroughly alarmed the Government, which took energetic measures to suppress it. The district conferences were prohibited and forcibly broken up by hired gangs of hooligans. Although there were no immediate results of this effort. Nevertheless, it marked the turning point of the masses towards the war.

The Party initiated and has carried on an important "Hands off Russia" campaign and has sought to enlighten the people as to the real aims of the "democratic liberators" of Britain, who wish to restore capitalism and the old régime in Russia. In addition to that, the workers have been called upon by literature and by propaganda generally to follow the example of the Russian workers. Immediately the programme of the Third International was issued, a referendum on the questions of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", Soviet System, and the Third International was taken and by a very large majority the Party decided to affiliate with Moscow.

The party carries on an intensive Communist propaganda through the press, its brochures, leaflets, meetings, made at the industrial organisations of the working class, inside the Labour Party and by every means at its disposal.

At its last conference (Easter, 1920), the following resolution which indicates the policy of the party was passed.

That this conference of the B. S. P. its adhesion to the Communist platform as an essential part of its revolutionary attitude towards the State at the present juncture. The time has arrived for the abolition of the capitalist order of society and the establishment of the Communist Commonwealth, in which every one shall work for the common good, and every one shall have his share in the common product and common joys of life. To this end, the working class must establish its own undivided rule in the place of that of the capitalist and landlord classes, and reorganise the State on the basis of the transfer of all public powers to workers' councils directly elected by the rank and file in their places of work, and amenable to their direct control. The conference has no faith in

parliamentary institutions ever being able to effect this political and social revolution, as they are in their very tendency, mode of construction, and working eminently calculated to serve the interests of the capitalist class only, and sees in the universal organisation of the working class in such councils and in direct action by them the sole means of achieving such a revolution. The conference pledges the party to propagate these views incessantly amongst the working class, availing itself for this purpose, amongst other means, of the very parliament and other public bodies which it seeks to supplant, as a public platform and this in conjunction with the Third International, to which it belongs, to help the working class to bring about a Communist revolution, and the realisation of the Communist Commonwealth.

The Socialist Labour Party was formed about fifteen years ago by a number of comrades who left the S. D. P. because they believed that it was not revolutionary enough. It is a Marxist revolutionary party and has some very fine men in its ranks. It carries on an active propaganda, and during the war was very active. At the last general election it had three Parliamentary candidates (Paul, McManus and T. T. Murphy), so that although some of its members are opposed to Parliamentary action, the Party as such is in favour. Its program is political action and Industrial Unionism. The official organ is *The Socialist*, published in Glasgow. Recently three of the Party's best speakers and writers have been expelled for reasons that will be given later, and now the Party is very largely in the hands of a number of ultra "lefts" who denounce anything that does not appear to be "left" enough as reactionary, etc.

The Workers' Socialist Federation is the organisation with Sylvia Pankhurst at the head. It was formed from a women's suffrage society when the franchise was given to women and such a body was not required. It is also ultra-left, does not accept Parliamentary action, and—so far as one can analyse its programme does not accept political action at all. It is a small group mainly composed of women, and its official organ is *The Workers' Dreadnought*.

The South Wales Socialist Society is a small active body mainly composed of Welsh Unions, which are active in the Industrial Organisations in their districts. It is anti-parliamentary and syndicalist in outlook.

The chief difficulties in the way of unity have been the questions of parliamentary action and the Labour Party.

At the first Unity Conference, a deadlock having been reached on these questions, it was proposed by a Socialist Labour Party representative that a Communist Party be formed, and that a ballot be taken three months after the formation on the disputed questions. This was refused to the organisations and the B. S. P. by ballot agreed to go on the S. L. P., agreed to the formation of a Communist Party but refused to consider a ballot on the Labour Party question, the W. S. F. and the South Wales Society raised difficulties as to Parliamentary action.

The three representatives of the S. L. P., Comrades Paul, McManus and Bell continued to take part in the Unity negotiations but were repudiated by their party and were subsequently, expelled. The S. L. P. is not now a party to the negotiations, but an important section of it is.

On the question of Parliamentary action, there is likely to be more or less general agreement but on the question of the Labour Party there is a wide difference, and it is necessary to state what the Labour Party is, and what it does.

During the latter part of last century, demands began to be made that the Trade Unions should take part in political action in an organised fashion. At congress after congress the subject was raised, but always the old-fashioned Unions cried, "No politics in the Unions". It was not until the end of the century that a Labour Representation Committee was formed, and in

1906 this developed into the Labour Party. Such a move was a distinct victory for the more forward elements in the Trade Unions.

The Labour Party is the political department of the Trade Unions. Members of the unions agree to pay a small sum each year to a political fund, and the Union from this fund pays the election expenses of a certain number of Parliamentary candidates sanctioned by the members. A proportion of the fund goes to the Labour Party, which makes a grant towards the election expenses and assist with literature and advice.

Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Labour Party are not members in the ordinary sense—that is to say, they have not joined as individuals but have affiliated in their collective capacity as members of their unions. Thus the miners affiliate more than half a million in one block.

The Party accepts for affiliation also Socialist bodies and individuals. The British Socialist Party, the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society have joined. International members may join the local party centre but only a very small number are individual members.

The British Socialist Party is the only revolutionary body affiliated to the Labour Party. It takes the view that the Labour Party is the political expression of the organised workers of Britain at their present stage of political consciousness and therefore it is necessary to be inside it using its conferences and its local organisations for the purpose of propagating Communism. We of the B. S. P. declare that we should lose a very important avenue of expression if we left the Labour Party. We recognise that it is not a revolutionary organisation, we recognise that some of its leaders, Henderson, Thomas Clynes & Co., are traitors to the working class, that they supported the Government during the war and are supporting the Government in many ways now, but we recognise also that in the Labour Party are men like Smillie and many others who require to be backed by speech and action. Above all we say that the mass of the organised workers are in the Labour Party and can be united there much better than they can be reached by working outside it. The reactionary leaders would be pleased if we left because it would leave them more free from criticism. We denounce these leaders. The B. S. P. submit its nominations for adoption to the local Labour Parties as candidates for Parliament or for municipal bodies. If adopted the B. S. P.—as the nominating body—is responsible for election expenses. Our members are also nominated by their Trade Unions; in that case the expenses are borne by the Trade Union to which the candidate belongs. In either case our candidates can express the party's views before the electors.

The B. S. P. does not run candidates for Parliament in order to strengthen Parliamentary Institutions and make them acceptable to the working class as does the I. L. P., but as the revolution quoted above says, it uses Parliament to assist in breaking it down, to expose its futility and to show the need for the new organisations.

The S. L. P. and the W. S. F. will not as yet consider affiliation to the Labour Party. They take the view that Revolutionary socialists must remain independent—must refuse to associate, with non-revolutionary bodies and must take the straight road to Communism. They attach main importance to industrial actions.

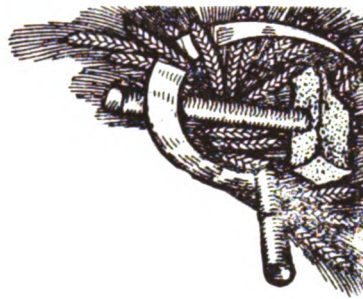
The B. S. P. has said that Communist unity is more important than the case for or against affiliation to the Labour Party, and has offered to agree to Unity without affiliation, but reserves the right of its members to bring up the question for discussion at any time in the future. To this the S. L. P. (official section) will not yet agree and the W. S. F. has consented to ballot its members.

If the Communist Party comes into existence as a result of the August convention, many who are not members of any of

the four organisations named will join it. The I. L. P. (Independent Labour Party) at its Easter Conference decided to leave the Second International, and inquire as to the program, etc., of the Third. A large and influential group in the I. L. P. desire affiliation to the Third and desire a Communist program for their party (all the Scottish districts are in favour of the Third). Ramsay McDonald, Philip Snowden and similar minded I. L. P. leaders will not turn to Communism and it seems as if a split is inevitable. The Communist Party will receive the Left wing, section of the I. L. P. if a split takes place.

The B. S. P. can be relied upon to press vigorously for Communist Unity and to endeavour to secure for the new party a program which—while resting upon the principles of Proletarian Dictatorship, Soviet System and the program, of the Third International will not be divorced from the organised workers, but will work inside the Trade Unions, inside the Labour Party, inside Parliament and outside all these bodies as well, so far as circumstances and means will permit.

TOM QUELCH }  
W. M. LAINE } British Socialist Party.



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## What the Communist International has been up to now, and what it must become

By G. Zinoviev

**W**e are on the summit of a mountain pass. The Communist International will now have to work at quite another tempo than it has been doing so far. During the fifteen months of its existence the Communist International has grown colossally. On the eve of the First Congress of the Communist International we had the following picture: on one side the Second International, much shaken and compromised, but still uniting, although only formally, the largest old Parties; on the other side, in most countries, the first groups of daring men just raising the banner of Communism. It is not so now. Today we have on the one side the Third International, into whose ranks almost all the old Parties are hurrying, and with important organisational support in every country, and on the other side, in place of the Second International, simply a heap of ruins.

The Communist International has been up to now chiefly an organ of propaganda and agitation. Now it is becoming a fighting organisation, which will have to guide directly the movement in different countries. During the first year of its existence the Communist International was only the standard bearer of the international proletariat just arising for the decisive battle. The Communist International is becoming now the practical organiser of this grandiose world struggle, the greatest in history.

This lays quite new duties on the Communist International. So long as it was a question only of some Party expressing its sympathy with us, the Communist International had nothing to lose by that. But when the question touches upon the desire of Parties only yesterday constituting the Second International, to join as organisations of the Third International, we must be doubly careful.

The most important question is, what attitude is the Communist International to adopt in regard the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America, the Independent Labour Party of

England, the Socialist Party of Switzerland and several other groups—in a word to the whole „center“ — which are now at the crossroads between the Second and Third International. The rank-and-file members of these Parties, the workers, are pushing them into our ranks, and the leaders of the „center“ are now declaring their more or less final decision to join the Third International.

We think it is necessary first of all to insist that all the above-named Parties should make it perfectly clear to themselves what the Third International is becoming, and what are the liabilities undertaken by each Party on joining it.

The Communist International insists categorically on the necessity of breaking with reformism and reformists not only for Parties in which the partisans of our views form the majority, for instance, the Parties of Italy, Sweden, Juge-slavia and others. Let this circumstance be taken first of all into consideration by the representatives of the above-named old parties desirous of joining the ranks of the Communist International. This is our first wish.

We have now become acquainted with the reply of „Freiheit“, the central organ of the German Independent Party, to the well-known program-letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed to this Party. First of all we are surprised that the answer to our document is not signed by any one. Under the articles in „Freiheit“ there is no signature of the Central Committee of the Independent Party. That means that this is not the official answer of the Central Committee of the Party. At the same time the articles are not signed by any individual writer. We have before us simply a series of anonymous articles. But that is not the only point. The chief thing is that in the whole seven articles the authors have managed to dwell all the time on minor details, and give no answer to the chief questions of principle proposed by the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In these articles are minor „refutations“ of facts of secondary

importance, also long-winded lamentations to the effect that the Russian Communists, although well-informed on Russian matters, are much less informed as to German needs. There is a series of Jesuitic onslaughts in the Hilferding spirit, and a heap of well-intentioned eclectic phrases after the manner of the watery „Socialism“ of Crispian. But in the articles of the Independents you will not find a true, open-hearted, frank answer of revolutionists to the urgent questions asked so decisively. The fact is that the rank and file members of the German Independent Party, the workmen and workwomen, are pressing their leaders ever more and more, demanding an honest friendly declaration of their unconditional joining of the Communist International, whereas the right leaders of the Central Committee of the Party are delaying this unification and endeavouring once more to get off with empty phrases.

The situation in the leading circles of the French Socialist Party is no better. Marcel Cachin and Frossard are making sweeping assertions in their declarations to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the same time the central organ of the French Socialist Party is still acting in the old spirit. In the numbers of „L'Humanité“ just received (whose editor is known to be Marcel Cachin) we find, among other things, a leading article by the eminent Renaudel, in which this citizen asserts that he is willing to make Russia happy by going there if the Soviet Government will guarantee him the right of bringing with him any translators and collaborators that he wishes, and the right of moving about freely all over the country. The editor of „L'Humanité“, knowing very well that Mr. Renaudel is only an agent of the League of Nations, inserts his article on the first page of the paper without a single word of objection. („L'Humanité“, June 10th, 1920). In another number of this paper (June 16th, 1920) we find nothing more nor less, than an article... by Mr. Ignatius Dashinsky, „our Polish comrade“, as the editor of „L'Humanité“ calls him, inserting the article with the polite reservation that it is inserted as „a document“. Dashinsky is the right hand and fellow-champion of Pilsudsky, the executioner of the Polish workers, the leader of the Polish White Guards, fighting against Soviet Russia. „L'Humanité“ desires to join the Third International, and at the same time counts among its „comrades“ the counter-revolutionary bandit, a member of the Second International, Dashinsky! And in the same number of the paper we read an

article by Longuet, devoted to the „task of the Cachin and Frossard Mission to the Soviet Republic“ in each line of which the old-time „diplomacy“ is evident and in which only one thing is worthy of attention the information given by Longuet that the extreme left wing of the French Socialist Party (the Communists) resolutely declined the amiable proposal of the French Longuetists that they should take part in the delegation together with Cachin and Frossard.

Whoever is at all able to follow the daily press of the German Independents and the French Longuetists, may see quite clearly that Crispian and Longuet look upon joining the Third International as a simple formality. They are willing to make a few high-sounding „declarations of principles“, but they imagine that they may join the Communist International reserving to themselves the right of Opportunist „action“.

They are „in principle“ for joining the Third International, but „only“ out of tactical considerations, they wish to wait a bit, they desire, at any rate, to preserve their „autonomy“.

„To recognise in principle means to refute in practice—such is the principle of all serious diplomats“. These words, if we are not mistaken, were said by Bismarck. The little Bismarcks in the ranks of the Independents and the Longuetists are acting on the same principle.

„I am for joining the Third International, whose principles I recognise. But for tactical considerations I do not think that we should pronounce ourselves for an immediate joining. I share the point of view of the German Independents: first to Switzerland, afterwards to Moscow—that is to say, first an attempt to convene in Switzerland a conference of intermediary Parties and form a sort of two-and-a-half International this is the celebrated plan of the so-called re-constructors“. („La Revue Communiste“, March 1920, p. 57).

This declaration was made by Raoul Verfeuil, one of the well-known representatives of the French Socialist Party, in answer to an inquiry organized by the Paris Communist journal „La Revue Communiste“.

A present, it is said, several prominent leaders of the Longuetists are giving up the plan of forming an intermediary International. They see clearly that no „reconstruction“ can be possible, that they will have either to join the Third International, or remain without the workers. The delegates of this party are now in Moscow. But that is no guarantee that the



Party is cured of the disease of opportunism, or even that it is insured against a relapse.

Or take another prominent representative of „centrist“ tendencies, Robert Grimm, formerly Chairman of the Zimmerwald Commission. Six months after that he was willing to join the Third International.

When the Central Committee of the Swiss Party decided to join the Third International Grimm and his group again hesitated, and by means of a referendum helped to bring about a refusal on the part of the Swiss to join the Communist International. At present the Central Committee of the Swiss Party has again decided to join the Third International. And Robert Grimm seems inclined to work in favour of this policy. But see what Robert Grimm thinks of the importance and the role of the Communist International.

In the „Berliner Tagwacht“, inspired by Robert Grimm, a series of articles entitled „International“ has appeared. In the fourth of these articles we read:

„The Second International had its International Socialist Bureau. The role of this bureau was that of a post-box between the different sections. Any independent work or even any doctrinary directions for the separate Parties were not carried on by the International Bureau. This depended not so much on the organisational construction of the Bureau, and not so much on the personal qualities of its leaders, as on the difference in views on questions of principle which distinguished the different Parties forming the Second International“.

That is not badly said. It is true, the International Socialist Bureau under the direction of Huysmans and Vandervelde was nothing more than a post-box. And moreover, the key of the box was always in the hands of the most skilful of the opportunists. It is clear that we do need quite another kind of executive organ. It is also clear that the Communist International must be formed on quite another type. How do Robert Grimm and his friends imagine the role of the Communist International now? Listen:

„What we now need is, first of all an International Socialist Review, which would not only keep us informed, but which could also discuss the most important questions, criticise, make proposals. What we need now is to exercise a constant influence on the parliamentary activity, in the sense of a simultaneously putting forward of our revolutionary demands. The thing

we need is the organization of an International Socialist Information Service“. („Berliner Tagwacht“, Jan. 7th, 1920).

The reader can see that the group of Robert Grimm, which criticised so ably the role of the International Bureau of the Second International, is now practically assigning to the Executive Committee of the Communist International a role not much different from that of a post box. It never enters the heads of Robert Grimm and his group to think that the Communist International must not only publish a paper, must arrange that in the parliaments the same demands shall be put forward simultaneously, but it must know how to organize the struggle of the workers with force of arms against the bourgeoisie...

They have all „moved to the left“ now all those who „criticised“ us during these last years. Here for instance is the program-declaration of the well-known representative of Italian reformism Treves. To the question of „La Revue Communiste“ what Treves would say about joining the Third International, he replied:

„You ask me whether I am for immediately joining the Third International. My answer is: Yes!“

Treves is willing to join the Third International unconditionally, but he says:

„All theoretical stubbornness, all desire to lay the same obligations of program and tactics, on different parties is senseless and fatally absurd, and can only delay us in reaching the aims of the International.“

This typical quotation from Treves brings us to the present situation in the Italian party: in which the majority of workmen are undoubtedly on our side, but where the most eminent of reformists, one regrets to say, feel themselves „at home“ as before.

The Communist International does not intend of course to bring all the Parties to one level. The Communist International has proved in deeds, not merely in words, that it takes into consideration the different conditions in which the Parties exist and struggle. The Communist International realises very well that there is a sphere of purely local questions, where the decision must belong to the given party. But Treves of course does not mean this. He attempts to preserve for himself and his reformist Wing such an „autonomy“ as would in reality mean a complete freedom of action for the reformists. In the notice of the editor of „La Revue Communiste“ to Treves' answer, it says: „Comrade Treves is one of the leading



social-reformists of Italy. But what a difference between him and our Albert Thomas, Renaudel and others!". The respected editor of „La Revue Communiste“ has too good an opinion of Treves' policy. Between Treves and Renaudel no doubt there is a difference, we do not deny that. But in reality this difference consists merely in the fact Treves and his friends defend reformism more cleverly. Reformists, we repeat, feel themselves „at home“ in the Italian Party. Of the active members of the Italian delegation who came to Russia, Comrade Pozzani declared in an interview with the not unknown Russian professor Tiander, published in the paper „Huvudstatsbladet“ for the 6th of June, 1920: „In telegrams which we get from our correspondents in Stockholm, the Italian delegation with Serratti at its head shows itself to be a bolshevist one. And this opinion has spread in Finland.“ Pozzani protests against this false conclusion. „The members of the delegation were astonished and indignant on hearing such an opinion. They all belong to the Social Democratic party, which does not mean yet that they are Bolsheviks“. And the same Pozzani declares further in his interview: „The considerable profits derived by Italy from the great war consist in the acquisition of Triest and Trent. Besides, Italy has occupied Bologne with its mountains. Concerning Dalmatia and the rest of Albania—these questions are still left open.“ When we pointed out not long ago to some eminent Italian comrades, a similar interview given by Filippo Turatti in Italy, the comrades answered us good-naturedly (too good-naturedly) that Turatti had said this in a private conversation (this was not announced in the press), and that his words were falsely interpreted. Can one show more good-nature toward reformists?

The most experienced diplomat of Italian reformism, the deputy Modigliani, who plays a big part in the parliamentary fraction of the Italian Socialist Party—has lately visited Paris. In a conversation with Longuet Modigliani persuaded the leader of the French independents to enter the Third International in the following fashion. He said to him: „My friend Longuet, why should we not, after all, enter the Communist International? What does it oblige us to? In reality to nothing more than sending about once in a fortnight some nice picture post-cards to the Communist International“. A part of this pleasant dialogue between two friends was reported officially at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International. This con-

versation was quoted by comrade Serrati in his official speech in the Executive Committee. Who knows the activity of the deputy Modigliani will not doubt for a minute that these words were actually pronounced by him. Modigliani differs from the Italian reformists, in that in him a certain Italian sentimentality is wonderfully mixed with an incredible, coarse political cynicism. The reformist Modigliani in his short but meaning sentence has expressed the holy of the holies of „left“ reformism. Yes, all these gentlemen suppose that to join the Communist International does not oblige them to anything except sending pretty post-cards. On the other hand there is a distinct profit for them in entering the third International; in the eyes of the common workmen they will shine with the glory of the third International. The workmen will have more confidence in them, and in any case, will cease to whistle at them at the meetings. The Modiglianis do not act as brutally as the Noskes. The lesson of Kerensky and Seretelli has been of some use to them. They do not enter a bourgeois government where they would be willingly accepted.

They „conserve“ themselves for better days. Instead of this they want meanwhile to „enter“ the third International (as if it was some kind of hotel!) conquer a situation among the revolutionary workmen, and when the decisive hour comes—then they will come out and meet with interior sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is necessary to make clear to all these reformists that entrance into the Third International demands something more, and that the Communist International will know how to see through the very „finest“ policy of the most able diplomats of the most modern reformism. The Communist International is becoming the fighting organization of revolutionary workmen. We need fighters,—not diplomats.

## II.

The revolutionising of the working class of the whole world, in one region produced those unattractive results on the „top“ of the old Socialist parties, which we have mentioned above. The same revolutionizing in another region produced other results. We mean the instructive revolutionary, though theoretically still uncertain, movement of factory—shop stewards in England (Shop Stewards Committees) of Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) in many countries, and also the revolutionary Syndicalists and Anarchists.

The Russian Bolsheviks defined their attitude towards revolutionary Syndicalism already 15 years ago, when revolutionary Syndicalism was finishing its honeymoon. And the Russian Bolsheviks even then tried to separate the grain from the chaff and find the wholesome seed in the irresistible protest of the working masses against opportunism, expressing itself in sympathy with revolutionary Syndicalism. We must follow the same line now. And the First Constituent Congress of the Communist International has fully marked itself this line of conduct. The hostility to calling in adherents of factory shop stewards, revolutionary Syndicalists and others, which we notice on the part of some eminent leaders of the Communist International, we must suppress at any cost.

In this movement no doubt there is a lot of vagueness and muddle, we do not deny that for one minute. But at the same time the movement of the factory shop stewards is at bottom a healthy movement, and by its consistency a proletarian movement. We must learn to wait patiently until it crystallizes into a Communist one. We must help to facilitate and hasten this process.

These movements have a transitory character. They are born by original evolution in the countries where the old „classical“ trade unions and old formal Socialist Parties have compromised themselves hopelessly, but where Communist Parties have not yet had time to be founded or are still very weak. Such are in the first place America and England. The Communist International must not and will not surrender a single idea to the prejudices of the instinctively revolutionary, but theoretically uncertain movements. But it will stretch out its hand in open comradeship — in the complete certitude that these groups will approach us more and more every day.

What the revolutionary Syndicalists, the factory shop stewards, Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Wing of Anarchists need most of all, is the understanding of the part played by the Communist Party.

The adherents of the mentioned movements have been used to consider the two notions — „politics“ and „policy“ as equal. They were used to see only unprincipled parties, only the ones guided by parliamentarian career makers and demoralized by opportunism. To convince these people, to heal these organizations of inimical feeling against the Party in general, one must show them other parties as an example — sincerely Communist Parties with a clear program, revolutionary tactics and iron discipline, Parties knowing

how to imbibe all that there is best in the working class, Parties knowing how to lead the proletariat to the siege of the fortresses of capital. Here what is most needed is the propagand of action. — „You do not believe that really proletarian Communist Parties are possible? You think that all parliamentarism is opportunist? You think that all Parties only busy themselves with political diplomacy? Look: here is the Russian Communist Party, who has managed to place itself at the head of all the working class of its country and expropriate the bourgeoisie. — Look! Here is the German Communist Party, which knows in spite of every thing how to reunite all the flower of the working class in its ranks. Look! In Italy, Bulgaria, France, England, America — such parties are being formed. Look and learn, and you will soon understand that to reject the Communist Party is the same as rejecting your right hand“. So must we speak to the proletariat in the above-mentioned organizations. And they will see then that the Communist International is in the right. And then they will immediately create a strong proletarian basis for our Communist Parties exactly in the countries where this basis is still absent.

### III.

The Communist International, we repeat, up to now chiefly occupied itself with propaganda. It must now pass to be organizations of the direct struggle of the working class of different countries, against the bourgeoisie. This in its turn sets new problems before us. We must manage so that not a single large organization is in the hands of our enemies. We cannot forget that although the second international is defeated — an International Union of yellow Trade Unions has been founded in Amsterdam, in which the Second International attempts to find a support.

For the Communist International as a whole there can be no serious question as to whether Communists shall or shall not leave the Trade Unions — this question was raised by the „left“ Communists in Germany, Holland and England. Not to leave the unions, but to enter the unions in the countries where we have not done so yet — such is the motto of the Communist International. Everywhere where there are workmen there must be Communists. We cannot abandon several millions of workmen to the influence of social traitors and stand aside ourselves. The social traitors, who have been

thrown out of Political parties, have how surrounded themselves by a thick wall of Trade Unions.

We must get hold of this fortress, we must conduct a regular systematic patient seige, we must expel the traitors of the working class from their last refuge, we must exterminate their defense between us and the bourgeoisie, and then we shall stand face to face with the capitalists, who will have a hard time then. The Executive Committee of the Communist International already half a year ago raised the question of creating an International Union of Red Labour Unions as a counterweight to the International Union of yellow Social Democratic „free“ unions. This beginning, we cannot deny it—develops very slowly. We find in this sphere many practical difficulties. We must consider that even in such a country as Italy, where the working class is entirely on our side, Trade Unions which call themselves Communist are actually in the hands of reformists. We are informed that their reformist leaders intentionally have not summoned a Congress of Italian Trade Unions for six years, for the working masses are much more inclined to the „left“ than their reformist leaders. We must consider the separatism in the old Trade-Unionism in England (the exclusiveness of the so-called Triple Alliance). All this develops very slowly, and the leaders of the left wing of British Trade-Unionists are also often contaminated by reformist prejudices. Another aspect we have to consider; that the leaders of the factory-shops steward and analogous movements are often filled with anarchical prejudices. And last but not least, the very question of the Reunion of International Trade Unions, in the actual meaning of the matter, can be solved with great difficulty. We are against the entrance of the Amsterdam International Union of yellow trade unions into the Central Committee. But we are for the participation of Communists and adherents of Communism in the International.

Congress of Labour Unions of separate industries and trades for the latter are rather closely connected with the working class. We are against a general rupture of all trade unions, but we are for a merciless struggle with the yellow leaders of these unions. All this creates great obstacles to the solution of the problems which we have set ourselves. But we repeat, in order that the Communist International should become what it must become, the problem of organization of the International Union of Red Labour Unions must be solved at any cost.

#### IV.

And at last that the Communist International may be what it must be it is necessary that in every country we should have one Communist Party. In America up to now we have two Communist Parties. It is the same thing in Germany. In England we have four or five separate Communist groups, the same in France. This must be put an end to. The clearest difference in principle between the two Communist Parties is to be noticed in Germany. But here too, we think, the most difficult period is past and now the time is near when we will be able to have a United Communist Party in Germany. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartakus Bund) has undoubtedly committed grave organizational and political mistakes. The chief political mistake consists in its behaviour during the Kapp Days. We print in the present number the most important declarations of such eminent leaders of the German Communist Party as Clara Zetkin, Paul Levy, Ernst Meyer. These letters, sharply condemning the uncertain position of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party during the Kapp days, create a new situation. They open a way to those sincere revolutionary workmen who have gone over to the new „Left“ Communist Labour Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.), to rejoin the Party. In the K. A. P. D. there are many devoted and honest proletarians, who did not join us because of the opportunism and of the majority of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartakus Bund Union). The Communist International will condemn in principle the „left“ tendencies of the K. A. P. D., and will point out the mistakes of the Central Committee to the Communist Party of Germany. On these grounds a united Communist Party must be founded in Germany.

In France we must at any cost dissipate the scepticism about the very possibility of founding a Communist Party, which even such experienced comrades as for instance comrade Rosmer still display. The time has come when a single Communist Party must at any cost be founded in France. And besides, we must of course begin by the organisation of a compact party of actual adherents, which later on will call to their side elements who are not yet Communist.

In England the group of Silvia Pankhurst has lately made an attempt to found a Communist Party on the „left“ ground of denial

of all participation in parliament, and of membership in the British Labour Party. The Communist International can in no case consider this dictum as the last word in Communist wisdom. On the contrary we will do our best to unite all the Communist groups in England without exception—and that of course not on a separatist platform of the „left“ movement, but on the platform of the decisions of the Communist International as a whole.

The fraternal party of Italy stands in a better way for playing a great historical part in the fate of its country. For this it must clear itself of reformist elements. For this it is necessary that the labour union movement in Italy must not be in the hands of reformists, but of real Communists. It is necessary that the best elements of the Turin section in a certain opposition to the majority of the party as well as the „absentionist“ movement, lead by comrade Bordiga — should reunite with the leading majority of Italian Communists on the grounds of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The Swedish Communists must go through the same work of excluding from their ranks conscious and unconscious reformists. The reformist sickness is catching. It has contaminated also several young Parties—as, for instance, our party in Yugo-Slavia. It has not quite spared also the old, experienced Communist Party of Bulgaria. Communists must not to remain blind to these weaknesses, even out of a false sense of Party-patriotism. We must deal with facts and meet danger face to face.

Among Parties belonging and wanting to belong to the Communist International which still contain elements of reformism and of the „center“—there is often to be noticed a fact which might be called „a game of follow-the-leader“. The Party of a certain country says „We will not begin a decisive struggle for power until the power has been conquered in the neighbouring country. We must protect our rear. Let the others begin. Let victory first be won in that country—then we will start“. It is clear that the Communist International does not advocate premature and rash revolts. It does not hasten events in any case, but knows how to await their development, calmly and patiently, and calls to action only when the conditions shall ripen. But besides this the Communist International does not forget that such an ideology of „follow-the-leader“ struggle was the habit of many Parties of the Second International. This alone is enough to cause us to look upon the abovementioned arguments with scepticism.

The Communist International in 1919 was chiefly a society of Communist propaganda. The Communist International in 1920 has become a fighting comradeship of workmen, organizing the direct advance on the strongholds of Capitalism. The civil war is hot cooling down; it is spreading with an unheard-of intensity. The war of Soviet Russia with the Aristocratic Poland has a tremendous International importance and opens unusually favourable perspectives for International revolution. The events in the East have a tremendous importance. What we see in the Far and Near East is only a feeble beginning. The first flames of the revolutionary conflagration have shown themselves there. The time is near when all the East will be caught in it. In the countries where the working class has been at power, even if only for a few weeks—all the powers of counter-revolution have not been able to interfere in a new proletarian revolution beginning to grow before our eyes.

The workers' blood has been shed in rivers by executioners in Hungary. But there too—and this is evident now—the proletarian revolution will again lift up its head. The second place, according to the amount of crimes committed by the bourgeoisie upon the working class, belongs without doubt to White Finland. But there too the proletarian revolution is on its feet again. We had occasion lately to talk with two workmen, just arrived from Helsingfors, where they have conducted illegal Communist work for a whole year. One little detail of what is going on now in Finland will show the spirit of the Finland workmen at present. The comrades told us that in nearly all large towns and industrial centres in Finland which were the arena of the struggle between White and Reds in 1918 they have organized curious „Saturdays“. After dinner on Saturdays and Sundays, at the graveyards where the victims of the White Terror are buried, workmen and especially workwomen meet in large numbers, dress and arrange the graves, build simple unelaborate memorials to the workmen who fell in the struggle with the bourgeoisie. Simple songs and common verses are composed among the people in memory of the dead. And the usual theme is the simple thought: You have not perished in vain. We are continuing your task. From your bones will rise a sinister revenge.

And the Finnish bourgeoisie sees all this, but is helpless to undertake anything because this is general because thus think all the workmen and a large majority of working peasants. This

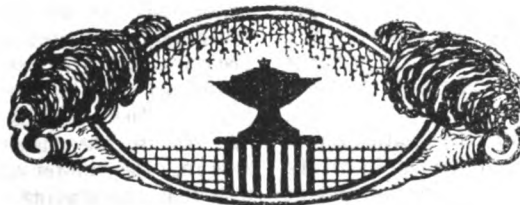
is a symbol. It throws light immediately on the situation of the proletariat in the cruel civil war which is going on. No one can now crush the proletarian revolution — it can only be delayed; the traitors of our own class can only enrich her with numerous worker-victims.

One thing more did the Helsingfors workman, arrived from the country where the bourgeoisie has killed 30,000 proletarians, notice on his way. He said to us: «The Finnish workmen certainly hate the bourgeoisie, but still more do they hate the Social Democrats who betrayed us during the revolution. Our spirit is this: First deal with the traitors, the yellow Social Democrats; the bourgeoisie will come next». In these words, which sound like a parado, lies the right evaluation of the fact that in nearly the whole world now the bourgeoisie exists only because of the support of the yellow Social Democracy. Never has the reactionary rôle of the adherents of the Second International been

as evident as it is now. A huge work lies still in front of the Communist International and all parties which belong to it. The Communist International must in reality become the General Staff of the International Proletarian Army which has awakened and is growing stronger before our eyes. The International Communist movement is growing like a snow-ball. The International Proletarian Revolution is growing too. The Communist International must manage to organize and guide it. The task of the Communist International is not merely to prepare the victory, not only guide the working class during the seizure of power, but to direct its activity afterward.

The Communist International will either be a united, disciplined, centralised, international fighting organization, or it will be unable to fulfil its great historic task.

This is what the Communist International must become, and what it certainly will succeed in being.





## The Agrarian Question and the World Revolution

By I. Marchlevsky

IT is not a mere chance that the Second International never put the Agrarian Question on the program of its congresses, while the Communist International felt the necessity of approaching the question at once. The fact is that as long as the Socialist parties only talked of revolution without ever facing the immediate necessity of revolutionary acts, there was in regard to the land at the utmost only the question of propaganda among the agrarian workers and the small peasantry, and in their parliamentary work they had to do now and then only with separate agricultural reforms. But the conditions of agriculture being, as it appeared, so absolutely different for each country, it seemed to be of no use whatever to treat these questions on an international scale. Matters are quite different now in the face of revolutionary acts. We are met here from the start with the commonplace but very fundamental fact that the social division of work which had resulted in capitalist society in a total division between town and country, is of the utmost importance for the revolutionary movement. The makers of the revolution, the proletarians of the towns and industrial centres, must be fed, and their active force will be neutralized if the country is counter-revolutionary and denies them the necessary food stuffs. This is the more so in the present situation, the massacre of the nations having resulted in an unheard-of shortage of food-stuffs. Every revolutionary act depends now on what will be the attitude of the agricultural population in regard to the proletariat, the feeding of the towns being closely connected with this attitude, and all these matters have a primary importance.

The Russian revolution offers in this respect a great deal of very instructive material, and these Russian experiences must be taken into consideration. But it ought to be considered on the other hand that the situation which arose in Russia cannot repeat itself in any other country. The Russian peasantry, to begin with, was in an objectively revolutionary state, although it was not subjectively aware of it, and such a revolutionary situation is a result of historic facts. Serfdom was abolished in Russia but fifty years ago, and the capitalist system had not yet asserted itself in full in agriculture. Russia remained until the revolution of 1917 the country of enormous landed property, but big capitalist industry was carried on in quite insignificant proportion on the large estates in Great Russia. The landlords did not manage their estates themselves; they farmed out the land to the peasants and almost exclusively on short lease, the pauperized peasant not being able, in contrast to the American or English farmer, to offer any guarantees of well organized intensive agriculture. This resulted in an extremely backward form of extensive agriculture which has hardly its like in the capi-

talistic world, and in consequence with an incredible low rate of income. Even on good soil the peasant reaped crops which were 200 % lower than the crops on much inferior soil in middle and western Europe. Russia nevertheless exported great quantities of corn. It was not however its overproduce exceeding the home need which the empire of the czars offered for sale on the world's market; the economic policy of the government was such as to force the peasant to sell his products while he himself suffered want and was literally starving. This situation was drawing towards a revolutionary issue: the peasant became an ally of the proletariat, which was to secure to him the possession of land and the use of the products of his toil. But the peasant, who had very radical ideas in regard to the right of property of the landlords, was nevertheless far from being revolutionary in the objective sense, and was not in the least inclined to help in the building up of a proletarian state. If matters developed according to the wishes of the peasantry, an economic system would arise on the land comprizing unlimited private property of the peasants in regard to their land particles. We see in consequence a large part of the peasantry passing into the counter-revolutionary camp, and only the hard fact that the leading elements of the counter-revolution, the landlords, the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy—the *tehnovniki*—were not willing to give their sanction to the «robbery of private property» brought the peasantry back to reason. The animal egotism of the peasants made them further deny foodstuffs to the towns even where there was plenty for the peasants themselves. The proletarian government had to use violence against that sort of animal egotism to save the large towns from absolute starvation. It was the more needed considering that industry, ruined by the war and the troubles of the civil war, was not able to supply products for a rational exchange of commodities between town and country. The thin population of the country, the relatively small numbered town population, and finally the fact that in Russia a very great number of the working class population is not yet quite cut off from the country but is, on the contrary, strongly tied up with it by family connections, made it possible to win time and to solve organically the conflict between town and country. In spite of the ruined transport, means were found to provision the towns, at least in a modest measure, and a large portion of the working masses sought refuge from the starving towns in the country.

Matters are different in western Europe and America. The revolutionary proletariat will meet there during the period of the struggle still greater difficulties in the question of food supplies for the towns, and the relations between town and country require other solutions than those possible in Russia. This alone makes it necessary to elucidate



the agrarian question in its full extent, and before all from the point of view of a revolutionary upheaval.

It is by no means the object of these lines to set up the program of the Communist International in the agrarian question, the more so that in consideration of the different conditions prevailing in the different countries there could be no general program for all countries. My only object is to take note of the different questions as they arise, and to put them under discussion.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF LANDED PROPERTY, AND THE CONDITIONS OF ITS CULTIVATION IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

In order to facilitate a general view of the situation, we propose to study the agrarian conditions in the different European countries in two groups:

a) Countries where gross agriculture ranks foremost, and  
2) the countries with agricultural conditions determined by the land being owned and cultivated by peasants.

This will make it possible to arrive at some agreement as to the general lines of a revolutionary agrarian policy. We will have, of course, to put up with some generalizations, but this has no importance, our object being only to draw a general outline of the program which will need to be adjusted and corrected for every country separately.

The first group comprizes «Central Europe» but not in the usual sense of this denomination. This is a region with peculiar agrarian conditions, where gross agriculture plays a prominent part, and this region stretches approximately from the Dnieper in the east up to beyond the Elbe in the west and from the Baltic to the Balkans. Outside of this region in the west, south and the north of Europe we have to deal with a different agrarian system.

This «Central European» zone is by no means homogeneous in regard to the agrarian system, but in all the countries within its bounds: in Lettland, Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine, Rumania, Hungary, Bohemia, east Germany and a part of Austria we observe the preponderance of gross agriculture. The historic reasons are everywhere the same: the comparatively recent abolition of serfdom. We see everywhere in this zone more or less apparent rudiments of an agrarian system based on the servitude of the peasants, and the conditions in this respect are certainly very different in the separate countries. But the one important fact to note is this: in this zone large landed property is of much importance, taking up in some of the countries 30 to 50% and more of the area, and on these big estates agriculture is carried on on capitalistic principles. It is the system of gross agriculture that prevails there.

The consequence is that in these countries we have to deal with a comparatively numerous stratum of unpossessing agricultural workers, that is to say of genuine proletarians. There is further in nearly all these countries a second stratum, also very largely represented—those who own particles of land property. They are not «regular peasants»: they possess too little land to live on its products and they find their subsistence chiefly in working for wages on the big estates. They are in consequence «half proletarians».

The peasantry constitutes a very substantial part of the population in these countries. But the peasants do not represent everywhere an absolute majority if the half proletarians are to be counted apart. Although Shaffle's words about the «anticollectivist skull of the peasants» be true also in regard to the peasants of our «Central Europe», the peasants are nevertheless a revolutionary element in certain respects, the conflict between the landlords (the «barons» in

Lettland, the «schliachtichs» in Poland, the Lithuania and the Ukraine, the «magnates» in Hungary, the «Junkers» in east Germany) and the peasants being a substantial factor in the political and social life of these countries. The landlord preserves in this zone, as a capitalistic enterpriser, many privileges over the peasantry, and this leads to numerous conflicts which make the peasants feel revolutionary in a certain sense.

In the countries of this «Central European» zone we have in consequence to deal with proletarian and half proletarian elements (propertyless agricultural labourers and owners of particles of land) who are certainly to be won for the revolution, and with a peasantry which is so far revolutionary as it is greatly interested in the unconditional overthrow of the political supremacy of the landlords. The only counter-revolutionary element to be taken into consideration, an element ready to side with the «Junkers» are the landed peasants but there are only few of them in nearly all these countries.

This suggests the idea of winning the proletarian, half proletarian and peasant elements by a program which simply proclaims the partition of the big landed property among the population on the land. But such a proceeding would have been reactionary in regard to the conditions of production. Contrary to all talk of the «democratic» and «revisionist» theoreticians, the economic superiority of gross agriculture over the small is beyond all doubt, particularly in this zone representing by its climatic conditions the zone of agriculture. To destroy the gross agriculture, organized everywhere within this zone on a more or less rational footing, would result in an absolute falling off of the ground rent.

And things stand after all so that a partition of the big landed property would not offer any particular profits to the peasants of this region: there is not sufficient land for that. The propertyless agricultural labourers and the owners of particles of land would have to be provided for in the first place, as they would lose their means of subsistence with the abolition of the large estates, and the area of the big landed property being hardly sufficient to provide for these two categories just the smallest necessary bit of land, there would remain simply nothing for the labouring peasants. It is also untrue that the agricultural labourers are eager to become owners under all circumstances. They know very well that the position of a more or less well paid agricultural labourer is a more favourable one than that of a small peasant involved in debts, who works the skin off his hands on his few acres of land and is never out of troubles and want.

The labouring peasant population of this zone is, as mentioned above, as far interested in the revolution as it stands in a sharp political opposition to the owners of big estates. But this peasant population is most certainly not to be won for a Communist economic system. There is however no necessity of a revolutionary interference in the property conditions of the peasants. Without renouncing the Communist final aims the proletariat may after its victory leave the development of social conditions in this branch to the course of time. Nothing but experience will convince the peasantry of the advantages offered by Communistic gross agriculture.

But the proletarian revolution has to offer immediate and very substantial advantages to the peasants. The peasant is enslaved by heavy debts to financial capital. In declaring after the establishment of its dictatorship all these debts of the peasants as fully acquitted, the proletariat makes the peasants a present equal to a con-



siderable increase of their wealth. The peasants will moreover only win with the change. The system of the councils will give them an actual autonomy satisfying all their demands of rent meliorations, improved conditions of transport, the unions etc.

This does not signify the winning of the peasants for the Communist program but only neutralize them in the decisive struggle between the proletariat and capital. This is a compromise profitable for both parties, and the Communist Party of this zone has in consequence to agree upon the following agrarian program:

In consequence of political as well as economic reasons the owners of big estates are considered as the chief enemies who are to be overthrown under any circumstances.

The landed property of these landlords together with the inventory is to be expropriated without indemnification. All the farming establishments are declared national property, and the management of them is carried on under the control of the state by the labourers organized in councils of management consisting of landless labourers and half-proletarians (owners of parcels of land).

The overproduce of the farming (after the wants of the labourers are satisfied) goes to provide for the population of the towns.

The labourers are workers of the state with a fixed and sufficient pay. They provide the towns with food stuffs, and are provided by the towns with all the necessary products of industry.

The property and the means of production belonging to the labouring peasants remain untouched. The burden of debts weighing upon the peasants is removed, and they enjoy all the advantages of an efficient selfgovernment based on the system of the councils.

In regard to the property rights of the peasants numerous questions are usually being asked, as we know, and they all tend to a reform of the conditions within the capitalist order of economic life. Such are the questions of the limitation of partition of peasant estates through entailment, the question of credits, of the abolition of «commons» by a communisation of land estates etc. But there is no need to treat all these questions of detail in a revolutionary program. They all fall to the care of the peasants, and the peasants have to settle them with the proletarian state having naturally its voice therein. All these questions may anyhow be left to the nearest future to decide upon them, the more so as they will appear in quite a different light under a fundamentally new state organization. And in the meantime they may be securely put off from day to day.

But there is one question that has a particular interest and has found a revolutionary solution in Russia. All hired labour for the benefit of a private land-owner is prohibited in Russia on principle—to prevent the formation of a new private land ownership of large estates. This seems to be a special means directed against the landed peasants who are unable to cultivate their estates without hired labour. But it is rather questionable whether such a radical interference is necessary in the countries of our zone. Such a law would cause much trouble to the peasants, considering that under the very complicated present conditions the labouring peasant is also unable to do quite without hired labour. On the other hand, in view of the general «shortage of work» in agriculture in most countries under consideration, such a prohibition becomes necessary, as the moment the big farming establishments pass on to an intensive farming and offer better conditions to the labourer, the landed peasant will hardly find any workers at all. The landed pea-

sants would have to reduce their property to such proportions as to enable them to cultivate their land themselves, whereas the remaining land will pass into the hands of the labouring peasants who are suffering from want of land. (It is of no use to nationalize such peasant estates, as after leaving a part to the former owner for his own cultivation, the area is usually too small for a rational farming).

This question ought anyhow to be carefully examined in each country.

#### COUNTRIES WITH SMALL PEASANT PROPERTY.

In the west of our «Central European» zone lies a region where the large landed property plays but a very insignificant part, and the agrarian conditions are determined all through by small bourgeois property and farming. This region includes western Germany, a part of German Austria, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and in the south Italy, Spain and Portugal. In Italy conditions are quite peculiar, inasmuch as there still exists a particular form of «latifundium» property, and the peasantry is since a long time in a state of revolutionary upheaval. The «latifundii» are rather small and hardly deserve the name of such according to east European ideas. They are rarely cultivated on a large scale and are usually leased to peasants who cultivate their portions in an extremely intensified small way of tilling (approaching «garden culture»). The rent terms are very hard for the peasants who, driven to despair, are in constant revolt against such conditions. A change to rational gross agriculture is hardly to be anticipated in a short time under the present conditions. We have to deal here not with the culture of corn but with the culture of rice, vegetables, vineyards and gardening, in some districts with very intensive breeding of cattle. There is nothing to be done in these parts but, following the wish of the worried small peasants, to parcel the latifundii and to leave the land to the peasantry to cultivate.

The revolutionary proletariat has a trusty ally in this peasantry. The only way to lead them on to Communism lies here in a systematic development of comradeship (Genossenschaftswesen).

The conditions in Spain and Portugal are very much the same.

The chances of revolution are less favourable in western Germany and France, in Belgium and Holland, where the small bourgeois proprietorship has a strong standing, and the peasantry is highly conservative, often directly reactionary in all respects. All hope to win the large mass of this peasantry for active revolution must be given up. But there is to be noted that in Belgium, in some parts of western Germany (Baden, the Rhineland, Westphalen and France—the industrial area) the preponderant majority of the population are thork weres. In the country the revolutionary proletariat has anyhow an ally in the agricultural labourers who, although not so numerous in this «land of the peasants» as in the districts with a preponderance of large estates, form anyhow a considerable stratum.

The hope to win this peasantry for the ideals of a proletarian revolution by means of propaganda is therefore an illusion. The object to strive for must be that of neutralizing the peasants by a compromise.

The peasants of these countries are even more involved in debts than in «Central Europe», and the liberation from the slavery of indebtedness to financial capital is of the greatest importance for them. People have hardly a general great interest in these countries for the preservation of gross agriculture. There are in some places big establishments of a general agricultural importance (studs, seed grain pro-

duction etc.) but with such exceptions gross agriculture has no preponderance whatever, and it is not a reactionary step in the economic sense to partition the big estates in these countries, as it will help the existence of the small peasants suffering from want of land.

The difficulty lies in the attitude in regard to the landed peasant. This seems to be chiefly a political question. In the countries where the reactionary landed peasantry is very numerous and very influential because of its numbers (this must be the case in some parts of Bavaria and Wurttemberg, and in the Scandinavian countries), the revolutionary struggle must necessarily turn against the reactionary landed peasantry. And in this movement the small peasantry and the agricultural labourer, who are comparatively many in these districts of the landed peasantry, are sure to side with the proletariat of the towns for a thorough agrarian reform.

In regard to all these regions with a preponderant peasant ownership, it ought to be anyhow remembered and particularly insisted upon, that an expropriation of the labouring peasants who do not exploit anyone's labour, is by no means a part of the program of the revolutionary Communist proletariat. Whereas in industry the aim of the Communist proletariat is that of the Social Revolution, the expropriation of the expropriators, the country in the districts with a preponderant peasant ownership ought to feel only the political results of the Social Revolution. The system of the councils leading, as mentioned above, by its substance to true selfgovernment offers only advantages and no drawbacks to the labouring peasants, and it might be presumed that a more or less clever propaganda will succeed in convincing even the dullest peasant of these advantages. The chief enemy would probably prove to be the counter-revolutionary clergy—counter-revolutionary out of principle. Most of these countries being Catholic, this enemy is not to be underrated, and he ought to be relentlessly combatted with all possible means.

A separate position is taken by England, as a result of her very peculiar agrarian conditions. There is on one hand the big landed ownership supported by feudal privileges, on the other purely capitalistic agriculture based on a farming system. There is certainly no doubt whatever that the parasitism of the landlords ought to be overthrown. The dictatorship of the proletariat is out of question as long as the landlords dispose of the land on which the English proletariat lives.

How far is the farmer an associate of the landlord, and how far is he his social enemy? A part of the farmers are labouring peasants. The expropriation of the landlords means for them an immediate gain. If the land in England is to be nationalised, the English proletariat, having control of this land, will be able to secure great advantages to the labouring peasants in leasing to them the land on favourable terms, eventually doing away with the rent the peasant had to pay to the landlord.

A different type is represented by another part of the farmers. They are capitalistic enterprisers who are carrying on an extremely intensive management and use hired labour. To get rid of the obligation to pay rent to the landlord is certainly a tempting prospect for these capitalists but they are quite aware that under the Social Revolution their capitalistic property will not remain a «never touch me». They prefer therefore to support the present conditions.

The fight is thus to be fought against the landlords and the capitalist farmers as well, whereas the labouring peasant farmers and the landless labourers are the allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

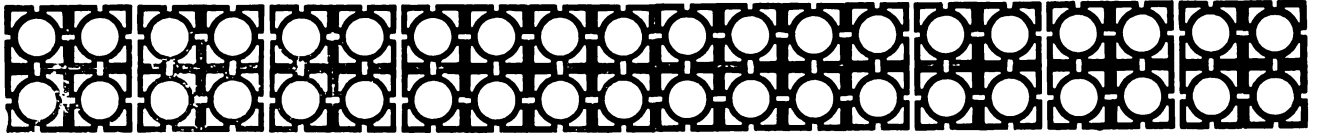
Whether this is an advantage for England to keep up gross agriculture organized up till now on a capitalist basis, or it is more desirable to partition the land among the agricultural labourers and the labouring peasants, we do not undertake to judge. It behoves the English Communists carefully to examine these questions, which will suddenly require an imperative solution at the outbreak of the revolution, and to answer them.

Our object, as mentioned above, was in the first place to point to the urgent need of a clear program in regard to the agrarian conditions. There are unfortunately still enormous gaps in this respect, the Communist parties having in most countries necessarily neglected these questions more than anything else. This is not meant to be a reproach. There were certainly urgent tasks which had absorbed all their energy. But time is pressing. There is no certainty about any country in Europe but that «tomorrow» the Communist Party will be faced with a situation forcing it to assume the power, whether it likes it or not. And it won't do if these parties will be helpless to cope with the problems of the agrarian conditions.

The example of Russia should be a lesson on how difficult these problems are, and how important a consistent attitude in regard to them is for the success of the Social Revolution, for the triumph of our Communist ideal.

Let us hope that the International Congress will help towards an urgent solution of these questions.





## The Situation in Sweden

### 1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

By New Year, 1920, the Liberal Social Democratic Coalition Government was still at the helm. Completely powerless to act, attacked from the right (the larger industries, the agrarians) and from the left (the Left Socialists), its authority weakened by great political and economic scandals, which created a growing discontent among the workmen and the peasants, the Coalition Government could not hold on much longer. An attempt to save it by the exclusion of the more compromised ministers only helped it for a few weeks. Pressed by the ever sharper criticism of the Left Socialists, who day by day were winning over to their side a large number of workers, the Right Socialists left the Coalition. The formal reason given was that the Liberals in the Government had declined to lay before the Riksdag a tax-reform bill which the Right Socialists considered very important, and limited a reform on the housing question. The real grounds, however, were that the Right Socialists feared, that should the Coalition Government remain in power a few months longer, all the workmen would leave the Social Democrat Party at the autumn elections, and move to the Left. The King requested the leader of the Liberal Party to form a Liberal Ministry, but the Liberals refused. The King then turned to Branting. The latter could not refuse, because he had supported the Coalition Government. A few days later the first Right Socialist Government of Sweden was formed. Branting was appointed Minister of State, Baron Palmstierna, of Foreign Affairs; Thersson, Finance; Svensson, Civil; Olssen, Education; Nilssen, Agriculture; Hansen, War, and a few others, most of them Labour functionaries. The new Government possessed no majority either in the first or in the second Chamber. Branting's Government was thus from the very beginning a Government. Its program was totally a bourgeois program. He acknowledged and accentuated this in his declaration. Branting's program was a communal tax-reform (very modest), a housing reform (still more modest), and the appointment of a commission which would investigate the question of industrial democracy. From the beginning the Left Socialists took the opposition seats, whereas the Right Socialists and Liberals declared that they would assume a waiting attitude. Branting and his partisans swore an oath to defend the kingdom, etc., with their lives and souls. In numerous meetings the workers demanded a better program, chiefly the sanitation of dwellings, demobilisation, low prices, an understanding with Russia, and support in their struggle for higher wages. Branting himself was unable to carry out such reforms, and directed his first speech chiefly against the Left Socialists.

Branting and his ministry became the prisoners of the bourgeois parties from the very first hour. Not a single reform with the Socialist stamp on it was laid before the Riksdag. Only some commissions were appointed for demagogical reasons, which after long years of "investigation" intended to suggest compromises. The powers of mixed commissions are limited by a number of clauses and reservations.

The strong movement among the workers slackened its pace after Branting's entrance into the Government. The tide towards the Left was not so powerful as before. The workmen were waiting to see what Branting was going to do.

Although Branting was sailing with all sails set towards the right, the bourgeois parties in the Riksdag gave him a series of slaps in the face on various questions. Many of the bourgeois papers, among others the organ of the higher clergy and bishops, warned the bourgeois parties against attacking Branting, as this would only serve the ends of the revolution; and more than one of the higher functionaries and financiers said: "Thank God we have Branting, otherwise we would have a revolution." In all important questions the Liberals still joined the Right Socialists against Branting, who only got help for the two new small peasant parties. One may see in Sweden that matters are moving towards a new coalition: a Right-Socialist Middle-Peasant Coalition. In the questions of taxes and lack of dwellings, the Right Socialists and the Liberals both oppose Branting's propositions. To win the peasant parties Branting made his propositions still worse. Very little from the principles of the Right Socialists have remained in the Tax-reform bill: in the reforms concerning the question of housing only the reactionary conditions are left. Whether it will be possible to make these bad tax laws pass the Riksdag is an open question. Although only a few months have gone by, the situation of Branting's Government is a painful and ignominious one, even almost untenable. Branting does not know whether it would be better for him to leave or not. If he leaves, then he will deliver the whole business into the hands of the bourgeois parties without having effected a single reform, a fact which the workmen will not understand at all. If he stays, then he is at the State helm without a charter, without the possibility of doing anything, a prisoner of the bourgeoisie. The workmen will not understand that either.

With Finland Sweden is in a sharp diplomatic contest on account of the Aaland Islands. The contest is growing more and more acute.

The elections campaign has begun already. It is too early to be able to judge how the elections will. Probably the right parties, the Liberals and the Right Socialists will lose a dozen seats each, the Right Socialists even more. The Peasant Parties and the Left Socialists will be victorious. The Left Socialists will have double the

number of votes and seats. Should a new regulation of the unjust disposition of the elective circuits take place, then the Left Socialists will probably have three times as many seats.

The party situation in the Swedish Riksdag is at present as follows:

First Chamber (the Senate: 3 Left Socialists, 17 Peasant Parties, 40 Liberals, 40 Right, 52 Right Socialists. Second Chamber: 11 Left Socialists, 18 Peasant Parties, 55 Right, 60 Liberals, 86 Right Socialists.

## 2. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The economic situation of Sweden, judging by the rate of exchange of the Swedish currency in the world's market, is a very good one. Sweden's currency is proportionally the highest in the world, 15% higher than Norway, and 25% higher than Denmark's. But the picture has another side to it. The prices in Sweden are extraordinarily high and growing ever higher. An apartment of two rooms costs at present 900 to 1,000 kroner—9,000 to 10,000 German marks (the German mark is 10 öre in Sweden) per year. A suit of clothes costs 20 to 300 kroner, a pair of shoes 40 to 70 kroner, a suit of underclothing 120 kroner, lunch 3 kroner, dinner 5 kroner, butter 8 kroner per kilo, bread 1:40, meat 5, fuel (wood) 300 kroner per Hl., coal 25 kroner, and so on, all of the ordinary quality. The prices are much higher for a better quality. The taxes are increasing also terribly. A workman with a 4,000 to 5,000 kroner yearly income has to pay 500 to 600 kroner in taxes. The rising prices are calling forth ever new struggles for higher wages, which are becoming increasingly bitter. The printers, tailors, agricultural labourers, metalworkers, builders, etc., have all been engaged in heavy conflicts with the Labour Department. After months of strikes or lockouts such conflicts are settled by compromises which satisfy neither of the parties. A few months later the conflict begins again. Troubles and more troubles in the labour market. The workmen who cannot settle the question of rising prices by the method of strikes, are discussing new methods, and arming themselves. The same is being done by the capitalists, and the associations of employers. It must come to new and ever sharper conflicts in the Labour market of Sweden.

Swedish industry is struggling with great difficulties on account of the high profits and the enormous dividends of the world war. Sweden at that time made goods for almost all the warring countries and the capitalists piled up colossal profit. The number of millionaires Sweden has become ten times greater than before. Now the reaction has come. Almost all the shares, especially those of the larger industries, are sinking in price. The competition of England, America and even Germany is making itself felt. Only the bankshares are not sinking. The profits of the banking concerns are rising and ever rising. The whole of Swedish industry has become the milkmaid and milch cow of the banking capital. It is only because of the bad situation of Swedish industry that the Swedish Government saw itself compelled to enter into trade relations with Soviet Russia. The storehouses of the exporting firms were full of goods, which no one could nor would buy. Swedish industry was faced with a severe crisis, the Swedish workmen were threatened with loss of work, when Soviet Russia appeared as a saving angel.

The crisis will grow however, because of the ever rising prices, the increasing unwillingness of the workmen to toil for the capitalists and because of the evergrowing competition from abroad. If Sweden has a bad harvest some year, then the catastrophe will happen. Up to now Sweden has always had extraordinarily good harvests. But no one knows what may happen.

The Swedish national debt is also rapidly increasing. The State budget is growing larger and larger with great strides. The tax rate is consequently growing also. New taxes every year. The taxes on the railways, the street cars, steamers, are four times as high. A journey, third class, from Stockholm to Göteborg cost formerly 6 kroners, now 20 kroners; a trip in a street car in Stockholm cost two years ago 10 öre, now 25 to 70 öre. A letter cost three years ago 5 öre, now 20 öre. And in spite of all, the State and Communal functionaries are unable to obtain enough to meet the high prices.

In general the economic situation of Sweden and especially that of the workmen has become worse since the 1st of January. The situation of the smaller peasants has also deteriorated. The mortgages of the small peasants are rising again. But the owners of estates, forests, paper factories and banking concerns are having a golden time.



## Situation in Denmark in 1920

By Marie Nielsen

**D**URING the world war Denmark was in a favourable condition in comparison with the warring countries, as the latter were purchasing at high prices all that was being produced by her. At the Bourse speculation was running riot, day by day fortunes of millions of crowns were being made and numbers of bogus companies started.

The commercial situation was most favourable. In contrast to the time preceding the year 1914 Denmark had acquire considerable assets abroad.

But from a wider social point of view the nation's prosperity had diminished. Only quite a small clique of industrialists and merchants had obtained profits under the existing circumstances and only the larger fortunes had greatly increased, whereas during the whole 5 years the workmen were under the yoke of high prices and a great lack of employment (from 60.000 to 70.000 men in winter time and 20.000 in summer, to the 3.000.000 population of the country); the clerks and employees had become paupers, their salaries having remained the same in spite of the rising prices.

The Government tried in vain to diminish the contrast between the rich class living in luxury and the impoverish population, by means of the system so well known in all countries of half-hearted governmental «socialism», which goes no farther than a control over the import and export, the rationing of the foodstuffs, Government subsidies for lowering the prices, relief for the poorer people under various forms, etc.

But these measures had very little bearing on the situation, and even the rationing of the food was felt to be but a class measure, because the rich people were always able to buy anything in the quantities that they wanted.

After the conclusion of peace a change occurred. The whole economic life of Denmark is completely dependent on other countries, as Denmark has neither the raw material nor the sources of energy that she needs, and even the rural industry which is her principal nerve, depends on the import of machinery and forage. The rural industry of Denmark produces almost exclusively ham, eggs, butter, meat, etc.

During the period of war the number of cattle diminished ten times, partly owing to speculation, partly to absence of forage; all the storehouses were emptied, and the population was hungry.

Therefore, as soon as the international trade was resumed, the change in the trade balance was unfavourable to Denmark. During a short period of time we not only spent all our reserves, but the import exceeded the export to such a degree that at present we are owing other countries 2 milliard crowns for goods, and the value of the Danish crown, in comparison with the currency of other countries, has fallen rapidly.

The national debt has grown double during the last 5 years, all the communities have had to contract large loans. These loans are all invested in the Danish banks, and in consequence the latter, besides receiving a good and sure income, have acquired an influence over the political life of the country. (Thus, in 1916 the banks compelled the Government to introduce a whole series of indirect taxes).

A considerable concentration of capital took place during the war, and a number of trusts was formed, both in the banking and industrial branches of business.

The year 1920 brought together with a change of the trade situation a series of bankruptcies of the bogus companies of war time; some of the older firms and a few of the smaller banks broke up also; evidently we are on the verge of a great economic crisis.

The productivity of the country during this period has been declining.

### Situation of the workmen.

The Danish workmen are organised into industrial unions, and the latter in their turn have formed into a «Collaboration of Industrial Unions» (De Sammvirkende Fagforbund, D. S. F.). Set against them is a strong Union of Employers.

The liberty of action of the separate unions is bound by the agreement of 1899 (September agreement). The direction in the industrial unions belongs to the moderate opportunists. Negotiations have the preference over strikes, and subsidies over an increase of pay.

The opposition, which has a syndicalist character, has formed its own special clubs in most of the unions; these clubs are united in the «Union of the opposition of the industrial movement» (Fagoppositionens Sammenslutning, F. S.), which publishes a small daily paper of its own «Solidaritets». (Solidarity).

In consequence of internal frictions in the D. S. F. part of the industrial unions became divided and formed the «Federation of Free Industrial Unions» (De Freie Fagforeningers Sammenslutning), in which each union is allowed full freedom of action. The most important among them are the unions of the construction workmen, the seamen's organisations, and the union of the workmen of the port of Copenhagen.

Some of these organisations have a syndicalist character, others not.

During the course of the war the relative rates of wages became lower, because the increased rates did not correspond with the high prices.

In accordance with official statistics, the pay of an average workman in 1914 amounted to 1350 crowns, in 1918 to 2004 crowns; the purchasing capacity of the crown (according to official statistics), in 1918 amounted to 56 öre, so

that the real income was only 1120 crowns, which entailed a deficit of 230 crowns; in the years between 1914 and 1918 the deficit was 50, 110 and 150 crowns.

In 1919 the conditions improved and the deficit in comparison with 1914 amounted only to 185 crowns.

By January 1st 1912 the deficit amounted to 455 crowns, and a statistician calculated that without an essential change in the conditions about 3 years will be necessary for the workman to be able to cover it. That means only, that no effectual improvement has been made in the workman's position, except the diminution of the working hours.

The workmen had obtained the increase of pay and the improved labour conditions by their own direct action, by means of agreements and their professional unions, in some cases by hard struggles and «illegal» strikes.

In 1918 the construction workmen obtained the introduction of the 8 hour day by the help of a strike which lasted three months. Later on this improvement was confirmed by legislative order.

On the 1st of February 1920 the terms of 114 agreements expired and the Employer's Trust declared forthwith that it would not agree to any concessions and at the same time it handed in 25 million crowns to its current account at the banks for «military» expenses.

The D. S. F. was nevertheless compelled to demand concessions for its members in the sense of increase of pay and the improvement of the labour conditions.

Many unions were working at incredibly low rates. The situation of the rope-makers, weavers, paper manufacturers, bakers and some other trades, was especially bad.

However, the D. S. F. informed its members that it had not sufficient funds to continue the struggle.

The negotiations went on for 2 months and led to nothing; at the end of March the employers threatened to have recourse to a general lock out (with the exception of a few branches of production).

The situation suddenly grew more acute owing to political reasons.

During the war the Cabinet was under the direction of the radical bourgeois Zale, who was supported by the Social Democrat party whose representative during the last years in the Cabinet was Stauning.

The cabinet possessed the majority (by 2 votes) in the Folketing (1st Chamber), whereas in the Lendsting (2nd Chamber) the majority was held by the conservative opposition.

In regard to the question of re-elections the Folketing showed an equality of votes, and the King took advantage of the situation to dissolve Zaler's Cabinet and form a Conservative Ministry.

In reply to this royal coup d'état the Social-Democrat party demanded that the D. S. F. organise a general strike.

The general strike was hailed with enthusiasm by all the labour organisations; it was joined by the railway service and post office employees. All political dissensions were cast aside. The syndicalist organisations joined the strike as well, but they proffered special economical demands, and also a demand for the amnesty of political prisoners. (Many revolutionary and antimilitarist workers were in custody). This demand was included in the programme of the general strike.

The bourgeoisie retired before the unbending will of the workmen. The King dissolved the Conservative Cabinet and formed a business Ministry with 2 Social Democrat members. The political amnesty was accorded. The idea of a general lock-out was given up and it was notified that special negotiations would be held with each industrial

union and that the possibility of concessions being made on the part of the employers was not excluded. The «Free Unions» participating in the strike, did not however sign any agreement, as their economical demands had not been satisfied.

They passed an agreement between themselves, and as the seamen and transport workmen in the port of Copenhagen considered the moment to be a favourable one for a struggle for their interests (a contract had just been signed with England for a large delivery of agricultural products) they did not end the strike but proffered their demands to the larger shipping companies, which had been earning enormous dividends during the war. The other industrial unions decided to resume work, as their refusal to discontinue the strike would have no effect on its course, and to support the strikers economically. This strike is still continuing at present (28.V) for the 8th week. Trade has become completely paralysed, the agricultural products are lying immovable in the storehouses. The strike has caused a fall in the prices for food stuffs.

On the part of the capital the struggle is being carried on with great exasperation. The entire bourgeois press is mobilised against the strikers; attempts have been made to provoke them to various demonstrations; but up to now the workmen have exercised great discretion in respect to provocation. There was an attempt to imprison the leaders, and the bourgeois corps of strike breakers, the «public assistance» (Samfundshjælpen) worked in the port under the protection of the police; the first time it was called to action by the social-democrat Jegen, a member of the Government.

At the time that this stubborn struggle was going on some of the industrial unions had entered into negotiations with the employers. However, the concessions made to the workmen are so insignificant that they cannot lead to a «social peace»; the first «illegal» strikes have already been declared in the shoe industry, after the agreement was signed. But the majority of the industrial unions have not signed any agreement.

### Revolutionary movements.

The Danish Social-Democrat policy is following precisely on the lines of the German Scheidemannists. The result of this has been the formation of a new revolutionary organisation in the spring of 1918, the Socialist Labour Party (Socialistiske Arbeiderparti), which is working against the old party. This organisation suffered from the very beginning from a lack of leading forces, because only an insignificant part of the party opposition had entered it, the majority, the leaders of the Social-Democrat Union of Youth, remaining in the party out of tactical considerations with the object of waiting to see what would be its position after the war.

The Socialist Labour Party meanwhile started a strong revolutionary campaign, and in the summer of 1918 conducted several large labour demonstrations (against the high prices and against militarism). The party was soon increased by a number of new members and in October it proceeded to the publication of a small daily paper «Klassenkampen» (Class struggle).

In November 1918 the party together with the «United opposition of the industrial movement» (F. S.) carried out two more large demonstrations in favour of the amnesty of the political prisoners. Matters came to a collision with the police (undoubtedly the work of provocation). The leaders of the party, chairman Tegersen and the editor of the paper «Klassenkampen» Maria Nielsen, were arrested together with a number of syndicalists and put in prison.

After a senselessly long period of detention during 6½ months, to which the prisoners put an end by a hunger strike, the leaders of the movement were sentenced to 18 months of severe imprisonment and the rest to shorter terms.

The Socialist Labour Party soon fell into a decline owing to its youth and unstable organisation, and the publication of its paper was stopped.

In the Summer of 1919 the Social-Demokrat Union of Youth decided to break with Social Democracy and they formed a new organisation conjointly with the so-called independent Social-Democrats and members of the Socialist Labour Party, the «Left-socialist party» (Venstersocialistiske Parti), with a small weekly paper «Arbeidet» (Labour).

This party was very weak from the beginning owing to the absence of leaders. The latter were to have been given by the Social-Demokrat Union of Youth, but it did not take advantage of the favourable revolutionary situation of 1918. By that time the moderate elements gained a considerable supremacy in the Union of Youth; it became divided and its revolutionary part is weak at present.

The party has a parliamentary character to a considerable degree, and distinguished itself by its campaign during the last elections, and a little by its paper, which has but a limited circulation.

The political situation is unfavourable for such a party.

The elections carried out in April 1920 gave the conservative parties a majority both in the Folketing, and in the Lendsting, so that Government power has passed to them.

Social Democracy had regained in a considerable measure the sympathies of the workmen during the general strike and was now forced to pass into opposition. It has broken with the bourgeois alliance and for the forthcoming elections in July it is producing a very radical program: republic one-chamber system, universal suffrage beginning from 21 years of age, «industrial soviets»!

It is undoubtedly incapable of carrying out any truly socialist policy, it is too much infected by the bourgeois frame of mind, but during a certain period of time it will be able to maintain its influence over the parliamentarily inclined working masses, thanks to its «state of opposition».

At the same time the class contrasts are becoming more acute; this may be seen from the ever-continuing strikes

during which the Social-Democracy is mostly collaborating with the bourgeoisie, helping the latter to disorganise the strikes. Thus, it proclaimed the strike begun by the Copenhagen Bureau of Industrial Unions, to be ended. However it is going too far in this policy and concurring thus in the development of an anti-parliamentary feeling among the workmen.

The so-called «Free Unions» are not only carrying on their strike policy on purely economical grounds, but they are energetically striving to obtain the so-called «right of participation» and the control over the production. In connection with this movement the «Opposition of the industrial movement» is acquiring a leading role and its organ «Solidaritets» is circulated in a considerable number of copies (10.000).

In 1919 «The Opposition of the industrial movement» enlarged its organisation and at the re-elections took up a position in favour of the system of soviets.

However out of fear of the «party» and the parliamentary policy it did not find it possible to join the International.

Almost the same position is occupied by the Socialist Union of Youth, of anarchist tendencies, with a monthly paper of its own «The Red War» (Den röda Krig).

Quite recently in its Congress this Union pronounced itself in favour of the Soviet idea, but it refused to join the Third International, in order «not to be bound by certain methods and tactics».

In total the organised revolutionary movement in Denmark is still very weak, whereas at the same time the fermentation among the workmen is very strong.

A union between the Left Socialist party and the «Opposition of the industrial movement» (I. S.) and a paper to be published by both together would be very useful.

In this way the revolutionary elements amidst the workmen would be united under a general direction.

However at present a struggle is to be foreseen between these two groups (although up to now they have remained indifferent towards each other); the Left Socialist party has begun to organise its own clubs of industrial opposition; it will meet with the resistance of the «Opposition of the industrial movement» (I. S.).







## Revolutionary Ireland and Communism

By Thomas Darragh

**I**RELAND is of importance to International Communism primarily for the following two reasons, viz: 1) Its strategic position with regard to England, the seat of British Imperialism; 2) The influence of Ireland's political development on the broad masses of its nationals scattered throughout the British Empire and the United States of America.

For the purpose of this report it is necessary to give a brief survey of the Irish Labour and Socialist movements, and the personalities who played and are playing a part in their development. The recent history of the Irish Labour movement may be said to start from the coming of Jim Larkin to Ireland in 1907. Up to this time very few of the Irish workers were organized in trade unions, and of these about 75 per cent were in Irish branches of English unions. They were mere dues-paying members who exercised little or no effect upon the policy of these unions, whose executive offices were in England.

Larkin, who was identified with the Independent Labour Party of England from its inception, came over as organizer of the English Dockers' Union, and within a short time of his arrival the first big strike in Ireland took place in Belfast. This strike is noteworthy in as much as, along with the dock and transport workers of the city, the police came out on strike. It was marked by much rioting and military activity. Within a few months of the settlement of the Belfast dispute the dockers in Cork went on strike. As a result of the treatment meted out to the Belfast strikers by the executive of the union in England, and a continuation of the same policy with regard to the Cork workers, Larkin broke away from the English Dockers' Union and organized the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union on the lines of industrial unionism. After a series of fiercely fought strikes the Transport Workers' Union got a permanent foot-hold in the bigger ports and industrial centers. Connolly returned

from America in 1910 and immediately went to see Larkin, who was in Mountjoy prison in Dublin. As a result of this meeting Connolly took over the management of the union during Larkin's imprisonment, and on his release they joined forces. From this onwards they worked together until Larkin went to America to raise funds for the union treasury, which had been completely exhausted by the great Dublin strike of 1913—1914.

Connolly spent his early life in the Social Democratic movement in Britain, particularly in Scotland. He was one of the few intrepid young Marxists who in the early days of the Social Democratic Federation split from the first manifestations of Hyndman's Social-patriotism and reformism to form the Socialist Labour Party, of which he was the first chairman and organizer. Up to the last he was in constant touch with it and his influence is still felt in this organization, which is one of the few fighting Socialist bodies in Britain. In 1896 he returned to Ireland and founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, the first Socialist Party in Ireland. He was editor of its official organ, „The Workers' Republic“, by means of which the revolutionary doctrines of the party began to make themselves felt on the Irish working masses. It is noteworthy to record that alone of all other parties, no matter how extreme in nationalism, the I. S. R. P. was the first to openly advocate the establishment of an Irish Republic. The party was small though active, and contested some few municipal elections without success.

In 1902 Connolly went to America to raise funds for the party by a lecture tour. The tour completed he stayed on and was identified with the foundation of the I. W. W., and was for a time an organizer of the American Socialist Labour Party. In 1908 he founded the Irish Socialist Federation in America and was editor of its official organ, „The Harp“, which was later transferred to Ireland In

1910, on his return to Ireland, he published „Labour in Irish History“, the only Marxian interpretation of the history of the development of the Irish proletariat and peasantry.

From 1910, Larkin and Connolly dominated the Irish Labour and Socialist situation. Their work consisted in organizing the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, educating the masses in the use of the mass strike and the sympathetic strike, and in the transformation of the Irish Trade Union Congress into an Irish Labour Party. So powerful did the Transport Union become, with its revolutionary cry for the abolition of the wage system, that in 1913 the Irish bourgeoisie and English capitalist interests in Ireland combined to crush it. This resulted in the Dublin strike and lock-out, which lasted for over ten months and was the first great proletarian upheaval in Ireland. The radical section of the British workers rallied to the aid of their Irish comrades, sending money and food into Dublin; but the British Labour leaders, true to their position as henchmen of the capitalist class and saboteurs of every revolutionary act of the workers, killed the demand for sympathetic action in Britain, and the Irish workers were forced back to the shops. This proved a pyrrhic victory for the bourgeoisie, the Transport Union emerging from the struggle, depleted in membership and in funds, but still with its organization intact, and with a bitterness in the minds of the workers which flared into action in 1916.

The outbreak of the world war found the Transport Union sufficiently recovered to make vigorous protest against the Social-traitors of British Labourism, who, rallying to the defense of the British Imperial state, assisted in the already beginning double brutal coercion of Ireland as a small nationality and the Irish workers as a class. Larkin and Connolly held meetings throughout the country, baring the capitalist-imperialist nature of the conflict; urging the workers to use the crisis by every means in their power; ruthlessly criticising British Labourism; revealing the essentially bourgeois-imperialist content of the Irish Parliamentary Party, which had hitherto masqueraded as the party of democratic opposition to British imperialism, and now supported the war; and the equally bourgeois reaction of Sinn Féin, which declared Ireland to be neutral. Realising that the difficulties of British Imperialism must necessarily be the opportunity of the Irish proletariat, they set about the development of the Irish Citizen Army, extending its scope, arming its members and intensifying

the military nature of its organization. In order to raise funds Larkin went to America, being exiled immediately the British Government found he was out of the country, Connolly taking full charge of both the union and the Citizen Army, and carrying on the work alone. From now until Easter, 1916, the Irish Citizen Army dominated Irish Labour politics.

### **The Irish Citizen Army.**

The Irish Citizen Army was founded in Cork in 1908. Its purpose was to protect the strikers from the brutality of the police, but beyond this it was little heard of and of no particular importance until the latter end of 1913, when it figured in several riots arising out of the Dublin strike. With the outbreak of the world war serious attention was paid to its organization, military instructors were obtained (the first instructor being Captain White, son of British Field Marshal Sir George White. He was identified with the Dublin strike and subsequently, in 1916, was arrested in South Wales for attempting to bring the miners out on strike to prevent Connolly's execution) and the systematic arming of its members was begun.

Connolly as Commandant surrounded himself with a Socialist staff, the chief of whom was Michael Mallon, a silk weaver subsequently executed by the British in 1916. National revolutionary ferment developing rapidly all over the country was met by British military suppression, which resulted in the establishment of military staff co-operation between the Irish Volunteers (the Nationalist Republican armed forces) and the I. C. A., upon the initiative of the latter, which dominated the alliance until the 1916 rebellion. British activity in suppressing all revolutionary papers resulted in Connolly's paper „The Workers' Republic“ being published under an armed guard of the Citizen Army, which also provided a guard for Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Transport Union. This condition of affairs lasted for about three months, the last number of „The Workers' Republic“ being issued two days before the rebellion.

The Army was designed upon a proletarian basis, with the Commandant, staff officers and ordinary officers elected by the soldiers, and in addition, a governing committee consisting of equal representatives of the officers and the men. Its activities were confined to the neighbourhood of Dublin city. It was of first rate efficiency, outmatching in many competitions

the rival Irish Volunteers, holding on several occasions demonstrations of actual street fighting, and its well trained officers, especially the Commandant, lecturing and instructing the Irish Volunteers, particularly in street fighting. The I. C. A. being drawn from the proletariat had within its ranks many men who through economic necessity had served in the British Army.

It was the I. C. A. which set the pace in the months preceding the rebellion, and despite the usual wavering of the middle class leaders of the I. V., when faced with the actual crisis the iron determination of the I. C. A. and its leader forced the participation of the I. V. in the uprising. The immediate causes of the failure of the revolutionary forces was the countermanding at the eleventh hour of the mobilization order of the Irish Republican troops throughout the country by the timid right wing bourgeois leaders, who had always opposed Connolly and the co-operation of the I. V. with the I. C. A. Despite this, 1,000 raw Republican troops defended the captured capital against 47,000 disciplined and modernly equipped British soldiers, a victorious onslaught on Dublin from the north county took place, and there were several attempts at uprisings in the West of Ireland.

In the rising the Citizen Army, as a unit of the Republican forces, attacked and seized Dublin Castle, the executive headquarters of the British Government in Ireland, as well as holding several strategic positions throughout the city. Connolly was Commander-in-Chief of all the fighting forces of the Republic during the rising. After the surrender Connolly, who had been severely wounded during the fighting, and Michael Mallon, Chief of Staff of the I. C. A., were executed along with several of the left wing nationalist leaders, while the majority of the remainder of the prominent proletarian leaders were killed during or after the fighting. An overwhelmingly greater percentage of the I. C. A. than of the I. V. participated in the fighting, and as a result during the arrests that followed the I. C. A. was practically destroyed as an organization, while the I. V. was able to preserve its organization intact throughout the greater portion of the country, where no fighting had occurred.

On its reorganisation after the release of all prisoners in December 1917, the I. C. A. retained its proletarian basis, but as the situation was now dominated by the I. V. and all the leaders of the I. C. A. were killed, it steadily

weakened, and is not now an effective influence on Irish political life. It must be remembered that it is not a Communist organization, though it is hostile to the present Social Democratic tendencies of the Socialist Party of Ireland, having cooperated with it only once, when it forced the holding of a meeting, despite the military, in favor of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution.

The I. C. A. program is the establishment by force of arms of a Workers' Republic in Ireland, though the form and structure of such a republic are not consciously understood by the majority of its members.

### **Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers.**

In order properly to understand Sinn Féin it is necessary to deal with its political predecessor, the Irish Parliamentary Party. This party dominated Irish national politics for well over 40 years. Its aim was to secure Home Rule for Ireland within the British Empire, by constitutional means. Out of a total of 104 Irish members in the British Parliament the Irish Parliamentary Party numbered about 80, the remainder being mostly Unionists returned from the Protestant constituencies of North-East Ulster, who stand on the anti-Home Rule platform and are a wing of the English Tory Party.

Under the leadership of Parnell the Irish Parliamentary Party pursued a policy of obstruction in the British Parliament, and maintained its independence by refusing to ally itself with any British party, throwing its weight now to this side and now to that. This policy led to its gradually compromising, until finally it became the tail end of the English Liberal Party. Though still protesting its independence in Ireland, this attachment to the Liberal Party caused it to become identified with English Imperial politics, thus relinquishing its so-called democratic opposition to English Imperialism. Its final act in this rôle was its opposition to the Boer War, 1899-1901.

Whilst this party was losing its hold on the national revolutionary mind of the people a new national policy in the form of Sinn Féin made its first appearance. A pamphlet called „The Resurrection of Hungary. A Parallel for Ireland“ began to attract attention. In this work Arthur Griffith, an independent bourgeois journalist, traced Hungary's fight for political independence against Austria, and advocated the adoption in Ireland of the tactics employed by the Hungarian nationalists. He sketched a program, subsequently amplified with the

attainment of his Party to power after 1916, the most salient points being (a) the election of members by the English electoral system pledged to abstention from the British Parliament (b) the actual setting up of an Irish Parliament or General Council (c) refusal to pay taxes to the English Imperial exchequer (d) establishment of a policy of protection, especially against England, (e) the encouragement of Irish industries (f) the building up of an Irish Consular service (g) and the general encouragement of all Irish national movements, such as the Gaelic League, the organization of the Irish language-revival movement, the Gaelic Athletic Association for the revival of old Irish sports and games, the Irish literary and dramatic renaissance and the Irish Boy Scouts (Fianna), organized in opposition to the English military Eaden-Powell Boy Scouts.

Sinn Féin was a party designed to use political and extra-parliamentary action, but did not advocate the use of arms for the accomplishment of its object, nor did it aim at the establishment of an Irish Republic. It remained true to the Hungarian parallel and urged the establishment of an Irish Parliament which should be united to the British Parliament only in the person of the British monarch, who would also be king of Ireland, thus ratifying the decrees of both Parliaments. In fact in the first decade of the Twentieth Century no party except the Irish Socialist Republican Party openly advocated an Irish Republic.

For many years, even up to the rebellion, despite the waning popularity and political bankruptcy of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sinn Féin made little headway, existing rather as a critic of the Irish Parliamentary Party than as a definite political party. In its economic doctrine it followed the obsolete bourgeois economist Friedrich List, and its pronouncements on economic questions were reactionary in the extreme. In 1913 it assumed an attitude of hostility to the Dublin strike.

From the outbreak of the war to the rebellion Sinn Féin assumed a more revolutionary role, being largely influenced by the Irish Volunteer movement, which rather than Sinn Féin itself was the dominant National force in Irish politics. After the rebellion, though Sinn Féin played no actual active part in the struggle, by shedding the more reactionary portions of its doctrines and harmonising its program with the now popular demand for an Irish Republic, it assumed the position of the political leader of the Irish people. It leaped from success to

success until in the 1918 parliamentary general elections it swept the country, following which it set up its own Parliament, Dail Eireann, and attempted to form ministries and assume the government of the country. It was immediately declared illegal; since then it functions whenever possible, though most of its members and prominent officials are being continually imprisoned in English jails from which they escape by hunger-striking, jail deliveries and other means. With the increasing oppression of English militarism Sinn Féin is coming more and more under the dominance of the Irish Volunteers. In the recent elections Sinn Féin captured the majority of the municipalities and rural councils, its nearest competitor being the Irish Labour Party, which co-operates with it in the local government of the country. The whole policy of Sinn Féin is to make British government impossible in Ireland, and at the same time to establish as many of its own institutions as possible, so that it may step in and function as the government of the country.

The Irish Volunteers in form is a purely military organization with a General Staff and officers elected by the rank and file. Its program originally consisted in the establishment of an Irish Republic by force of arms, and now the Republic has crystallised into the form which is in the process of establishment by the united efforts of themselves and Sinn Féin. Its membership consists mostly of proletarians and the peasantry, though on the average mostly officered by the younger members of the petty bourgeoisie and farmers. The majority of the rank and file look upon the establishment of the Irish Republic as of the first importance, and are inclined to defer the solution of social problems to the successful accomplishment of this aim. The allegiance of the country members to this ideology is being somewhat undermined by their being now mostly organized in the I. T. & G. W. U., the consequent spark of class consciousness derived from this, and the increasing economic difficulties which force them into opposition to the farmer-class members of the I. V. On the whole there are but few Socialists within their ranks, but many sympathizers and admirers of Connolly and the idea of a Workers' Republic.

Owing to the constant national revolutionary ferment that dominates the activity of all classes of the population, and the almost universal opposition to England, which throws otherwise antagonistic classes into spasmodic

cooperation, it is difficult actually to determine of what classes the various organizations are the political expression. Roughly speaking Sinn Féin is controlled in the rural districts by the small farmers and petty peasantry or tenant farmers, in the towns by the small shopkeepers and middle men, and in the cities by the smaller manufacturers, merchants and bourgeois intellectuals. There are practically no big landowners or even moderately big capitalists in this movement; this class in Ireland being economically dependent upon English capitalism and having as its political expression the English Tory and Liberal parties. The conglomeration of classes comprising Sinn Féin necessarily causes antagonism to develop within the Party and results, as long as endures the co-operation of these classes and the working masses, necessary to achieve political independence, in its being unable to formulate any definite socio-economic program. Its aim being political independence, it finds it necessary to draw all classes of the population to it to accomplish this object, and, to preserve the co-operation of the classes, it dare not issue any *definite* political and economic program. Instead it has issued a so-called democratic program, breathing all the false glittering generalities of bourgeois democracy—the will of the sovereign people, the ownership of the land and resources of the country by and in the interests of the whole people, the equality of all citizens, etc., etc.; but it reveals its essential class content by promising international regulation of the conditions under which the *working class* will live. The ideology of the two allied movements, Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers, is similar to that of any small nationality. Finally the hope of Sinn Féin is the development of the already existing antagonism between America and England, and the tendency is to rely more and more on American capitalism and to become subservient to its interests.

### **The Irish Labour Movement.**

The Irish Labour movement is composed of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, local or national craft unions, and branches of the big English Trade Unions, such as the National union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. It functions nationally through the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, and locally through Trades Councils, composed of representatives of the

various unions in the district. By far the most powerful body is the I. T. & G. W. U., which now numbers 120,000 members. It was originally organised on the lines of industrial unionism, and though small in numbers and restricted to the larger towns, it wielded with tremendous efficiency and success the weapons of the mass and the sympathetic strike, at the same time carrying on an almost incessant revolutionary propaganda campaign. Since the rebellion, with the loss to the union of its two leading figures and the indiscriminate increase of its membership, its revolutionary outlook has deteriorated, until now it has become a federation of unskilled workers with a large sprinkling of craft unions and with bureaucratic and strong centralization tendencies. It is not a craft union, but neither has it kept abreast of the later developments of industrial unionism, consequently tending to become an unwieldy and ineffective weapon for the proletariat either against alien imperialism or native capitalism.

The larger portion of its membership at the present time consists of the poorer peasantry and agricultural labourers, who are not in close sympathy and whose activities are not in co-ordination with those of the industrial proletariat. It should not be forgotten, however, that the organization of the rural proletariat has been a tremendous accomplishment, and has imbued with a certain amount of class consciousness. On account of the form of the organization and the failure of the I. T. & G. W. U. sufficiently to educate these rural workers as to their class position, it has been demonstrated that this is not the organization to bridge the gulf between the agricultural and industrial proletariat.

The general condition of Irish life being nationally revolutionary, the I. T. & G. W. U., in common with the craft unions, has a much stronger fighting spirit than its English prototypes. In alliance with the Nationalists the Irish Labour movement defeated conscription in 1918; on May 1st, 1919, it stopped industry throughout the greater portion of the country; and only recently, again in alliance with the Nationalists, by a two day general strike it forced the British government to release over 100 political prisoners who were on hunger strike. In the majority of these cases, however, the general sentiment of the people practically forces the Labour movement to take action, and the strike is carried out by unionists and non-unionists alike.

It is only comparatively recently that the I. T. & G. W. U. has entered the political arena as a dominant force, and its successes in the late municipal elections have only strengthened its tendency towards reaction. The Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, acting through its local Trades Councils, emerged from the municipal elections as the second party in numerical strength, and of the labour members elected the I. T. & G. W. U. secured an overwhelming majority. This solidifies the domination of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress by the I. T. & G. W. U., which gave to it its present form and program. Despite the insistence of the Labour Party that this program was constructed by Connolly and must therefore be revolutionary, it refuses to understand that such a program was designed for use by the proletariat in a pre-world-revolutionary period.

The attempt of the I. T. & G. W. U., under the slogan of the One Big Union, to absorb the craft unions, has led to the development of antagonisms within the Labour Party. The craft unions object to such absorption primarily because of their craft ideology, and also because they claim that the Transport Union does not represent Industrial Unionism, but the growth of a federation which is tending to bring the whole Labour movement under a bureaucracy. The craft unions in Ireland are small and constantly dwindling. They are of little political importance with the exception of one or two big branches of English unions, the tendency of which is to break away from the parent bodies and form national unions. A large section of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has already done so recently.

The Transport Union publishes the only labour paper in Ireland, "The Watchword of Labour", a weekly with a circulation of about 10,000, and which shares the common fate of all nationalist and rebel papers in Ireland—continual suppression by the government. This paper, while claiming to be the successor of Connolly's revolutionary "Workers' Republic", in fact constantly emasculates his application of revolutionary Marxism to Ireland in much the same manner as Kautsky emasculates the general principles of Marxism. It voices or represents the views of the dominant section of the I. T. & G. W. U., the Irish Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Ireland.

Internationally the Irish Labour movement is affiliated to the Yellow International. Cathal O'Shannon, the editor of "The Watchword of Labour", executive member of the Irish Labour

Party and at present President of the Socialist Party of Ireland; Thomas Johnston treasurer of the Irish Labour Party; William O'Brien, secretary of the Irish Labour Party, treasurer of the I. T. & G. W. U., and one of the biggest forces in the Irish Labour movement; and another Irish Labour Party executive member, together with Hughes, assistant secretary of the I. T. & G. W. U., who represented the Socialist Party of Ireland, being the delegates from Ireland. O'Shannon and Johnston, who were equipped with supplementary mandates from the S. P. I., were the only two to reach Berne. They signed the Adler-Longuet resolution and generally adopted the policy of that wing of the conference.

The Socialist Party of Ireland, which was founded in 1896, underwent many changes of program and name, until now it is a very small and ineffective party with no bearing upon national politics. The same personalities who dominate the Irish Labour Party and the I. T. & G. W. U., influence and direct its policy and tactics. For one brief spell it was captured by the Left Wing, which during its brief term of power, against the violent opposition of the rest of the Party, succeeded in introducing a few revolutionary conceptions into its long established program, ordered the revocation of the affiliation to Berne and secured a majority vote in favour of the Third International, and held a meeting in Dublin on the last anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Before it had time to consolidate its forces it lost power, consequently its orders regarding the Internationals were never put into force. It is now a party numbering scarce 150 members in Dublin, about 30 of whom may be considered effective members, and a few hundred members throughout the country, badly organized and having no direct connection with each other or the Dublin headquarters. It is very inactive, has no paper and but a few pamphlets by its own members, none of which deal with the problems facing the Irish proletariat.

A force which will undoubtedly play an important part in the revolutionary development of Ireland is the Co-operative movement led by George Russell (A. E.). There are several well organized branches of this movement, which now form a considerable part of the economy of the country, and may readily be utilized by the proletarian state for the solution of the immediate problems of food distribution, etc. during the first period of the proletarian dictatorship. It is in the co-operative production on the land by the poor peasantry that the Com-

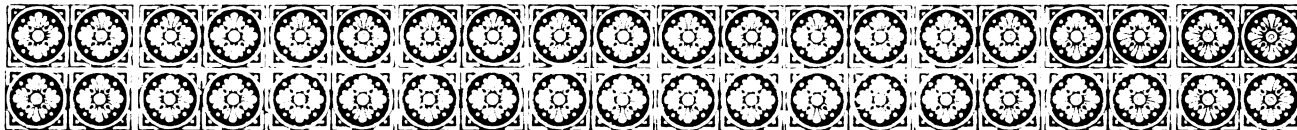
munists will be chiefly interested. This movement, which tends to destroy, even now, the ideology of small private property ownership among the land-hungering poorer peasantry, is of paramount importance to the Communists. For it actively tends to the solution of one of the most important and difficult problems of the proletarian state, by initiating the organization of the poorer peasantry on the basis of large-scale co-operative production, thus mentally harmonising the two sections of the working class and making certain the unity of the industrial proletariat and peasantry under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Ulster, or more properly the north-east corner of Ireland, is the big manufacturing and industrial center. Industrially it bears a greater resemblance than any other part of the country to the highly industrialized portions of England and Scotland. It is dominated by the only big capitalists in the country, who are closely allied with the British bourgeoisie. Economically the

workers are organized in branches of English Trade Unions, and politically the vast majority adheres to the Unionist Party, the party of extreme opposition to Sinn Fein and any form of Irish Nationalism. One of the main factors, though steadily declining of late years, is its religious antagonism to the rest of the country. In many respects the problems of the Communists are here much easier, it being possible to rally the proletariat to their banner on the straight issue of the capitalist state versus the proletarian state. The lack of any nationalist republican feeling on the part of the majority of the proletariat renders them hostile to the establishment of an Irish bourgeois republic. With the exception of the anti-Nationalist feeling, which is partly the outcome of religious bigotry, Ulster presents a problem similar to that presented by any large industrial center, and for this reason may become one of the chief centers of the proletarian struggle against an Irish bourgeois state.







## The Communist Movement in Bulgaria

### I.

**B**ULGARIA is a country of small peasant owners. Therefore it is customary to think that the Communist movement in Bulgaria will not meet with success, and the Bulgarian bourgeoisie assures Europe that Bolshevism has no chance in that country.

Notwithstanding this, however, the Communist movement is very strong there and steadily developing.

What are the reasons for this condition and what are the possibilities of a proletarian revolution in Bulgaria?

After the peace treaty the population of Bulgaria will hardly exceed four millions. Eighty per cent. of this number are peasants and twenty per cent. inhabitants of the towns.

The lands in private ownership constitute about forty-five million decars and are distributed among 495,000 agricultural estates; that is, a farm averages about 91 decars of land.

Eighty thousand farms have up to 20 decars of land; 145,000 farms have from 20 to 50 decars of land; 175,000 farms have from 50 to 100 decars of land; 95,000 farms have 100 and over.

About 936 large agricultural estates have over 1,000 decars.

In social respects the first two categories of farms, with fifty decars and less, are worked by peasants with little or no land at all, those who work for wages, or while working their own farms, are still obliged to seek work in order to live. This is the class of the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat.

The third group are the middle peasants, with from 50 to 100 decars of land; they farm their own land without employing hired labour; this is the class of the peasant workers.

The fourth group, with landed property measuring 100 decars and more, constitutes the category of rich peasants, who employ hired labour; this is the class of the village employers, "regrators."

These three social groups in the villages (counting the labour and other population) make up the following proportions: The landless peasants and smaller owners, 45 per cent.; the peasant workers, 36 per cent., and the group of peasant employers about 29 per cent. of the whole rural population.

The town population, amounting to about 900,000, is distributed approximately as follows: The proletariat and poorer classes constitute about 62 per cent., the small bourgeois workers who do not employ hired labour, about 25 per cent., and the rich bourgeois employers, about 13 per cent.

Thus in the whole country the class of workmen, poor people, constitutes more than 50 per cent. of the population; the workers who do not employ hired labour, about

33 per cent., and the village and town bourgeoisie, not over 17 per cent. of the entire population. The purely proletarian class constitutes a little over 20 per cent. of the entire population. Such is, approximately, the relation of the different classes in Bulgaria.

Before the war [1911] the national wealth of the country was reckoned at 10,500,000,000 leos, and the national debt amounted to 1,650,000 leos.

The commercial balance of the country in 1911 was: imports, 199,000,000 leos, exports; 185,000,000 leos. Three-quarters of the imports were industrial products, and four-fifths of the exports were agricultural products.

### II.

Before the Balkan War the economic life of the country suffered from no special crisis. Industry was gradually developing and attracting the proletarian masses of the towns and villages, especially the women and children. The poorer peasants found work on the railways, etc. The peasant workers were busy with their farms. Although the indirect taxes were rather heavy, they were not above the paying capacity of the masses. Public disaster and discontent only occurred when the harvests were bad.

But such conditions underwent a complete change after the wars of 1912-1918.

The live and dead agricultural stock was partly destroyed, partly worn out, owing to the cultivation of a much less quantity of land than before the war. Consequently, part of the peasant workers joined the category of poorer peasants and were compelled to seek employment as a supplement to their income; the same can be said of the greater part of the smaller bourgeoisie in the towns. On the other hand, the possibilities for the application of wage labour are greatly narrowed at present. No new industry is developing, the existing industrial enterprises are half ruin, the transport is destroyed or greatly diminished; the construction of railways and roads, wharves, etc., is completely suspended. No employment is to be found in the towns and villages, a state of things which creates the best conditions for the development of pauperism.

At the present moment the country is producing much less than before the war, and the imports is three times as much as the export. The state expenses (not including the payments on the new liabilities) for 1919 have increased to 2,300,000,000 leos, and the national debt, according to the Bulgarian economist Geshow, amounted to 27,000,000,000 leos by the end of 1919. The paper currency increased from 110,000,000 leos in 1911 to 3,000,000,000 by the end of 1919. The Bulgarian exchequer knows no other way of covering its current expenses than issuing more and more paper money. Owing to this fact the Bulgarian leo is now quoted on the Swiss Ex-

change at 6 to 7 centimes. The financial situation of the country is so desperate that no bourgeois government undertakes to improve it, and there can be no talk of its revival.

The chief burden of the situation falls naturally on the workers and poorer classes, which are succumbing under the high prices. They have risen, on the average, 25 per cent. The poorer classes in the towns and villages are unable to buy sufficient food. In consequence of this the commercial self-governing organisations have received the order to supply the population with bread at a low price, but even this measure cannot be carried out, because the commercial organisations are not in a position to bear the enormous expense which it demands. Milk (at 8 leos the litre) is quite inaccessible for the children of the poorer classes, and they are wearing out their last clothes, left from the pre-war period, because the prices for clothes are completely above their means.

The working peasants are also suffering. Although the prices of all agricultural products have also greatly increased, those of the industrial products which the peasants need have increased in a still greater measure. Besides they are only just beginning to pay the colossal debts of the bankrupt state, which put the heaviest burden on the labour and land of the peasant. Work above his strength, the most unlimited exploitation and slavery await him in the nearest future.

On the contrary the bourgeoisie is faring very well. It has grown rich, and is growing richer at a vertiginous rate. In the hands of separate persons fortunes of quite American proportions have become concentrated. A countless number of banks and joint stock companies have been opened and formed, a mad speculation is going on throughout the whole country, everything is bought and thrown upon the market at the most insane prices. The life of riotous pleasure and luxury led by the plutocracy is a sharp contrast to the miserable poverty of the workers.

On the other hand, the bourgeois parties have lost all political credit with the masses. They have not only not realised the "national ideals" by which they attracted the masses, but they have brought about consecutively two catastrophes for the country.

### III

Immediately after the war the bourgeois parties felt their powerlessness. They prolonged the military régime and censorship and used the protection of the expedition forces of the Entente. At the same time they made an attempt at political transformation by forming a union with the left parties, which had not been in the government before the war, namely, with the "Broad Socialists" and the Agrarian Union. This strategy of the bankrupt bourgeoisie met with success. As the discontent of the masses had not had time yet to assume a definite revolutionary programme; the "Broad Socialists" and the Agrarian Union managed to play the part of safety-valves. As a matter of fact this coalition, the majority of which were left parties, ruled successfully during a whole year, and delayed the explosion of national indignation.

The first to "waver" were the "Broad Socialists." The worker masses of the towns, more directly experiencing all the disasters and more open to ideas, were the first to come under the influence of the Communist Party and to acquire a revolutionary consciousness. They soon turned away from the "Broad Socialists," after which the latter became of no use to the bourgeoisie. At the present moment the party of the "Broad Socialists" is a political

corpse. Its leaders, dishonoured in the eyes of the worker masses and cast off by the bourgeoisie, were compelled to seek a union with the Communist Party. While extending a brotherly hand to all the healthy labour groups and organisations of the party which accept the programme and tactics of the Communist International, the Communist Party declared that it could not enter in a union with the dishonoured and bankrupt social traitor leaders of the party. There is no doubt whatever that the complete and final association and union of all the labour and revolutionary forces in Bulgaria under the banner of communism is a question of the nearest future.

After the star of the "Broad Socialists" had set, the turn came for the Agrarian Union. Having sprouted in the soil of peasant discontent with the government of the bourgeois parties, the Agrarian Union usually flourished during economic crisis, and grew weaker after their disappearance. As representative of a popular movement, it had a democratic programme, but as an expression of the interests of the backward village life, it carried into the programme a reactionary social spirit. During the war the Agrarian Union voted for war credits and supported the government, desisting from all opposition. Only at the end of the war when the bankruptcy of the government became evident, did the union resume its activity as an opposition party.

By this time, however, an essential change had taken place. The village bourgeoisie had become rich during the war, because the rise of prices for agricultural products and by speculation with the latter. The richer peasants came to the towns, began to take part in commercial transactions and participate in the creation of banks and joint-stock enterprises. They soon felt the importance of power for their own interests, and in this way they acquire an appetite for it. After the fall of the bourgeois parties, the only suitable road to power was by way of the Agrarian Union. As the union had not yet entered the government it had still some credit with the general masses, but as the Agrarian Union supremacy in its ranks fell into the hands of the village bourgeoisie. The attempt of Dragviev, promoter and acknowledged leader of the union, to preserve its small peasant and democratic character, was wholly unsuccessful, and Dragviev himself was ejected from the union by the village bourgeois, the "regulators" and speculators. The only leader left was Stambolisky. He was the personification of the striving after power ignorant village bourgeoisie and speculators, and possessed the demagogic qualities necessary to attract the dull, unenlightened peasantry.)

The bourgeois parties, frightened by the advancing wave of communism, cowered under the wing of the Agrarian Union. But at the same time they made it their business to influence the union and to persuade it to share the power with them. They succeeded in making the Union bourgeois, and the Communist Party's increase of power compelled the Union to enter into a coalition with the bourgeois parties to rule together.

Thus, at the present moment, the Agrarian Union is in the decline of its political career. True, it proved to be more steadfast than the "Broad Socialists," because the peasant masses are slower to react than the proletariat of the towns; but its fall is an event of the most immediate future. It is not sufficient to shake a fist at the Communists and call forth the raptures of the bourgeoisie; it will be necessary to proceed to the business that will not bear deferment any longer, to the solution of the more urgent economic and social problems. But as the union will not be able to do anything, except to give the bour-

geoisie an opportunity to rob and plunder, the crisis will grow more and more acute, and the discontent of the masses will increase. The Agrarian Union has managed already to alienate the town masses. A larger part of the village population is also discontented with it. Its activity will very soon repel the remainder of the peasantry.

The bourgeoisie has lost footing in the towns; very soon it will lose the support of the rural population. There will be only an open abyss before it.

#### IV

The Bulgarian Communist Party understands well the actual revolutionary epoch, and is deeply conscious of its own revolutionary tasks. It is not a question of more or less important reforms within the limits of the bourgeois order; the *entire* power must be wrenched out of the grasp of the capitalists, and the power of the workers organised. The dictatorship of the workmen and poorer peasants must be established, as a means towards the realisation of communism. The form of such dictatorship can only be the power of workers' and peasants' soviets. The whole propagandist activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party is imbued with this spirit. The Communist mottoes are widely spread among the masses, who are willingly assembling under the red banners of the party. In its mad greed the bourgeoisie is undermining the ground beneath its feet, and the Communist Party is diligently preparing the forces which are to hurl it into the abyss.

The party tried to renew relations with the other communist and socialist parties of the neighboring countries. It succeeded in convening the Balkan Communist Conference, which was held in Sofia in January, 1920, with the participation of delegates of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the South Slavic and Grecian Socialist parties, and at this meeting the Balkan Communist Federation was renewed. The Roumanian Socialist Party was prevented from taking part in the conference, but we do not doubt that it will join the Balkan Communist Confederation. The Balkan Communist Federation must serve as the first defensive rampart of the Balkan revolution against the international counter revolution.

#### V

Already at the time of the division of the "Broad Socialists" in 1903, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Socialists, the "Tesniaks," laid the following fundamental basis for revolutionary socialism:

1. An implacable *class struggle* as opposed to class collaboration or coalition.
2. A struggle for the realisation of the *final* aims of socialism, as opposed to reformism and opportunism.
3. A unity of the labour and political movement of the proletariat as opposed to the neutrality of the labour movement.

In order to organise the awakening labour movement on the above basis, the "Tesniaks" needed:

A closely united, disciplined party; a powerful propaganda of the ideas of revolutionary socialism; a close union between the party and the labour unions.

In carrying out their programme on these three points they met with the individualism of some of the intellectuals of the party and the small bourgeois ideology of the artisan-workmen, as a result of which certain groups, with a very limited number of members, however, left the party.

These groups found a place in the ranks of the "Broad Socialists."

In this way, at the price of constant self-criticism and acute inner strife the Bulgarian Tesniak Social Democratic Party was formed, and presented, notwithstanding its small numbers, a model organisation as to discipline, theoretical preparation and activity of its members.

Considering the economic backwardness of the country and the small numbers of the proletariat, the political influence of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Social Democracy could not be very great. The Tesniaks understood this perfectly well and therefore they never strove to acquire a rapid increase in numbers. They used all their efforts to spread their influence among the rapidly increasing proletariat, to organise and educate it in the class spirit, and laid all their hopes for the increase of their political influence in the country on it alone.

In 1903 the Bulgarian nationalist and monarchist bourgeoisie organised the so-called "Macedonian uprising," which was to serve as a pretext for war with Turkey. We were strongly agitating against this adventure, denouncing the appetite for conquest of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and monarchists, and pointing out all the dangers with which such a policy threatened the Bulgarian people.

In 1908, after the declaration of Bulgarian independence, the crisis came. The Tesniaks again denounced the Bulgarian monarchists and imperialists, who, under the pretext of a struggle for the "independence" of Bulgaria, practically placed the country in a greater dependence on Russian absolutism, and gave an opportunity to Austro-Hungarian imperialism to consolidate its influence over the Balkan states by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When the Tripolitan war broke out, the Balkan bourgeoisie, foreseeing the favourable moment for military operations against the Turkish Empire, began to prepare for war. At the same moment the movement in favour of a union of the Balkan nationalities began to increase. The Tesniaks were not mistaken as to the importance of these facts; they saw all the dangers of this conspiracy on the part of the Balkan monarchists and bourgeoisie, together with Russian militant absolutism, against the liberty of the Balkan nationalities, and they started an implacable campaign against Russian pretensions in the Balkans, and against the imperialist intentions of the Balkan bourgeoisie. On the eve of the Balkan war the Tesniaks published an appeal which contained a prophetic warning, truly justified by the further development of events.

Up to this moment the influence of the Revolutionary Social Democrats in Bulgaria was too weak to be able to tie the hands of the politicians of the ruling classes. The popular masses were too much poisoned by nationalism, disunited and inert, to show any resistance to monarchism and imperialism.

The Balkan wars, however, brought a radical change in the situation. They dealt a terrific blow to monarchism and militarism, revealed the complete unfitness and stupidity of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, and helped to deepen the class contrasts between the bourgeoisie and the working class. At the same time the prestige of the revolutionary Social Democrats continued to grow, and the first signs of influence over the popular masses began to be felt. As far as the influence of the party can be judged of by the votes at the elections the following figures may serve as witness of its sudden growth: in 1908 the Tesniaks obtained only 3,000 votes; in 1911 the votes in their favour amounted to 13,500; in 1912, to 14,000; after the

Balkan war the votes for the Tesniaks amounted to 52,000, which gave them eighteen seats. Three months later an unheard of government persecution only brought this number down to 43,000.

A powerful socialist wave passed over the whole country, and in all the questions of the life of the country the attitude of the revolutionary Social Democrats had a great significance. In the Parliament our group carried on an implacable war against the Germanophile government, as well as against the Russophile bourgeois and small bourgeois opposition. We denounced the hilitant policy of both bourgeois camps. Notwithstanding the state of war conditions our party developed a powerful campaign against the involving of the country in the war, and against the plans of the monarchist and bourgeois parties. Just before the mobilisation we published an energetic protest against the war. This campaign brought good results: the mobilisation proceeded very slowly and the mobilised would not submit to discipline. The terrified government made an open assault on the party, arresting the entire parliamentary group who had signed the protest.

## VI.

Subsequent victories compelled the Russophile opposition to lower their colours and to proclaim "a sacred unity" (political truce); the "Broad Socialists" joined in this. The Communist Party, however, remained the implacable enemy of the war. It voted against all war credits, opposed most decisively all military measures, and at the most critical moments firmly kept its revolutionary position. The party considered that only a revolutionary uprising of the masses could put an end to the war, and was deeply convinced that the imperialistic war would stir up the elements of the proletarian revolution. Therefore it conducted its revolutionary campaign on the battlefronts and in the country, and beyond the limits of the latter it used its greatest efforts for the revival of a revolutionary International. Its revolutionary demonstrations developed especially after the Russian Revolution, and most of all after the October one. It managed to introduce the Bolshevik revolutionary mottoes and precepts on to the battlefronts and in the rear, and created a Bolshevik frame of mind in the army. All this maddened the government and the bourgeois parties. All parties, from the government ones to the social-patriots inclusively, united for a struggle against Bolshevism and the Bulgarian Bolsheviks. A period of countless arrests, sensational trials, cruel verdicts and death by shooting at the front began.

## VII.

Under such conditions the débâcle at the front occurred (September 15th, 1918). The frame of mind of the soldiers was such that at the slightest reverse they left the battlefront and rushed home. In the environs of Sofia the so-called Radomirsky mutiny broke out, in which our party took no direct part. This induced some persons to accuse it of a lack of revolutionary zeal. Such an accusation is, however, perfectly unfounded. The revolution, which the Communist Party strove to provoke, was not to be thought of at the time for the following reasons:

1. The troops of the Entente were moving on the heels of our retreating forces, and in two days' time they might be in Sofia. The small territorial dimensions of Bulgaria did not permit of the revolution deploying and fortifying

itself under the fire of the numerous advancing troops of the enemy. A single mutiny of the soldiers was of advantage to the Entente, but they would not have permitted a proletarian and peasant revolution for a single day.

2. A considerable number of German troops were stationed in Sofia, especially artillery; they were moved against the revolted soldiers and defeated them. During the German occupation of Bulgaria no revolution was possible.

3. The Tesniak Communist organisation had at the time not more than 600 non-mobilised members in the whole country, out of which about 50 were in Sofia. As there was no munitions or other war industry, there was no concentrated proletariat in Sofia. Under such conditions the party was incapable of undertaking any action with the masses. The mutiny itself was too short lived to give a possibility of deploying any activity whatever.

4. The soldiers engaged in the mutiny were mostly peasants, who were burning with the desire to return to their homes. They came to Sofia because their way lay through it. They stopped near Sofia because the government was frightened, and after having failed to persuade them to return to the front, it had met them with rifles and machine guns. They advanced on Sofia with their arms because there was no other way of getting home. Even if they had succeeded in occupying Sofia, they would have quitted it all the same. It was only a meeting that in the best of cases would have led to the power of the Agrarian Union, which is even now the ruler of Bulgaria. It could in no wise have developed into a proletarian Soviet Revolution, which could not be thought of in parliamentary Bulgaria.

When the mutiny had been quelled, even before the arrival of the troops of the Entente at Sofia, Tsar Ferdinand abdicated the throne. The Agrarian Union swore allegiance to the new Tsar and proved thereby that it had only been against Tsar Ferdinand, not against monarchism in general. And at the present moment the leaders of the Agrarian Union are getting on very well with Tsar Boris, and occupy the posts of Ministers.

The military occupation of the country by the troops of the Entente placed our party under extremely difficult conditions. The military dictatorship and censorship were prolonged. But just the same the party entered upon a period of tremendous activity.

It was necessary first of all to revive and bring together the organisations, to develop and adapt them to the conditions of a struggle in masses; it was necessary to develop the revolutionary consciousness of the demobilised and mutinously inclined soldiers who kept flowing into the party's ranks, and within a short time transformed the hitherto small party into a powerful revolutionary organisation. Thus, before the mobilisation (1915) the party contained eighty-two town and twenty-two village organisations, with a total number of 3,435 members; but by the 1st of May, 1919, it had added 582 new organisations with a total number of 21,577 members. The whole attention of the party was concentrated on this important instructional and organisation work, and it had formed a strong and perfectly acting organising apparatus, which was constantly developing and carrying on an indefatigable campaign by word of mouth and in print.

The coal miners in the mines of Pernik began to murmur, to demand that their condition be improved. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie opened a base campaign against this movement, spreading a deliberate lie to the effect

that the Entente had refused to give up our prisoners, because of the coal miners strike. The "Broad Socialists" (Mensheviks) whose leader, J. Sakizov, was the Minister of Labour and Industry, endeavoured by means of dirty insinuations and intrigues to break up the union of the coal miners and also our own party organisation. The coal miners were militarised, they were provoked systematically, until at last, the authorities succeeded in creating an incident which the government, with the assistance of the Mensheviks, made use of to send troops with artillery and machine guns against the coal miners, so as to crush our organisation in their midst; and arresting and sending some hundreds of the most enlightened workmen to the "Slivnitsa" fortress. At the same time the government began legal action against the leaders, demanding sentence of death for them.

This base attack on the part of the government called forth a storm of indignation throughout the whole country. The opening of the trial in Sofia gave rise to ceaseless demonstrations. . . . Under their influence, and the impression caused by the victorious advance of the red troops in the Ukraine in the spring of 1919, the trial ended with comparatively lenient sentence. The coal miners' organisation had grown much stronger, and the influence of our party among them greater.

The 1st of May was a day of most imposing popular manifestations of the working masses all over the country. The government was compelled to make concessions in this question and to allow the manifestation to take place. On that day all production was practically stopped, all the governmental institutions were closed, and the working population demonstrated under our revolutionary banners.

On the 27th of July the party organised demonstrations and meetings of protest against the reactionary policy of the government and with our Communist Party mottoes, our rural organisations and groups also took part in the demonstrations and meetings. The government discerned the commencement of a revolution in this party demonstration. The "Socialist" Minister, Pastoukhov, who had the pretension to be the Noske of the Balkans, not only forbade all meetings but literally raised all the military police forces of the country, so that the Tesniak attempt at a revolution should be strangled at all costs. He united all the bourgeoisie around his "salvation" activity, inviting the bourgeois parties to help the troops, and charged his own party of "Broad Socialists" with the honourable duty of organising a spy service. The workers of Bulgaria, who had prepared to demonstrate on the 27th of July with empty hands, were surrounded on all sides by a tremendous military force. The workmen were pronounced to be rebels, each one of them was arrested as soon as he showed himself in the streets, and thus the demonstrations could not take place either in Sofia nor in the other towns. The Central Committee issued orders to avoid unnecessary sacrifices and to adapt itself to the local conditions. Notwithstanding all this, however, the demonstrations did take place in many towns, and in some places bloody incidents arose.

The "Broad Socialists" showed themselves to be desperate counter revolutionaries, and they became entirely dishonoured in the eyes of the masses. All ties between them and the masses were broken. The elections, appointed for the 17th of August, gave a startling proof of this assertion.

At the same time the whole country was flooded by a wave of systematic strikes. The workmen of almost all the trades and professions struck work consecutively for an increase of pay, and all the strikes were carried through and ended with full success. Thanks to this all the industrial organisations grew considerably stronger.

Our party, which had received the name of Communist Party, did not exaggerate the importance of the election bulletins and the bourgeois parliament, which we always considered as a weapon of the bourgeoisie; but nevertheless carried on an energetic election campaign, looking upon it only as a means of propagating our revolutionary doctrines. The most remarkable feature was our influence in the villages. The rural proletariat and the poorer peasants received all our speeches with the greatest enthusiasm. The entire election campaign became one continual triumph of Communism. The workers would not listen to any other orators, they drove them away, and in some places even prosecuted them. The elections gave the Agrarian Union 180,000 votes, 86 seats; the Communists 120,000 votes, 47 seats, and the Police Socialists 80,000 votes, with 39 seats. This was a defeat for both the Agrarian Union and the party of the "Broad Socialists, each of which had hoped that it would have the majority. The most important fact was that almost in all the towns the party of Communists came out first, and the "Broad Socialists" were quite in the background. This was a well-deserved slap in the face, which the proletariat of the towns gave them for their treacherous policy.

Directly after the elections, a movement of the houseless people arose, owing to the lack of dwellings in Sofia. The maddened "Broad Socialist" police fired on the workers and killed three of them. A terrible rage took possession of the working classes. During the funerals of these victims the crowd fought the troops and the police in order to arrive at the cemetery.

In September, on the occasion of the giving of the peace conditions to our delegation, the Bulgarian Communist Party organised again imposing meetings and demonstrations throughout the whole country. This time the government preferred not to interfere, notwithstanding our most scathing denunciations of the murderous and treacherous policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

On the 25th of May, 1919, the yearly Congress of our Party was convened—the first time since the demobilisation. This congress showed the tremendous growth of the party in all respects, but it will remain historical for the second reason that in the course of the congress the party adopted its new revolutionary programme, changed its name into that of a Communist Party, and unanimously joined the Third International. The sessions of the Congress were one continuous manifestation in favour of Communist doctrines. During the Congress the so-called anti-parliamentary tendencies among some members of the party were done away with. The Bulgarian Communist Party had never been a parliamentary party, in the sense that it was never believed that a proletarian revolution could occur through the means of a parliament. It took part in the elections, because it considered the election campaign to be powerful weapon for an energetic criticism of the bourgeois parties and for a campaign in favour of the Socialist programme, while it looked upon parliament as an excellent means of propagation of Socialist ideas among the working masses. And in the present revolutionary epoch, until the moment for an open struggle for power will have arrived, the parliamentary tribune can play a most useful part. These were the views of a great

majority. One small group, however, insufficiently informed on the subject, was of the opinion that the Communist International repudiated the parliamentary weapon, and demanded that the Party should not become a member of the same. After a detailed discussion of the question the Congress decided unanimously that the Party ought to take part in the elections, reserving to itself the right, however, at any moment when events should demand it, to leave the parliament and have recourse to revolutionary action en masse. Further events confirmed the correctness of the decision of the Congress, and at present there are no more "anti-parliamentarians" among the members of the Party.

. . .

After the elections, which proved the Agrarians to be the most numerous group, the "Broad Socialists" still endeavoured to hold the power. They proposed to form a labour block, which was to include the Agrarians as the right side, the "Broad Socialists" as a centre party and the Communists as the left group. The Communists were included only for the purpose of quieting the opposition within the party of "Broad Socialists." In reality the "Broad Socialists" hoped to form a coalition with the Agrarians alone, but their hopes were not fulfilled. Not only the Communists rejected their proposals but the Agrarians also, after long negotiations, turned away from them and preferred to form a cabinet with the Narodniks and Tsankovists—two conservative bourgeois parties.

People have a false idea of the Agrarian Union abroad. It is considered almost a revolutionary organisation, something like the Russian Social Revolutionists. Such an impression was created in consequence of certain revolutionary methods of its leaders. The "Broad Socialists" also joined in the spreading of this delusion. Such a view is most incorrect. We Communists always considered the Agrarian Union to be the party of the rural bourgeoisie and speculators. Its actions, as a ruling party, have fully confirmed our opinion.

Feeling itself incapable of assuaging the economic crisis and mitigating the public disasters, the government decided to put down the discontent of the masses by brute force. It created a numerous gendarmerie, published a series of Draconian police orders, and decisively set about exterminating the Communist movement, in which purpose it was supported by all the bourgeois parties.

The municipal elections were appointed for the 7th of December. Out of apprehension that the communal councils might fall into the hands of the Communists, the government with the concurrence of the bourgeois parties, passed a law regarding *obligatory voting*. By bringing the unenlightened and indifferent masses to the elections the bourgeoisie hoped to drown the Communists movement. Alas, the elections brought a great disappointment! The Communist Party was victorious again. We carried the day in a great number of towns, and in the rest we emerged a powerful Party. The municipal councils in the following towns and well as many rural communities were in our hands: Varna, Rustchuk, Shumla, Pleven, Lovetch, Lom, Troyan, Dubnitsa, Plovdiv, Sliven, Burgas and Yambal. Our victory was so distinct and striking that the government deemed it necessary to adjourn the elections of the Circuit Councils, appointed for the 21st of December, to a more favourable moment.

Under the pressure of the Entente, the government gave Denikin arms in exchange for flour. Lofer on such a transaction again took place. Both in the first instance and in the second the "Broad

Socialists" were in the government, and they are fully responsible for the assistance rendered to the Russian counter revolutionaries. The Communist Party found occasion to denounce the fact in Parliament, and protested energetically. But even after this the sending of arms and ammunition continued. The more critical the position of Denikin became, the more obliging was the Bulgarian government.

There was a representative of Denikin in Bulgaria, and Commissariat; a military camp was established, registers were opened for the enrollment of Russian counter-revolutionists. A number of agents arrived who set up a Russian telegraph agency, which fed the public on lies. The bourgeoisie gladly welcomed these counter-revolutionists, but the popular masses hated them.

The Bulgarian Communist Party decided to organise meetings of protest on the 21st of December against the actions of these counter revolutionists and their accomplices in Bulgaria. A special appeal was published to this end and demonstration were held on the appointed day throughout the whole country. In Sofia an encounter took place between the demonstrating masses and the gendarmerie, who threw a bomb into a group of persons, killing one and wounding several. This provocation was the precursor of a new course of the government.

## VIII.

The high prices in Bulgaria have exceeded all limits. There is plenty of bread and other food products in the country, export is prohibited, but in spite of all that prices are most abnormally high. On the average the prices for food have increased twenty-five times, and are still rising. We have not heard of such prices in any country, except perhaps in Austria, where they are justified by the lack of products. The principal reason of the high prices in our country is speculation. During the war enormous fortunes were amassed by the business men through plunder and speculation. Over 200 new banks were opened and joint stock companies formed with enormous capital. No less than 1,000,000,000 francs are concentrated in these banks and businesses. This financial capital seized the whole industry, but that was not enough, so it turned to foreign exchange and stock trading, in which a monstrous speculation was organised. The banks are buying everything, exporting contraband goods and raising the prices immeasurably by speculation. All the eminent members of all bourgeois parties have a personal share in the banks, and an interest in this state of things. Therefore they are the advocates of "free trade." The Agrarian Union is no exception. When the power passed into its hands it proceeded with even more zeal to the liquidation of all limitation regulations which had been issued during the war. It is true, the Agrarian government threatens to hang all speculators, and sometimes even makes conspicuous arrests, but this is all done for demagogic purposes. Practically it has lent a helping hand to speculation, and its eminent leaders are interested in various enterprises. Owing to this a new rise in the prices of all products is to be noted at present.

The population of the towns suffers most of all through this. Part of the rural population, which does not produce enough for its needs, is also a sufferer. But the worse fate is that of the government and other employees with a fixed salary. In some cases the employees of private concerns and other hired workers manage to obtain



an increase of salary in accordance with the rising prices, but the governmental clerks, depending on the State budget, are in a helpless condition.

All the popular movements in the country are brought about by the high prices and lack of products. The government clerks also take an active part in such movements, striving to obtain an increase of salary. All the governments have been stubbornly deaf to their complaints, but the most stubborn have proved to be the Agrarians, who always by tradition treated the governmental employees as parasites.

The railway employees had been giving trouble for some time, and at last, in July, 1919, a strike was threatened. This was avoided by the "Broad Socialists," who were in power at the time; a strike would have compromised their government. In December a new crisis occurred. This time the government employees were the originators. On the occasion of the opening of Parliament, December 24th, the neutral organisation of employees invited all the employees to take part in a demonstration before the Parliament. The Bulgarian Communist Party organised big meetings throughout the whole country. The government chose to look upon these demonstrations as rebellion and an attempt at revolution, prohibited them and pronounced the country to be in a state of siege. To prohibit these demonstrations, not quite trusting the troops, it formed a White Guard from the unenlightened peasants, paying them highly, armed it and on the 24th of December set it against the demonstrators. In Sofia the demonstration was unable to break through the compact military cordon which enclosed the central parts of the town. In some towns the demonstration did not take place, in order to avoid bloodshed. In most places, however, the demonstrations were very imposing and some of them ended in battles, with many killed and wounded. Although the Central Committee always recommended the avoidance of bloodshed, in some places it was impossible to avoid it. In some towns the authorities capitulated completely, allowing to the demonstrating masses freedom of action. All this finally enraged the government and it decided to dismiss all the employees who had taken part in the demonstrations. But bloodshed and threats only made the employees more stubborn. On December 27th the railway service men went on strike in several towns. On the same day in Sofia they succeeded in making a demonstration in the central part of the town and laid their demands before the government. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Syndical Union both supported them. The government haughtily refused to enter into negotiations. On December 27th a general strike of the railway workers and the post and telegraph employees was declared, in which the coal miners of Pernik joined. A few days afterwards the strike movement was joined by the labourers at the ports, the workmen of many private enterprises and governmental institutions in many towns. The strike became general and political. The pressure put upon the government was tremendous. The workmen showed a wonderful readiness for struggle and self-sacrifice. In the transport and postal departments the strike was a general one; in the provincial private enterprises also. Unfortunately in Sofia a general strike could not be carried out in the private concerns, owing to the treachery of the "Broad Socialists." Thanks to their protection, the press was full of the most slanderous lies, accusing the strikers and inciting the masses against them, acting with complete impunity. The proletariat of Sofia was paying a high price for many years of conciliatory policy. A week later the gene-

ral political strike was discontinued, and only that of the railway service and post and telegraph employees went on.

In order to break the strike the government militarised the railroads and the post office and mobilised the staffs. But these measures had no great effect; many of the strikers did not appear at the mobilisation and those who did refused to work. They were court martialed and condemned to severe penalties, but this did not bring any particular results either.

One may judge of the discipline of the party and the spirit of the masses under its influence by the circumstance that during the elections to the Circuit Councils, which the government had appointed on the 25th day of January, 1920, that is to say, during the most terrible crisis and at the time of the military-political dictatorship, the Communist Party, although deprived of the possibility of holding a single election meeting and in some places even of registering its candidates, obtained 150,000 votes, 30,000 votes more than the legislative elections had given it in August of the preceding year.

The government and the bourgeois parties were defeated. The Communist Party, which they considered dead and buried, had again revived before their eyes, with greater power than before.

The strike of the railway men and the post and telegraph employees, however, was still continuing. The government decided to put an end to it by any means in their power. It used the foulest methods; it succeeded in "bribing" and persuading the "neutral" engine-drivers thus creating a breach in the strike; the spirit of the strikers was undermined. The strike collapsed on February 18th, without any result and to the great rage of the strikers, especially in the provinces, where all were for the continuation of the strike.

## IX.

After the strike the prestige of the government rose again in the eyes of the bourgeois and military circles, which had formerly mistrusted it. The Agrarian Union had shown its strong fist, which was able to manage the Communists, and would consequently save the bourgeoisie from a revolution. The Union decided to profit by the favourable moment, dissolved Parliament, and appointed new elections to be held on the 28th of March, fully assured that the Communist Party would be nowhere, and the Union would receive an absolute majority of mandates, which would enable it to form its own uniform Parliament.

For this purpose the government directed all its efforts against the Communist Party, which it practically declared to be outside the law. On March 3d, 1920, a terrible explosion took place at the Odeon Theatre during a public lecture given by the Russian counter revolutionist, P. Ryss; ten persons were killed and wounded among the public. Soon after this an indictment was drawn up against the following members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party: Comrades Blagoev, Kolarov, Kabakchiev, Dimitrov, Lukanov and Penev, in consequence of the appeal published by them in December, 1920, against the actions of the Russian counter revolutionists in Bulgaria, and the participation of the Bulgarian government in the same.

This served as a signal for a general persecution. The government temporarily annulled all the laws, suppressed all rights and liberties, cancelled the powers of all authorities, transferring the whole of the power to the gendar-



merie, which was placed at the disposition of the Agrarian Union. The government proclaimed the dictatorship of the Agrarian Union, and the latter declared war against the Communist Party. Many arrests were carried out in the villages, Communist lecturers and speakers were beaten and arrested. An order was issued for the confiscation of Communists appeals and election bulletins and their destruction. All the government automobiles were placed at the disposition of the Agrarian canvassers. The Ministers admitted openly and cynically that the struggle against the Communists was a matter of life or death to them, that they would not stop at anything in order to crush them, and called upon the bourgeois parties for assistance. The government declared officially that the property of the Communists would be confiscated, and an order was issued to make an inventory of such property, that all the Communists would be sent to Russia and their families employed on the public works, the draining of swamps, etc. Lastly, the Agrarian Union sent a forged "secret circular letter" to the Communist

Communal Councils. The elders and members of the Councils were arrested, and partisans of the Union introduced into the Councils. This unheard-of terror, shameless violation of all rights and laws, which were intended to prove the power of the Agrarian Union in reality only demonstrated its powerlessness and defeat.

The result of the elections proved this. In spite of all, the number of votes in favour of the Communist Party grew from 118,000 to 182,000, and the number of seats from 47 to 50 (the total number of national representatives being 229). The Agrarian Union had no majority again and was compelled to seek collaboration with one of the bourgeois parties.

Even more symptomatic and remarkable in these elections was the fact that the "Broad Socialists" were completely and finally defeated. The number of seats obtained by them fell from 39 to 9. This party was almost totally banished from the towns which had become the fortresses of Communism. The bourgeois parties were also defeated.





## The Romand Congress of Groups of the Third International

### RESOLUTION.

The Romand Congress of the Third International, convened March 16th, 1920, on Swiss territory, and consisting of groups of delegates from Locle, Chaux-de-Fonds, Fleurier, Yverdon, Lausanne, Geneva, Leysin, Fribourg, Moutier, Delemont, Berne, declares its wish to enter the struggle for the application of Communist principles.

For this purpose it invites the comrades to pursue the struggle in the midst of the Socialist party, not only for simple adherence to the Third International, but for the complete and unreserved application of its programme, namely: the seizure of the political and economic power by the action of the working masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat with all possible means against the refractory bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the capitalists without compensation.

It invites the comrades to participate in the Labour organisations, and to imbue them with Communist principles, at the same time striving for an increase of wages and a diminution of the hours of work. It declares its a diminution of the bouhs of work. It declares its desire to struggle for workers' control over production, which is the first step towards the socialisation and the management of production by the working class.

It repudiates all ideas of socialisation by means of nationalisation by the capitalist State, or by the International Labour Office, as deceitful illusions for the working classes. It engages its comrades to act in this sense within the socialist and syndical sections, in order to centralise and intensify the efforts of the proletariat towards its complete liberation.

It declares that the system of Soviets is the only one to realise Socialism and to save humanity.

Long live Communism!

Long live the International Revolution!

### ADDRESS OF SYMPATHY TO THE FRENCH COMRADES.

The Romand Congress of the Third International sends brotherly greetings to the French workers, struggling against the bourgeoisie, and expresses its faith in the victory of the French proletariat over its government, which is attempting to dissolve the organisation in which it has grouped itself. The Congress expresses its profound sympathy with comrades Monatte, Loriot and all those who are imprisoned and persecuted.

The imperialist war, a fatal consequence of the capitalist system, has achieved the centralisation which is

necessary to capitalism in the form of a State capitalism, exercising a political, economic and military dictatorship over the working class and provoking a crisis which can only find its solution in the Social Revolution, expropriation without compensation, and the socialisation by the proletariat of all means of production and exchange.

Humanity has entered this revolutionary period by the victory of the Russian proletarian revolution, and through the revolutionary class struggle which has all been launched more or less consciously by the proletariat of all countries.

The experience of the Russian revolution ought to guide the international working class in its revolutionary struggle.

Observation of the facts confirms the theory of Marx, according to which the economic basis of society determines its political and ideological superstructure. The State, whether democratic or monarchic, can only be a class state, an apparatus for the constraint and oppression of one class by the other in the class struggle.

So long as the economical system is based on the exploitation of one class by another, and Social Democracy is not realised, political democracy is nothing but an illusion and a lie.

It is and can only be a class government, a dictatorship of capitalism under the mask of legal equality; it blunts the consciousness of a class struggle in that it gives the proletariat the illusion that it is a self-government of the people, and that all classes can collaborate therein.

The struggling proletariat cannot triumph within the limits of a bourgeois state. It must attempt to destroy the capitalist state, to replace it by a proletarian state different in form, and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat until such time as the capitalist class, completely vanquished, shall have disappeared and there would remain only an association of workers.

The form of the proletarian dictatorship and proletarian state is the system of Soviets of workers and soldiers, who before acquiring the power are the fighting weapons of the working class, and become transformed into ruling organs after the destruction of the capitalist state.

The electoral rights of the Soviet Republic, which accords the rights of citizenship not to all men, as men, but to all producers, to all those who are useful to society by their labour, is the expression of true Social Democracy, because it allows every one to enjoy political rights provided he fulfills his social duties.

The order shall not be "Through democracy to Socialism", but "Through Socialism to true democracy"

The lessons of history show us that no privileged class has ever willingly abandoned its privileges.

To break up the bourgeois state, to conquer once for all the violent resistance of the capitalist class and annihilate for ever the reign of violence, the working class will be compelled to use revolutionary violence.

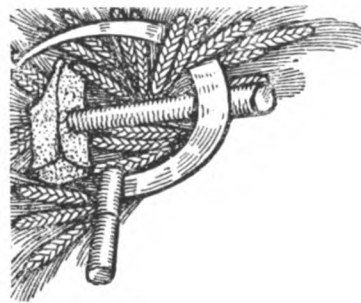
It is the attitude of bourgeoisie which will dictate the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat. It depends on it that the revolution should be peaceful, and that the proletariat would not have to have recourse to terror. The revolutionary proletariat will suppress all means of violence and terror as soon as the bourgeoisie will have ceased to resist. With the establishment of Communism

throughout the world, the army, militarism and nationalism will disappear.

#### SOCIALIST YOUTH.

The groups of the Third International, considering that experience and liberty should preside over the social education of the young, shall oppose all attempts at tutelage of the Party over the youth, and, in compliance with the tactics of other parties adhering to the Third International, shall support the point of view of the autonomy of the youth.

They will be happy to collaborate with all the organisations of the youth who adopt Communist principles, and always respect their independence.





## The Revolutionary East and the Next Task of the Communist International

By Pack Dinshoon

THE First and Second Internationals were practically associations of the masses of Europe and America; they gave very little attention to «the Eastern question» and in general «to the question of the colonial nations». The majority of the officials of the Second International tried by all means in their power to keep the «colonial questions» in the background and to fence off the West European Labour movement from the revolutionary struggle of the enslaved colonial nationalities; they were afraid to put these questions openly and clearly.

Each time that they came face to face with the «Eastern problem» the official leaders of the Second international were no less timid and hesitant than the bourgeois politicians, with their constant hypocritical talk of homage to «democracy», civilisation and culture. The complicated questions of the struggle of the subjugated populations of the colonies, constituting the majority of the whole of struggling humanity, were quite foreign to the ideologists of parliamentarism. Even when the Communist International was formed Asia was very poorly represented and this circumstance could not but be reflected in the work in the East.

But the consciousness of the necessity of a joint revolutionary struggle of the working masses of the West and East was growing more and more; the great victorious October Revolution in Russia was the first bridge across the gulf between the proletarian West and the revolutionary East, and Soviet Russia became a link between two hitherto independent worlds. The necessity of a joint proletarian struggle in the West and East was never so strongly felt as at the present time when the ruling classes have transformed flourishing fields into a barren desert, and laid peaceful towns and villages in ruins; when the working class has decided to raise the banner of an implacable revolutionary struggle for the power of the workers' masses, for a new free life for all mankind.

At the present moment when the spirit of a social revolution is roaring over the whole world, when the bourgeoisie is straining every nerve to

delay the hour of its death for a brief space of time, the Second World Congress of the Communist International should direct its attention to the East, where the fate of the world revolution may be decided; for whoever is able to approach the subjugated nations of the East and make them his allies, will come out as conqueror in this last struggle between Labour and Capitalism.

The acute economical crisis in Asia (an inevitable condition at the moment of transition from feudalism to capitalism) and the barbarous policy of the larger imperialist Powers in the colonies have created favourable conditions for a revolution. This policy has developed strong nationalist tendencies. Admitting that in the East the first stage of the battle will lead to the victory, of the Liberal bourgeoisie and the nationalist educated intellectual groups, we must nevertheless now begin to prepare the forces for the following stage, by drawing from the depths of the agricultural masses, enslaved by the feudal regime, organised forces for an agrarian-socialistic revolution in Asia in the very near future. The industrial proletariat, if we exclude Japan, is too feeble in Asia to permit of our nourishing any serious hopes of an immediate Communist revolution, but the victory of an agrarian revolution is undoubted, if we are able to cope with the immediate problems of the great and bloody struggle.

The Russian proletariat, standing at the outposts of the world social revolution, was able to withstand the three years' onslaught of the world bourgeoisie only because it had the poorer and middle peasantry on its side. The advance guard of the European and American proletariat, uniting around the Communist International, must fight hand in hand with the many - millioned masses of the revolutionary East, if it desires a speedy and successful victory over the capitalist class. The impossibility of such a victory without the collaboration of the „colonial“ nations is so evident that argument is superfluous. The history of the death without glory of the Second International

shows clearly that, so long as the world bourgeoisie has a reserve power in the colonies in general, and in Asia in particular, so long will it be able to repulse the most desperate attacks of the rebellious proletariat.

The Communist International, while directing the awakening East on the right path of revolution, will strike at the very roots of opportunism and irresolution in the proletariat of the western countries; but action must be so coordinated and combined that the European proletariat shall sever the head of capitalism at the moment when the revolutionary base is dealing it a mortal wound in the stomach. The victorious rising of the „colonial“ nations will sign the death warrant of all „Bernsteinism“ and petty bourgeoisie trade-unionism. The prompt execution of this task will accelerate the triumph of the Communist International on a world scale.

The question now is, what forces are moving the revolution in the East? The majority of the former nobility, the liberal bourgeoisie, and the pettybourgeois educated circles, representing the intellectual forces of the revolution in Asia, taught by the experience of long years' of struggle against the foreign slave owners, and after an agonising mental struggle, have understood at last that the revival of the East is not possible except through the rule of the wide circles of the working masses. The bankruptcy of the Second International coincided with the rapid development of revolutionary ideas in the East,—and it proved to the leaders that they are deprived of all hope of a free existence for their own people without the triumph of a social revolution in Europe, Asia and other countries. Before the nationalists of Asia two opposite ways lie open: the one leading to personal prosperity, based on the certainty of sufferings and gradual degeneration for the great masses of the people, the other leading to a social revolution, which will deprive them to a certain degree of material privileges but will bring liberation to their own people.

To our great joy the majority of the ideological nationalists proved to be on the side of the revolution. Certainly, amid the revolutionaries there are elements which unite with us, internationalists, only with the object of attaining a national-political liberation, but we shall use their revolutionary zeal for the struggle against world capitalism, for the triumph of a social revolution in the whole world; and, should the revolution demand it in future, we shall know how to turn our arms against our quondam

„ally“ and the victory will undoubtedly be ours, as the masses of the East, but just liberated from foreign political and economic slavery, will hardly resign themselves to violence on the part of new rulers.

Such a policy—of supporting the nationalist movements in the colonies—is impossible for those would-be Socialist governments, which fear to „arouse the feeling of patriotism“ in the unlightened working masses of the countries whose ruling classes are carrying on a barbarous colonial policy.

But the Communist International has no grounds for fear of such „rousing“, because the advance guard of the international revolutionary proletariat whose ranks are increasing every day will estimate its actions at their worth, and perfectly approve its far-seeing tactics. Thus although we are struggling jointly with the above-mentioned elements, we cannot look upon them as upon our comrades, with whom we may go on to the end without any fear.

Uncompromisingly we must explain to the working masses of the East that national-political liberation alone will not give them what they are striving for, and that only social liberation will guarantee them complete freedom.

The victory of the first stage of the revolution in Asia will coincide with that of the socialist revolution of the West. Proletarian Europe will not bear to remain an impassive spectator of the sufferings of the great working masses of the East, groaning under the yoke of bourgeois democracy. The European proletariat full of a feeling of international solidarity, will come to their aid. We can predict with certainty that a dreadful yell will be raised in the bourgeois camp. But our western comrades (we may be sure) will meet with a hearty and brotherly reception on the part of the proletariat and working peasantry of Asia; the East was always opposed to foreign intervention only when it brought with it chains and slavery; but the intervention of the Socialist proletarian West will be a great and needed help to the working masses of Asia in their struggle against every kind of exploitation. The proletariat of the East is thirsting such „intervention“.

The Second Congress, which is called upon to give to the revolutionary proletariat a definite plan to guide it towards a successful struggle against world imperialism, will most certainly not forget the great role of the revolutionary East in the international labour movement.

And the working masses of the East, with the help of their European and American comrades, after having vanquished the foreign and native slave-holders, will transform Asia into a Communist oasis of revolutionary achievements.

**Theses on the tasks of the Communist International in the East.**

1) At the moment of the greatest collision of two opposite forces: Labour and Capital—the liberation movement of the so-called „colonial nations“, acquiring the form of gigantic uprisings, is a great help to the struggling proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

2) By degrees, as the chasm between Labour and Capital is growing wider and deeper, the necessity of close and firm solidarity between Communist West and Revolutionary East is making itself felt more and more.

3) The long years' experience of the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat, which will end in the liberation of the whole suffering mankind, and the bloody examples of the many years' liberation-war of the peoples of the colonies impose the necessity of coordination in the revolutionary movements in order to achieve a speedy victory over the exploiters.

4) The supreme leading organ of this gigantic struggle cannot be the pestidious „League of Nations“ and its ally, the Second „yellow“ International, but only the International of Labour, of revolutionary struggles and Communist proletariat—the Third Communist International.

5) The Communist International is bound to denounce all the doubledealing of the agents of world capital, who appear under the guise of the „League of Nations“ and who are preparing a campaign against those who are struggling for the happiness and free existence of the oppressed working masses of the whole world; and it is bound to denounce unflinchingly the incapacity and revolutionary indigence and consequently absolute uselessness of the „yellow“ Second International in the great struggle for liberation of the nations of the East.

6. In contradistinction to the Second International which, under the pretext of „civilisation“ and „culture“, was upholding openly the plundering and barbarous policy of the bourgeois government, the Communist International is undertaking the direct guidance of the struggle of the subjugated colonial nations against their oppressors and imperialism.

7. The Communist International, carrying on an implacable struggle against petty bourgeois

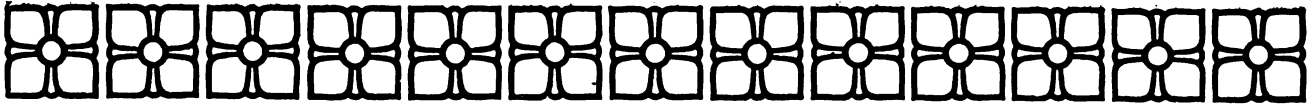
trade-unionism, opportunism and reformism, which are hampering the revolutionary impulse of the proletariat in the advanced countries, and raising the mighty East, just awakening to a new life, will strike at the very roots of irresolution, this poisonous cancer in the healthy body of the revolutionary movement of international Socialism.

8. The peculiar features of the economic and cultural conditions of the West and the East set their special stamp on each of these two sections of working humanity; the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries being undoubtedly the more developed, more conscious section of the international army of labour. But the task of the Communist International consists, naturally, not in separating into a special caste the industrial workers of the more industrially developed countries, which constitute the minority of labouring mankind, but, on the contrary, of the help of the most stoutheaded and class-conscious western industrial workers in organising the whole working mass of the awakening East that it may pour its great forces into the stream of the revolutionary struggle between labour and capital.

9. An implacable struggle against bourgeois Pacifism, hampering the fighting energies of the revolutionary East, Pan-Mongolism and Pan-Islamism, enemies of the international solidarity of the working masses and their collaboration in the struggle for freedom and the brotherhood of nations.

10. It is necessary to carry on an untiring propaganda for an agrarian revolution among the peoples of the colonies, especially in Asia, in order to give the liberation movement not only a political but an economic meaning; it is necessary to raise the class consciousness of the masses, to draw them into the public movement, to transform this movement from an intellectual movement to a movement of the masses, explaining to them the historical mission of the proletariat and preparing them to seize power.

11. In expectation of this Socialist-agrarian revolution in the East the Communist International must immediately proceed to the elaboration of a revolutionary method of organisation of a new society—a Communist society, that is to say, to the creation of an economic plan for the most painless transition possible from the agrarian order to that of Socialism, avoiding the cruel period of development of private capitalism in the East.



## Relations between the Soviet Republics

### Russia and Ukraina

By C. Racovsky

**A** SOCIALIST revolution not only modifies the internal economic and political structure of states, but it causes a radical change in the external relations which have formerly existed between states.

The relations between Soviet states are essentially different from those between bourgeois states. The bourgeois state system and the proletarian one differ in their fundamental principles. The proletarian state system does not come under any one of the classifications which were drawn up by the jurists of the old world, beginning with Aristotle.

The general premise in all the old forms of government—aristocratic, democratic, absolute-monarchic and constitutional-monarchic, republican, etc.—is the separateness, the reservedness of the state organism. The most democratic of all democratic republics makes a distinction between its own citizens and foreigners; in the most democratic republics foreigners are excluded from the political life of the country. Political life is the privilege of only a given national class, or at best of all citizens, but only of a given state.

On the contrary, one of the fundamental principles of the constitution of Soviet states, both in Russia and Ukraina, is a complete suppression of national privileges. Thus, for instance, article „B“, paragraph 20, of the Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic states: „Foreigners belonging to the working class and peasant-workers enjoy electoral rights“. Such a constitutional regulation is a complete revolution. It is quite incomprehensible to a bourgeois lawgiver accustomed to oppose his own country to the others, his own citizens to foreigners.

However, such a position results logically from the very substance of a proletarian state.

In what does the radical difference between a proletarian and a bourgeois state lie? In their different economic bases, which mutually exclude one another.

The bourgeois state, like all the preceding forms of state organisation, is based on the

principle of private ownership of the land and the means of production. On this principle are based all the so-called civil rights which regulate the relations between private owners. A state in its entirety, with all its apparatus—military, administrative, economic and religious, also represents such a private property (though not individually) of the owner of the means of production—the whole class of proprietors, the ruling bourgeois-landowner or slave-owning class.

The object of every proprietor is to develop and increase his property. Competition is a means to this end. A result of the law of competition is the suppression, or at best a subordination, of the less rich and less skillful to the proprietors disposing of larger means, a larger capital, a greater skill. The same law regulates the development of bourgeois states. They are similar competing organizations, and with the same characteristics of a suppression of the weaker states, or at best, their complete subordination to more powerful states. The bourgeois state order is characterised by the creation of such separate national states, struggling against each other.

Such states enter into trade agreements, postal, telegraphic and railway conventions; in accordance with the international situation, defensive and offensive alliances are concluded; but they all have a temporary, casual and incomplete character.

Such alliances cannot remove the deeply-rooted antagonisms existing between them, which are inherent in the whole capitalist order. As soon as the common danger or the mutual interest which unites them has disappeared, then the old struggle and enmity break out again with greater violence than before. The history of the coalition of the Powers of the Entente and their allies during and after the imperialistic war is characteristic in this respect.

Nationalism is the ideology of a bourgeois state order. Diplomatic intrigues, all kinds of spying, mutual deception are its ordinary methods. When in the manifesto of the First Intef-



national Marx, speaking of the foreign policy of capitalist states, set against it a policy founded on the law of morality, he certainly did not mean that in a bourgeois society the Socialists should have set before them the Christian moral, „Do unto others as you wish to be done unto you“. He pointed out to the proletariat that only the triumph of a proletarian revolution would be able to create the conditions of honest and openly frank relations between all nations.

In contrast to the bourgeois state order, that of the proletariat, while repudiating all private ownership of the means of production, renounces all private ownership of the territory of the state itself. In a Socialist country the guiding principle is not the interests of a particular exploiter, but those of the whole working class. The frontiers between Socialist states cease to have a political character, and become simply administrative limits. In the same way disappear the limits dividing the separate private industries, units of production limited only by the law of competition. Instead of a chaotic capitalist management, in which an increased production of goods and an intensive exploitation of the workers are followed by industrial crises and periods of unemployment, an organized nationalised production arises, developing nationally on a general state plan, and not only on a national, but on an international scale. The tendency of a Socialist Revolution is political and economic centralisation in the form of a temporary international federation. The formation of such a federation is, naturally, not the work of a stroke of the pen; it is the result of a more or less lasting process of suppression of particularism, of all democratic and national prejudices, the result of mutual acquaintance and mutual adaptation.

The above principles, proclaimed by the First International of Workers, are the basis of the relations between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraina.

From the very first moment of the joint existence of these republics, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraina established their economic and political relations on the lines of federation. Although during this first phase, which continued up to July 1919, both Republics had independent Commissariats in all the branches of state activity, a bond and a general plan of operations existed already between them.

In the course of time these treaty relations found expression in the formation of joint organs of administration.

In June 1919, the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic

passed a resolution regarding the necessity of uniting a whole series of Commissariats of both Republics, namely, War, Ways of Communication, Finance, Labour, Post and Telegraph and the Supreme Council of Public Economy. This resolution was confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Republic. This year the 4th Congress of the Ukrainian Soviets of Workers and Peasants confirmed the resolutions of both Central Executive Committees by a modified resolution, which we are printing separately.

A detailed constitution of the federal organs, those uniting the Ukrainian and Russian Commissariats, has not yet been drawn up. The Russian Central Executive Committee, during its February session, appointed a commission which was to have drawn up the federal constitution. But unfortunately the detailing of the responsible members of this Commission for military and political work outside of Moscow has prevented it from proceeding to the execution of its appointed task, and the federal relations are determined in each case by direct agreements between both Governments.

A similar agreement was drawn up in January of the present year with regard to the Ministry of War. Simultaneously with the uniting of the military establishments this agreement provides for the creation in the immediate future of *cadres* for the Ukrainian Red regiments, where the orders will be given in the Ukrainian language. For this purpose a school of the Ukrainian Red commanders is provided for, and this is already carried into execution. In Khar'kov they have proceeded already to organize a Central School of Red Commanders (Red elders). The agreement also provides for the creation of a military section of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Ukraina, for the purpose of keeping in contact with the military and administrative apparatus of Ukraina, subordinated directly to the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic, which is also the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Federation of both countries.

The People's Commissariats of Agriculture, Public Instruction, Interior, Social Welfare, Public Health, Provisioning, Worker-Peasant Inspection, the Extraordinary Commissions for the Struggle against Counter-revolution, are separate Commissariats in both Republics. The Ukrainian Soviet of People's Commissars consists at present of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and of representatives of all the united Commissariats.

This system of federal relations cannot be considered as final or perfect. We have not approached the question of federal relations dogmatically, because we never thought that the relations between states in general, and those between Soviet Republics in particular, might be created on the ground of abstract theory *a priori*.

A federal cooperation of the Soviet republics was dictated by necessity, and put into practice by the experience already obtained. The special conditions in which Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraina found themselves facilitated considerably the task of establishing close federal relations between them. The proletariat of both states was historically bound together in the past by the common struggle against Tsarism. Besides, Ukraina and Great Russia were united by their common interests in economic respects. After the October Revolution, Soviet Russia became the natural support for the struggle of the workers and peasants of Ukraina against the Central Rada, the Austro-German occupation, the Hetmans, Denikin and now, lastly, the Poles.

The Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Revolution had naturally to fix its position in accordance with Soviet Russia, which was the only Soviet centre. The Communist movement in Ukraina and Russia was historically bound together in the past. The Bolshevik Party was organising the working classes within the limits of the whole Russian Empire. In Ukraina this task was facilitated by the fact that the greater majority of the proletariat in the towns consists of Russians<sup>1)</sup>.

However the various petty bourgeois „Socialist“ Parties, placing the national question in the first place, and sacrificing the social liberation of the working class, endeavored, from the very first days of the revolution in Russia, ever since February 1917, to bring about dissension in

the working class of Ukraina, setting up the Ukrainian workers, and especially the Ukrainian peasants, against the Russian workers, Ukraina against Russia. During the rule of the Provisional Government of Kerensky they disguised their nationalist policy under the mottoes of Federalism, because they saw in the Provisional Government a petty bourgeois power related to themselves. They were even willing to sacrifice their nationalism.

After the October Revolution these conciliatory nationalist parties openly advocated the complete separation of the Ukrainian working class and peasants from the Russian.

At the peace conference of Brest-Litovsk they went over definitely to the camp of Austrian-German Imperialism. From that moment the Ukrainian Social-nationalists definitely took their bearings from the West, i. e. from the Imperialist counter-revolution.

For two years and a half Ukraina became the theatre of a civil war, not only between the workers and peasants and the landowners and capitalists, but between the conscious part of the working class and peasantry and such unenlightened elements as followed the lead of the petty bourgeois Ukrainian National Socialist Parties, and practically helped the Russian and world counter-revolution. One may say that at present, the civil war in Ukraina in both its phases has come to an end. The proletariat has definitely vanquished not only the White Guard counter-revolution, but also the petty bourgeois nationalistic one. The Ukrainian National Socialist Parties are dissolved. Their best elements have gone over to the Ukrainian Communist Bolshevik Party, which at the present moment is the only true representative of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry of Ukraina.

<sup>1)</sup> Note. In the theses elaborated by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party regarding the relations between Russia and Ukraina, these regulations are stated in §§ 8, 9, 10. We cite them here in full:

„8. The independence of the Ukrainian working masses, the right to enjoy the fruits of their labours, the riches of Ukraina—lands, mines, factories, may be guaranteed to them only by a truly Worker-Peasant Government—the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. All the efforts of the Ukrainian workers and peasants should be directed to the strengthening of the Socialist Soviet power. But the experience in Hungary, Bavaria and Ukraina herself has clearly shown that the counter-revolution can easily overcome all Soviet republics which, owing to the limited dimensions of their territory and population and in consequence of the absence of a sufficiently organized military and civil apparatus and political experience—cannot organise a corresponding defense.

„9. Of all the Soviet republics which have existed up to now, Soviet Russia alone has been able to resist victoriously the onslaughts of the international and the Russian counter-revolution, and to deal decisive blows to her enemies. She alone possesses the geographical conditions and economic and political resources (an extensive territory,

numerous population, great wealth, a many-millioned revolutionary industrial proletariat, an organised military and civil apparatus, acquired political experience) which make of her an impregnable proletarian fortress against all attacks of international imperialism. Every new Soviet Republic, guided by the instinct of self-preservation, seeks for aid and support from Soviet Russia. An active union with Soviet Russia is the revolutionary duty of every new Soviet state.

„10. Besides the interest of defence, a close union between the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and Soviet Russia is dictated by a whole series of reasons, arising from their common indissoluble historic fate. The Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants have already been united by their struggle against the yoke of Tsarism and the Great Russian bourgeoisie. They are bound together by their language, their mixed population, and common economic interests. A separation between these two Soviet states is only an artificial process, which is in contradiction with all the past and future struggle of the Ukrainian and Russian workers and peasants. A complete separation between the states of Ukraina and Russia would lead inevitably to civil war in Ukraina, and to an increase of the economic crisis in Ukraina and Russia.“



## The Ukraina as an Object of the International Counter Revolution

By Michael Pavlovitch

### I. The Ukrainian Hypnosis.

THE world's war of 1914 — 1918, which has ruined scores of millions of human lives and destroyed colossal wealth accumulated during decades of peaceful work, was fought on one hand for the possession of the sources of raw material, of foods and fuel, and on the other hand for the big rail and sea routes giving access to the places rich in these raw materials and fuel.

The Ukraina with its unlimited natural riches, its remarkable geographical position on the highway from western Europe to the Caucasus, the Caucasian mineral riches and enormous stores of petroleum — which has such a growing value in the economic life of all nations — and further on to Turkestan with its cotton fields, to Persia and the whole of Central Asia — this Ukraina has necessarily become an object of a strong concupiscence by all the imperialistic states.

The day after the Brest peace had been signed the German imperialists threw their troops, not into the Soviet or Central Russia, not in the direction of Moscow or Petrograd, but into the Ukraina. When German diplomacy tried to sow discord between Soviet Russia and the Ukraina, its object was to weaken the Ukraina and so prepare a direct or indirect opportunity of annexing it and of chaining it to the triumphal car of German imperialism.

When in November, 1918, the German revolution had overthrown the throne of the Hohenzollerns, and the German army of occupation had turned homewards, new conquerors arrived to take the place of the annexationists in spiked helmets.

After the fall of the Hohenzollerns and the defeat of Germany, the Ukraina became an object of the rapacity and annexationist plans of the French and English capitalists. While Krasnov and Skoropadsky were the agents of German imperialism, busy enforcing German supremacy in the Ukraina and on the Don river,

Denikin and Wrangel were, on the contrary, instruments serving the aggressive plans of Anglo-French imperialism in regard to the Ukraina. After having taken Kharkov and Tsaritzin and having given the famous order to his troops to move on to Moscow, Denikin, as we all know well, did not take the direct way to the chief capital of Russia. He turned in the direction of the Ukraina and started taking Ukrainian towns, Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kiev. Not before the end of September, three months after the above-mentioned order to the troops, did he begin his operations in the direction of Voronezh and Kursk. Denikin was evidently in a hurry to sieze the Ukraina, for the benefit and by the orders of his high command, the English and the French bourgeoisie. But the three months he wasted in conquering Ukrainian towns on the left and the right banks, weakened his forces, and hastened his undoing in the struggle against his formidable enemy, Soviet Russia.

After the defeat of Denikin the Ukraina seemed to be saved from the grasping clutches of West European imperialism. But there comes now a new pretender to take the place of reactionary Cossack troops and officers with gilt shoulder straps — aristocratic Poland, the Polish „pans“, who now want the Ukraina.

Pilsudsky's manifesto shows the cards of the ruling classes of Poland. It does not leave any doubts as to the real aims of aristocratic Poland in the war against the two federated republics. Her aim is to occupy the Ukraina with Polish troops, and to take possession of the country.

And we see again that instead of taking the direct way to Moscow through Smolensk, and of offering fight to the formidable enemy on the area of the Soviet Russia, the troops of aristocratic Poland take the way which was that of Charles XII, of the Germans and of Denikin. Such is the power of attraction exercised by the Ukraina, such is the Ukrainian hypnosis taking hold of all the adversaries of the

Soviet power, and blinding their reason. Now what makes the Ukraina an object of such ardent desire on the part of the rapacious capitalists, and what is the cause of the Ukrainian hypnosis, irresistible to all the adversaries of the Soviet power?

## 2. The Part played by the Former Russian Empire in the Economic Life of the World.

In the period preceding the World War, the former Russian Empire with a population of 200 millions of inhabitants, with its immense territory occupying over one-seventh of our globe, with its inexhaustible natural riches, agricultural products, timber, flax etc., played a colossal part in the economic life of the world. This part did not look so prominent as it was, being hidden by the financial form of trading (exchange of goods). The enormous value of the Russian export, its great importance in the world market, was somehow masked by the insignificant traffic prices of our export. Russian goods were exported in a raw unmanufactured state, and were in consequence very low priced; the total Russian export expressed in roubles, francs and pounds sterling was extremely low, if compared with its real value in the economic life of the world. And on the contrary many goods reimported in to Russia in a manufactured shape, such as goods made of Russian wood, Russian hides, Russian minerals and so on, were sold at ten, sometimes a hundred times higher prices than those they fetched in a raw state.

The former empire of the Tsars is one of the richest countries in the world, not only on account of its natural treasures but—and this is of foremost importance—because it possesses the first elements of production: cotton, the base of all textile industry; coal and iron, indispensable to start work in the factories; and finally, the chief foodstuffs necessary for the nourishment of the human body: grain, meat, sugar, fat and salt. Germany, for instance, has now no cotton whatever and very little coal, iron and grain. If she goes on living under a capitalist regime, she is doomed to perish, to die off, to degenerate. She is threatened by a worse fate than Spain, which was a flourishing industrial country in former times, and has now become one of the poorest countries. As a capitalist state Germany cannot exist any longer, unless she retake Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar basin from France and reoccupy the Ukraina—that is to say, after a new world war; and such a war would prove a more sense-

less and risky adventure than the war of 1914—1918. Even France and England, in spite of their enormous acquisitions of territory, are unable to hold out much longer without support from the Ukraina and Soviet Russia—with her north so rich in woods, with her Turkestan rich in cotton, the Caucasus and its oil, etc. There is only one capitalist country in the world which is in a position to do without the riches of the Ukraina and Soviet Russia. But this country—the United States—lies on another continent. The United States has grain, and coal, and iron and even cotton, everything in sufficient quantities, and the American bourgeoisie is therefore less interested than the French and the English in the overthrow of the Soviet power in Russia and in the Ukraina.

The day after the world war ended, and an enormous universal shortage began to be felt in the most indispensable foodstuffs, such as grain, meat, sugar, and further, in raw materials—in Russian flax <sup>1)</sup>, coal, minerals, timber, hides, oil etc., the sudden withdrawal of such a source as the former Russian empire came as a dreadful blow to all capitalist States.

During the four years of the war men have literally shot into the air milliards of tons of iron, coal, cotton, grain, hides, used up exclusively for military needs. This was all due to the exploiters, and now when the international bourgeoisie is in sore need of exploiting Tsarist Russia, definitely to make it her colony, this proves to be impossible.

Those European economists who know there is no possible return to the former economic slavery of Russia to the west European States, know also that armed resistance against the Russian Federative Soviet Republic must necessarily be abandoned. These bourgeois economists and politicians see that the only means to save western Europe from economic ruin, from starvation and shortage of materials, is to resume relations with Russia.

The resolution carried by the London conference called to consider means for the struggle against hunger, says in the part relating to the Russian question: The Conference considers that there can be no restoration of the world's industry unless Russia is given a possibility of economic recovery, and of putting her enormous stores of raw material and foodstuffs at the disposal of other countries. And the first step towards this end, by the foreign States, is to

<sup>1)</sup> Russia once satisfied 80% of the world's demand for flax.

give up all interference by force, whether open or masked, into Russian affairs. But a considerable number of the statesmen in the bourgeois countries are as yet unwilling to abandon armed intervention into the affairs of Russia. The Polish adventure proves it very clearly.

### **3. The Natural Riches of the Ukraina, her Part in the World's Economic Life before the War.**

The Ukraina occupied a comparatively small area within the bounds of the former Russian Empire. It amounted to only 14,3% of European Russia without Poland, Kovno, Grodno, Vilna, Kurland and Archangel governements. But as compared with the west European States, the Ukraina, with her 45 millions of acres, is a rather large State, only little smaller than Germany, France, and Spain, who have an area of 46 to 50 millions of acres. Occupying but 14,3% of the territory of European Russia, the Ukraina played already before the war a colossal part in foreign trade, in the export of the chief articles of Russian commerce. It was the Ukraina which exported nearly the whole amount of wheat, barley, rye, flour, cattle, spirits, sugar, salt, and many other articles, which used to flow out every year before the war from the Russia of the Tsars. In regard to the production of sugar, the importance of the Ukrainian sugar industry may be judged from the fact that out of the total number of the sugar works which existed in Russia in 1914—1918, 294 brown and white sugar works, 199 were situated in the Ukraina.

The part Ukrainian corn used to play in the provisioning of the west European countries is well known. Ukrainian rye went to Germany, Ukrainian wheat to England, and partly to Italy.

The Ukraina produced chiefly cereals, and more particularly wheat and barley. According to the statistics of import and export, the average clear overproduction in the nine Ukrainian provinces during the five years 1909—1913 amounted to 180,000,000 poods of wheat, and 211,000,000 poods of barley. Next comes rye with an overproduction of 32,000,000 poods, and behind it oats with an overproduction of 9,000,000 poods. On the whole the average overproduction of the four chief cereals during five years amounted to the enormous quantity of 432 millions of poods. The growing development of agriculture in the Ukraina will obviously increase in a considerable measure the productive capacity of her fertile soil, and the Ukraina will be able to yield an enormous

overproduction of cereals to provide for other countries.

Along with the cereals the Ukraina used to export cattle, but only in far smaller quantities. According to the railway statistics the clear export from the nine Ukrainian provinces amounted on the average during the three years 1912—1914 to 231,000 heads, or about six million poods. It is quite evident that with a system of intensive cattle-breeding the Ukraina will be able to increase her export of cattle too.

A very important item of Ukrainian industrial life just before the war was the sugar industry. During the campaigns of 1913—1914 there were in the Ukraina about 200 brown and white sugar works, and they produced during the five years 1911—1914 on the average 67 million poods a year.

The production of spirit in the nine Ukrainian provinces during the five years 1909—1914 was on the average 80 millions of pails of 4% spirit; out of this quantity only 61% went for home use. The remainder was exported into Great Russia, the Caucasus and abroad.

On the eve of the war the Ukraina was the chief provider of eggs for the world's market. Eggs were exported every year in thousands of cars.

Even this brief account of the Ukrainian export trade of agricultural products before the war shows how important the question of exploiting the Ukraina and, if necessary, forcibly carrying off her corn, cattle, etc. into the west European countries, was to become after the several years of war resulting in world impoverishment and world starvation, which began to be more and more felt in the whole of Europe. No wonder that immediately after the Brest peace, the German imperialists moved their troops, not against the enemy, not against Russia, but against the „friendly“ Ukraina. As Bakovsky mentioned in his report of May 18, 1920, to the Fourth All-Russian congress of Soviets, the Ukraina of Petlura, according to the treaty concluded between the Ukrainian People's Republic on the one side and Germany and Austria on the other, was to provide before June I, 1919, 75 million poods of corn, 11 million poods live-stock, 30,000 sheep, 2 million fowls, 40,000 poods of fats, 2½ thousand cars of eggs, 2½ million poods of sugar, 20 million liters of spirit, etc.

The problem of Ukrainian coal and iron has been of the greatest importance in our civil war. The Donetz Basin, which ranks foremost among the productive centres of Russia

and the Ukraina, on account of its being the richest in coal and iron, served as a base for our native counter-revolution as well as the International one. All the Krasnovs, Denikins, Kaledins and their West European masters were dreaming of tearing the Donetz Basin away from Russia and the Ukraina, thereby to manacle the two Soviet Republics with the chains of starvation and cold, to stop all railway traffic in Russia and the Ukraina, to bring to a halt the whole economic life of the country, to provoke an uprising of the population, mad with hunger and cold, against the Soviet power. On the other hand, foreign capital was far too much interested in the Donetz Basin to surrender it, without a fight, to the Soviet Republics, and lose the colossal profits the European capitalists were drawing from the exploitation of the Donetz Basin.

It is well known that the day after the Brest peace had been signed, imperialistic Germany began trying to seize the Donetz Basin. The German imperialistic press had innumerable columns describing the riches of the Donetz Basin, enumerating the quantities of coal, metals, minerals, the German capitalists and the German army would be able to draw out of this region for the benefit of German industry.

When the German troops had been forced to quit the Donetz Basin it became the object of predatory designs on the part of the Entente powers.

As regards the Donetz coal and iron, if it is true that before the war our coal and iron had been exported abroad only in very small quantities, this is still more important for international imperialism and counter revolution. The Donetz coal and iron were the magnet drawing to the Donetz Basin enormous sums of European capital. English, French and Belgian business men put enormous sums into the metallurgic enterprises and coal-mines of the Donetz Basin, and the whole metallurgic and coal industry of the Donetz Basin was actually, up to the October revolution, in the hands of Anglo-Franco-Belgian capital. On the eve of the war, in 1914, out of 3600 coke ovens in the coal pits of the Donetz Basin, with a production of 175 million poods, 3100 ovens producing 153 millions poods of coke were the property of companies formed exclusively with foreign capital. In the metallurgic industry foreign capital also reigned supreme. The famous „Prodamet“, in whose hands were concentrated 80% of the whole metal production, was chiefly a syndicate of Belgian and French capitalists, and its central board had its seat in Paris.

The foreign capitalists had placed enormous sums not only in the pits, the factories and coal mines of the Donetz Basin, but also in such concerns as city trams, electric plants, railways and other industrial enterprises of the Ukraina, and did not mean to give up their profits without a fight. After the Germans had left the Ukraina, Petlura, who had sold the Ukraina before to Wilhelm II, took himself to Odessa to the French Consul General d'Anselm, to arrange for a new treaty selling the Ukraina once more to the French. According to this treaty all the railways and customs receipts of the Ukraina were to go to France, into the hands of the French Stock Exchange.

Imperialistic England was not so much interested in the Ukraina, in the conquest of the coal and metallurgic zone of the Donetz Basin, or in many concessions of Ukrainian railroads, customs, electric plants etc. She wanted to get hold of the Ukrainian corn. The influential English paper „The Daily Telegraph“ wrote last year in August, at the time of Denikin's advance: „Crops are good in the Ukraina and could satisfy the needs of the whole of Europe, if sufficient labour is added“. Comrade Sokolnikov quotes from the White Book the very significant words of one of the English agents reporting to Balfour: „Europe will experience a serious shortage of foodstuffs until the fields of Russia are sufficiently made use of, for Russia, the chief store-house of Europe, can provide for the whole of Europe by her corn export“.

These considerations, supplemented by the facts we have mentioned above on the Ukrainian export before the war, give a sufficient explanation why the capitalist states want to abolish by all means the Soviet power in the Ukraina, and make the Ukraina a slave of the international capitalist market. The very same facts make it clear why in starting a campaign against the two sister republics, Russia and the Ukraina, International Capitalism throws each time its chief military forces into the Ukraina. The desperate economic state of the whole capitalist world, the absolute necessity to get as soon as possible, today and not tomorrow, a million poods more of corn, sugar, salt, etc., such is the reason for the feverish haste of the Germans, Denikin, and the Poles to first capture the Ukraina.

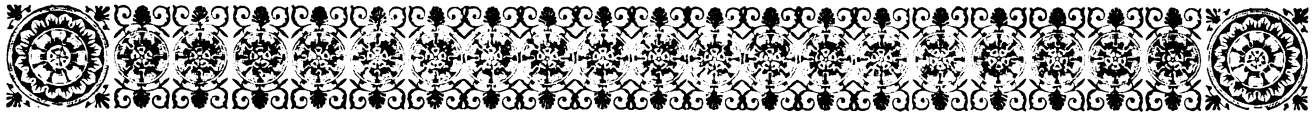
Such is the reason for the „Ukrainian hypnosis“ making itself so intensely felt in all the military enemies of the Soviet power. History knows many cases when during the war correct

strategical plans and considerations have been sacrificed to political motives, to dynastic interests, and this has compromised the fate of the campaign. In this case the keen physical want, the immediate need of the Ukrainian sack of flour, the Ukrainian bag of white sugar, fall as

a heavy weight on the military scales, and make the strategists leading the campaign against the Soviet Republic choose, for their way of advance toward Moscow, not the shortest route, but one leading necessarily through Kiev and other Ukrainian towns.







## The Polish Question and the International

By K. Radek

**P**OLAND as an outwork of the European revolution against autocratic Russia; emancipation of the Poles as a problem of the international working class; Poland as the vanguard of the capitalist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution in Russia, the centre of the proletarian revolution of the world. The defeat of bourgeois Poland—the object of the international working class. At the head of the Polish White Guards, Joseph Pilsudsky, one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, affiliated to the Second International.

All these facts sound like a string of paradoxes. But they are not paradoxes; they are stages of historical development, successive stages of the proletarian struggle for emancipation, and there is nothing so suggestive of this gradual development as the part the Polish question has successively played in the three different epochs of the proletarian movement; two of them belong to the past, the third represents the work of our life time.

If we sum up in our mind the speeches and articles on the Polish question published by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels from the year 1845 onwards, and up to the work of Engels on the foreign politics of the Tsars, published in 1890, we will see that their point of view, with all the inevitable momentary fluctuations, was on the whole the following:

In Western Europe the proletariat fought in the foremost ranks of the bourgeois revolution. It fought for democracy, meaning to make it a stepping stone for the proletarian revolution, and in this struggle the proletariat struck from the start against two great and powerful adversaries. One of these was British capitalism, the despot of the world's markets; without having defeated this enemy, all the European revolutions would amount to nothing, since it was the chief power of capitalism. But every victory in Western Europe was marred by the fact that there was in the East a second great reactionary power, feudal Tsarist Russia. Although it was at that time already beginning to decay, under the influence of capitalist development, and its

force was chiefly due to the conflict of the capitalist Powers; still it disposed of many millions of dull peasants, and could send them to Europe as an army to stifle any revolutionary movement. Every European revolt was exposed to the danger of being stifled in blood by the armies of the Tsar and the bourgeoisie as well as the rising proletarian democracies were aware that there is going to be „Europe either republican or Cossack,“ as William Liebknecht put it, and that there was coming a struggle for life and death between the European revolution and the Tsarist reaction. This struggle was an absolute necessity from the point of view of the European as well as of the German revolution. The partition of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia made the two latter partners in the robbery with the chief robber. In their fear of losing their prey they had given themselves over for good or evil to the Tsar's diplomacy, and were vassals of the Tsar. Wanting to get rid of her own feudal lords, the German democracy was faced from the very start with the influence of the Tsarist diplomacy and, apart from all other dangers threatening from Tsardom, had to be thoroughly aware of the immediate Russian danger. To overcome this was a necessity preliminary to all struggle against the reaction in their own country. There was in consequence only one policy for Marx and Engels—struggle against the Russian autocracy, a struggle for life and death. They were searching for allies in the struggle. The only nation fighting against Tsarist Russia was Poland. Never since the partition of Poland did the Poles cease to struggle for their emancipation. „The Poles are always conspiring,“ writes the brilliant Polish historian of the uprising of 1831, Mochnatsky. „If they fare badly they revolt to shake off the yoke. They revolt because they cannot help revolting. But if they are doing well they revolt because they can afford it.“

In reality, however, it was not the Poles as a nation who were revolting, but only a small section of the nobility, the former ruling class of Poland. They could not reconcile themselves to the loss of independence of their country

and the loss of their own domination. This group was deeply divided in its midst. The fight for the independence of Poland rallied to its standard the aristocratic elements as well, and they depended much more on the support of the democratic circles of capitalist Europe than on the revolution in Europe, which wanted to make the history of Poland part of the bourgeois revolution. But under the same banner fought also honest revolutionary elements. Living abroad they came into touch with the Socialist movement, and tried to transform their fight for the independence of Poland into a fight for Socialism. Marx and Engels declared in the Communist Manifesto, „The Communists have to support the section of the Polish insurgents which has put on its banner the agrarian revolution in Poland“. This section was by no means the most prominent part of the Polish patriotic forces, but it was evident that if Poland meant to mobilise sufficient forces to take up the fight against the Tsar, the wealthy class in Poland—and such was in the first place the Polish landed nobility—had to renounce its feudal privileges, to emancipate the peasants in order that they should be interested in the independence of Poland.

In supporting this section of the Polish nobility, Marx and Engels hoped that it was a genuine revolutionary force they were setting in motion against the Russian autocracy. They considered the independence of Poland a concrete question arising out of the historical situation, an object to be pursued and struggled for by the international proletariat, not out of sentimental sympathy with an oppressed nation, but because the proletariat had a concrete interest in erecting a dam in the East against autocratic Russia, and in releasing a force which would be obliged forever to keep watch against the barbarous East—for the benefit of the European revolution. The attempted insurrections which took place in the lifetime of Marx—those of 1846, 1848, 1863—failed, all of them, but not so much under the pressure of the military supremacy of autocratic Russia, as because the expected rising of the peasants against Russia never came off. The great mass of the nobility meant by no means to give up its privileges.

And such was the tragic comedy of history that the most democratic elements of the nobility, the small nobility, was the least in a position to do without exploiting the peasants, just as it had the least possible chance to make up by capitalist exploitation for the feudal system it would have to give

up. Every experiment of a fundamental agrarian reform ended with promises made too late, and never resulted in actual changes for the better. None of them could rouse the national feelings of the peasants toward those who had been their oppressors up to then. All the Polish insurrections amounted to nothing but small attacks, guerrilla war by a small minority; and the Tsarist power was able to suppress them without being put to much exertion. And yet Marx and Engels tenaciously held their opinion. After the suppression of the Polish insurrection again and again in the congresses of the International, they wanted to make the working class of Europe a champion of Polish independence, and never stopped advocating the Polish cause, in spite of the strong opposition they met in the French working class.

The struggle for the independence of Poland in the ranks of the First International throws a very curious light on Marx's and Engels' views of the problem. The French Proudhonists were opposed to the slogan „Independence for Poland!“ and to every support given it by the working class; and their opposition was due simply to the fact that they were Proudhonists. They did not want the working class to acquire political power, they were opposed to any state, not only the capitalist one. Their conception of Socialism was that of a victorious working class, organised in producing fellowships and dissolving capitalist society separately into producing communities and fellowships, linked together by the free circulation of wares—abolishing capitalism in this way. Being opposed to all struggles for a proletarian state they naturally were also against any support of the struggle for the independence of Poland, and the more so as it was the Polish nobility which fought for it. On the other hand Marx and Engels had to face the unpleasant fact that the liberation of oppressed nations was inscribed on the banner of Napoleon III. In supporting the Poles Marx and Engels ran the risk of giving Bonapartist sham-idealism a foothold in the working class. But Marx and Engels achieved their purpose brilliantly, and knew how to escape the threatening danger. To refute the Proudhonists they advocated not only the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat—i. e. of the proletarian state, as a means of abolishing the capitalistic resistance, but also the necessity of a bourgeois democracy as a foundation on which the working class could organize before it took hold of the political power on a national scale for the

struggle against capitalism. They also knew how to draw the sharpest line between their own point of view and that of Napoleon III, who was playing the game of the liberation of small nationalities.

This was done to begin with by Frederick Engels in his article in the „Commonwealth“ of 1863. He made it clear that he had not the least idea of rousing to political life all the refuse of different nationalities heaped within the boundaries of the large historic states. There was no question of making all small nationalities independent states. Such a tendency, he declared, was a reactionary one, its aim being to cleave the capitalistic big states, pillars of modern civilisation, and to weaken them for the benefit of the Russian autocracy, which would be given a chance to out-manoeuvre the remaining reactionary nationalities and the refuse, and to win the game. Engels showed that the European proletariat had an interest of its own in the formation of a Polish state which would be a dam against autocratic Russia, and it was desirable in consequence that this state should be reconstructed in its boundaries of 1772, in spite of the fact that the Poles are a minority within these boundaries. Engels wanted even Riga and Odessa to be given to the Poles, in order to make Poland a powerful state.

This policy ended in 1871. The year 1871 closed the period of bourgeois revolutions in western Europe. The constitution of a German empire, of a free Italy, made the hope for vast territorial upheavals in the near future appear quite illusory. The bourgeoisie, which had become conservative, never thought to fight anywhere against Russia. Bourgeois democracy was dying. The working class alone was revolutionary—and only in quite small fractions. The development of the British colonies, the cheap price of bread caused by the competition of the American market, resulted in a total relaxation of the English working class. The French working class recovered but slowly after the defeat of 1871, and in the nineties it began to reappear as a political factor on the stage of history, turning its first steps towards questions of inner politics, not foreign ones. In Germany and Austria the Social Democratic movement was being oppressed by the ruling classes. It breathed a living revolutionary spirit, tried to guard the traditions of the International in politics, to keep its eye on the vast problems of the universe. Wilhelm Liebknecht was the first to raise again the question of the independence of Poland. Frederick Engels did it

also in a long essay on the foreign politics of the Tsars. But the attitude of Frederick Engels and Liebknecht bore the signs of a marked change. They had to take two facts into consideration. The one was that Russia was no more a homogeneous anti-revolutionary force. Russia of the seventies and the eighties was in a state of fermentation. The Russian agrarian reforms, the Russian-Turkish war of 1878, the resistance to a capitalist decomposition of Russia, resulted in the „Narodnaia Volia“, in the struggle of the Russian intellectuals against the autocracy under the banner of the people's cause and will (*narodnichestvo*). This struggle took on such dimensions that one might have thought at times that the Russian intellectuals would succeed in breaking the neck of autocracy.

At the same time it became more and more evident that the Poles were able to do other things besides simply conspire and prepare insurrections: or, better to say, they forgot all about insurrections, and became more and more expert in the distillation of brandy and the production of textiles. The export of both the brandy and the products of the textile industry reconciled them with their subjugation to the Tsar. But there was also a revolutionary movement on foot in Poland, and this movement was not concerned with the conquest of the independence of Poland. Its object was the struggle for Socialism, and we see again Marx and Engels in their address of November 27, 1880 sent to the representatives of the Polish Socialists, who had met at Geneva on the fiftieth anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830, stating that the Polish proletariat did not fight for the same ends as the Polish nobility. In this letter celebrating the great merits of the Polish revolutionaries who belonged to the nobility, Marx and Engels by no means supported the slogan of a struggle for the independence of Poland. When the Second International was founded in 1869, it expressed the traditional point of view on the Polish question, in authorizing the Polish delegates from all the three parts of Poland, from Russian, Austrian and Prussian Poland, to constitute themselves into a separate national section. In the following years the Polish proletarian movement split in two precisely on the question of the independence of Poland, and the position of the different Polish Socialist factions on one side as well as the position of the Second International on the other in regard to this division on principle and tactics was very characteristic.

The Polish working class movement has acquired since 1886 the character of a class movement. The big strikes which swept in a wave over Poland at that time roused the proletariat to participate in public life, and the Socialists were faced with the question of the immediate aims of the struggle. Polish Socialism has originated with a negative attitude in general towards the national question. In its struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology, the Polish Socialists had very sharply to oppose the ideology of bourgeois patriotism, patriotic fetishism, and the propaganda of the first ideologists of Polish Socialism was concerned largely to the unmasking of the Polish patriots. Their absolutely negative attitude towards patriotism was also due to the fact that Polish Socialism was an outcome of the pressure exercised by the Russian autocracy. It was an illegal movement of the intellectuals, and, very much like Russian Socialism, it did not admit in its first period any successive stages in the proletarian movement. The first fighters for Socialist ideas in Poland looked forward to the achievement of the final aim of Socialism as the result of a short period of organization and revolutionary struggle. The proletariat was to pass immediately out of the fist of the Tsar through the miracle of revolution into the paradise of Socialism. Every intermediary stage seemed to be of no use, and the Polish Socialists naturally thought the constitution of a bourgeois state a treason to the interests of the proletariat. Such a conception was no more satisfying when the movement of the Polish working masses and their theories were showing that the proletariat was in need of a period of organisation, on its way to the revolution. It had to constitute itself as a class, and could not be organised and fight its struggle without having secured the base of political freedom.

The Socialists were faced with the question of a minimum program and a program of successive stages, and they had to solve this question in a definite historic situation. The characteristic of this historic situation consisted in the fact that the period of the great soaring and bloom of the Polish proletarian movement coincided with an epoch of stagnation in the Russian revolutionary movement. It was in brief the time after the great defeat of the „Narodnaia Volia“, the Russian rural movement of the intellectuals, and before a mass movement of the working class was started in Russia, beginning with the big strikes

of the Moscow textile workers in 1896. The same time witnessed a quickening of political life in Poland as well. Whereas, after the defeat of 1836 the Polish nobility, together with the bourgeois class, turned their attention to a desperate race for profits, gave up all political strife and praised this race for profits as organic work, we see on the contrary in the nineties a renewal of patriotic and social reform tendencies on a part of the Polish bourgeois class. This was due to the petty bourgeoisie which, mingled with ruined remains of the nobility, appeared on the political stage to put itself on guard against the proletarian influence of capital. The petty bourgeois class, disintegrating more and more under the influence of capital and pushed under the wheels of history, was looking back to the past when capitalism was weak and the petty bourgeois led a comparatively quiet life. This past was the time of the independence of Poland. Looking back to that past the petty bourgeoisie could not help wondering why Poland had fallen, and why she could not rise to her feet. The petty bourgeoisie put all the blame for it on the Polish nobility, and opposed to the aristocratic policy of the Polish nobility a policy of democracy, a policy of social reform. As a numerous and socially oppressed class it was interested in reforms and united the strife for the restoration of Poland with the strife for social reform, for petty bourgeois Socialism. The Polish bourgeois class was largely Jewish or German, and the nobility having played the part of traitor in Polish history—according to the petty bourgeois historians who measured history by their own dimensions—the petty bourgeoisie demanded the confiscation of the property belonging to the nobles, and the giving over of the works and mills to the workers. This policy had a Socialist appearance, and part of the Polish Socialists did not perceive the petty bourgeois nationalist elements behind these Socialistic demands. They greeted them as a new ally in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat, a new ally to take the place of their Russian allies, the Russian revolutionaries. But if the Russian Revolution was dead, as this section of the Polish Socialists would have it, it was clearly impossible to cooperate with the Russian Revolution in elaborating a basis for the struggle for Socialism. On the contrary, it had a chance to be successful only as a separate fight of the Polish working class and the Polish petty bourgeoisie against the Russian autocracy. But this being the case, it was further evident that there was to be only one aim in this struggle—the independence

of Poland, and by no means the overthrow of the Russian autocracy. The victory of democracy in Russia seemed therefore quite illusive to this section of Polish Socialists. They declared that, supposing the Tsarist power could be forced to concede some sort of reforms, these reforms could be only very limited liberal ones, not even affording a guarantee of relief from national oppression. These Polish Socialists who were standing on the platform of the struggle for the independence of Poland, constituted the Polish Socialist Party. Their opponents among the Polish Socialists replied to such a way of putting the question (to the statements about the dead silence in Russia), that if this was true, if the Revolution was actually dead in Russia for an indefinite period, then all prospects of winning the independence of Poland were absolutely delusive. With the internal apathy reigning in the country, Russian autocracy would be sufficiently strong to stifle the revolutionary movement in Poland. This section of the Polish Socialists saw in the general situation of Europe a proof against any probability of great changes of the map of Europe, until the victorious proletariat would change it according to its own interests.

This was the time preceding the awakening of imperialistic tendencies in the bourgeois class. The European bourgeoisie seemed unwilling to risk a war on European territory for a change of the European map, and nothing announced as yet the approach of a storm from the colonial centres. The Polish Social Democrats had declined to put the independence of Poland on their program, not only because they did not consider it a proletarian problem, but also because they believed in a certain rigidity in the correlation of forces of the European powers, lasting until the change would be brought about by the Social Revolution. In opposition to the watch-word of Independence for Poland, the Social Democrats advocated the struggle of all the Russian proletariat for democracy, and they ridiculed the program of the Polish Socialist Party, which meant to sail right from under the Tsarist power into the dictatorship of the proletariat. They thought such politics simply intellectual rot. They based their own policy on the unity of the Russian and Polish proletariat, and tried to make the Polish proletariat draw but one conclusion from the failure of the proletarian mass movement in Russia: that it was the duty of the Polish proletariat to hasten by its struggle the awakening of the Russian proletariat. This point of view, arrived at in a purely empirical way,

had been given a theoretical base by Rosa Luxemburg. She raised the question of the relations between the proletariat and the national State, and answered it from the standpoint of Polish development. Rosa Luxemburg declared that it was the bourgeoisie which was interested in the constitution of the bourgeois state as an organ of its power, whereas the historic task of the proletariat was to overcome, not to create, the capitalist State. Wherever the proletariat exists as a mass force, this is sufficient proof that in this particular country the bourgeois class does not need a special national State for the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat as a class. The existence of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two great modern classes, in a country which, in spite of its national characteristics, did not constitute a national state, led Rosa Luxemburg to the concrete question, why was it that the Polish bourgeoisie had given up the struggle for independence? She showed in a series of brilliant historical essays how the Polish bourgeoisie, grown up under the wing of the Russian autocracy, had found in the autocratic regime an instrument with which not only to dominate the Polish proletariat, but also to expand outside the country. The dependence of Polish industry on the Russian market became the cord which throttled in the Polish bourgeoisie every desire to fight for a national state.

In the struggle between the two tendencies—it created the denomination „Social Patriots“, so popular during the Great War—each faction of Polish Socialism sought to have the International on its side. On one hand, the representatives of the Polish Socialist Party tried to call back to life the old traditions of Marx' and Engels' views on the Polish question, and they were supported in the first place by the guardian of those traditions, by Frederick Engels. On the other hand Rosa Luxemburg, writing in one of the most important Socialist reviews in Europe, tried to create an understanding of the changes that had taken place in the International as well as in the Polish situation, which made it impossible to accept without further criticism the point of view of Marx. The desire to make Poland a dam against Russia signified mistrust of the revolutionary strength of the newly awakening Russian proletariat, and ignorance of the fact that the Russian autocracy in the last decade had been no longer the representative of world reaction, but the paid bravo of French finance.

The Second International—and this is characteristic of its general opportunistic tenden-



## The Hungarian workmen under the rule of the white terror

By B. K.

**T**HE Hungarian labour movement, crushed at present by the White Terror, is passing through a period of self-criticism, and is taking the first steps towards a new assembling of revolutionary forces. A permanent counter-revolution is still set against the permanent revolution. Whereas, on the one hand, the White Terror still shows a tendency to gain strength and, on the other, the proletariat still remains unorganised, the revolutionary frame of mind of the hopelessly beaten working class is expressing itself for the time being in a singular faith in the advent of a better future. However, this yearning-for-revolution inactivity, like the evangelical doctrine of hope, resembles the tactics of the counter-revolutionary Social Democracy awaiting the coming of the Messiah. The wide, profound masses are thirsting for revolution, and only the obstacles standing in the way of revolutionary organisation prevent the realisation of revolutionary action.

The immediate future will confirm that the four and a half months' dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat deserves the grateful acknowledgement of the world proletariat—not only in International respects, but as a useful and self-sacrificing ally of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and not only for what it has done in the matter of organisation of public economy and of socialist organisation of rural economy, but also for the revolutionising of the masses, the results of which will be to the advantage not only of the Hungarian, but also of the International proletariat.

The number of victims of the White Terror may be great, the sufferings and tortures of the proletariat during the months of White Terror may have grown to an incredible degree; but one thing is certain, that the proletariat of other countries, by means of „reasonably progressive“ revolutionary tactics, will not be able to attract to the side of dictatorship and Socialism the large popular masses at a lower price than that paid by the Hun-

garian working class, cured at present of all sentimentalism. And there where lie the shadows of the forest of gallows which has grown up in Hungary, where the bloody hand of the White Terror still strikes, we who have learned by the experience of the lost battle, and stand now on the threshold of a new struggle, must firmly establish that we were right in presuming that we must seize the power at whatever cost, because only in this way was it possible to remove rapidly and radically from the path of the revolution its greatest obstacle—the unpreparedness of the working class for a social revolutionary ideological and organisational expression of such a State—the Social Democrat Party.

At present this work has been accomplished by the bourgeois dictatorship and the White Terror. The Hungarian working class, inspired by the memory of its great martyrs, rich in revolutionary experience, is entering now upon a new struggle. It will not be satisfied with the fact that „history has already nailed its executioners to the pillory“—it will wish to pass on to decisive action.

### The Social Basis of White Terror.

The Hungarian White Terror has assumed proportions which surpass even all the horrors of the Finnish White Guards. The Hungarian Communist Party will present a special report on the actions of the White Terror based upon facts: in this article we will only point out its social basis.

At first the Hungarian counter-revolution was the united action and, later on, the separate action of the Social Democrat Party on the one hand, and of the officers, soldiers and the bureaucracy on the other. The government which was formed after the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, from the representatives of the labour unions with the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Julius Peidl (who during the Soviet rule had renounced all political acti-

importance, also long-winded lamentations to the effect that the Russian Communists, although well-informed on Russian matters, are much less informed as to German needs. There is a series of Jesuitic onslaughts in the Hilferding spirit, and a heap of well-intentioned eclectic phrases after the manner of the watery „Socialism“ of Crispien. But in the articles of the Independents you will not find a true, open-hearted, frank answer of revolutionists to the urgent questions asked so decisively. The fact is that the rank and file members of the German Independent Party, the workmen and workwomen, are pressing their leaders ever more and more, demanding an honest friendly declaration of their unconditional joining of the Communist International, whereas the right leaders of the Central Committee of the Party are delaying this unification and endeavouring once more to get off with empty phrases.

The situation in the leading circles of the French Socialist Party is no better. Marcel Cachin and Frossard are making sweeping assertions in their declarations to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the same time the central organ of the French Socialist Party is still acting in the old spirit. In the numbers of „L'Humanité“ just received (whose editor is known to be Marcel Cachin) we find, among other things, a leading article by the eminent Renaudel, in which this citizen asserts that he is willing to make Russia happy by going there if the Soviet Government will guarantee him the right of bringing with him any translators and collaborators that he wishes, and the right of moving about freely all over the country. The editor of „L'Humanité“, knowing very well that Mr. Renaudel is only an agent of the League of Nations, inserts his article on the first page of the paper without a single word of objection. („L'Humanité“, June 10th, 1920). In another number of this paper (June 16th, 1920) we find nothing more nor less, than an article... by Mr. Ignatius Dashinsky, „our Polish comrade“, as the editor of „L'Humanité“ calls him, inserting the article with the polite reservation that it is inserted as „a document“. Dashinsky is the right hand and fellow-champion of Pilsudsky, the executioner of the Polish workers, the leader of the Polish White Guards, fighting against Soviet Russia. „L'Humanité“ desires to join the Third International, and at the same time counts among its „comrades“ the counter-revolutionary bandit, a member of the Second International, Dashinsky! And in the same number of the paper we read an

article by Longuet, devoted to the „task of the Cachin and Frossard Mission to the Soviet Republic“ in each line of which the old-time „diplomacy“ is evident and in which only one thing is worthy of attention the information given by Longuet that the extreme left wing of the French Socialist Party (the Communists) resolutely declined the amiable proposal of the French Longuetists that they should take part in the delegation together with Cachin and Frossard.

Whoever is at all able to follow the daily press of the German Independents and the French Longuetists, may see quite clearly that Crispien and Longuet look upon joining the Third International as a simple formality. They are willing to make a few high-sounding „declarations of principles“, but they imagine that they may join the Communist International reserving to themselves the right of Opportunist „action“.

They are „in principle“ for joining the Third International, but „only“ out of tactical considerations, they wish to wait a bit, they desire, at any rate, to preserve their „autonomy“.

„To recognise in principle means to refute in practice—such is the principle of all serious diplomats“. These words, if we are not mistaken, were said by Bismarck. The little Bismarcks in the ranks of the Independents and the Longuetists are acting on the same principle.

„I am for joining the Third International, whose principles I recognise. But for tactical considerations I do not think that we should pronounce ourselves for an immediate joining. I share the point of view of the German Independents: first to Switzerland, afterwards to Moscow—that is to say, first an attempt to convene in Switzerland a conference of intermediary Parties and form a sort of two-and-a-half International this is the celebrated plan of the so-called re-constructors“. («La Revue Communiste“, March 1920, p. 57).

This declaration was made by Raoul Verfeuil, one of the well-known representatives of the French Socialist Party, in answer to an inquiry organized by the Paris Communist journal „La Revue Communiste“.

A present, it is said, several prominent leaders of the Longuetists are giving up the plan of forming an intermediary International. They see clearly that no „reconstruction“ can be possible, that they will have either to join the Third International, or remain without the workers. The delegates of this party are now in Moscow. But that is no guarantee that the



of the Polish nation, with the same fervour as they had praised Germany in the first year. The victory of the Russian revolution and the outbreak of the German revolution smashed the forces which had held Poland in chains for a hundred years. Poland became free, and a situation arose which had been anticipated as a probability by Lenin in his article of 1903, when the Polish bourgeoisie began being interested in the independence of Poland. The Russian revolution was a threat to the Polish bourgeoisie, who saw a chance to defend its interests only by a separate existence as an independent state, with the help of the victorious Entente capital. This did not mean that the Polish bourgeoisie abandoned the dream of profiting by Russian imperialism, and exploiting its own people. Russian imperialism was dead, and the Polish bourgeoisie did not have to renounce it. In establishing its independence the Polish bourgeoisie represented the interests of the proletariat it had been defending within the bounds of the Russian imperialistic state. It sought now to thrive at the expense of Entente imperialism. Imperialistic France, which with the help of her allies not only won the victory over Germany but wants to crucify her in peace time as well, wants an ally against Germany, an ally on the borders of Germany, ready to help French capital to keep down the German people. Poland is to play this part, and the Polish bourgeoisie sells its workers and soldiers to French capitalism as food for the cannons in the coming war with Germany, just the way the Russian autocracy did it before. The Polish bourgeoisie does not get loans as its reward, but it gets cannons and munitions for the Polish army which is to keep down the Polish proletariat. At the time when the Polish state, the Polish republic was coming into existence, people said in different circles that the policy of the Polish Social Democracy, refusing to demand the independence of Poland, had proved to be a wrong one. But the Polish bourgeoisie proves now day by day to the Polish proletariat how right the Polish Social Democracy was to say that the proletariat had no interest in a fight for an independent bourgeois Polish republic, which would only be the instrument to exploit the working class.

But this position of the Polish Social Democracy by no means settles finally the question of the Third International's attitude toward Poland.

That the Polish working class has to fight with all its strength against its capitalist government, that the international working class has to fight with all its strength against Poland, which has taken up arms against the Soviet government—this is of course beyond any doubt. The question is, what stand the Communist International will take concerning the independence of Poland after the victory of the Polish working class, or at the moment when the Polish White Guards will be defeated by the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which has been forced into war by Poland's rapacious attack. But even this question will not lead to any dissensions in the ranks of the Communist International.

The Polish people, after more than a hundred years of national oppression, is full of mistrust toward all foreign domination. This alone makes it a duty for the Third International to advocate quite definitely the independence of Poland. The Polish working class must fight now for the defence of its own power in Poland, and not to support the dependence of Poland on any other state. No proletarian State, whether Soviet Russia or the future proletarian Germany, has any interest to force its power upon the Polish people. On the contrary, it is interested in everything that would strengthen the position of the Polish working class in case of victory, and it is therefore in its interest to dispel all nationalistic mistrust in the Polish small bourgeois masses. For these reasons the Soviet Republic recognises openly and frankly the independence of Poland, and for these same reasons the International must also advocate openly and frankly the independence of Poland. The Russian Soviet Republic has declared that if it defeats the Polish White Guards, it has not the least intention of conquering Poland, under any circumstances, and will acknowledge the fullest independence of Communist Poland. Independent Poland will then have to decide how to shape its relations with Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany—in case a Soviet Germany will come into existence by that time. It is quite evident that just as the Polish bourgeois is looking for help and support from the victorious West European bourgeoisie, the Polish proletariat will also seek for help and support in the closest alliance with the victorious proletarian states, and the greater the danger threatening the proletariat, the greater the destruction left in legacy by capitalism, the more will they seek for help and support from each other. The

behaviour of the Polish working class in the long years of its struggle for deliverance from the yoke of autocracy and capitalism, the heroic struggle of the Polish proletariat under the Tsarist and the German military occupation—all this shows that, however great in the difficulties in store for them, let the moment arrive when the working class holds the power, and no narrow nationalism will threaten the saint work of the Polish and the world's proletariat. The International advocated the independence of Poland because an independent Poland would form a rampart against the Russia of the tsars. At the present time the International has its centre in revolutionary Russia, and Poland is to be taken into account, not as a rampart against Russia, but as a bridge from Soviet Russia to proletarian Germany. As a result of the changed international situation, it is world capital alone which looks upon Poland as a rampart against Russia, the home of Revolution. Between the time of the First International, which saw in Poland a barrier between the bourgeois revolution and the hordes of the tsars, and the Third International, an instrument of the world's revolution, looking forward to have her avanguards joining through Poland the advancing armies of the west European proletariat, stands the epoch of the Second International, a time of radical rhetorics and no achievements, a time of struggle against national oppression with words, and of underhand agreements with the bourgeoisie representing this nation at oppression. The Communist International has nothing in common with this and whenever it wants to remind of what the second International has been, it has only to look at decaying Poland, where we see, at the head of the army which fights against Russia for the interests of the world's counter revolution Joseph Pilsudsky, one of the leaders and ideologists of the Polish Socialist Party—the Party which expresses better than any other the

substance of the Second International. The best proof that the era of the Second International is passing, that it is doomed to die, is given by the policy of the Polish Socialist Party. In spite of the fact that the war of the Polish White Guards against Soviet Russia is headed by the present leader of the Polish Socialist Party, that the Party backs him in all decisive moments and never dares to criticise him by a single word. In spite of the fact that the Polish White Guard army depends chiefly on the „Pilsudskys” and the young staff of Pilsudzky's composed throughout of members of the Polish Socialist Party, the—Polish Socialist party does not dare to support openly the politics of its leader. The Party supports him in Parliament, helps him to hush up the real state of things, but when dealing with the working masses it is forced, whether it likes it or not, to oppose his policy and to peak for peace in the street manifestations. The Second International is dead, and only keeps up a semblance of life by all sorts of tricks which give it an appearance of life for a time but cannot make it really live. The Third International does its duty not only in issuing manifestoes, not only in passing resolutions. It does its duty in the struggle of the Russian working class, in the feats of arms of the Russian Red Army, in every proceeding of the English, French, Austrian, Italian, German workers who decide upon the blockade of white Poland. And the position of the Third International on the Polish question is not going to be merely a theoretical one; it will have very soon the greatest practical value. The Communist International is at the present hour only an illegal revolutionary organisation—to morrow it will represent a union of proletarian states, and Poland, the Poland of the workers and proletarians, Poland allied with Soviet Russia and the world's proletariat, will be a member of this revolutionary International, of this revolutionary League of Peoples.



The Russian Bolsheviks defined their attitude towards revolutionary Syndicalism already 15 years ago, when revolutionary Syndicalism was finishing its honeymoon. And the Russian Bolsheviks even then tried to separate the grain from the chaff and find the wholesome seed in the irresistible protest of the working masses against opportunism, expressing itself in sympathy with revolutionary Syndicalism. We must follow the same line now. And the First Constituent Congress of the Communist International has fully marked itself this line of conduct. The hostility to calling in adherents of factory shop stewards, revolutionary Syndicalists and others, which we notice on the part of some eminent leaders of the Communist International, we must suppress at any cost.

In this movement no doubt there is a lot of vagueness and muddle, we do not deny that for one minute. But at the same time the movement of the factory shop stewards is at bottom a healthy movement, and by its consistency a proletarian movement. We must learn to wait patiently until it crystallizes into a Communist one. We must help to facilitate and hasten this process.

These movements have a transitory character. They are born by original evolution in the countries where the old „classical“ trade unions and old formal Socialist Parties have compromised themselves hopelessly, but where Communist Parties have not yet had time to be founded or are still very weak. Such are in the first place America and England. The Communist International must not and will not surrender a single idea to the prejudices of the instinctively revolutionary, but theoretically uncertain movements. But it will stretch out its hand in open comradeship — in the complete certitude that these groups will approach us more and more every day.

What the revolutionary Syndicalists, the factory shop stewards, Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Wing of Anarchists need most of all, is the understanding of the part played by the Communist Party.

The adherents of the mentioned movements have been used to consider the two notions — „politics“ and „policy“ as equal. They were used to see only unprincipled parties, only the ones guided by parliamentary career makers and demoralized by opportunism. To convince these people, to heal these organizations of inimical feeling against the Party in general, one must show them other parties as an example — sincerely Communist Parties with a clear program, revolutionary tactics and iron discipline, Parties knowing

how to imbibe all that there is best in the working class, Parties knowing how to lead the proletariat to the siege of the fortresses of capital. Here what is most needed is the propagand of action. — „You do not believe that really proletarian Communist Parties are possible? You think that all parliamentarism is opportunist? You think that all Parties only busy themselves with political diplomacy? Look: here is the Russian Communist Party, who has managed to place itself at the head of all the working class of its country and expropriate the bourgeoisie. — Look! Here is the German Communist Party, which knows in spite of every thing how to reunite all the flower of the working class in its ranks. Look! In Italy, Bulgaria, France, England, America — such parties are being formed. Look and learn, and you will soon understand that to reject the Communist Party is the same as rejecting your right hand“. So must we speak to the proletariat in the above-mentioned organizations. And they will see then that the Communist International is in the right. And then they will immediately create a strong proletarian basis for our Communist Parties exactly in the countries where this basis is still absent.

### III.

The Communist International, we repeat, up to now chiefly occupied itself with propaganda. It must now pass to be organizations of the direct struggle of the working class of different countries, against the bourgeoisie. This in its turn sets new problems before us. We must manage so that not a single large organization is in the hands of our enemies. We cannot forget that although the second international is defeated — an International Union of yellow Trade Unions has been founded in Amsterdam, in which the Second International attempts to find a support.

For the Communist International as a whole there can be no serious question as to whether Communists shall or shall not leave the Trade Unions — this question was raised by the „left“ Communists in Germany, Holland and England. Not to leave the unions, but to enter the unions in the countries where we have not done so yet — such is the motto of the Communist International. Everywhere where there are workmen there must be Communists. We cannot abandon several millions of workmen to the influence of social traitors and stand aside ourselves. The social traitors, who have been

vity), at the head did not even attempt to enter into relations with the labour unions during the three and a half days of its rule; it was only engaged in disarming the workmen and annihilating the decrees which had been published by the Soviet Power. In this work it found support in the officers, soldiers and the bureaucracy. The imprisonment of all Communists who would not hide or seek to escape by flight was begun during the Social Democrat government of Peidl and his Minister of the Interior, the Social Democrat Karl Payer. Otto Korvin, one of the noblest figures of the proletarian revolution, was put into prison, as well as the metal-worker Franz Janchik, who awaits the fate of Otto Korvin.

However, the officers, soldiers and bureaucracy desired to carry on the White Terror by their own forces, especially as the hopelessly powerless Government of the labour unions was only a ballast in this way.

Since then the White Terror has changed its aspect several times, in accordance with the various coalition governments which were formed with or without the participation of Social Democracy, taking the form of parliaments; later on the restoration of royal authority, the representatives of the White Terror still preserving their independence up to this day, with respect to all social classes, even the bourgeoisie.

The social basis of this lasting independent dictatorship of the officers, soldiers and bureaucracy consists in the necessity felt by all the groups of the richer classes to permanently support the counter-revolution for the defence of private property.

The White Terror is directed not only against the working class, but also against the capitalists; it is in general anti-industrial in its policy. Nevertheless the banking and large industrial enterprises, interested in the capitalist form of private property, are the reliable support of the militarist dictatorship, because the latter is defending the right of private property against the proletarian revolution, as a social institution, although the White Guards are expropriating private property by means of robbery in the full sense of the word, for their own needs.

At first the White Terror found a social support in the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and among the middle and large landowners. But a union of interests of these two classes cannot be lasting since the former is chiefly the consumer, and the latter mostly the producer. As

a matter of fact, the class of petty bourgeois is retreating more and more into the background, and at the same time the very weak political control over the actions of the representatives of White Terror, of which this economically and politically insignificant class was capable, is ceasing.

By degrees, as the petty bourgeoisie is being pushed back, the peasant basis of the White Terror is also disappearing. The class of rich landowners who have only partly mastered the capitalistic method of production, and owing to the economical decline of the country are returning to feudalism, is succeeding more and more in harnessing the peasantry to its carts.

However by this circumstance the groups of the population which have been actively supporting the rule of White Terror have diminished more and more, the peasant-group, which had been united, is splitting, because the smaller peasant owners and the landless peasants have lost hope of land reform. Against the industrial and rural proletariat are arrayed the richer classes, who have closed ranks behind the back of the military dictatorship. Even the Jewish bourgeoisie, although it does not easily give up power, is willingly supporting the White Terror, the latter being the only means of defending private property in Hungary. However, the social basis on which the military-bureaucratic dictatorship rests is still narrowing. The completeness of the economic crisis is revealing itself in the question of food supplies. In Hungary the bread ration is not guaranteed to the population of the towns. The troubled state of the country, over which rules the counter-revolution, needs „committees of public order“ and the same demands are being made of the counter-revolution as were made of the revolution. The bureaucrat and military parties are endeavouring in consequence to keep up their parasitic existence, not only by means of a merciless terror but also by the help of political measures. These political means are the following: a „Hungarian Socialism“ guarding the co-called territorial integrity of Hungary and shaking its fist in the face of the neighbouring nations, anti-semitism, frequent indulgence in the pogroms, and lastly, the awakening of illusions regarding international importance of Hungary, in the sense that being an anti-Bolshevik State (in alliance with Poland) she will be able to obtain more favourable peace conditions from the Entente, or at least the revision of the conditions of the Peace Treaty.

The narrower the social basis becomes, the more necessary it is to have recourse to political measures. By degrees as the political weapons become blunted the need arises for the application of the deadly arms of the White Terror; first of all, toward the class of industrial and rural proletarians; the complete oppression of the latter being the compensation to the larger industries and banking concerns for the anti-capitalist policy of the military dictatorship in other regards.

#### **Ideological transformation of the working class.**

Although the four and a half months' dictatorship of the proletariat had greatly helped to strengthen the revolutionary ideology of the working classes, it still, as its fall proved, did not succeed in revolutionising them to a sufficient degree. The obstacles to this were—the sabotage of the Social Democrat Party, which occupied a place in the Soviet Republic, looking upon it as a temporary dwelling place, the bureaucracy of the labour unions, and the lack of forces in the Communist Party.

As regards the inactivity of the Social Democrats, the characteristic feature of the latter is the fact that at each meeting of the Workers' Soviet the Communists had to continue to prove that, in spite of the radical expropriation of all means of production, the bourgeoisie had not ceased to exist. In regard to the campaign in favour of mercy to be shown to the bourgeoisie, which was repulsed by the masses, our objections tended to show that such a campaign would lead not only to a strengthening of the forces of the counter-revolution, but also to a weakening of the self-consciousness of the proletariat and its readiness for the class struggle. The conscious communist vanguard was only a thin layer of the working class and it had very few organisatory and agitation forces. The artful Social Democratic party and the bureaucracy of the industrial unions frequently and in the presence of large masses even successfully entered into contests with the enthusiastic but inexperienced communist campaigners. On the one hand in consequence of our tactical mistake, which—in my opinion—does not lie in the fact of our union with the Social Democrats, and on the other hand, in view of the fact that the Social Democrats possessed administrative experience whereas the leaders of the communists did not, and further in consequence of the confidence of the masses, the members of the Social

Democrat party and representatives of the bureaucracy of the industrial unions acquired such posts in the Soviets which enabled them not only to prevent the execution of the measures of the dictatorship, but also to hamper all revolutionary work among the proletarian masses. It was the same trend of affairs that made Marx say of the Paris Commune: „As far as was in their power they prevented the real activity of the working classes, just as before they had hampered the development of each of the preceding revolutions. They are an inevitable evil. With time it would have been possible to get rid of them, but it was just time that the Commune lacked“.

The Commune was an isolated revolution; but the Hungarian revolution is one of the links in the International Proletarian Revolution. What we did not succeed in doing during the dictatorship of the proletariat the White Terror has accomplished, as well in the matter of revolutionising the ideology, as in the question of how to „get rid“ of „the inevitable evil“ -- the obstructing leaders.

The fall of the dictatorship called forth among the working class a disillusionment and disgust which prove the superficiality of the revolution. (It is just through this cause, according to Marx, that all bourgeois revolutions come to an end).

However the revolution had attained sufficient depth to make the disillusionment of the Hungarian workmen but short lived; and only the nonclass educated bourgeoisie hanging on to the revolution still suffered from it. This condition of affairs was skilfully kept up by the Social Democratic Party which is continuing its calumnies against the dictatorship. Nevertheless even after this the popular masses have not gone over to the Social Democratic party. It is true that the workmen became averse to communism for a short time, but at the same time they refused to take part in the restoration of the social democratic ideology. A very thin layer of the working class, together with the very dregs of the bourgeoisie, constitutes the army of pogrom-makers, under the banner of Christian-socialism. All the remaining politically unorganised mass of workmen which is day by day becoming more and more consciously revolutionary is resisting the influence of the party and industrial bureaucracy.

In Hungary the number of workmen Social Democrats is insignificant. The complete collapse of industry, colossal unemployment (out of 100.000 metallists only 21.000 are employed) have

considerably diminished the specific gravity of the working class. The results are making themselves felt in the self-consciousness of the workmen, chiefly in their lack of self-assurance. But the workman taking part in political life has become completely free of all illusions concerning Social Democracy, and even those politically indifferent proletarians still under the influence of the dictatorship and the events which followed it, are not at all inclined to the social democratic doctrine.

The economical measures of the dictatorship were annihilated by the social democrats and the economical policy of the White Terror suppressed all the short-tailed social measures of the November revolution of 1918.

The miners are completely chained to the mining enterprises, owing to the annihilation of their right to break their labour engagements: strikes were proclaimed to be state treason; in spite of all this the workmen are not thinking of a restoration of the „democracy“ and only the idea of a dictatorship finds favour in their eyes.

A characteristic feature of the ideology of the workmen is their attitude towards the question of the application of force and arms. If the pacifist frame of mind of the workmen during the whole period of the dictatorship after the ending of the war is easily comprehensible, as well as its aversion to the use of arms, then at present the contrary may be observed. The prevailing opinion, completely free from all sentimentality, is that the realisation of all hope and effort can only be expected from the application of arms and force. The influence of the trade unions is falling in consequence in spite of the absence of a revolutionary Communist organisation. Side by side with the organisation of the oppressive White Terror this transformation in the ideology of the workmen leads to a disinclination on their part to enter into a partial struggle, the object of which would be the attainment of social-political or any other partial advantages. Armed action, the remembrance of the former dictatorship and the hope of a future one—in spite of any kind of terror—have not disappeared from the minds of the workmen. The insufficient productivity of their labour and discipline which were manifested during the revolution and which were the result of fatigue after the war, are now the results of a consciously accepted decision, by means of which they hope to prevent the restoration of capitalism. In the enterprises of the larger industry there are now only an insignificant number of workmen.

The rest are driven out into the streets, the productivity of the employed men is kept up by means of armed force.

However, this dis-classing of the masses of the working class is very sad. Unemployment, persecutions, emigration, have lowered not only the material level, but also the moral level of the workmen which is the basis of all revolutionary discipline. A characteristic feature of such a loss of caste among the workmen and their joining the ranks of the pauper-proletariat (Lumpen-proletariat) is that it is mostly to be noticed among the labour aristocracy, the workers of the larger industrial enterprises. Owing to the economic crisis which has stopped almost all the large enterprises, the revolutionary ideology is mostly to be met with among the workmen employed in the enterprises of middling proportions. In general it may be said that the loss of caste of the labour aristocracy has almost completely smoothed away all differences which had formerly existed between the various layers of the working class.

The result of this transformation in the ideology called forth by the White Terror is the ever recurring instances of self-sacrifice and the readiness therefor which was lacking in the Hungarian working class when it had obtained the dictatorship without any sacrifices.

Such is the ideology of the working class in its principal features after the defeat of the revolution, under the horrible rule of the White Terror.

#### **The stratification of the working class.**

Owing to the White Terror there is no organised revolutionary movement in Hungary at the present time. The Social Democratic party, supported by Horti, which very much desires to appear as the party of the working masses and which is striving to organise them is far less of an organised political party than the Hungarian Communist party which is bringing down upon itself the most cruel persecutions as soon as it gives the slightest sign of life, be it but the smallest personal notification. All the leaders of the Hungarian labour movement have been obliged to emigrate with the exception of the most reactionary Social Democratic party which has openly entered the service of the monarchist counter-revolution, and the bureaucracy of the industrial unions. However, such „labour leaders“ like Peidl, Garami Buchinger have also had to flee the country, although they had not been „compromised“ during the dictatorship and had even person-

ally helped in the establishment of the White Terror after the fall of the dictatorship, by passing a resolution at the congress, in which, in the name of the Social Democratic party, it was stated „that the offenders were to be punished“.

Directly after the fall of the dictatorship the party became divided again, after its union on March 21st. After short periods of adherence to the Soviet Republic and the Third International, the leaders of the Social Democracy under the leadership of Bem Weltner and Kunfi hastened to renounce their short lived but honest revolutionary past and in the paper „Hungarian Weekly of Vienna“ in which they collaborated and the „Labour Gazette“ of the Austrian Social Democracy, not only repentantly returned to the lap of the Second International, but duly added their voices to the concert of calumnies against the dictatorship, abusing the Communists who were at the time languishing in prisons and in the concentration camps. The left wing of the Social Democrat party (Landler, Varga and others) remained true to the Communist party.

Meanwhile the right wing of the Social Democrat party after negotiations carried on by Ernst Garami, took the liberty of sending two representatives into the government of the White Terror. Soon after this the right wing became divided into two parts, namely: the group of Banchak, which continued to serve the White Terror even under the rule of Horti, and the group of Garami-Buchinger, which is inclined to agree to a monarchy, but demands the disbandment of the military detachments who are supporting the White Terror. This last group is also negotiating with Horti. The industrial unions also belong to the party officially but their members are keeping aloof.

After the change in the revolutionary conditions the group Bem Kunfi forgot all revolutionary and Independent-socialist mottoes and it is now carrying on negotiations with Massarik, the Tchek Socialist-Chauvinists and the Hungarian bourgeois radicals, regarding the organisation of a bourgeois democratic revolution with the corresponding posts of ministers. The group is not numerous, consisting of officers, without soldiers.

The Hungarian Communist party, the Hungarian section of the Third International, is compelled to limit its activity not only in Hungary, but in the adjacent countries as well, to the secret preparation of a revolution. The ranks of the party are becoming thinner owing to the

many sentences of death by the verdicts of the lawful courts and the so-called „Folks Court“, which are even now insistently demanding new victims. Many brave warriors and leaders are in prison. In spite of all, the emigrants are organising rapidly and striving to re-establish the contact with the popular masses, which had become lost after the fall of the dictatorship.

In Hungary the Communist Party has no other way but illegal organisation. Its immediate duties are as follows:

1) The completion of the illegal organisation and the centralisation of the existing nuclei.

2) Together with this organisatory work—to awaken the revolutionary spirit in the workmen for the purpose of developing the class consciousness and inciting the activity of the working class.

3) A definite rupture with the Social Democracy, which, thanks to the last unions, has escaped „the last judgement“.

The struggle against the White Terror at the present moment is possible only under the form of a joint operation with the other detachments of the International proletariat.

The completion of the work of organisation, the awakening of revolutionary activity, will make it possible to pass over to actions in masses and to their completion by means of an armed uprising.

Notwithstanding all the signs of a forthcoming collapse the White Terror organisation is still sufficiently strong to obstruct completely the way to organisation and propaganda by means of insurmountable obstacles, which lie first of all in the lack of experience of illegal movements, and on the other hand in revolutionary impatience, which, although worthy of respect, frequently changes into despair and is called forth by the fact that people accustomed to the immediate visible successes of lawful movements, become impatient and pusillanimous while awaiting the fruits of a hidden movement which take a longer time to ripen.

In its revolutionary work the Hungarian Communist party has to reckon first of all with the international police organisations and also the social democrat parties which figure sometimes as the masters, and sometimes as the slaves of these police organisations. Nevertheless at present there are some signs of success in the struggle.

The Central party organ „Red Gazette“ (Vörös Ujság) is published in Vienna as a supplement to its brother-paper „Red Banner“ (Rote Fahne). Soon the party paper will appear



weekly and in a larger edition. The propaganda literature has been published in sufficient quantities up to the present time and its numbers will be increased with the removal of the obstacles to its circulation.

There is as little to be said of the Hungarian industrial movement as there is of the economic situation of the working class. The conditions of life of the workmen, as in all capitalist countries, and especially in vanquished Hungary, have fallen extremely low, and the industrial movement represents the same picture as all the European industrial unions, but even a more pitiful one. In the eyes of the workmen these unions have still a certain importance, because they are the only lawful places for the meetings of the workers. They are however in the hands of the industrial bureaucracy and will keep this position so long as the White Terror defends the union bureaucracy from the indignation of the workmen.

#### Agrarian question.

During the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary the land had not been divided. The Soviet Republic socialised the larger landed property and proceeded to the introduction of agriculture on cooperative principles by means of the organisation of the rural proletariat. Owing to the inactivity of the rural proletariat, and to the caution used in the interests of guaranteeing the uninterrupted production of the agricultural products the expropriation of the larger agricultural enterprises was carried out, except in certain localities, at first only nominally, and without the necessary revolutionary character. Nevertheless the rural proletariat united into associations on the larger estates, served as an armed support to the dictatorship, in the same degree as the industrial proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat brought the most direct and visible advantages to the labourers employed on the farms, therefore after its overthrow their position was the worst. The proletariat and semi-proletariat for a long time after the fall of the dictatorship was at the service of the richer peasantry. However as a result of the agreement between the rich peasants and the landed proprietors of the larger estates, of the obligatory conscription into the White Army, and of the propaganda of the soldiers of the Red Army, dispersed throughout the country, a strong revolutionary movement is awakening among the peasants with small farms and the landless peasants. This move-

ment is further increasing in consequence of the fact that the agreements signed by the labourers directly before the dictatorship and also the contracted labour tariffs to be paid in species and in products existing during the dictatorship were not only destroyed by the landed proprietors when the estates had been returned to them, but the landowners are exacting socage duty from the labourers „as expiation for their sins in the past“

The rural proletariat has as yet not proffered any independent demands. In correspondence with the economical and ideological interests of the small peasant owners the idea of a division of the land is in great favour.

The immediate duty of the Communist party in the agricultural question is this: without going against the peasant movement, which is directed towards the distribution of the land, to continue independently thereof to spread among the poorer elements the old motto of an organised seizure of the land by revolutionary means, profiting by all the natural ill successes of any lawful land reform. In this way it will be possible to save a considerable part of the lands for future public management.

The possibility of the peasant revolution opening a new chapter in the Hungarian revolution is very limited, but undoubtedly its echo among the working masses will be louder than its voice itself.

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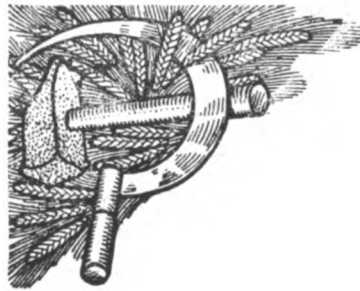
It is hardly possible to give a more precise prognostic of the future of the Hungarian revolution. One thing is certain, that in Hungary a struggle for life or death is going on for the right of private ownership, and this struggle, touching directly upon the very basis of capitalist production, does not allow the ruling classes to desist from the application of terror. This would not be possible even if the military, against all probability, would be willing to lay down its arms.

If the government of Horti should become engaged in any military adventure, the proletarian revolution would again take place in Hungary and the dictatorship of the proletariat would again be established. The slightest revolutionary flare up in Central Europe would immediately carry with it the industrial and rural proletariat of Hungary.

The White Terror can only be put an end to by means of a proletarian revolution, even in the case of the Terror assuming a parliamentary or constitutional form.

Meanwhile the Hungarian proletariat, after its four and a half months' struggle in the advanced trenches of the international proletarian revolution, has to hope for the most active support on the part of the international proletariat.

This support, a beautiful example of which is being given by our Russian and Italian comrades, we are equally awaiting from all the other sections and groups of the Third International.





FREDERICK ENGELS IN HIS YOUTH





## THE BANKRUPTCY OF REFORMISM

By Fredrik Ström

**H**OW right they were, the revolutionary Socialists! All that is happening now proves it.

Let us recapitulate past and present history.

At the beginning of the war the revolutionary Socialists of all countries declared that only an international proletarian revolution would create a lasting and equitable peace, renouncing capitalism, the cause and origin of all the wars.

But what did the Socialist reformists of all countries answer?

This is their reply:

The German and germanophil reformists answered that Germany had to be defended first of all, that Germany was fighting for her life, that a German peace would be an equitable peace, whereas the victory of the Allies would entail a peace of violence. For these reasons they did not wish for a German revolution, but they gladly welcomed the Russian one.

And nevertheless these German reformists betrayed the Russian revolution when they imposed the unfair peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon it. And when the German revolution broke out, when Ludendorff's policy broke down in spite of their wishes, then these same German reformists delivered it up to German capitalism, the White Guards of Noske succeeded with the regiments of Ludendorff to crush the German proletariat.

At present German reformism, whose history has been an uninterrupted series of treacheries, has reached its Sedan. Its social-patriotic and counter-revolutionary policy has not succeeded either in saving Germany, or in bringing about an equitable peace. The only glory that the Scheidemann-Noske-Ebert Party can boast of is that of having opened the way for the counter revolution. The sole title that they have won is that of "Executioners of the Proletariat." The only result of their work is a peace of slavery and violence for Germany, such as has never been heard of in the history of the world.

Neither Germany nor its working class would have found themselves in a worse situation if the leaders of the German workers, instead of carrying on their treacherous policy, had led the workers towards a proletarian revolution, had strengthened its victory and united the Russian, Hungarian and Austrian workers in an imposing coalition against the imperialists of the Entente.

At this moment of shame, misery and despair for Germany, brought to the verge of ruin by all her leaders, from Wilhelm II. to Scheidemann and Bauer, a gigantic phantom appears above the German horizon: not that of Bismarck, nor that of Ludendorff, nor of Noske. The spirit of *Liebknecht*, revolutionist and Bolshevik, the good genius of Germany, the only one who clearly discerned the way to an equitable peace, to the salvation of Germany, to the victory of Socialism. Like a stamp of fate affixed to Germany's disaster simultaneously with

the articles of slavery of the peace treaty of Versailles, we read the articles of the minutes of the process of the murderers of Liebknecht, creatures of Noske, who were allowed to leave the country.

In the ruin of Germany and Austria we see the verdict of history, condemning German social-patriotism.

And the irony of history's verdict against the social-patriots of the countries of the Entente and the reformists of different lands, who have betrayed the revolution, a lasting peace and the brotherhood of nations, through their devotion to the imperialists of the Entente, is not less bloody.

Although Jaurès was assassinated by nationalism and war madness, the Labour leaders and the workmen of the countries of the Entente, fooled by patriotic phraseology, aligned themselves with *their* imperialists and their generals in the same way as did the German leaders and workmen. The precepts of the International, the duties of fraternity, the principles of Socialism were all forgotten, and the French and English, blinded by the leaders of reformism, rushed also, in a kind of frenzy, against their German brothers.

It was declared that the war led by the Entente was a war for democracy, liberty, justice; that the victory of the Entente would guarantee an equitable and lasting peace. In our country this lie was preached with monomaniacal obstinacy for four years by Branting and his acolytes of the press.

In the countries of the Entente, the same as in Sweden, the Socialist-reformists challenged even the idea of a revolutionary uprising of the working class, and preached solidarity and a "sacred union" with the imperialists, quite like Scheidemann in Germany. When the Russian working class carried out its revolution, the counter-revolutionary campaign increased, and when the German workmen also revolted, when the psychological moment arrived for a world revolution and a world peace, then the Socialist followers of the Entente answered by an appeal to the democracy of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the Fourteen Points of Wilson—a sure guaranty of an equitable peace, for the working class!

The articles of the "equitable peace" are now lying in the archives. Force has imposed on the nations this peace, which had been the only hope of Mr. Branting and a thousand other illusionists. What are they like, these articles of peace? Like a beautiful and noble ideal? Like sure guarantees of peace and fraternity?

Quite the contrary. This is a peace of violence and slavery, the most Macchieavelian that one can imagine; it will cause a fever of armaments, passionate desires for revenge and war, which will make of entire nations slaves of a small group of monarchs of the banks of Paris, London and New York.

It is a contract of enslavement, not only of several great nations, but also of the proletariat of the whole world.

This is the "equitable peace" of Messrs. Branting, Thomas, Vandervelde, Henderson!

These Socialist reformists are now shrinking at the sight of their work. Was it really for this infamous piece of paper, perpetuating wars and slavery, that they fought, that they bungled the revolutions, that they laid their heads on the bosoms of the conquerors, betrayed Socialism?

Yes, we shall never see a greater political débâcle than that of the reformists of the Entente countries—especially Mr. Branting. Morally, if not materially, it is a deeper failure than that of the German reformists. That is their Waterloo. Their only hope now is the Isle of St. Helena.

The French and English workmen are now looking with anguish at the world. In reward for their wounds and sufferings they now see themselves chained to the rock of Imperialism. They are looking for a support, a saving plank; they are rattling their chains, crying to the East that they have been deceived.

But the iron heel of Imperialism is pressing on their shoulders with an ever growing force. The republic of the Hungarian proletarians was crushed by the soldiers of the Entente, who are now surrounding Socialist Russia in order to attack her. Will the world proletariat be able at the last moment to collect its forces, and with a gigantic effort rise to its feet and destroy those who are oppressing it? Or will they bend again under the yoke—all these workers of the world who have been so near to their complete liberation? Will they return to their prisons?

All depends now on the perseverance, the courage, the strength of the Russian working class. After the catastrophic and definitive bankruptcy of social patriotism and reformism in the whole world, it appears more clearly than ever that Bolshevism alone can save world peace and the international proletariat.

Revolution alone can save us from a new world war, an international enslavement of the proletariat, the ruin of all culture.

#### NATURE OF A WORLD REVOLUTION.

We are now in the midst of a world revolution, of the most gigantic struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed that history has ever recorded. After the world war between nations, between empires, we are now engaged in a world war between classes. The trenches, the barricades are now no longer erected between the nations, but in their midst.

It is a struggle of the classes. Begun in the midst of legendary antiquity—in the dawn of human history, the struggle of the classes, whose features we recognise in the insurrection of the Jewish slaves against the Pharaohs, in the struggles of the helots against the Spartan aristocracy, in the liberation war of the gladiators led by Spartacus against the Roman power, in the revolts of peasants (jacqueries) in different countries, in the furious rebellions of the slaves of industry at the beginning of the last century against the manufacturers and their machines in the revolutions of the years 1848 and 1871, in the battles of the Commune—the class struggle, always growing more acute during the last fifty years in all countries, in all workshops, in all factories, and which has become an immense battle, a monstrous duel between the world revolution and the world reaction.

The stake in this grandiose struggle is world domination. Either world capital will be victorious—and that will mean a world reaction more formidable than during

any reactionary period in history, implying new wars, the transformation of the working class into a caste of pariahs, as has been done already in Finland, Siberia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, or the proletariat will conquer, and this will be the absolute triumph of the working class in all countries, marching toward the economic freedom of all mankind, towards a lasting peace, towards the proclamation of the principles of Labour, which will dominate and determine all rights and duties towards an absolute and true democracy.

The actual world revolution is consequently, in respect to its nature and its proportions, the great liberation war of the proletariat against capital. This revolution announces the *grandiose idea of a world labour republic*. It marks the first effort for the realisation of the Socialist idea, not that of the colourless and pale reformist socialism, which is only one of the numerous methods to which capitalism prevents the victory of the proletariat and preserves its own power, but of the Socialism of Marx, proletarian, revolutionary—the Socialism that Marx and Engels called Communism.

As the present capitalist society, in maintaining the dictatorship of capital, renders the realisation of democracy impossible; as it makes peace impossible by creating contradictory interests engendering national and world wars; as it saps the foundations of culture, by making it the slave of money, the world revolution will be not only a war of liberation for the working class but also a war for the emancipation of the entire human race, a war for peace and right, for culture and light, for humanism.

Thus, the revolution is not only the sole hope of the proletariat, but a star of hope for the entire human civilisation. Like every living being, like each epoch of history, a new society is being born amid blood and tears, amid terrible sufferings. But we must not be induced to condemn or to murder the newly born! Many people wish to take its life, as Herod in times of old ordered the massacre of the innocents. But woe to us, woe to the whole world if it be killed, whether it be by the bullets of capitalists or by the daggers of the traitors to Socialism.

Let us rather consider the champions of the new society, let us find out what they want, what is their object. Let us not be frightened by the innumerable lies spread by the capitalists and the press which is in the pay of the latter, for the purpose of calumniating the champions of the new world, for discrediting them and raising public opinion against them.

#### WORKERS' SOVIETS OR BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTARISM?

National representations under a strong monarchical or aristocratic power corresponded to the feudal system. When the social structure was changed, the political superstructure underwent a parallel change. The two-chamber system with or without a strong monarchical power conquered after a terrible struggle. It gave to the bourgeois and peasant classes the greater part of the power.

But little by little the social and economic situation changed again. The great industry crushed the small one and the smaller trades. The landed properties and the rich peasants, aided by the protection of custom house tariffs and agrarian laws, prevailed over the smaller peasant owners. Industrial, financial, agrarian capital dominated in the higher Chambers, and acquired a great influence even in the Chambers elected by direct ballot.

Thus, the large industry created a class of industrial

workers, and the possession of vast landed estates created an agrarian proletariat.

It is now these classes which are striving to obtain the power by an open struggle with the possessing classes. In the hope of conserving its influence by compromises, the bourgeoisie is making concessions, by transferring the appearance of power to the second Chamber. Bourgeois democracy, the capitalist-democratic parliamentary system is consolidating. With the help of money and the power of social and economic privileges, parliament becomes the instrument of the rich. With its influence over the military and the bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie will always have the control of "universal suffrage."

But social development never stops. Bourgeois parliamentarism, capitalistic democracy, the political and ideological expressions of the economical organisation and the popular will, grow old in their turn. New times, new social institutions, new classes marching towards victory, need new forms to accomplish their historical work, to fill their place in the social development of society. Nothing is eternal, and the political and parliamentary system of the bourgeoisie is less so than anything else, although it clothes itself skilfully in the cast-off raiments of "national representation." The old senile democracy is replaced by a new democracy which is in correspondence with the needs of the new triumphant classes.

The dissolution of bourgeois democracy (which is only the expression of the social and economic dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) is imminent. In its struggle for complete liberation, the numerous industrial and agricultural proletariat cannot content itself with the political formula incarnating the interests of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, and contrary to its complete victory, to its perfect emancipation. The interests of the working class demand a dictatorship of the proletariat. As in modern society the proletariat forms the majority of the population, the dictatorship of the proletariat will not be that of the minority, even when it has the sanction of a democratic parliament. Karl Marx has not given to the working class the grand idea of proletarian dictatorship in vain. There is no other method for crushing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely democratic. It gives the power to the largest social class, delivered from years of oppression, from the economic slavery to which it had been condemned. But especially it gives the power to a useful class, to the productive, labourious class. That is real modern political democracy. Its aim is social democracy.

Out of the very heart of the present social revolutionary proletariat, dictated by Labour; the system of Soviets, parliaments of the worker and peasant classes. Agonising capitalist democracy is fighting its last fight against this Soviet democracy of workers and peasants. Although it will be able for a certain time yet to profit by the support of certain proletarian groups and their leaders, who are still following the old democratic and petty bourgeois ideals, the victory of the political system of Soviets, of the Labour democracy, is certain, because they alone reflect the social exigencies and the economic tendencies of the present time, of social development. All power to the Soviets of Workers and Peasants! This cry is growing with the force of a storm; it will break the chains of the hurricane which will sweep away the old political systems.

The struggle between the principle of Soviets (councils), and that of a Constituent Assembly, presents a particular interest in the different countries.

The Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, who up to now have advocated the Constituent Assembly and the old parliamentary system, have recently come to terms with the Bolsheviks on the basis of the democracy of the Soviets. In Germany the Independents, who at first would not recognise the system of Soviets of Workers and Peasants otherwise than as a passing temporary phenomenon, have now undergone a turn towards the left. The right wing of the Independents desires a compromise, the simultaneous existence of the National Assembly and the Soviets, both together, forming a new chamber, the Soviets side by side with the National Assembly, with the right of veto and other prerogatives. The left party wishes to dissolve the National Assembly, take the power from it and transfer it to the Soviets. This party has prevailed over the right wing, and the latter has in its programme recognised the principle of Soviets.

"It is not the National Assembly, but the Soviet system, which can save Germany," wrote Richard Müller the other day in the leading article of *Freiheit*, chief organ of the Socialist Independents. And in another leading article Ernest Daumig precised the idea that the attitude towards the system of Soviets of Workers and Peasants is the attitude also towards the proletariat as such. Even among the most far-seeing of the German Socialists of the right Party, the opinion regarding Soviets has become modified, when every one has seen that the National Assembly is nothing but a copy of the old Reichstag, which the revolution overthrew, with the same tendencies, the same capitalist, military, bureaucratic sympathies. The Communist Party (Spartakusbund) has never ceased to demand during the whole revolution: *All power to the Soviets of Workers and Peasants!*

In England also the principle of Soviets is gaining ground. But as the revolution has not broken out there, it is appearing only under the form of strikes of the masses, demanding the formation of Industrial Councils alongside of the Parliament, and the according of certain economic, social, industrial and technical rights. The principle of the *Workers' Control of Industry* will triumph; and it will not be stopped at the doors of industry, but sooner or later will demand all the social power—that is certain.

In France and in Italy the Socialist parties and Workers' Unions have adopted the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat—that of *Labour* on the basis of the Soviet system—and in Norway the Socialist Party has taken the same attitude. A similar evolution is taking place in other countries, among others, the United States.

The principle of Soviets is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the working class, the key of the Socialist Party to a society without classes. This principle becomes realised, as soon as a workers' revolution breaks out in a country. The application or non-application of the Soviet principle determines the political character of the revolution.

In the countries where the workers' revolution has not taken place, the conscious Socialist workmen are compelled to function within the limits of the existing bourgeois and democratic institutions, seizing upon every occasion to defend the interests of the workers as much as possible, and to unmask the true nature of capitalist society, the democratic bourgeoisie, their crimes and tricks, in order to enlighten the mind and allow revolutionary ideas to penetrate it.

But it is necessary also to show the workmen the meaning of proletarian dictatorship, the democratic nature



and revolutionary force of the political system of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, their essential character of a political form corresponding to the power of the workers during the process of the Social Revolution and its triumph.

#### DEMOCRACY OF CAPITAL OR DEMOCRACY OF LABOUR.

What is democracy?

Many persons will answer: "Democracy? It is universal suffrage!"

That is not true. Real democracy means that the supreme power in any society belongs to the workers; to those who are useful to society.

Does universal suffrage give the power to the workers? History abounds in examples which prove the contrary.

Napoleon III. maintained his bonapartist power by what he called a "universal plebescite." In the United States "universal suffrage" has given the power to the stock exchange and the bank. In England there is no real democracy either. In the latter country universal suffrage has lately given the power to the smallest coterie of bellicose and rapacious imperialists. In Germany universal suffrage has supported during whole decades the armaments of the Kaiser, and the German Reichstag, elected by universal suffrage, sanctioned the world war. It was the same thing in France and in Italy.

There is no capitalist country in which there has truly existed what is called universal suffrage, or where democracy has been a reality in the life of the State. The real power has always belonged to the bankers, the diplomats, the generals, manufacturers, landowners, bureaucrats. Capitalism made use of universal suffrage to fortify its power, and to become the master of the people, who thought they had the power when they were only allowed to vote.

How did it happen that "universal suffrage" could be employed against the people, against democracy, against the real interests of the working class, as a weapon of capitalism, imperialism, oppression?

The answer is easy. Not only will the dominating class always be able to mobilise its influence over the state authorities, the chiefs of the army, the administrative, against universal suffrage, but it also possesses other means of domination. Having the capital at its disposition, it has always an *absolute ascendancy over the press*. It dominates public opinion to a great degree; it can create an extensive propaganda, buy up entire institutions, parliaments, governments, committees, corporations, judges, etc. By means of interests in common it rules over influential corporations, certain state organs, the clergy, functionaries of the government, industrial and commercial organs, authors, men of science, etc., who on their part exercise a certain ascendancy over the masses, their souls or their purses, as the case may be. Capital has multiple possibilities and means of making universal suffrage serve its interests. Universal suffrage based on truth and an enlightened and honest mind cannot exist in a capitalist society—only a Socialist society can make this possible. What is called "universal suffrage" in a capitalist society, is only a fiction, decoration, a beautiful lie, a seal which the governing class affixes to its resolutions, "In the name of the people."

Left Socialists, are we against universal suffrage? No! We only desire to give it its rightful place, to place it in its proper conditions, in order that it should not depend on capital. The institutions of capital.

It has been said, however, that the revolutionary Socialists, who call themselves the Communists, repudiate universal suffrage. That is an inconceivable misunderstanding.

What is universal suffrage? Does universal suffrage exist?

No, it does not; even in the most democratic states suffrage is not universal, although it is called so. Ordinarily, *the poorest classes* are excluded; very often also the young citizens, always the younger classes, even if they are earning their own bread. In other words there is no universal suffrage *anywhere*. There is not a vestige of universality in the suffrage of a bourgeois democracy. Where is the so-called universal suffrage most democratic?

Naturally, in countries where it belongs to the working class, whose interest lies in the creation and strengthening on an economic and social democracy, but not an apparent, formal, constitutional, in a word illusive, democracy.

A system which does not deprive either the poor or the young of their right to vote, but which deprives of the ballot the speculators, the exploiters, the enemies of equality and economic liberty, in other words, social criminals against the common laws—such a system, applied in Soviet Russia and in Soviet Hungary, is naturally much more democratic than the suffrage which gives the preference to the enemies of Labour and of Democracy. In a country which abolishes capitalist society by means of a social revolution, the formula of the new democracy must be the following principle, both morally and socially indisputable:

"Whoever will not work, whoever exploits his neighbors, is not a good citizen and cannot claim the rights of a good citizen." If we look upon work as the supreme good, as the source of all culture and riches, we must also accord to it the first place in respect to social influence. That is the only means of making suffrage as extensive as possible. By degrees as the citizens give themselves up to useful work, they become useful members of the community, and enjoy the benefit of all the rights inherent in such a condition.

Thus, the revolutionary Socialists, the Marxists, are the only true democrats.

#### A PARLIAMENT OF LABOUR OR A PARLIAMENT OF CAPITAL?

In the same way as universal suffrage, as understood by the capitalists, and at the service of capitalism, has ceased to be the precursor of a social and economic democracy which alone can make of the world a dwelling place fit for humanity, the bourgeois parliament has also ended its historical rôle—as we have just shown. It cedes the place to the Parliament of Labour, the Soviets of Workers and Peasants.

With the help of the bourgeois parliament and its appendices *capital* rules the nations and lays down the laws. By means of a parliament of Labour—the Soviets—Labour rules the nations and lays down the laws.

The working class may extort certain concessions from the bourgeois parliament, may arrive at certain compromises with the bourgeoisie; but it cannot acquire the power and realise its social emancipation. Should the working class desire to accomplish a social revolution in the very midst of a bourgeois parliament, it would either fail, or it would be compelled to reorganise the bourgeois parliament into a parliament of Labour, into Soviets.

Otherwise the bourgeois class, by employing volence corruption, obstruction, intimidation, would cause all the measures of the working class to fail.

The Labour Parliament (Soviet) is the Parliament of the working classes, and it governs on the basis of the constitutional mandate which is given to it by the popular masses. Different opinions may manifest themselves, but not different interests. The interests of capitalism are eliminated. That is democracy! Not only an official democracy, but a *real* democracy, one that is founded on the basis of a *Social Revolution*. The Soviets, constituted by the universal suffrage of *Labour*, form a Parliament of *Labour*. In a *Labour Republic* capital loses all its rights. The great task of the new republic consists in suppressing all exploitation, which has met with condemnation from the economic, social and ethical point of view. How can one demand that the representatives of the capitalist régime, who are now standing before their judges, should be seated among them? How can one expect that the officers of the enemy armies should figure among the general staff commanding the struggles of the working class at the decisive moment? Let us not forget that a republic of Soviets is a republic in time of warfare, that the Soviet parliament is the representation of a people of workers during the epoch of the social revolution. When the struggle is ended the Soviet parliament will be the representative of the *entire population*, capitalism being no longer in existence. We shall have arrived at an absolute democracy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, that is to say, the rule of the working class, is the intermediary phase between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the absolute democracy of Socialism. Only the Left Socialists, the revolutionary Socialists, and the Marxists, are pointing out the road which leads to a full and complete democracy. Because they alone desire an absolute democracy, they alone are the true democrats.

#### WORLD REVOLUTION MEANS WORLD PEACE.

One can only state the following facts: during the whole existence of capitalist society bloody wars have succeeded one another. One nation has been always mutilating and subjugating another. After each peace, presumably to last forever, the armaments have recommenced. They have been increased through greed of gain, envy, fear, all kinds of intrigues, and they have brought about more or less violent wars. The world policy of capitalism has at last given rise to the world war which has lasted four years, costing millions of human lives, and causing the ruin of millions of families, the destruction of millions of instruments of production and billions of products of human industry.

The world war is done. Around the smoking ruins the guilty are assembled: the diplomats, the bankers, the profiteers, the generals, the social-patriots.

They want to conclude "an everlasting peace" once more, on the basis of capitalist society. That this is a chimera every sensible person understands. Already the victorious coalition of the Entente, which desire to establish "an everlasting peace," is divided, and we see a violent struggle taking place inside it. England fears of the United States, the latter fears Japan. France is angry with these three Powers, because she has not received enough of the booty. Italy is watching Yugoslavia, which has already occupied Italian territory. Poland is attacking the Ukraina, under the influence of the En-

tente, and casting envious glances at the lands of Tcheko-Slovaks and the Lithuanians. Belgium is demanding her share of the loot, Australia and South Africa, etc., wish to divide the German colonies; and the future fate of the Turkish provinces is awakening the covetousness of the signatories of the eternal peace. The Germans, who will be assigned to France, to Belgium, Poland, Denmark, Tcheko-Slovakia, Italy, the Serbs who will be subject to Italy, the Italians who will have to pass to Yugo-Slavia, the Hungarians, who are being given to Roumania and Tcheko-Slovakia, the Ruthenians, who will be compelled to pass under the Polish yoke—are all dreaming of new wars. Her lost colonies will always be tempting Germany to revenge herself. Either the enormous war indemnities imposed on Germany will make of her a slave country, or the sums paid will not be vast enough and they will provoke in France a discontent which may drive her to new wars. We may add to all this the motive springs of national psychology, which will be condensed into an unquenchable thirst for revenge among all the subjugated and outraged nationalities.

And the armaments? Will they be abolished?

Not at all. England, France, the United States will keep their fleets, their armies, to keep the world in check—that is to say, to sustain a perpetual war against oppressed peoples and classes. They will exploit, like gendarmes, the smaller nations succumbing under the weight of continual armaments.

*If the bourgeois régime remains in the world we shall see instead of everlasting peace, perpetual war and perpetual exploitation.*

Lastly, a continuation of the capitalist system will lead to new antagonistic coalitions and a new world war, more atrocious undoubtedly than the one which we have just witnessed.

This is what awaits us, if world Imperialism succeeds in conquering the world revolution.

But if the revolution is victorious the peace of the whole world will not only be guaranteed, it will be the natural consequence of the revolution.

The working class has the same interest in all countries: the suppression of capitalist exploitation. Where it is abolished the cause of war will also be abolished, because wars are caused by the greed of gain.

The object of the working class is also the international organisation of the world. National frontiers will cease to exist and the *World Union of Labour* will succeed to capitalist society.

*And the World Labour Association will also be the World Peace Association.*

The international republic of proletarian Soviets means universal peace. Such a proletarian republic, extending from the South Pole, such a *grand republic of humanity*, such a large brotherly family, such a noble confraternity—is the only sure guarantee of peace. It does not need to steal the territories of one nation to give them to another. It does not need to starve one people for the profit of another, nor to impose on a certain nationality a contract of slavery, or excessive financial charges, nor to hurt the national dignity of any people, nor to awaken a thirst for revenge: it will build the edifice of an everlasting peace.

It is true, the road to it is not unspotted with blood. The bourgeoisie is raising against the triumphing world revolution, against universal peace, its armed forces, the armies of Japan and Koltchak, Denikin's Cossacks, the White Guards of Noske, the bands of Pilsudski and the black soldiers of Franchy d'Espérey, and it is civil war.

But even if the victory of the revolution cannot be accomplished without the workers' opposing violence against violence—how very brief and small is the revolutionary violence, in comparison with the century-old régime of violence of the capitalist order! And the bloodshed during the revolutions, what an insignificant quantity it is when one compares it to the incessant massacres of perpetual Imperialist wars!

In order to avoid the short defensive violence of the revolutions which will bring the abolishment of capitalism and put an end to wars—would it be better to avoid the world revolution "for humane reasons?" Would this be better than to destroy once for all the very causes of war; and prepare the final triumph of humanitarian ideas?

"But," we are asked, "if the working class will have to keep its arms?"

It will not be for long.

It will only be during the short transitional period necessary to guarantee the victory of the revolution, and of world peace, against any possible attempts of the bourgeoisie to reestablish the capitalist order and to renew the wars. When the revolution is quite assured and safe, when the bourgeoisie will have become assimilated to the great class of workers, when it will not be possible any more to overthrow the World Republic of Labour, then the arms will be changed into ploughs, the swords will become scythes. We will have attained our object.

Such is the sole way to universal peace, to disarmament. Only the universal revolution means universal peace. Bolshevism, the system of Soviets of the working class, will alone lead to a universal peace. Any other social system implies not only the exploitation and enslavement of nations, but also perpetual wars, incessant massacres, endless armament.

The Bolsheviks, the partisans of a world social revolution, the international Communists, alone are the true pacifists.

#### WHAT IS VIOLENCE, AND WHAT IS HUMANITARIANISM?

The present capitalist order is only organised violence. It is *systematised violence* for the purpose of supporting, in favour of a small minority, the luxury, power and privileges obtained from the exploitation, enslavement and mental abasement of the popular masses. The economic and social dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as well as its moral dictatorship, is based on violence.

This violence is disguised under various forms.

First of all it introduces the *régime of hunger*. The employer can make the workman and his family starve. Even if he does not do this exactly, the workman lives nevertheless in a condition of constant inanition, on account of his miserable pay, and he is never sure that tomorrow he will have his daily bread.

This violence is the worst, because it is permanent. It accompanies the workman through all his life, like a shadow. Another form of violence exercised by capitalism against the working classes allots them narrow and miserable dwellings, which give no idea of comfort, or sufficient room, but are a cause of constant trouble. And sometimes the workman is threatened with the possibility of losing even this sad home.

This *economic violence* of capitalism is completed by other forms.

The capitalist State, an instrument of violence itself, is maintained by *military and police violence*. The work-

man is forced to don the uniforms of the capitalist State to defend with his life the power and privileges of his exploiters. He has no right to refuse to fire at the orders of the officers of the ruling class, against his proletarian comrades of another country, or against his own compatriots, or his friends and relations even, if they revolt against the capitalism and struggle for their emancipation.

Modern society with its bankers, bureaucrats, its military governors, is armed State, based on violence and trusting always, in the end, to its armed forces for preventing a radical change. To all Labour demonstrations, to all liberative attempts of Labour it opposes the police, the law courts, class justice, prisons, the White Guards—briefly, its armed forces. The Swedish Liberal-Socialist Government was compelled to use armed force to defend the executioner of the Finnish workmen Mannerheim against the Swedish workmen.

Such is the modern capitalist state. Violence in all its branches—privileged, legalised, usurpatory violence.

It is against this society, based solely on violence, that the working class is struggling in order to erect on its ruins a brotherhood of Labour without exploitation, a Socialist society without violence, a society in which humanitarianism can flourish. In a society where all are fighting one another, where all are trying to exploit one another, to get the better of one another, humanitarianism cannot exist. To attempt to humanise capitalist society—that means to enter into contradiction with one's self. One might as well try to make a poodle out of a Bengal tiger, or to produce beetroots from a grindstone. Christianity has tried to humanise capitalist society during the whole period of its existence. Capitalism has triumphed over Christianity, it has brutalised it, subjugated its institutions. No one so glorified and blessed the war from its beginning as the Russian priests, the German pastors, the French curés.

How to find the way to humanitarianism? It passes only through the ruins of capitalist society, and it leads towards Socialism. One can only arrive at Socialism—or as Marx and Engels called it, Communism—through the struggle of the classes, which will force the workmen to take up arms for their defense, when capitalism arms itself with violence against the liberative insurrections of Labour. The working class detests all violence; if it is consciously Socialist, it desires to avoid violence as much as possible. But if its liberation, of Socialism, if world peace, if humanitarianism, are threatened with violence and cannot be realised because of the violent resistance of a tyrannical ruling class, if such a class desires to condemn the workers to everlasting misery and subjection in order to bask alone in the sun, then it becomes the moral and humanitarian duty of the working class to find a way out to a brotherly Socialist society, where all violence will have ceased to exist—even though such a way shall have to be opened by means of defensive violence, by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The most intelligent humanitarians understand this: we have heard already some great admirers of the Swedish humanitarian apostle Lindhagen proclaim the necessity of an "armed humanitarianism" in the struggle against armed capitalism, there being no other way of conquering capitalism and its servant, militarism.

Humanitarianism is the liberty of souls, the sacred blossom of humanity.

It cannot otherwise be realised than by the abolition of capitalism, by the complete victory of Socialism. But Socialism can only be the fruit of an enthusiastic and

victorious liberative struggle of the working classes, the fruit of a revolution which, far from being stopped by the armed violence of capitalism, will be able to break it, when necessary.

The Socialists of the left, the Marxist Communists, are consequently the real humanitarians.

### IDEALISM.

One often hears the Left Socialists, the revolutionary Socialists, and especially the Bolsheviks, accused of being materialists, class egoists, ambitious usurpers; while the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Right Socialists, the Socialist-Anarchists are generally real holy idealists, fighting for the most sublime ideals of humanity.

Let us take, for example, the Russian and Hungarian Bolsheviks; say Lenin and Bela Kun! Are they not idealists? For what are they struggling?

They are struggling for a social order in which a minority will not be able any longer to rob, exploit, oppress the majority; for a society in which Labour, not money, will reign, in which liberty will not be an illusion, democracy not an empty word, wars will become impossible, and every one will enjoy the same rights to intellectual culture.

Is not that a grand ideal? The struggle that these valiant men are carrying on, a struggle unprecedented in history, against the omnipotence of Money, for Man; is it not a struggle for culture, a struggle inspired by the greatest idealism? Have not these valiant ones and their companions in arms given up their days and nights to their work, have they not suffered imprisonment, exile in the tundras of Siberia, have they not been faithful to their idea? Is not this idealism?

See the Russian Bolsheviks, who have sacrificed everything during two years, given up their lives in the gigantic struggle against a world of enemies, for their work, their liberty, their Social Revolution! Can one think that such a struggle and the martyrdom of hunger would be possible if they were not inspired by a burning faith, a grand idealist enthusiasm?

Are the efforts of an employer against his workmen trying to obtain more profits by them, more dividends, a sign of idealism? And the intrigues of the Liberals, of parliamentarism, are they not beautiful and idealistic? Is the fervent admiration of the Right Socialists for Entente capitalism and for the White Guard of Noske the expression of an idealism without reproach? Is bourgeois democracy more idealist than the dictatorship of the proletariat? Bourgeois democracy, Imperialism, the domination of the governing class have brought on the world war, first, and the peace of violence afterwards. A magnificent ideal, is it not?

The super-humanitarians also denounce the lack of idealism of the Bolsheviks. But where is their own idealism? It is mostly verbal. That is not difficult. There

are ladies who show their anti-Bolshevism in the wide-bordered hats of idealism, but one can see false hair underneath. One is inclined to remember what Ibsen and Strindberg said of such as they.

It is said that the revolutionary Socialists, the Bolsheviks, are isolated, that the civilised world is against them, because some mediocre poet or half crazy scholar has crushed them with his imprecations. But you will always find the *great* names of culture arise in their defense.

Gorky and Lounatcharsky in Russia, Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Henri Barbusse in France; Bernard Shaw in England, Martin-Andersen Nexø in Denmark, etc. These names tell you to whom the princes of European culture have given their sympathies.

The judgments of history are often very different from those of contemporaries. Engelbrekt, who called the Swedish peasants to revolt, was looked upon by the governments of the time as a rebel and a usurper, deserving the halter or the axe. History has revised this judgment and given him a place in the Pantheon of Swedish heroes; she sees in him the champion of the liberating idealism of the Swedish peasants. And history is doing the same in respect to the judgment pronounced against Nils Dacke, the great adversary of Gustavus Vasa.

For a long time the names of the men playing a foremost part in the French Revolution were written down in the manuals of history as those of usurpers and bloody evildoers. Poets have since sung their praises through decades of years; statues have been placed in their honour, streets have been named after them in both worlds. That is how history revises its judgments.

And history will also modify the judgment of our "holy" idealists in respect to Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Trotzky, Bela Kun, Levine, etc.

Certainly, if one wishes to judge freely and frankly, if one wishes to disengage one's self from the mists and miasme of organised falsehood, if one desires to see the motive springs and the aims of the heroic struggle of the Bolsheviks, if one understands that it is a duel to death between Capital and Labour, between illusory and real democracy, no one can refuse to call the Bolsheviks idealists.

I should say even that they are the only true idealists, because during many years they have sacrificed riches, brilliant careers, even liberty, to the revolution; and because at present they are the only men ready to give up their lives for the cause of liberty and Socialism, for the grand and beautiful cause of humanity.

Ingratitude, calumny, dirt, endless lies are their lot to-day.

To-day!

But in the history of the future, the liberated working class will erect statues to them more indestructible than bronze, and crown their memory with the fresh and green garland of an everlasting spring.





## Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin

By Maxim Gorky

**A**LTHOUGH a believer in the theory that the importance of individuals in the process of development of civilisation is negligible, V. I. Lenin is in my opinion a source of energy, without whose influence the Russian Revolution could not have acquired the form which it has taken. I once compared him, conditionally, to Peter the Great; this comparison excited laughter, and was found to be exaggerated. But it was only conditional. For me personally Lenin's rôle as social reformer of Russia is much less than his importance as world revolutionist. He is not only a man on whose will history has laid the terrible task of breaking up the motley, uncouth, lazy human anthill called Russia—but his will is an untiring battering-ram whose blows are powerfully shattering the monumental strongholds of the capitalist States of the West, and the thousand-year-old, age-incrusted lumps, the hideous slavish despotisms of the East.

I continue to think, as I did two years ago, that for Lenin Russia is only material for an experiment, begun on a universal, planetary scale. Formerly this idea, overshadowed by a feeling of pity towards the Russian people, revolted me; but observing how the course of events of the Russian Revolution, growing ever broader and deeper, is arousing and organising forces which will be capable of destroying the foundations of the capitalist order, I find now that even if Russia is fated to be the object of an experiment, it is unjust to lay the whole responsibility for this on one man, who is trying to turn the potential energy of the Russian working mass into a kinetic, actual force.

Every one receives what he deserves — that is fair. A nation, decaying in the suffocating atmosphere of monarchy, inactive and without a firm will, devoid of selfconfidence not sufficiently „bourgeois“ to be strong in resistance, and not sufficiently strong to kill in itself the beggarly but tenacious inclination to bourgeois prosperity — such a nation, according to the

logic of its uninspiring history, must evidently pass through all the dramas and tragedies which are the fate of passive creatures living in an epoch of a brutal struggle of the classes, whose most heinous expression was such a bloody abomination as the war of 1914 — 1918.

Certainly I do not intend to compose a defense or justification of V. Lenin; I am in no need of it nor is he.

But I know him a little, and when „objectively thinking people“ accuse him of being the instigator of cruel civil war, terror and other crimes, I always remember Mr. Lloyd George who, in the years 1913 and 1914 made amiable friendly speeches in praise of the German people, while seeing off an excursion of English school-teachers departing for Germany and welcoming to England some German teachers; and at the same time was sharpening the bayonets and filling the shells which were destined to tear the Germans to pieces. All these „great men“—the best, most shameless cynic Clemenceau, the „naïve democrat-romanticist“ Woodrow Wilson, the Socialists voting credits for the organization of the European slaughter, the men of science, inventors of suffocating gases and other horrors, the poets who cursed the Germans in 1914, and the English in 1918 — it is all this rot and rust of the decaying old society, it is just this that with its base hand dealt a deep, perhaps even mortal, blow to European civilization, and is now continuing to torture Russia's body, acquiescing in the continuation of the civil war, strangling her by blockades, killing small children with hunger and cold.

Mistakes are not crimes. Lenin's mistakes are those of an honest man, and there never was a reformer in the world who was free of them. Such men as Lloyd George, Clemenceau & Co. are never mistaken, they act as real criminals do, as professional murderers, condemning a whole nation to the torments of cold

and hunger and consenting to the continuation of the civil war, a completely senseless one, because besides the „Bolsheviki“ there are no forces in Russia capable of taking the power into their hands and arousing the energy of the tortured country, necessary for productive work.

Returning to V. I. Lenin, I must say that my personal sympathy plays no part at the moment that I am writing this. I am examining him as an object, subject to my observation together with other people and circumstances, which cannot but interest me as a writer and recorder of the ways of life in my country.

See this man making a speech at a meeting of workers—he speaks in wonderfully simple words, a language of iron, with the logic of a sledge hammer, but in his harsh words I never heard either rude demagoguery, or the commonplace foppishness of pretty phrases. He speaks of one thing always, the necessity of radically exterminating inequality among men, and the means thereto. This ancient truth sounds harshly, implacably from his lips, but one feels that he believes in it immovably, and one feels also how calm is his faith—the faith of a fanatic, a learned fanatic, not a metaphysician or a mystic. It seems to me that he is almost uninterested in individuals, human beings; he thinks only of parties, masses, States, and on this subject he has the gift of foresight, the supernatural intuition of a thinker-experimenter. He possesses the happy clearness of mind which is acquired only by tense continuous work. A Frenchman once asked me: „Does it not seem to you that Lenin is a guillotine that thinks“?

I should compare the work of his mind with the strokes of a sledge hammer which, possessing the power of sight is powerfully shattering what ought to have been annihilated long ago.

To the petty bourgeoisie of all countries Lenin must appear like Atilla come to destroy the Rome of bourgeois prosperity and comfort, based on slavery, blood and depredation. And as ancient Rome deserved its ruin, thus also do the crimes of our modern world justify the necessity of demolishing it. This is an historical necessity, and no one, nothing can remove it.

Plaintive speeches are made about the value of European civilisation, the necessity of guarding it against the onslaught of the new Huns; such speeches are sincere and give meaning only in the mouth of a revolutionist, but spoken by the organisers of the shameful slaughter of 1914—1918 and their accomplices, they are a hideous lie.

The process of development of civilisation—if by these words one understands the further progress of art, science, technique, and the humanising of mankind accompanying them and aroused by them—this process will certainly not be delayed by the new conditions, in which not tens of thousands but the many-millioned masses, will participate actively in the work of civilisation.

Sometimes a bold flight of imagination, which is necessary for a writer, puts the question before me:

„How does Lenin see the new world“?

And before my eyes unrolls a glorious picture of the earth, exquisitely cut like a gigantic emerald by the labour of free humanity. All men are reasonable, and to each of them is inherent the feeling of personal responsibility for all that has been created by him and all around him. Everywhere one sees cities—gardens—the receptacles of splendid constructions; the forces of nature, subjugated and organised by the power of man's mind, are all working for him; and he himself, at last, is the real ruler of the elements. His physical energy is no more wasted on rude hard labour; it has been transformed into moral power, and its whole might is directed toward the exploration of the fundamental questions of life, over the solution of which the mind of man, torn and shaken by the necessary effort towards the explanation and justification of the events of the social struggle, which is still tormenting the mind by its inevitable dramatic necessity of having to recognise two irreconcilable principles, has been unsuccessfully working for ages.

Ennobled technically, rendered reasonable socially, labour has really become the delight of mankind. Man's intellect,—the most precious element in the world—has become free at last, and the mind is really without fear.

Fearlessness of mind and an acute quicksightedness in the domain of politics, such are the fundamental qualities of Lenin's nature. The world has never before heard the language in which the diplomacy inspired by him speaks. Although it is a language which tortures the delicate ears of diplomats in frock coats and evening dress, it is a rudely true language. And truth will remain rude until the time comes when we men will have made it beautiful like our music, which is one of the good truths created by us.

I do not think that I have ascribed to Lenin dreams which are foreign to him, I do not think

that I am romancing about this man; I cannot imagine him without this beautiful dream of the future happiness of all mankind, of a bright joyous life. The greater the man, the bolder his imagination.

Lenin is more human than any one else of my contemporaries, and although his mind is certainly occupied chiefly by considerations of politics which a romanticist would call narrowly practical, still I am sure that in his rare moments of leisure that fighter-mind of his is carried away into a beautiful future, where it sees much more than I could ever imagine. The chief aim of Lenin's whole life is the good of all mankind, and he must inevitably foresee in the distance of coming ages the end of that grand process whose beginning his whole will is ascetically and courageously serving.

His personal life is such that at the epoch of religious tendencies Lenin would have been considered a saint. I know this will madden the bourgeoisie, many a comrade will smile, and Lenin himself will laugh merrily. A saint—that is really a paradoxical and ridiculous word to apply to a man to whom „nothing is sacred“, as the ancient „God-man“, the former revolutionist N. Tchaikovsky said of him; a saint Lenin whom the highly educated and cultured leader of the English Conservatives Mr. Churchill considers „the most cruel and repulsive of men“!

But the honourable Lord will not deny that the sanctity recognised by the Church seldom excluded cruelty and ferociousness, as is proven by the bloody conflicts of the Fathers of the Church at the Ecumenical Councils, the Inquisition and many other horrors. On the other hand the domain of social activity has at all times created a great many more really sainted men, if under sanctity we understand fearless, disinterested service in the interests of the people, freedom, truth. A hard realist, a crafty politician, Lenin is gradually becoming a legendary personality. That is good.

From the remotest villages in India, over hundreds of versts of mountains and forests at the risk of their lives, the Hindus, crushed by the century-old yoke of the English come to the Russian mission at Kabul and ask: „What is Lenin?“ And at the other end of the earth the Norwegian workers say to a neutral Russian: „Here, Lenin is the most honest fellow; there never was such a one on earth“.

I say, that is good. Most people must believe in a thing in order to begin to act. It is too long to wait until they begin to think and understand, while the evil genius of capitalism

continues to crush them in misery, alcoholism and inanition.

It seems to me necessary to mention that the feeling of friendship is not foreign to Lenin, and that in general he is very human. It is rather awkward and ridiculous to speak of this, but the bourgeoisie of all the world is frightened, and Mr. Churchill, glancing towards the East becomes cruelly and painfully irritated. Out of pure good nature, I deem it my duty to calm the frightened, irritated and other enemies of the leaders of „Bolshevism“.

It happens that Lenin often overestimates the good qualities of people in their favour and to the detriment of the cause. But almost always his negative estimations—which seem sometimes unfounded—are confirmed by the men whom he has thus estimated even before he had seen the result of their works. This may be evidence of the fact that he feels the bad qualities of men better than their good ones, and also that everywhere and in general there are more good-for-nothing men than useful ones. Sometimes this hard politician shows sparks of almost womanly tenderness, and I am certain that the régime of terror cost him unbearable, although very skilfully concealed sufferings. It is incredible and inadmissible that men condemned by history to such irreconcilable inconsistencies—to kill some in order to insure the freedom of others—should not experience tortures which wear out their hearts. I know several pairs of eyes in which such burning torment is engraved for ever, for all their life. All murder is organically repulsive to me, but such men are martyrs' and my conscience will never allow me to condemn them.

I notice that in speaking of Lenin one involuntarily wishes to speak of everything; but it cannot be otherwise, when one speaks of a man standing in the centre and over all.

Naturally there is much more to be said of him personally than has been said here. But the modesty of this man, who is absolutely devoid of ambition, prevents me; I know that the little that has been said here will seem to him superfluous, exaggerated and ridiculous. Well, let him laugh, he does it well; but I hope that many people will read these lines not without advantage to themselves.

The subject of this paper is a man who had the fearlessness to begin the process of a European Social Revolution in a country where 85% of the peasants want to be well-fed bourgeois—nothing more. Many consider such fearlessness madness.



I began my work as inciter of the revolutionary spirit by glorifying the madness of the brave. There was a moment when a natural feeling of compassion for the people of Russia compelled me to think such madness almost a crime. But now, when I see that these people know much

better how to suffer patiently than to work honestly and conscientiously — then I again sing my hymn in praise of the madness of the brave. Of these Vladimir Lenin is the first and the maddest.





## Letter of the Cadet Peter Struve to the Koltchak Minister Ivan Mikhailov

Dear Ivan Adrianovitch;

I take advantage of an opportunity to write to you about the situation here.

It is extremely important for you to know the „correlation of forces“ here, and what people think of Russia and Russian problems. First of all, there is one view which the Russians did not grasp sufficiently or at all before. We looked upon the destruction of the Russian empire as a great calamity, parallel to the Russian revolution, but it was not its essence to our eyes. On the contrary it was the disappointing element, disarming the Revolution in our mind. The Germans, on the contrary, saw in the dissolution of Russia from the very start the essence of the Revolution, and felt very satisfied. This explains the support the Germans gave and went on giving, until they were crushed, to the refugees from Ukraina, etc. At the present time this German view of the Russian problem is consciously or unconsciously taken up by a considerable part of the Allies, and this constitutes the chief difficulty and the danger of Russia's position. The danger is not in Bolshevism which is in itself a weak movement of no duration. The danger is that Bolshevism as an acquisition of the revolution has paved the way to the dismemberment of Russia, and this might prove permanent and will require many efforts and sacrifices to be dealt with. We ought to be well aware of that to understand things here. We may go the same way as the Allies as long as they do not take the German, the Brest-Litovsk point of view, even in its most democratic variations, But in the contrary case our ways must part, and the dismemberment of Russia by the Allies ought to meet with the strongest opposition on our part. This opposition, however, does not imply a change of „orientation“, which would be directly fatal just now. We must remain in the Allied orbit, and yet struggle against the dismemberment of Russia in theory and in practice very much afloat now under the popular flag of the struggle with „Tsardom“. There is no stable anti-German equipoise in Europe possible without Russia, and without a strong Russia, well-knit as a State and contented, there will be the Bolshevik danger hanging

over the old Europe. These are the main points we must oppose to the Allies.

I pass now to the attitude of the allied countries in regard to Russian problems. The nearest to the „Brest-Litovsk“ point of view as far as I can judge, is France; being the weakest of the powers, deprived of a possibility of having a definite policy in home or in foreign affairs excepting the question of the conditions of peace with Germany—I will speak of that further on. The centre of gravity for all Russian questions is now quite obviously England, and Paris is only the formal centre just because the Peace Conference is sitting there. The English deal on the whole in a more solid and businesslike way with Russian matters. They are much stronger than the French in all respects not only because they have suffered less from the war, but in account of other deeper reasons. Although the proletariat is more numerous in England and makes very serious demands, sometimes such as could not be complied with, although it has grown decidedly Socialistic as compared to what the working class used to be, nevertheless all its demands and its struggles are purely economic. It is all pure business. The French worker, on the contrary, and the great majority of the Socialists look upon the struggle against capitalism, etc., as a purely political struggle. They want the proletariat to take hold of the power and to set up its dictatorship. This used to be simply Socialistic phraseology, political metaphysics of Marxism. Now, after the Russian experience, the devastating effects of which are partly unknown, partly intentionally ignored, this metaphysics is transformed into tempting experimental reality. One learned French historian told me he was convinced that France is moving towards civil war. The French Socialists are at any rate preparing it in their minds and feelings perhaps even in the same way as the Bolsheviks prepared it in Russia. I am certain that a revolutionary outbreak would be but of a short duration, that it would be stifled and followed by reaction. We must already now count with such a state of things in France, and in the example of France with the European reaction which, I must say, will change the situation in Russia and greatly

simplicity, it, particularly in the relations with the western tendencies. The peace proposed a few days ago to Germany by the Allies will be refused in substance by Germany. I even doubt whether it will be formally signed, but even if so this signature will not change the substance of matters. The world is still very far from a conclusion of peace, and this reflects the most harmfully on France. We have to take this into account, as we are possibly facing long years of such a state, which as long as the European continent will not be seized by the flames of civil war, will be neither war nor peace but a new form of „armament“ and „disarmament“, and at the same time of a struggle of the defeated against the victors.

I pass now to some special questions. The victorious powers have recognised the independence of Finland. I foresaw this to be inevitable and strongly recommended therefore to begin ourselves with the recognition of the independence of Finland and to induce thereby the Allies to establish in their own and in our interests military-strategic guarantees of the new situation created by the recognition and the existence of Finland as an independent state. The starting point, the independence of Finland, is now created without us and in spite of us, and this certainly weakens our international position. Our diplomacy must reconsider its attitude in regard to this question. Finland is not to be put on the same line as all the other parts of Russia which are also claiming independence, and could not possibly rank equally with Finland. I was the whole time insisting here that just because the Allies are continually „flirting“ with the small nationalities, and these nationalities are continually claiming independence, we must draw a definite demarcation between them and Finland. Great mistakes have been made in this respect, and they reflect on the problems of the Petrograd operations. I don't write about it, this being a settled question and it is no use talking about it in a letter.

There is one question more I must mention. I think the Omsk government ought not to have opposed at this time the presence of Avksentiev in the Political Council. Just now this question has lost the importance it had

at one time, when the military success of the army of the Supreme Regent was not so clearly marked but even now (i. e. on May 10) I consider that for the Omsk Government as a government, and for the Russian cause in general the inclusion of Avksentiev in the Political Council might have been useful. It would have also strengthened his position here in regard to the Allied governments and the public opinion of the circles Clemenceau and Lloyd George, not to speak of Wilson, must count very much with. Just now not only Avksentiev is here but also Kerensky who lives generally in London; but whereas Avksentiev was and remains acceptable for the Political Council, Kerensky is out of question. I must tell you personally that the „left“ circles here, and most certainly Avksentiev also with his friends, are incensed chiefly against you of all the Omsk people. But this has certainly no importance, and offers only a psychological interest.

And now I am putting a personal question. I think that all Russians ought now to be in Russia, and if I personally can be of use to your government, I am ready to come immediately. I am longing with all my soul to be in Russia.

The chief question is, of course, the recognition of the Koltchak government and a material support to Omsk, Ekaterinodar and Judenitch. The successes of the army of the Supreme government wing us all.

Communicate this letter to Admiral Koltchak, Soukin and all to whom it might be useful to know its contents. Nothing is to be published from it. All I wanted to be published I have said a short time ago in a wire to Oustrugov.

My best greetings to all of you, to begin with the Supreme Regent and down to the rank and file of the workers for the renaissance and the union of Russia. I shake hands with you and beg you to give my regards to all personal friends and acquaintances.

Yours, Peter Struve.

Paris, 10 May n. s. 1919.

NOTE. Mikhailov, son of a landowner, member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, took part in the November coup d'état in Siberia, installing the dictatorship of Koltchak. The name of Mikhailov is met with in nearly delete all the black deeds of the Siberian Koltchak Socialist-Revolutionary counter-revolution.

## Communism and the Stage

By Henrietta Roland-Holst

AS little as capitalist society could be reshaped into a society where generous, universally developed individuals would live in common a life of brotherly harmony, so little, under capitalism, could the stage be made a consecrated place, where each one separately would refine the noblest part of the common soul unified in the ideal form of art. The characteristics of the stage reflect in each period the characteristics of society, and whoever wants to „purify“ and „elevate“ the modern stage without renewing the soil which nourishes it—society—proceeds like a physician who would try to give blooming locks, glossy hair and sparkling eyes to a man with impure blood, without beforehand renewing the juices of his body. He would have to use all sorts of artificial means to achieve his foolish ends, and they would at best produce as if by magic a short delusive appearance of health but no the real thing.

And just so all reforms of the stage in capitalist society are doomed to be purely delusive. The reformed stage seeks to express live values which society does not possess, and—speaking objectively—it must necessarily be more of a lie than the „unreformed“ stage, which manifests quite openly its aim of exciting sensuality, and deadening the feeling of the emptiness of life.

All who, in the last fifty years, moved by idealistic aspirations and a praiseworthy ambition, have tried to renovate the stage and make it a temple where men coming out of the bustle and the incessant activities of life would be born anew to a life of deep and noble quietness—all these became without exception victims of their illusions. A long unbroken line of gifted, energetic personalities with the highest aspirations—beginning with Wagner and up to the stage reformers of our days—have seen the gold of their ideals turn to tinsel between their fingers, just because they did not sufficiently grasp the substance of capitalism

and were not aware of the inner connection between spiritual life and social conditions. Success brought them more disappointment than failure, considering that to achieve success meant to give up all they had dreamed of as the highest achievement. Their halls were filled, not because the audiences wanted to be newborn in the high serenity of a work of art, but because it was the fashion to go there. And instead of being sanctified by an elevated spirituality the artists were hoping for, the atmosphere was sullied by the disgusting rotten breath of snobbishness penetrating everywhere and soiling everything.

People say money can do anything. It brings those who possess it all the treasures of the earth and all power over men.

This is quite true, but it is true as well that money can do nothing and has no power whatever. Money cannot light the tiniest spark of love, and not the smallest star of beauty shines through it. It cannot produce a single true emotion, a single noble action. The wonderful creative forces which support and enrich the world manifest themselves outside the barren sphere where money reigns. Money can only buy substitutes of these forces, not the forces themselves—only false love, false devotion, false beauty, false pathos.

The stage is a part, a fixed institution of capitalist society, just as the banks and the stock exchange, church and school, stores and brothels. Whoever wants to work for the reform of the stage must enter the sphere of capitalism, and the more he is supported by capitalism the more he can do within the bounds where money is powerful. He will have the means to build spacious, richly decorated halls. He will have at his disposal the industry, the talent, the taste and the intellectual force of all those who work for capitalism: the composer and the poet, the singer and the comedian, the musicians, the dancers, the producers and the stage pain-

ters. All this can be bought for money. But the purified and still emotion which assembles the elements of words and music, of dance and gestures, mimic and plastic, and transforms it all into a picture expressing the highest and the noblest in the human spirit all this money cannot buy. Nor can money buy the deep intensity of an audience feeling its soul become one with the highest revelations of the common soul, and shuddering at the sensation of it.

All the money in the world cannot inspire one single line of poetry. How could capitalism find the force to create tragedy, the highest form of art, born only at a moment when the human community feels its unity so deeply, and the individual becomes so proudly and yet so humbly aware of his strength and of the limits of the community, that the creative genius finds all elements of tragedy already linked and disposed in inner harmony before he begins to shape this understanding and this recognition into a transfigured picture of life!

The remoulding of the stage could come only from within, as the working of social ideal forces. No money, talent or energy could resuscitate tragedy from death—a new feeling must arise to do the miracle, a new feeling of unity among mankind, a new recognition of the earnestness and the sanctity of life. Such a feeling and such a recognition come now over the whole world in the social religious ideals of the proletariat struggling for united humanity on the basis of Communism.

Socialism already for several decades has been a luminous flame above the heads of the workers, clearing their minds and warming their hearts. But only just now has come the time when this ideal, expressed in Communism, begins to determine the actions of the proletariat. And the more it determines these actions, the more it will fill the workers' consciousness. It is only what we do that fills our minds. Under the rule of capitalism the working class absolutely depends on its masters, not only economically and socially, but also spiritually; and to shake off this dependency the proletariat must proceed by means of a revolutionary struggle to create new social surroundings. And as to the creation of really new values of life, the working class can do that only in the time of Social Revolution.

Up to a short time ago the proletariat was more imprisoned within the walls of the bourgeois world in the domain of art than in any other. The proletariat had no art of its own,

it had not found its own way of expressing its own life. It did not possess a taste of its own but lived in regard to art from odds and ends of the bourgeoisie. It looked with the eyes of the bourgeois class, listened with its ears and heard usually only the most obvious of what was to be heard, saw only the crudest of what was to be seen.

The Labour movement was trying before the war to educate the organized workers in art, as it educated them in politics and economics. As a result there were People's Theatres started in several countries. They did not create a proletarian art, but they taught the more advanced workers to appreciate the better sort of bourgeois art, in preference to the less valuable substitutes which constituted for so long their only spiritual food—just as the consumers' cooperatives substituted better unadulterated foodstuffs for the horrible falsified goods the proletariat had been living upon. But just as the consumers' cooperatives were not an effective means of substituting Communist for private housekeeping, so no proletarian Communist art arose from the People's Theatres. The proletariat passively took up some elements of bourgeois spiritual culture, in preference naturally those echoing the great struggle of the bourgeoisie against autocracy. These elements attracted the proletariat more than anything else. The general tendency of the People's Theatres, as of most proletarian educational institutions having any other object than to instruct the proletariat in Marxist economics and in historic determinism, was actually to increase the spiritual dependence of the working class on the bourgeoisie. They were unable to do anything else. The struggle for Communism did rapidly and definitely away with this dependency, and is now affording at last the necessary conditions for the birth of a proletarian art and the renewal of the drama.

Communism is a general humanitarian ideal, the ideal of the union of all the human kind. As such an ideal Communism is the base of a cult of humankind, the symbol of a general striving for joy and happiness, the acknowledgment of love as a force humanity lives by. But Communism is also a struggle, a hard relentless struggle against the powers adverse to the uniting of men: against the bourgeoisie, and all those whose eyes are still blinded by bourgeois ideology. Before the union of all humanity is realized, hate blazes up once more in all its bitterness. Hate dividing man from man, class from class, like the frost, which is bitterest just before the rising sun warms the ground

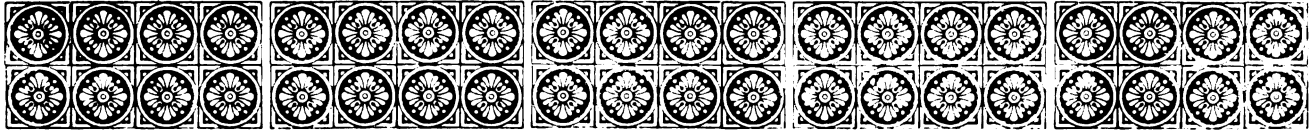
The proletariat cannot get away from this contrast between object and means, between the substance of Communism as an ideal and its form, being that of struggle—between its character as ecclesia triumphans and as ecclesia militans. This contrast is inherent in the working class. It was there from the beginning, but the breaking out of the Revolution kindled it to a burning flame, and it will not be quenched until the Revolution has accomplished its triumphal round all through the world. Does this mean that the suffering and struggling masses have to wait for the beauty ardently longed for until the whole long way is ended? Does it mean that the proletariat must remain dumb all the while, and be deprived of the joy to shape its mighty aspirations into an ideal harmony?

Not at all. It only means that the art of struggling Communism will shape into ideal forms not the universal still-unborn harmony, but this inner, genuinely tragic contrast, and the grandeur of the image will raise the masses over all the disgrace and torment, the pain and the humiliation of their daily experience. The revolutionary struggle purifies the proletariat from cowardice and egoism, from petty bourgeois narrowness and all inconsistency, by the limitless sacrifices it requires; the endless aspirations it awakens, by the high flood of love and hate it makes overflow the world; and this struggle will also awaken in the proletariat a desire for a purification of pain and passion by beauty. The maker of the new day on earth will long

to be carried away and above the deeds he achieves. He will long to quiet his heart, burning with love and hate, to calm the pain tearing and tormenting him, by the transfigured representation of his force and his achievements. He will long to feel anew the fantastic wild grandeurs of these torments, clarified by the breathing of beauty, and to participate through his emotion in the noblest manifestation of the common soul, to melt into one with the image, the idea of World Proletariat. The social tension and the spiritual rising, the conscience of unlimited force in men, and of the sanctity of life, the longing for purification through beauty, such are the forces which will renew the stage in the epoch of the Proletarian Revolution.

The development of these forces requires as an absolute necessity the victory of the Revolution. This alone can guarantee independence of the mind and leisure; this alone can put at the disposal of the working class the material means necessary for revival of the stage. That is why such a renewal begins where Communism has won its first victories. The burning enthusiasm for the theatre on the part of the workers in Soviet Russia, their active work as authors, artists and producers, announces the coming revival. It will be achieved by the collaboration of the masses with the superior minds, with the great architects, the dramatic and the creative minds, as well as by the Communistic union which originates in the joint creation of the masses and the artists.





## „Free Switzerland“

### General Orders for the Safety of Troops

Wherever armed resistance is being offered to the troops, the corresponding town or locality is considered to be in a state of riot. Thereupon every commander of the troops must disperse any, even the smallest, public gathering, arrest all those suspected of inciting to resistance or riot, and close the printing hoses and meeting places serving such purposes.

All the telephone stations must be occupied by the military, and the use of the telephone by private persons suspended. Post of observation are to be arranged for in belfries and other elevated points.

If the rioters start throwing stones, the infantry must fire without further delay, and the cavalry must charge the rioters at the sharpest trot.

If the rioters begin to fire, the infantry and the cavalry must make a *lavish use* of machine guns and cannons, which are to be carried or pushed, separately or in twos, in front of the troops. Guns, bayonets and sabres must be used only where guns or cannons are of no avail.

When machine-guns are set up in the streets, the infantry is to occupy all the adjoining houses.

Rioters and leaders of the rioters making themselves busy in the back of the crowd, are to be shot one by one by good snipers from the upperfloors of the houses in the neighbourhood.

In the case of street fighting it is very important to get possession of the upper stories and sometimes even of the roofs.

If a town is in a state of riot before the arrival of the military, the whole action of the troops is to be carefully prepared before their entering the gates. The town ought to be occupied and cleaned out by sectors. A useful way of attacking each sector is to make the troops advance from different sides in concentrated masses and in due time, keeping a constant communication between the advancing columns.

Scouts in civilian clothing, with no guidons, marching in advance of the troops, might be of very good service. Scouts in uniform ought not to be posted among the armed forces. The best way is to make scouts and heads of columns march on

the sidewalks one by one, on opposite sides of the street. The artillery passing in columns must always be escorted by infantry from both sides. The artillery is further to be provided with machine guns. As few horses are to be taken as possible (artillery with reduced number of cars, officers on foot). Each column ought to be covered by a rear guard.

Against revolutionersts firing from within the houses (windows, cellar-holes) the troops have to use *machine guns and hand-grenades*—but the latter only in case expert grenadiers are available. But hand-grenades must never be thrown at the windows unless there is absolute certainty that there has been firing from within.

In case of strong revolutionary forces occupying houses of a particularly solid architecture the troops must make use of artillery, machine guns being of no avail.

Against barricades the use of Brisanz grenades is to be recommended.

*Mountain howitzers* are of good use for firing at the upper stories.

*Handgrenades* are useful to defend a house, to have the front of a house clear from attacks.

It may be recommended to open beforehand all the windows of a house to be **defended from within**, in order that the enemy should not know out of which window comes the firing of the hand-grenades. Machine-gun fire meant to take the enemy by surprise may be opened *with the windows shut*.

To prevent resistance in streets where there is much excitement the best way is to drive up and down the streets on *motorcars* provided with *machine guns*.

Troops going out for a fight in the streets ought to be provided with tools and wires for the clearing out of barricades, the breaking in of doors, and the quickest possible blocking up of streets and bridges.

The troopers must be provided with *bayonets* in order to be able, if necessary, to do their duty on foot at night time.

SCHUEER,

Confederal Military Department.





## CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

### To the Executive Committee of the Third International

*Dear Comrades*—You know from the article of "Spartacus" in No. 10 of The Communist International about the tactical divergencies in the Central Committee of the German Communist Party during "Kapp Week." Considering the importance these divergencies have for a certain period of the proletarian revolution in every country, I should like to give you a short account of how the differences arose. It is quite true that the organisational weakness of the Party in Berlin was one of the reasons why the Central Committee in a leaflet issued on May 13—refused to participate in the general strike proclaimed by the Trade Unions and the Noske government. But only a few comrades of the Central Committee were present when the leaflet was discussed. In spite of the weakness of our party in middle Germany and at Erfurt, our comrades immediately and without any hesitation issued the watchwords: "General Strike, Arming of the Proletariat and Election of Workers' Councils," as leaders of the fight. Already on March 14th the members of the Central Committee, whose advice in the beginning was, to wait, saw that they had been wrong, and in a second leaflet they urged participation in the strike, intensifying it and the election of Workers' Councils. But it cannot be denied that the primary false attitude did much harm to these comrades during the whole Kapp affair. This was particularly evident when, at the end of the first week of the strike, the Federation of Trade Unions (Legien & Co.) and the Berlin Committee of the trade unions (under the leadership of the Independents), proposed to call off the strike. The treason of the Trade Union leaders came just at the moment when the Ruhr workers had achieved great military successes, but were suffering from food shortage in the rear and at the "front." The thing to do was to handicap the gathering White Guards by continuing the strike in Berlin and resuming it in the provinces (Southern Germany, Saxony and the ports of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen); and this could have been achieved by means of the strike itself without any armed encounters.

In the central strike committee, part of which was composed of the representatives of the Independent Social Democrats, the Communist Party and the Communist Labour Party, some of the comrades began violent polemics against the left wing of the Independents, because of its opposition to the right wing entering into the "pure Socialist" cabinet. The comrades declared, 1. that it was impossible to go on with the strike; 2. that the strike had already altered the relations of Labour and Industry so far as to make a bourgeois-Socialist coalition government utterly impossible, an All-Socialist government being the only adequate expression of the new balance of forces; 3, that the realisation of an All-Socialist government depended only on the left wings of the I. S. P. retracting its opposition to the entrance of the right wing into the cabinet. The Central Committee of the Communist Party should therefore use its

influence with the Independents in making "a declaration of loyalty." All the three points asserted were absolutely false.

1. To continue the strike in Berlin and to resume it in the provinces was possible. And they did continue it in Berlin until the Central Committee of the Independents had come in their way. Then only the so called Berlin Worker's Council (general assembly of the revolutionary District councils, indirectly elected in the industrial groups and assemblies of the District Councils, decided by a small majority to stop the strike. In the provinces people were ready in some districts—so couriers have informed us—to renew the strike for the benefit of the Ruhr workers. Most of districts had been on strike only two or three days up to that time, and were not yet defeated. At Erfurt the strike went on (on the whole a fortnight) in spite of military defeat.

2. It was just because of the breaking off of the strike that the balance of the forces remained still unfavourable to labour. The arming of the workers had been achieved only in a few widely separated districts. In Bavaria the Kapp reaction (Kahr Ministry) obtained a complete victory. In the whole of Southern Germany and East Prussia the counter revolution was gathering forces. The Socialists of the right and the Trade Unions did not want to give up the coalition with the bourgeoisie; they meant only to mask it by substituting Labour representatives (Christians, the Hirsch-Dunckerites) for the former Ministers. The "Pure Workers' Government" was in reality the continuation of the bourgeois-Socialist coalition. But the base was lacking for even such a change, and the more so because "Pure Socialist Government" would have to arm the workers, which would mean a break by the Socialists of the right with the coalition idea. Simply to discuss the question of government meant on the part of the Communist Party, to divert the working class from its chief duty, that of going on with the struggle. The Independents in the Central Strike Committee declared at the beginning of the second week of the strike, that they would wait for the negotiations of the Central Committee of the Independent Party with the Trade Unions about the formation of the government, before they would decide on the question of intensifying the strike and the proposals of Meyer.

3. The exposition of point 2 constitutes in itself a denial of the Central Committee's position that the opposition of the left of the Independents had been the chief obstacle to the constitution of a "Pure Socialist" government. Whereas the right wing of the Independents wanted to save the unity of the Independent Party by giving way to the left wing, our comrades prevented a scission of the Independent Party by advising the left wing to submit to the parliamentary-democratic conceptions of the right wing. They expected that the right wing of the Independents would be compromised in the cabinet, and that this would lead to a scission in the



YOUTHFUL PORTRAIT OF KARL LIEBKNECHT



Independent Party. But in their expectation they overlooked the fact that the right wing would in the meantime gather force morally and politically, and that the left wing would become dependent on the right. The "pure Socialist" government did not come into existence, and strengthening of the right wing of the Independents was the *only* result of the attitude taken by the above-mentioned comrades. The fact is that the left wing of the Independents has been very weak ever since, with no influence, and no resolute will for action.

The objections against a "declaration of loyalty" were chiefly these:

1. The time for a "declaration of loyalty" was not given.

2. The "declaration" has not led to the constitution of a "pure Socialist" government, nor has it even accelerated its coming, but, if anything, has delayed the possibility.

3. The Communist Party should not have diverted the workers from the real aim of struggle (arming of the workers, disarmament of the bourgeoisie) until the end of the contest, nor should it have paralyzed their activity with the prospect of a new government, and of a reconstruction of the balance of forces by the formation of a government.

4. Considering the acute state of the class struggle in Germany, the constitution and possible existence of an intermediate form between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the shape of a pure Socialist government is hardly credible. After the experience with the Council of People's Delegates established by the Majority Party and the Independents in November-December, 1918, it was highly probable that

the bourgeoisie would meet the constitution of such a government by an immediate class war on all fronts. The revolutionary working class, including a large part of the Independents, is deeply distrustful toward a coalition with the majority Social Democrats. Also, the breathing space expected from the "declaration of loyalty" for the peaceful work of the Communist Party will not occur.

5. The Communist Party should not urge other proletarian parties to fulfill their transitory historic destiny (testing of the bourgeois-democratic-parliamentary illusions). The Communist Party ought, on the contrary, to point the way beyond the present moment. Communists may use slogans of moderation, but those ought not to contradict the principles of Communism (as for example, pure Socialist government versus Dictatorship of the Councils). The watchwords to adopt are: Freedom for the revolutionary press, arming of the workers, abolition of all bourgeois military formations, peace with Soviet Russia, etc.

The Central Council and the Party Conference have almost unanimously disapproved of "the declaration of loyalty." Even the Central Committee, fully assembled, did not give a majority for the declaration.

The question, however, remains critical, considering that the elections in some States of the Union have given a majority to the Independents and majority Social Democrats, and will probably give them a majority for the Reichstag. We should therefore like to know your views of the question.

With revolutionary greetings.

E. Meyer.

June 2, 1920.

## The Activities of the Scottish Workers Committees

The Scottish Workers' Committees is an organisation having for its object the permeation of the industrial organisation of the working class with Communist principles, the creation of industrial unity in the industries where there are separate and competing organisations, and the organisation of an official Workers' Committees to accomplish these ends.

The British Trade-Union Movement is the strongest movement of its kind in the world, financially and numerically, but it is lamentably weak in Revolutionary knowledge and enthusiasm. It has in the course of its development created a powerful and conservative bureaucracy who do their utmost to guide the discontent of the workers into safe channels, safe, that is to say, from the point of view of Capitalism. The average worker in Britain is attached to his organisation by bonds of loyalty and by financial interests (sick and idle benefits etc.) and all the attempts that have been made in the past to get the workers to leave the largely reactionary Trade-Unions and build up more revolutionary organisations have been barren of results.

The power of the Trade-Union in Britain, as far as numbers and finance is concerned, have grown during the war, and power of the bureaucracy has grown proportionately. In every industrial mass movement since the armistice, the influence of the bureaucracy has been towards limiting the extent of the movement and confining the struggle to small reforms within the capitalist system. They have been able to do so because of the weak-

ness of the revolutionary elements and their lack of common industrial policy.

The Workers' Committee Movement is working to remedy this deficiency:

1. By uniting all Communists within a given work-shop into a Workers' Committee to carry on propaganda and bring about greater unity, by taking the lead in any struggles between the workers and the management. In so doing the Communists are not merely disseminating their theoretical principles but are bringing the workers to look upon the Communists as their natural leaders in any struggle against the employing class.

2. By linking up the Workers' Committees into district committees, which co-ordinate the activities and arranges for the carrying on of a systematic propaganda campaign throughout the district. The propaganda usually takes the form of work-gate meetings during the Workers' dinner hour, a means of keeping in touch with the mass of the workers that is unequalled.

By these means the Workers' Committees are revolutionising the outlook of the rank and file of the workers, weakening the power of the trade-union bureaucracy, creating a greater industrial unity and building up in the Workers' Committees an alternative form of organisation which would be able to unite the workers for mass action in a revolutionary crisis, even if the Trade-Union officials were endeavouring to hold the Unions back from taking action against Capitalism.

But we are a Communist and not Syndicalist organisation. We believe that the economic struggle against the employing class must give way to the mass political struggle against the capitalist state, for the purpose of smashing that state and setting up a Proletarian Dictatorship based on Workers' Councils (Soviets).

The political struggle in Britain will probably develop out of the industrial struggle. The mass of the workers will develop a decided hostility towards the capitalist State (which at present they regard as an impartial body) the more exigencies of the struggle cause the State to intervene in industrial disputes on the side of the employers. But to carry the struggle against the capitalist State to a victorious conclusion we recognise that much more industrial organisation is necessary. We are therefore developing what we call "Social Committees" which are organisations uniting all Communists residing in a given district for revolutionary action.

The taking of the inventories of food required to feed the district, where it comes from, and so on; the acquiring of knowledge regarding the productive power of the district from a district, and, above all, the mapping out of the district from a

strategic point of view and the secret arming and drilling of groups of carefully selected workers,—that is roughly our policy. We claim that the activities above described are essential to the Revolution, and we claim without fear of contradiction that we are the only group doing work of this nature in Britain at the present moment.

In addition to the work above described we publish a weekly paper, *The Worker* dealing with industrial affairs from the Communist point of view. *The Worker* was one of the first papers to be suppressed in Britain during the World War. The editor and the president of the Committee (Messers Muir and Gallacher) served a year in prison in connection with their activities. It is the only weekly paper at the present day circulating in Britain, dealing with industrial events from the point of view of Communism.

G. K. CAMPBELL. Organiser.

J. M. MESSER. Secretary.

Glasgow.



## Letter from Finland.

From a country of capitalists, landlords and bankers, speculators, ministers, governors, feudal tenants and officers, from a country of the White Guards and police, we send our heartiest greetings to all our comrades in the Soviet Republic of the workers, peasants and Red Army.

Here in Finland the murderers and robbers of the year 1918 are still walking about freely. The bayonets of the White Guards shine insolently, and the whip of the police is in full swing. Even now workmen may be killed here almost with impunity, particularly near the frontiers and in police headquarters. Just as before, tortures are the order of the day, in the dungeons of the Central Police Office as well as in the concentration camps. Secret police and informers are spying everywhere. Legal and illegal organisations are crowded with them. Searches and arrests have become every-day occurrences. In Sörnäs, the workmen's quarter of Helsingfors, police raids are taking place continuously.

The position of the proletariat, tied hand and foot, with all these repressions, is terrible. However, the Finnish working class is rising nevertheless. Everything proves it. At their last party congress the Social Democrats were tempted to believe that they had bridled the proletariat, and held the reins firmly in

their hands. Yet they soon found out that the masses were slipping out of their influence. The appeal of the last congress of our Communist Party, calling the masses to organise and sever themselves from the social traitors of the yellow International, has not remained without effect. A number of organisations have already left the Social Democratic party, and the provisional committee of the Left Socialist Party has been authorized by the city organisation of Helsingfors to prepare for summoning a constituent congress of the new socialist party, standing on the true platform of class struggle. The worker masses in town and country will undoubtedly join the new party, which will enter the Third International. We can say with certainty that the party will draw into its ranks not less than 75% of the whole mass of organised workers. Besides, numerous workmen who, not wishing to belong to the Social Democratic party, have kept out of the legal organisations, are sure to join the new party. Nor can there be any doubt that the new party will reject the programme of the Social Democrats, and will raise the red fighting banner of revolutionary Marxism. There is great need for a central organ, which up till now we have not succeeded in founding in Helsingfors. The only Communist organ existing, the „*Savon Kansa*“, is being edited in the distant provincial town of

Kuopio, and therefore it cannot fully satisfy the needs of the broad Socialist worker masses of the left.

The broad worker masses undoubtedly incline towards revolution. Once more their spirit of courage and self reliance is rising. Already they have burst the chains in which the Social Democrats bound them, already they are awakening for the proletarian revolution. In spite of the frantic attempts of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors to keep the masses enslaved, Communist ideas are taking hold of them and they begin to understand the necessity of what is about to happen. The brilliant victories of Soviet Russia and the revolution in Archangel, the Murman and in Russian Carelia, as well as the withdrawal of the British fleet from Russia and the weakening of the Entente, have greatly contributed towards raising the spirits of all the workers. The thirst for freedom is growing. The prisons and police stations are crowded with political prisoners and the upheaval among the proletariat is growing irresistibly. Over and again one hears a workman whispering: „Well, soon there will be a holiday in our street too“.

The immediate future will show whether or not the Finnish White Guards will now hasten to make peace with Soviet Russia in order to improve their position. At all events the workers of Finland, like the old Romans, would rather accept war than peace.

The Finnish White Guard Republic is economically bankrupt and must now face the unavoidable catastrophe. The white Social Democrats have made the greatest possible effort to improve the finances of the White Guard state, but in spite of that the budget problem has become so serious that the bourgeois parties of the Sejm are vainly racking their brains for some means of mending the yawning holes in the treasury. Upon the solution of this question will also depend the question of government. All classes of the population are crying out in terror against the unbearable burden of taxes. The manufacturers threaten to close their enterprises, the landowners declare they will fold their hands and do nothing, and the workers and small officials are at a loss where to get money to meet the high and rising cost of bread, since all their earnings go to pay the government taxes. Should war be added to this, the broad masses will have to choose between revolution and starvation. The White Guard republic is rotting alive, the process of decay being helped on by the general sabotage on the part of the working class and the ever increasing wave of strikes. The latter are called

forth by the pauperisation of the workers, which is becoming more and more unbearable.

While the forces of the working class are growing day by day, the bourgeoisie is becoming weaker and weaker. I have already spoken of the decay of the Social Democratic party, which has definitely lost its authority. The workers leave the party in masses, and its chief organ, the „Suomen Sozialidemokraatti“, which has sunk to the role of informer, has lost more than half of its subscribers within the last year. It does not sell more than 35.000 copies now. The armed forces of the bourgeoisie are also beginning to decay. A great many citizens and landowners refuse to wear the White Guard badge, which calls down upon them general hatred. Being aware of the way events are developing, they declare themselves non-party. On paper the armed force is over one hundred thousand strong; as a matter of fact, however, these hooligan gangs do not amount to more than about half that figure. Moreover, it is quite clear that no large and strong army of White Guards can exist in this republic, which is rotten to the core, whatever the resources wasted on its support.

Further, the influence of the growing world revolution is beginning to make itself felt so strongly in Finland that even the blind have their eyes opened.

It is no longer possible to keep the masses in subjection merely by means of White Guard bayonets and police cudgels. An additional proof of this fact was given by the so-called „North-Russian Government“, which turned out a complete failure. Moreover, the Finnish White Guard government finds it more and more difficult to satisfy the demand of the population for bread.

Since April no more food rations have been distributed to the population. What the government is going to feed the people on until autumn, is a riddle. Is it to be lead instead of bread? But then the people in their turn may reply with lead to a „leaden ration“.

Such is the state of affairs in the Finnish White Guard republic.

We are particularly proud of the detachments of the Finnish Red Army and training officers, and expect them to distinguish themselves greatly.

Our Communist greetings to all fellow-Communists.

Long live the Communist World Revolution!  
Long live Soviet Finland!

Vap

Editor's note.

To complete this interesting letter we wish to add some data about the constituent congress

of the Finnish Socialist Labour Party, which was held recently.

The congress, called by the Left Socialists, opened in Helsingfors on May 13th. So far we have to rely for our information as to the details of the congress on the reports of the right Social Democratic paper, the „Suomen Sozialidemokraatti“ of May 14th.

Immediately after the congress was opened there appeared in the hall the Helsingfors chief of police accompanied by representatives of the ordinary and the secret police. They even had their own short-hand reporter with them. The corridors of the People's House, where the sittings were taking place, were crowded with police agents.

Seventy-five persons had arrived for the congress. The session having been opened by A. Ratikainen, a board of chairmen was elected consisting of E. Pekkala, Seth Heikkilä and A. Ratikainen. K. Kivi, A. Halme and Leino were elected secretaries.

Opening the sitting Ratikainen lodged a protest against the presence of the police in the hall.

It was then decided to form the party, which is to bear the name of «Finnish Socialist Labour Party». The order of the day consisted of twenty eight items. The secretary of the Party I. A. Lehtinen presented the report of the provisional organising committee of the Party. The report was handed over to the commission without preliminary debate.

After various commissions had been elected E. Pekkala reported on the program of the Party. He pointed out that the bourgeois bureaucratic power and the bourgeois method of production ought to be abolished and replaced by a new method of production, which would concentrate the whole management in the hands of the workers' councils. The workers' councils ought to hold all social power; their members ought to be responsible to their electors and work in immediate contact with them. The deputies might be recalled from office any moment if their activity did not satisfy their electors. Such are the bases on which the program of the Party ought to be drawn up.

The next question discussed was participation in political and local government elections. Speaking upon this question Pekkala pointed out that parliamentarism was a strong support to the bourgeois state, and that the bourgeois governments in all countries required for their own support workers' representatives in the legislative institutions, the local government organs and

under certain conditions also in parliament. Nevertheless the speaker did not believe that the party ought definitely to decide before hand whether or not it would take part in future elections for the Sejm, since that would be premature. As regards participations in local government elections, the decision of the question ought to be left to the local organizations in each particular case.

The provisional secretary of the Party, I. A. Lehtinen, speaking upon the question of a central Party organ, proposed to use one of the provincial party papers for the purpose, seeing that it was impossible to start a special central organ in the capital at present.

Reporting on the amnesty to political prisoners, O. Jalava censured the Social Democratic party in the Sejm for not having done their utmost to free the political prisoners. The party ought to have tried to obtain amnesty for all „politicals“, for those in Finnish prisons as well as those who have emigrated abroad.

In the course of the debate following upon this report, comrade Ellen Makelin pointed out that this question ought to be approached in a different way.

The bill concerning the prosecution of „political criminals“ was passed by the „castrated“ \* Sejm in an illegal way, and therefore one ought to have demanded from the very beginning, not amnesty, but the repeal of the illegal legislative measure by which sentence was passed on the comrades suffering in prisons and on those who have emigrated.

Sulo Vuolioki, who reported on the agrarian question, expressed the views laid down in his recent book on this subject.

The representatives of the „Suomen Sozialidemokraatti“ and the Labour Press Bureau were refused admission to the congress because their „activity was harmful to the working class“. A vote of censure was passed on the „Suomen Sozialidemokraatti“ for exciting the public against the Communists.

On the second day of the congress, May 14th, I. A. Lehtinen reported on the International. According to the paper „Karjala“ of May 15th, Lehtinen moved a resolution to the effect that the Finnish Socialist Labour Party decided to enter the Third International.

The resolution was adopted unanimously without debate, whereupon the chief of the police, who was present at the session, wished to know

\* That is what the Sejm was called when it met without Social Democratic representatives after the suppression of the revolution.



whether this decision meant that the party was joining the Third International. The chairman replied that it did. The chief of the police then declared that this decision was criminal. He gave orders for the doors to be shut, guards to be set and 11 persons to be arrested as witnesses. The chairmen and secretaries were forced to surrender to the police all documents. Even

the portfolios of the members of the congress were taken away by the police. After that the congress was closed by the chief of the police and those present were told to leave the hall.

Among those arrested were Sulo Vuolioki, Eino Pekkala and the chairman of the session Augustus Ratikainen.

## The Strike Movement in Finland

After having suppressed the Workers' Revolution in the spring of 1918, the bourgeoisie of Finland deliberately tried to shatter the strength of the proletariat, as far as possible, for many years to come. It tried to make the workers incapable of class struggle. And the bourgeois politician, capitalists and rulers gave full vent to the bloodthirsty instincts of their White Guard bands. Certainly the bourgeoisie also rejoiced at the bleeding which was inflicted on the enemy who had dared to rise up against the capitalist "sacred order of things." The bourgeoisie knew that this would reduce the fighting capacity of the working class.

For the same reason the capitalists exerted to the utmost all their powers in order to destroy the former gains of the workers, insofar as they might act as a precedent for the revival of the Labour movement and mass action.

And the bourgeoisie seem to have attained their object—but only for a time. In 1918 nothing is to be heard of a Labour movement, not to mention revolutionary manifestations. They did not take place even on the ground of economic demands, though the sufferings of the workers were intolerable. The working class of Finland could not at that time even feebly defend itself against economic exploitation and political persecution.

The influence of the bourgeois terror and of the capitalist dictatorship was terrible. The mass of workers—the ones in concentration camps and condemned to hard labour, others in their miserable hovels—reeled, as it were, in death agony.

Even in 1919 this state of things could be observed. Nevertheless, here and there, one already felt an awakening. Slowly there began open Social Democratic and Labour union organisation work under the guidance of opportunist leaders. At the same time we see the beginning of secret Communist work; and in the spring of 1919 appeared the "first swallows." We are speaking of the economic strikes of 1919, which were, however, very small in number. We have no authentic news concerning this question, but the report of the Finnish Central Trade Union organisation about the activity of the Unions in Finland in 1919 speaks of strikes in eight branches of industry. These were all unimportant strikes, attempts forced by the hopelessness of the situation, probably in connection with the reinforcement of the revolutionary spirit.

Different in many respects were the strikes of the transport and dock workers in Helsingfors and Votke.

They sprang up without the sanction of the opportunist leaders of the Trade Unions and were, relatively speaking, stubborn. These strikes made the bourgeoisie very indignant, representing, as they did, the first collision of the awaking working class with the capitalists, growing fat in pools of workers' blood. These strikes could certainly not seriously shake the foundations of bourgeois society. But they were the forerunners of future mass actions. The results of the class struggle in 1918-1919 were favourable to the bourgeoisie. So, amongst others, the progressive-bourgeois paper *Karjalan Aamulehti*, on May 19th, in an article on the strikes, says the following:

"For two years our country has been enjoying peace, and has been resting after serious Labour disturbances. In this respect there has reigned here a greater quietness than in any other country." But these times are already gone. The first swallows were followed in 1920 by others. The organ of the extreme National Atavists, *Sounta*, states in its number on May 1st the following:

"*Strikes are becoming a more and more usual event in our country* and warn us what we must expect the coming summer." The supposition of this paper is correct. We can only, for our side, establish that the policy of the bourgeoisie, which was begun in 1918 and afterwards consistently followed, and whose object was to annihilate the fighting power of the working classes, had, however, not brought the expected results.

*The economic decay* urges the masses to action, in spite of all the preventive measures of the bourgeoisie. Prices have mounted in Finland quite incredibly. The bourgeois government is obliged to acknowledge that they have increased nine times in comparison with the prices in 1914, and at the same time to admit that wages have only increased seven or eight times. Information received from the workers shows that, for instance, in Helsingfors the prices are ten times higher than they were. According to the same report the wages for Labour have not increased as much as the government declares. We give here some extracts from articles touching upon the position of Finland in this respect. In the proletarian paper, *The Finnish Social Democrat*, of May 3d, a known opportunist leader of the Trade Unions writes as follows:

"Though Finland has escaped starvation, her economic state is such that *most of the population is living under the most woful conditions*. The heavy taxes bring the economic situation of the poorer classes out of equilibrium; the situation grows still more complicated, thanks to the immoderate augmentation of prices, which

exceed by far the prices existing in the so-called "neutral countries." *Finland has become the promised land for all speculators, for all those who derive profit from every thing, and also for looters of the treasury.*"

The same author writes further:

"This economic state of things becomes unbearable for the workmen, and they cannot be saved by parades of the skiddoskorister, nor by an administration supported by bayonets."

The opportunist leaders do not, generally, exaggerate the danger that threatens the position of the bourgeois organisation, which it is their object to defend. The reported description is a truthful one—thanks to the pressure of the workers on their opportunist leaders.

A Communist comrade, in a letter from Finland to the paper *Vappaus*, describes the situation in the following terms:

"The Finnish White Guard republic has arrived at a state of complete economic ruin, and now faces a catastrophe. The White Social Democrats have tried everything in order to ameliorate the financial state of the country, but nevertheless the state of the budget is so deplorable that the bourgeois parties are at their wits' end to find the means of filling up the gaping holes in the budget. *All the classes of society are terrified by the monstrous charge of taxes.* The industrials threaten to close down the factories, landowners with a cessation of work in their economies, and the workmen and small clerks are at a loss where to find the means to buy the expensive bread, when the distributed payment is taken away from them again in the form of taxes." The same comrade says: "The continual aggravation of the economical position of the workmen incites them to strike." And truly, in observing the events in Finland for the last months we see a *progressive movement amongst the workmen on the ground of economic questions.* This movement arose at the beginning of the year. In the course of January and February strikes in the metallurgic industry took place in six localities. After this the strike movement continued and developed. The workmen of a foundry in Tol, though small in number, forced by their strike a cessation of work in all the other sections of the factory. This strike was a very tenacious one and was only terminated quite recently. The electricians of Hammersfors, the tobacco pipemakers of Abo and part of the Helsingfors metallurgists also came into commotion. The paper, *Karjala*, of May 11th, speaks of the "*coming strike of the metallurgists.*"

The structural workmen of Abo and Helsingfors also step forward. In Helsingfors the capitalists have only attained a temporary treaty with the structural workmen and must, in the course of a few weeks conclude a permanent one if they wish to avoid disagreements. The carpenters of the factory Silnes (an important elaborative enterprise), and in some parts the whitewashers have also come into agitation.

The strike movement has even spread to places where in former times the "calmness of work" had never been disturbed. The large co-operative enterprise, Elanto, conducted by the opportunist leaders of the Social Democracy, and similar progressive elements of the bourgeoisie, excited part of the workmen against the enterprise. Bad payment incited the girl operators of the Telephone Society of Southern Finland to have recourse to a measure unheard of in Finland—a strike. But all the same the capitalists succeeded in choking this strike and the poor workers had to continue their former half-starved existence.

In the early spring strikes began amongst the raftsmen. These strikes occurred in the provinces. They created a strong anxiety among the bourgeoisie, which was afraid that these were the first swallows that would cajole the detested rural workmen with melodies that was nothing else but a summons to open rebellion.

The uneasy consciences of the bourgeoisie already saw in perspective riots of rural workmen which were to follow the strikes of the raftsmen. The paper *Karjala*, on May 11, with a sigh of relief, declares that: "Up till now nothing of the sort has yet occurred and one can only notice a slight increase of the labour payments to rival workers in the course of the summer by the personal initiative of the leaseholders."

We know the Finnish landowners and village fare-stollers. If they raised the wages of rival workers—which is not yet a proved fact—it is only the fear of complications on the ground of economic questions that could have obliged them to do it.

Even now the possibility of such complications is not excluded, as the conditions of life of the rival worker is far from brilliant.

The wave of strikes has evidently brought anxiety into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, whose soul had been at rest for the last two years. So, amongst others, the frequently mentioned paper, *Souna*, in its number of May 1st, referring to the strikes of the past years, says:

"The shipowners are very much troubled by the spirit reigning among the dock workmen, who seem to be ready to follow the example of their foreign comrades and to give up work at the very beginning of the navigable season."

We can read the same thing in the Helsingfors organ of the monarchists, *Oussi Souomi*, of May 11. The oracles were right. Already on May 20th strikes began in the environs of Wiborg, and in the ports of Ouraa, Birke, Tervaniemi and Nuriuniesmi. At the same time there arose a conflict at the sawmills of Harinniemi and Ustila, because of the threatened capitalist lockout.

The strike of the dockers included 1,200 to 1,500 workmen, but led to the adjunction of a still greater mass of workers in the domain of the wood industry and transport, which occurred later. These strikes round Wiborg are the most important strikes of this summer. Moreover, as one can see now, they are very tenacious on both sides.

## II.

In spite of the fact that the bourgeoisie itself agrees that the position of the working class is miserable, and involuntarily forces them to struggle, nevertheless, the Finnish White Guard press discusses in exactly the same way, as last year at the time of the dock workers' strikes, the question of the nature of the actual strike movement.

There is not one more or less important White Guard paper that does not consider the following question: "Have these strikes a purely economic or a political character?"

There are many reasons which explain the interest aroused by these strikes. First of all, certainly, the bourgeoisie thinks with fear of the fatal influence its dictatorship exercises on the working masses, and of the disturbances it calls forth in their midst as an inevitable result of such a policy. The Helsingfors Swedophile conservative paper, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, writes thus:

"*The abyss between the red and bourgeois elements is deeper than ever and the number of the red is continually increasing.* The fact is that there is a strong ferment-

tation in the masses, that many agitators circulate in the country exciting the people, that the Finnish Bolsheviks are only waiting for one thing—a new revolution.”

Such a tone is very common in bourgeois circles. It shows their fear of strikes and explains the interest concerning the nature of these strikes. As to the true character of the strikes, as far as one can judge by the claims put forth, their object is to *ameliorate the economic position of the working class*. All the strikes were accompanied by a demand for higher wages. Besides it was demanded that the nine-hour working day should be replaced by a working day of eight hours. The eight-hour working day, which the Finnish workers had obtained simultaneously with their Russian comrades, had been done away with by the bourgeois dictatorship in 1918. At the time of the strikes of the dock workers in the department of Wiborg, the workmen proclaimed that the institution of the eight-hour working day was even more important than the increase of wages. The importance of the struggle for the eight-hour working day is to obtain an acknowledgment of results already attained in legislation in the past by the workmen. There is one circumstance that especially stares one in the face when considering the nature of these strikes: *These strikes are not, as it appears, being conducted by the leaders and bureaucrats of the opportunist Trade Union movement*. The paper, *Oussi Souomi*, of May 11th, writes:

“In many cases the workers’ organisations and Trade Unions do not approve of the strikes, but their influence, as it seems, is insignificant in this respect. For instance, when in the spring the building workmen began to give up working the *Finnish Social Democrat* repeatedly printed articles that summoned them to go back to work, but in vain. The last strikes are evidently being inspired by the so-called Syndicalists, who have Russian money at their disposal. They have organised throughout the country agitation in behalf of the strikes. As the workers’ organs have no other way out, they are obliged to uphold the strikers.”

The same paper states further: “As to the suspension of construction work, it began by just the same non-coming to work. It is remarkable that all these complications arose in such enterprises, the stoppage of which would have led to a cessation of all structural work.”

In the metallurgic industry also part of the workmen in Helsingfors did not present themselves for work. At the meeting of the Industrial and Factory Union of Small Capitalists, which was held recently in Helsingfors, a certain fact became evident, that refers in general to the position of the Finnish proletariat. These personages stated that: “The front of the contractors is not so stable as it was formerly at the time of the strike.”

The paper, *Oussi Souomi*, writes about the strikes of the tilers and coppersmiths in Helsingfors: “One can denote a characteristic feature of this strike: that the right Socialist elements of the workers were against the strike, while those who were counted Communists and composed the majority hold to their former claims.”

In addition to what has already been said of the nature of the present strike, one can state that it only reflects the bitter struggle which has been going on for a considerable time between the opportunist and revolutionary elements in the Labour movement in Finland, and which has caused the formation of the Left Socialist Party, which Party has decided to join the Communist International, which caused the dictatorial bourgeoisie a frenzy, which manifested itself by arrests and indictments. As a result of this interior struggle we have some

national. This decision drove the ruling bourgeoisie into decisions taken at the assembly of Trade Unions, which led to a rupture with the former ultra-opportunist leaders.

In view of all this one has every reason to assert that although the strike movement in Finland puts forward economic claims, nevertheless its nature is political, as it shows the political awakening of the proletarian masses and the knowledge they have of their own strength and the readiness of action. This circumstance proves that *the class struggle is becoming more intense*.

The class struggle in Finland, notwithstanding all the events of the last two and a half years, and perhaps because of them, is nothing less than a civil war. On the part of the bourgeoisie this war is open, armed and violent. On the part of the working class this is not yet the case. But many circumstances—and not least the present strikes—show that the class struggle is getting more bitter. Will this struggle take the same turn as in the spring and summer of 1917, of which the bourgeoisie is very much afraid? The future alone can show. But the impressions gathered from the strikes when as a parallel we consider the manifestations of political struggle and especially the increasing Communist movement—is that the *country is being rapidly carried away towards revolution*. The events abroad, the periods of international revolution certainly hasten this development. A peace treaty between Finland and Soviet Russia would be, according to us, of an enormous importance.

Even the opportunist leaders of the Social Democracy and of the Trade Unions see that the Labour movement has slipped from their fingers and that it is rapidly developing into a movement of the masses, which is shaking the foundations of the bourgeois organisation, though in many cases it is yet primitive and elemental. In any case it has left the sphere of influence of these valets of the bourgeoisie. The present situation and state of mind of the workers explain why even one of the leaders of the Trade Unions states in the opportunist paper, *Soumen Socialidemocrat*, the helplessness of a policy of reform. He writes in the May number:

“As the economic life of the country and even of all Europe has come to a standstill the Trade Union movement can certainly not ameliorate in any satisfactory way the situation of the work people by simply claiming an increase of wages:

A month later we read in the same paper in an article on the metallurgists:

“The bourgeoisie of Finland is in constant fear of a new change of government. They see the fermentation amongst the workers and without investigating the question accuse them of it. But the fact is that hunger and misery have brought the workmen to such a state of despair that one can remark amongst them, notwithstanding the past bitter experience and the ever-threatening sword of the defenders of capital, *a decided fermentation, and they see themselves forced to have recourse to all possible means in order to relieve their position*. The working class cannot think at the present moment whether their demands are acceptable for the bourgeoisie, and whether they are in accordance with the laws. They only seek to make easier their hard position.”

Such words in the mouth of Social Democratic leaders are only empty sounds or threats, and they do not even think of giving them effect. When it comes to living up to their words they imitate the Kautzkyans, the enemies of proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the working class, and flee from the field of battle. But, evi-

dently their object in the above-mentioned article is to give an idea of the saying of the workers and to draw them over on to their own side. But it is a useless attempt! It is clear that the actual reciprocal relations of the classes oblige the bourgeoisie to be on its guard. The paper, *Sounbo*, a hot partisan of the policy of iron and blood, in the May 1st number, put the question: "Has the government taken any measures in case of the reiteration of the situation of three years ago?"

Finnish bourgeois society and government are, in all probability, thoroughly prepared. This explains why, for instance, at a factory in Tali the police insisted on finding out whether "any one from the other side of the frontier took part in the strike," and "from where the union received its financial means." At the time of the strike in Elanbo the skyddskorister offered their motors to the

social betrayers, standing at the head of the workmen. Consequently the help of the skyddskorister is already necessary, as the troops are no more to be relied upon. But the social betrayers who stood at the head of the workers of Elanbo, to our amazement, rejected this offer, though the Finnish social betrayers have committed greater crimes against the working class before as well as after this case.

In whatever form of struggle the question may be—in the conditions under which the proletariat of Finland is obliged to struggle—this struggle is a hard one. The forces of the bourgeois dictatorship are considerable and their self-confidence unlimited. But the working class must nevertheless struggle. And struggle they do, as we see.

**Coulerway Manner.**

## White Justice at Work

The „White“ Justice introduced in Munich in May, 1919, for the extermination of all those who played a part in the Soviet Republic, is continuing to work automatically up to the present day. Hundreds of people have been sentenced to long terms in prison, and are now serving their terms; over a thousand political cases are in process of preparation (according to information received from a functionary of the Law Department); endless inquiries are being held and orders for arrests issued. The thirst for vengeance which took possession of the bourgeoisie during the first days of May, when the bourgeois went out rifle in hand to hunt down the working class, has undoubtedly been quenched by the blood of Levine and other victims in the murder of the hostages. At the present moment the bourgeoisie of Munich is even surprisingly indifferent to politics; the questions of fuel and pleasures—both forbidden and unforbidden—are occupying every one's attention. However, bourgeois class justice cannot stop its work, many a man has built his career on the salvation of the state, the attorneys have received promotion, so the judges and detectives are going on with their work without troubling their minds about the victims and the results.

After the overthrow of the Soviet Government, court martial law was introduced; it was afterwards replaced by the „People's Court“. The very existence of the Bavarian People's Courts is a violation of the law. It is true, the Bavarian constitution provides for the introduction of „People's Courts“ in extraordinary cases, when the country is threatened with revolt

and mutiny, but these Bavarian „People's Courts“ were introduced in July, that is, at a time when the country was under no such danger, unless it were of the White Terror.

The People's Court consists of three professional judges and two elected from the people: the latter are recruited from among the petty bourgeois elements, bakers, artisan-masters and so forth, who willingly allow themselves to be harnessed to the bourgeois chariot. As a result of such a selection the „People's Courts“ carry all their verdicts unanimously. The legal aspect of all cases is very much simplified: all those who have participated in the Soviet Republic are accused of state treason or participation in such.

Article 81 of the German Penal Code states: „Any person guilty of an act tending towards a forcible alteration of the existing constitution, or of the order of succession to the throne in Germany or any of the allied countries, incurs the penalty for treason“. The wording alone of this article shows that the latter is applicable, properly speaking, to a monarchy only, and from a juridical point of view it is very doubtful whether it may be lawful to apply article 81 to a German „Socialist“ Republic. Besides that, the centre of gravity of this article lies in the word „forcible“. Was the Soviet Republic „forcibly“ established in Munich on the 7th of April? Furthermore, is it possible, even from the point of view of bourgeois justice, to pass sentence according to article 81, say, against the editor of the „Rote Fahne“, a member of the Executive Committee, etc.? The judges sitting in Munich at present, day by day condemning people to



EUGENE LEVINE-NISSEN



two, three, four and more years of imprisonment in a house of correction or in a fortress, must admit that their own place is in the house of correction. The question whether the „People's Courts“ have a right to exist and pass verdicts is being raised not only by the Communists. It is possible that some day a lawyer will be found brave enough to lay this question open for public discussion, and thus reveal the unclean backyards of bourgeois justice.

The Bavarian „People's Court“ has its own special peculiarity, namely: „a term of trial“, that is to say, a provisional pardon. The latter means that after the passing of sentence, the accused is allowed to go free under the condition that he remain politically irreproachable during a certain period of time (generally several years). A kind of watch is kept upon the accused, he is paralyzed. Such provisional pardon is accorded to the Socialists of the majority, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie and other elements, who evidently have unwillingly strayed into the revolution; but it is never accorded to Communists and but rarely to Independents. In establishing the form of punishment, the tendency is to impose the highest punishments on educated people, who are regarded as the black sheep of the bourgeois flock.

The penalty is applied in the same arbitrary way as the case is judged. The article of the Penal Code concerning state treason speaks of punishment by imprisonment either in a house of correction or in a fortress; the latter if there be no dishonest intentions. Consequently, imprisonment in a fortress has a character of „custodia honesta“ (honourable custody). One may imagine, say, an officer imprisoned for duelling, and having a jolly time all the while. In Bebel's pamphlet „In my Life“, one may read how he and Liebknecht's father passed their time in the fortress. But those goodnatured conditions are dead and gone now. There are not enough fortresses in Bavaria for all the prisoners who are being sentenced at present. Therefore the condemned are simply put in prison, and there they are treated almost like the thieves and felons.

The proletariat of Munich is bound at the present moment hand and foot. But the Communist Party is alive even more alive than ever. Deprived of its press, of all possibility of speaking openly, without leaders, the proletariat of Munich, fortified in its resolutions by the experience of the Soviet republic, is still more decided than before, and it will not miss the moment when it will be able to overthrow bourgeois justice and all its dirty entourage.

A.



## Development and Present Position of the Swiss Communist Party

Our movement defined itself for the first time during the spring and summer of 1917, and began its work as an opposition of the Left wing in the Social Democratic Party, the Labour Unions and the Socialist Organisation of the Youth.

It was necessary to carry on the struggle against the dictatorial political methods of certain leaders in the Swiss labour movement and the movement of the youth. The struggle in the ranks of the youth was going on at the time when Comrade Bronsky was at Zürich. It manifested itself in the contest for places in the Committee of the Zürich Organisation of the Youth, and the opposition succeeded at one time in taking the committee into its hands. In the labour unions, particularly in the Zürich Labour Union, we moved resolutions to repudiate the Paris resolution of the International and to declare the first of May a day of general strike. The revolutionary group published a pamphlet at the time, entitled „Independence of the Organisation of the Youth and the Central Committee,“ and a satire against the Centre and the opportunistic policy, entitled „Followers of Waibel.“

The revolutionists perceived very soon that the struggle against opportunism must be carried further in depth and breadth. For this purpose it became necessary to have a regularly printed organ. The chairman of the Socialist Publishing Association was Jacob Herzog; the paper was edited by Comrades Itsehner and Waibel. The paper was called *Die Forderung* (The Demand), and appeared for the first time during the second half of September, 1917. Its programme was to advocate Socialist mass action, to create Socialist organisations of soldiers, and councils in the army, to place in the order of business a demand for a struggle for the victory of Socialist principles, and to summon the people to the final battle of revolution.

At the beginning of November the Russian Revolution took place; the Swiss proletariat was greatly excited by the news. The editor of *The Forderung* published at once a leaflet as a supplement to the paper, which was distributed among the workmen in many thousands of copies calling upon the Swiss proletariat to follow the example of the Russians. In the Zürich Labour Union we moved



a resolution that the Union call a large public meeting, and that it determine its position in regard to the Russian Revolution. As usual, the leaders of the Labour Union were in no hurry. The meeting was to take place a few days later; the masses in the meantime went to the meeting called by the pacifists. A resolution proposed and supported by us for the closing of all factories preparing ammunition, so as to support the Russian Revolution, was passed at this meeting. "No more ammunition for the warring powers!" Such was the slogan with which the very same evening the popular masses closed two large factories for the working of shells, which were situated in the third and fourth wards of the town. The workmen were called upon not to go to work. On the following day the masses attempted to assemble again. However, the meeting was dispersed by the police. The demonstration turned into a riot, during which many were arrested and many wounded or killed. A barricade was erected, and for the first time in the history of the Swiss labour movement machine guns were fired against the people. Our group attempted to utilise the popular frame of mind for the organisation of Workers' Soviets, and published a leaflet to the soldiers, appealing to them not to fire against the workers. During these collisions the majority of the members of the editor's office of *Die Forderung* were arrested and our most active comrades in the movement were imprisoned for many months. For the call to rebellion and mutiny Comrades Herzog, Kasher, E. Aklin, with his wife, Bartel, were cast into prison. Itchner and Waibel escaped by flight; a reward of 1,000 francs was promised for their capture.

Owing to this the publishing of *Die Forderung* was delayed until new forces had assembled around it. On December 21st it came out again in a smaller form. Comrade Karl Graf was the editor. After the ninth number the Swiss Federative Council prohibited its publication. The ninth number of *Die Forderung* was issued in 30,000 copies. It was circulated in the most important towns and villages of Switzerland, chiefly among the labour unions and at party meetings.

#### MARCH, 1918.

After the suppression of *Die Forderung* we attempted to publish a paper under some other name. First of all we entered into relations with the paper, *The Basle Labour Paper*, and published one number under this title, advocating a general strike. After that Comrade Waibel succeeded in issuing a paper in Geneva under the title of *The Geneva Popular Gazette*. Our Geneva group undertook the publication and editing of the paper. After the third number the post office refused to mail it, and the Swiss Department of Public Economy informed the printing office that if it continued to print this paper it would be deprived of the quantity of paper to which it was entitled. The editors of *The Geneva Popular Gazette* were court martialed for having disobeyed the prohibition laid upon *Die Forderung* by the Swiss Federative Union, and Comrades Waibel, Herzog and Meyer were sentenced to imprisonment. *The Geneva Popular Gazette* was issued in 9,000 copies.

However, we soon found another way out. We entered into relations with a German-speaking group in Amsterdam for the purpose of inserting our articles and annexes on the question of the Swiss labour movement in its paper, which was called *The Struggle*, and we mailed this weekly paper from Holland to Switzerland. We used sixteen numbers of *The Struggle*, which printed many articles from us.

Meantime the revolutionists had developed into an organisation which was widely spread throughout Switzerland. The leadership of this organisation was in the hands of the Central Committee at Zürich. The organisation was called "International Revolutionary Socialists of Switzerland." The chairman of the Central Committee was Comrade Bruggman. Its object was the uniting of all the revolutionary-opposition forces of the local organisation, the organisation of a systematic struggle against opportunism in the labour unions of Socialist parties, and the publishing of literature and leaflets.

In this way, at the annual meeting of the Swiss Union of Woodworkers we provoked a debate on the question of the Soviet system, and carried resolutions for the financial support of a revolutionary propaganda in the army, and for support of a course of instruction which would enable the workers to acquire the requisite information for the movement of industrial life. The Central Committee of the International Revolutionary Socialists of Switzerland issued a pamphlet in 2,000 copies: "Long Live the Social Revolution!" a leaflet, "To the Organised Workers," in 10,000 copies, and a leaflet, "Why Should Workers' Soviets Be Formed?" in 20,000 copies. The propaganda in the factories for the organisation of Workers' Soviets developed very rapidly.

This work and the distribution of literature in all the more important inhabited parts of Switzerland was carried on by means of groups, which adhered to the Central Committee.

On July 14th, 1918, party conference was held at Olten. It was decided to carry on a decided propaganda for the replacing of the Executive Committee at Olten by a Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, and to support the propaganda in the army, but to abstain for a time from all division within the party. Karl Graf made a report on the programme of the I. R. S., the chief basis of which are the creation and propaganda of the Soviet system, the directing of action en masse by means of the Workers' Soviets, and the instruction and preparation of the masses to take over production.

The revolutionary work in the army went hand in hand with the uniting of the political forces and the propaganda in favour of the Soviet system. At the initiative of *Die Forderung* group at Lucerne the first Socialist soldiers' organisation in the Twentieth Infantry Regiment was formed in September, 1917. At the end of April, 1918, one of the comrades proposed a resolution in the Labour Union of Zürich for the immediate convocation in Zürich of a meeting of workers liable to military conscription, for the purpose of forming a Socialist soldiers' organisation at Zürich. Since Swiss citizens liable to military service keep their arms in their homes, it will be possible by means of such an organisation to form a military union of the working class capable of using arms. After a long delay on the part of the Committee of the Socialist Party in Zürich, the meeting was held at last. The comrade who made the report took the point of view that the object of Soldiers' Unions is work in the army for the improvement of conditions and relief.

We pointed out, however, that the object of Socialist Soldiers' Unions could only be the revolutionising of the army. The newly-formed soldiers' organisation almost unanimously adopted our point of view, while the members of a Social Democratic Party committee declared that they would have nothing to do with such a policy. Our group then undertook the leadership of the Socialist Soldiers' Organisation in Zürich, whose members soon amounted to 200. The Social Democratic representatives

of the centre, although they had voted for the resolution of the Berne Conference of the Party regarding the defence of the country and the revolutionising of the army, now in every way avoided the work of developing the soldiers' movement. In spite of our frequent appeals we never obtained any financial support for the propaganda in the army from the Socialist Party of Zürich. We received only a few hundred francs from the labour unions—the Woodworkers, Metal Workers, and so on. The committee of Zürich Soldiers' Organisation drew up the rules of the organisation, which were accepted by the same. The committee proceeded immediately to carry out its programme.

On July 14th, 1918, at the initiative of the Central Committee of the I. R. S. and the Soldiers' Organisation of Zürich, representatives of the various military sections in Switzerland assembled at Zürich and adopted the constitution and programme of the organisation. The Zürich section elected a committee, and the work began in earnest. Circular letters were dispatched to all the Socialist Party unions and organisations of the youth with the request to form soldiers unions. Literature was also printed for distribution among the military organisations. In this way there were published two pamphlets of 20,000 copies and a leaflet also of 20,000 copies. The Zürich Soldiers' Organisation published two leaflets, one conjointly with the Zürich group of I. R. S., which had by that time organised into the Communist Party at Zürich, October, 1918. The other leaflet was distributed among the soldiers who entered Zürich at the time of the general strike of 1918. A lawsuit was the result, in which Comrades Müller, Beroy, Volk, Herzog and Heiberger, with his wife, were sentenced to forty-four months of imprisonment.

Thanks to the work of the Central Committee of the Swiss Socialist Soldiers' Organisation, it was possible to form similar organisation to those of Zürich and Lucerne, at Reinach, Thalwid, Korgan, Richtersville, Lausanne, Geneva, Greuten and Berne. Preparations was going on at Chaux-de-Fonds, Bâle, Biel and Frauenfeld. The bourgeoisie could not look on calmly at all this work. Sixty-three members of the National Council carried a proposal (Grunfelder) into the Federal Union requesting the latter to prohibit the formation of Socialist Soldiers' Organisations and Soldiers' Soviets. Such a prohibition was issued on March 4th, 1919. The movement continued, nevertheless, and this called forth an intervention of military justice. In May five more comrades were sentenced to seventeen months of imprisonment for having participated in the organisation of soldiers' Soviets in one of the regiments of the canton of Vaud. At the present moment almost all the Swiss army is demobilised, so that any activity on the part of the Socialist Soldiers' Organisation is impossible.

In October, 1918, the group of International Revolutionary Socialists in Zürich organised into a Communist Party. The occasion of this action was the general strike in October, after which many comrades, leaders of the group, were excluded from the Social Democratic Party. This party association demanded that the Central Committee of the group of I. R. S. of Switzerland should agree to the organisation all over the country of independent Communist Party groups.

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1918-1919.

At the beginning of November, 1918, the movement was doing well as far as organisation was concerned, the

Central Committee of the International Revolutionary Socialists using all its efforts to this end. A printed organ was about to be published in spite of the prohibition, and it was necessary to convene a congress of all the groups for the final solution of the question of the Party division. The Communist Party in Zürich, conjointly with the Zürich Soldiers' Organisation, published on November 7th a leaflet in 6,000 copies, addressed to the workmen and soldiers, in memory of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution and of the November disorders of the preceding year.

The revolution which broke out in Germany and Austria again raised the revolutionary spirit of the Swiss proletariat. The Federal Council filled the towns with soldiers; this circumstance gave rise to a general strike in November, which ended after a few days, owing to the pusillanimity and cowardice of the Executive Committee at Olten.

Our propaganda work during the general strike consisted, among other things, of the distribution of many thousand pamphlets among the soldiers, and the two leaflets, "To Workers Liable to Military Service," and "Why Should Workers' Soviets Be Formed?" After this the rest of our comrades were imprisoned.

After the strike the Swiss labour movement entered upon a period of calm. The proletarian masses were full of indignation against their treacherous leaders. Our movement was disorganised.

But the result of the cruel reprisals of the enraged bourgeoisie was only that our movement, in spite of all arrests, progressed both in width and in depth.

The second National Congress took place May 24th and 25th at Biel. Sixty-two representatives of the most important place in Switzerland were present. At this congress the Swiss Communist Party drew up its programme. A report on the congress and the programme are published in No. 7 of *The Communist*.

The campaign against the high cost of milk made us again take up a definite position in the mutual relations between the workers engaged in the industry and the peasantry. After the unanimous attack of the Social Democratic press against the peasants, we, in a leaflet, "To the Peasants and Workers," revealed the reasons for this provocation.

Financial difficulties made themselves felt more and more, and prevented us from issuing our paper regularly and in due time. Naturally, for a small organisation as to numbers, as we are, it is difficult to collect the considerable funds necessary for the propaganda.

On August 31st the delegates of our Party held a meeting at Zürich, where it was decided to utilize the elections to the National Council for the propaganda of the Soviet system. Our motto: "Elect Workers' Soviets, Not National Councils," did a great damage to the Social Democratic Party during the elections. We published one number of *The Communist* and one appeal.

For a more intense propaganda in all parts of the country we proceeded to the organisation of Circuit Unions. At present our Party has four local sections at Zürich, Biel, Lucerne and Wintertur, where the Communists have an organisation entirely separate from the Social Democracy. The total number of our members at these four places is 1,200.

At Bâle, Geneva, Berne, Chaux-de-Fonds, Aarau, Baden, Brugge, Schlieren, Thalwid, Gorgen, Richtersville, San Gallen, Schaffhausen, Utzwid, Reinach and Tesse we have strong Communist groups adhering to our Central Committee, but not quite separate in organisation from

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the Social Democratic Party. Within a few days a separation and formation of Communist Party organisations will take place at Berne and Bâle. Almost in all the larger centres we have our agents who are distributing and spreading our literature. We have good relations with the Socialist Organisation of the Youth. Its last congress passed a resolution, indicating a direction in the movement of the young people which brings it nearer to us.

The Central Committee was elected for the most part among the adherents of our party. Our comrades succeeded also after a stubborn struggle in evicting the right Socialists from the leading organs and the Secretariat of the Zürich Union of Metal Workers, and in filling these vacancies with members of our Party. At the last congress of the Metal Workers our opposition united eighty delegates against the central organisations of the union.

If in the immediate future no events happen in the countries surrounding ours, which would incite the Swiss proletariat to further action, the division in the Social Democratic Party will hardly acquire larger proportions. The consistent Communists will certainly work individually and in groups and form independent sections, which at first will not be very large. The fluctuating elements of the centre: Grimm, Schneider, Schmid (Olten and Wintertur) and Kobs are holding the offices and eating out of the trough of the Social Democratic Party, and will not part with their jobs so easily. The group of Platten consists also of persons who are not afraid of occupying governmental posts (Primer-Traber). How-

ever, nothing is heard of this group at present, it has evidently fallen asleep. Anyhow these gentlemen were always more willing to work with the Right Socialists than with us. A consistent position and a corresponding practical activity never were their strong point; this showed itself in the question of rejecting the law on the defense of the country, and in the position with regard to the Executive Committee of Olten.\*

We Swiss people have not had to endure such suffering and privations as the comrades in the countries participating in the war, therefore the radicalisation of the Swiss proletariat is progressing more slowly. A great obstacle is the powerful bourgeois press, which is distributing at the same time hundreds of thousands of leaflets against Soviet Russia. We are not in possession of sufficient funds to develop a counter propaganda which would counteract this reactionary wave of filth.

In the immediate future no important movement of the masses is to be expected. The two last unsuccessful general strikes have greatly cooled the ardour of the Swiss proletariat.

Next winter our work will have for its object to organise workers' Soviets in the most important places, and also to lead the propaganda of Communism in industry and in the villages more intensely in order that as soon as the Austrian, German and Italian proletariat have seized the economic power, the industrial and rural workers of Switzerland will immediately follow their example.

J. G.

## Economic Conditions in German Austria

(A letter from Vienna)

Economic conditions in German Austria are very serious at the present moment. In August and September of last year a certain "felicity" reigned for some time in the republic. The number of unemployed workers fell from 160,000 to 50,000. Industry had a brilliant moment; but this apparent prosperity was of short duration. The fact is that it was not founded on any firm ground, and was induced exclusively by the low exchange rate of Austrian money, thanks to which the foreign capitalists eagerly bought up Austrian goods. This produced sad results. The low exchange forced the manufacturers to get raw materials from abroad at immediately high prices, which in their turn raised the prices of manufactured goods. Conformably to this the wages of labour also increased. The result of this was that the Austrian prices, having become equal to the foreign ones, ceased to attract foreign clients. At the present moment German Austria is on the verge of a crash, thanks to the deficiency of raw materials and industrial products, to the low value of the money and to the extreme exploitation of the proletariat.

The peasants have still more aggravated the economic situation of the workers by obtaining from the government a raising of the maximum price for flour from 200 to 1,000 crowns per kilo, and the reducing of the norm of flour, which must be delivered to the State by

a quarter of a pound, in comparison with the former amount. This has led to a new augmentation of the prices of objects of first necessity.

Such a serious economic situation incites the proletariat to continuous strikes.

### The Communist Party of German Austria

The increasing economic oppression creates favourable conditions for the work of the Communist Party of German Austria, opening the eyes to the blindest and most politically backward workmen.

The Party places the centre of gravity of its work on its industrial units. All factories have their own Workers' Soviets. The law has given these Soviets the right to look into the business accounts of the plants, but with the reservation of "commercial secrets," which prevents the Soviets from utilising the acquired information for propaganda purposes. But in most of the enterprises where the Communists have taken possession of the workers' minds, the Soviets have exceeded the limits defined by the law and have appropriated to themselves, for instance, the right to hire and discharge workmen. The ob-

\*All reproaches addressed to the group of Platten are published entirely on the responsibility of the authors.—*Editor.*

ject of the Communist Party consists in the further development of the rights of the Workers' Soviets, and in their revolutionary development. The Soviets must spread their influence into the domain of production, of the regulation of prices, and must establish a maximum, not to be exceeded by the profit of the shareholders. Relatively to the Trade Unions and to the question of Parliamentarism, the Party is, as a rule, unanimous in its opinions. In general the Communist Party in German Austria signalises itself by its firmness and solidarity, which in a strong degree is the result of the Party's having been drained of its conciliatory elements. But still one must point out that although unanimous on the principal questions, there are certain differences of opinion upon questions of tactics. Next to the majority, which stands on the platform worked out by Comrade Radek, there exists also a left wing with Comrade Coritchoner at its head.

As a conclusion I must indicate that the Party has, up to the present moment, withheld itself from any work among the peasants, and has given all its attention to the industrial proletariat. But this was caused by the insufficiency of means. All the same, at the present moment, systematic agitation among the peasants is being prepared, and the Party is going to publish a special paper and separate leaflets for the village proletariat. The propaganda among the country population will undoubtedly give brilliant results, as the class of village workers, and peasant with very little land, is very numerous. The work in the army is adapted to the psychology of the soldiers, and is conducted on the ground of economic claims. As to the movement of Youth, the Party has succeeded in winning a strike of the young workers employed in different trades. This success of ours has dealt a serious blow to the Social Democratic Union of Youth. The Party maintains the closest contact with the international proletariat, especially with the Communist Parties of Switzerland, Italy and Tchekho-Slovakia.

### The Celebration of the First of May

The first of May passed in Vienna, as in general in Austria, with great success for the Communist Party.

The Social Democrats, taking advantage of the Amsterdam Bureau, having proclaimed: Peace with Soviet Russia!' offered the Communists to celebrate jointly the proletarian festival. In this way they planned to avert an independent demonstration by the Communists and also to dismember the forces of the proletariat, as, instead of manifestations in the centre, they planned separate processions in each quarter, in order to avoid an excessive affluence of workers.

But the Communists flatly declined this proposal and decided to celebrate independently the great day, and to demonstrate the might of the revolutionary proletariat. It was all the more necessary to underline the revolutionary character of the First of May festival, as in German Austria it is proclaimed a national festival and the Social Democrats try to make it resemble the usual holidays.

An especially imposing and numerous meeting took place in front of the Votivkirche Cathedral. This meeting bore an international character; the speeches were in German, Italian, Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Bohemian. After the speeches the meeting, which numbered an audience of 25,000, organised an imposing procession with placards bearing Communist inscriptions:

"All Power to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Poorer Peasant!" "Down with Bourgeois Parliamentarism!" "Peace with Soviet Russia!" "Liberate Political Prisoners!" "Down with the Rule of Capital!" "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!" "Long Live the World Revolution!" etc.

The separate processions of the Social Democrats were attended by a much smaller number of workmen.

### The Treachery of the Social Democrats

As the economic situation grows worse and the class struggle more bitter, the Social Democrats see themselves more and more forced to make a definite choice between the proletariat and the capitalists. The Social Democrats do their utmost to ward off the revolutionary attacks of the working class, and are gradually inclining towards the point of view of the German Noskes.

The Social Democrats reason in the following manner: "As we form part of a coalition government, as we live in a 'democratic' republic, it is the duty of each citizen to observe quietness and order and to protect industry, in spite of the fact that in this renowned republic the lion's share of the produced values goes as before into the pockets of the capitalists." All the other principles of the Social Democrats are subjugated to this fundamental one until they completely forget the proletarian honour and their own class-character. The proclamation of social peace, made by the State Chancellor (a Social Democrat), Doctor Renner, at the time of the budget debates, showed how the Social Democratic Party understands the class struggle. What was formerly felt in only a confused manner, now stood out in all its ugly nakedness.

All strikes, whether they bear an economic character (as the strikes of the Southern Railways), or a political one, (as in Tîrnitz, Neuenkirchen) are unmercifully suppressed by the Social Democrats.

The Social Democrats do not even disdain such measures as strikebreaking, an example of which we have in Neustadt. The assistant of the town Mayor, the Social Democrat Pichler, a farmer-mechanician, during a railway strike operated a train full of loaded guns to Vienna. The workers, revolted by such treachery, stopped the train at the station of Lising, dragged Pichler down, and gave the traitor and the trembling gendarmes a good thrashing.

At the moment of the greatest danger the Social Democratic Trades Union, at the head of which is the National Counsellor Tomshik, left the workmen to their fate. Although all these thousands of workmen confirmed by a majority vote their intention to strike in order to extort from the capitalists an increase of wages the Trade Union declined all responsibility, and when the abandoned workmen did not lose their presence of mind, and chose from their midst a directing committee, the Social Democrats had recourse to an act of violence, and made the strike fall through.

A similar position was occupied by the Trade Unions relative to the strikes in Neuenkirchen and Tîrnitz. The treachery of the Allied bureaucracy brought the indignation of the workers to its highest pitch and impelled them to quit in mass the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union.

During the events in Linz, the Social Democrats took upon themselves the rôle played by Noske in Germany in the interest of the capitalists. Workers' blood was shed in Linz through the fault of the town Mayor, a

Social Democrat, who did not wish to allow the manifestations. It is a mistake of comrades abroad who speak of the existence in Austria of a Social Democratic "Left." It is just these pretended "Left" Socialists who take the harshest measures against the proletariat at the moment of decisive action. The "Left" (Friedrich Adler, Otto Bauer) only exists by name in order to lure the proletariat and to shelter the wavering positions of the Social Democratic Party. Even the Social Democrat Frei, around whom the "Left" is grouped, and who stands for the Party leaving the coalition government, does not dare to break with the opportunists and to turn his words into action.

### Echoes of German Counter-Revolution

The situation in German Austria in the beginning of May was aggravated by the events in Germany. The reaction here also took decidedly the offensive. First of all Vienna was flooded with placards and leaflets bearing the pogrom cry: "Down With the Eastern Jews!" (Ostjuden). Then followed a series of officers' meetings as well as assemblies of the Citizens' and Class Councils (Bürger und Ständerat). While the workmen were dispersing these meetings there occurred armed collisions. The workmen called out the national militia (*Sicherheitswache*), which stood on the side of the bourgeoisie. The national militia arrived, armed with rifles and machine guns, and their apparition was enough to disperse in a panic the town militia. The national militia took possession of the police barracks and placed a machine gun there. The rest of the national militia took upon itself the guard of the worker's meeting.

At the same time another collision took place near the university. The students, the majority of whom are German nationalists and Christian Socialists, began a wild firing, accompanied by cries of "Down with the Jews!" and during some time, thanks to the help of the police, they were the masters of the situation in the streets near the university. Here also the Communist Party interfered. The workmen moved toward the university and forced the reactionary students to clear the streets. Thanks to the help of the Communist Party the Socialist students obtained from the rector the reopening of the university. At the present moment the watchword is "Proletarianise the University and Abolish All the Privileges of the Rich."

The reaction reached its height in the manifestations of the tradesmen, when the petty bourgeoisie, completely losing their rents, stepped forward with the cry, "We Will Not Give Up Our Property!" ("Gegen die Vermögensabgabe"). On the day of the demonstration all the shops in Vienna were closed at four o'clock, and an enormous procession moved towards the Ringstrasse. The threatening character of this demonstration was clear to the workmen, and in many parts of the town the principal factories stopped work as a sign of protest against the approaching reaction. The Social Democrats employed all their efforts to bring the workers back to work and in this way to ward off the danger threatening the coalition government from the Left. The Communists insisted on the immediate convocation of the imperial Workers' Council, in order to organise the counter demonstration of the workers. At the sitting of the council Friedrich Adler, as usual, took the defense of the government and of the police, meeting with the approbation of the majority of the Social Democrats. But the Commun-

ists proposed an ultimatum to the government, demanding that it should immediately proletarianise the police, who must be subordinate to the control of the Workers' Council, that all the reactionary police should be replaced by the lower ranks, that all the political prisoners should be immediately liberated, and that an exchange of goods with the proletarian organisations of Russia, Tehekho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia should begin without the mediation of speculators and money lenders and under the control of the Workers' Council. The Council, which was principally composed of Social Democrats, rejected the most important demands of the Communists, and especially opposed their imperative nature.

In answer to this the Communists refused to take part in the demonstration which was being prepared by the Social Democrats, and decided to go forward independently with their own demands. The Social Democrats took all the measures possible to augment the number of participants in their demonstration. By threatening dismissal the Trades Unions forced the workers to take part in the official manifestation. One can only wonder how the Communists managed, in spite of the Social Democrats' terrorising, to attract about 30,000 workmen to their manifestation.

The Social Democrats, indignant beyond measure at the refusal of the Communists to take part in these demonstrations, raised the question whether a further collaboration with the Communists was possible in the Workers' Council. Certainly this was only a pretext. The true reason lies in the fact that the Social Democrats find that the Workers' Council has too strong a revolutionary influence on the mass. The consecutively revolutionary policy of the Communist Party forces the Social Democrats to take definite decisions, what can be seen from the Linz speech of the State's Chancellor, Dr. Renner. Attacking the revolutionary activity of the Communists, the Social Democrat Renner opposed himself decisively to the institution of proletarian dictatorship. "To realise it means to stake everything, as Hungary did. We wish in general to free our policy from the bayonet and put an end to violence of any kind." After these words, which do not harmonise with the terror that he is practising toward the workmen, Renner went on to the difficulties which the Social Democrat Ministers have to meet and said: "We cannot follow the example of Russia, where the proletariat has taken industry into its hands, a thing that was possible because the students from whose midst issue the technical experts are of a Social Democratic spirit; but in Austria things stand quite differently. Besides, the Austrian peasants, contrary to the Russian ones, keep away from the Social Democrats and will never acknowledge the proletarian dictatorship. Every attempt to institute here a proletarian dictatorship is a crime against the working class, all the more so as in the question of alimentation and raw materials we depend on other countries. And from Russia we cannot receive anything." (?) After this he added especially about the Communists: "The fundamental idea of Communism is being abused by people whose lives are full of conflicts with right and law, who are strangers to order, (?) to discipline (?) and who have never been Socialists but are only excited by the war. The excesses of the Anarchists only lead to the loss of all the rights and liberties gained by the proletariat, and to the institution of a military dictatorship of generals." The lofty ideal of the proletariat to renovate human society has nothing in common with the activity of most of the Social Democrats.

### Arms Sent to Poland

Before finishing this letter I want to mention the supplying of the counter revolutionary troops of Poland and Hungary with arms by the Austrian military industry. Notwithstanding the conclusion of peace, the factories that were working for the defense are not demobilised. The armoury and cartridge-making factories, the government plants, as well as those belonging to private companies, are working at full speed. The products are smuggled through to Poland and Hungary, with the cognisance and consent of the Socialist government.

Austria is the only source of military equipment for the Entente, as in their own countries the workmen oppose the exportation of arms.

This base counter-revolutionary mission has been intrusted by the Entente also to Hungary, from where we

have received information, that the cartridge-making factory of Manfred Weiss, in Teheppel, works day and night without interruption, fabricating ammunition for Poland.

On May 15th the Entente demanded an augmentation of the norm fixed for the supplies delivered to Poland. The Austrian coalition government consented to place all the military industry at the disposal of the Entente.

A new task arose before the Communist Party: to lend the most energetic struggle against the exportation of arms. Our agitation has already been efficacious. At some of the factories the workmen have destroyed the ammunition intended for Poland, and part of the workers employed on the railways have declared to the president of the Vienna District Workers' Council, Friedrich Adler, that they will refuse to transport ammunition and arms.

## A Letter from Rumania

Rumania, in spite of its victory in the world war, is on the eve of a catastrophe. The financial condition of the country is desperate. According to the statement of the Minister of Finance, Vlada, the debt of the State has reached, during the last two years of the war, the sum of two billion lei. The indebtedness of the country, as well as the absence of exportation caused by the derangement of transport, has led to the fall of the Rumanian exchange. In February a lei was quoted in France at from 20 to 23 centimes, in Switzerland at from 8 to 10 centimes, and in England and America was hardly ever accepted. In Rumania itself a lot of foreign money circulates. In Bessarabia, Romanov roubles; in Transylvania, Austrian crowns. The price of this money at the Stock Exchange is continuously increasing, in spite of all the measures of the government to prevent it, as the annexed population will not sell any raw materials or food for Rumanian money. The government's attempt to straighten out the finances by means of a foreign loan did not succeed, because of the unacceptable conditions that were put by the lenders. So, for instance, the English exacted as a guarantee railway concessions; the Americans, oil concessions. The internal loan, to which the government then had recourse, will not ameliorate the situation, if serious changes do not follow in the general economic condition of the country.

In the meantime the railway transport, as well as the river and Black Sea transport, remain in a state of complete disorganisation. The taking of enormous quantities of materials from occupied Hungary has been of no benefit; coal is lacking, as well as means of repair. The disorganisation of transport is assisted by the increasing corruption on the railways. According to the statement of an important merchant, it is often necessary to give a bribe of 8,000 to 10,000 lei to the station master in order to receive one's goods at the proper time. A co-operative representation, who did not offer such a bribe, had to run about for three weeks before obtaining a car. And such cases are no exceptions.

One of the direct results of the low value of the money, and of the disorganisation of transport, is the aggravation of the general economic condition. Two kinds of

bread are to be had—white bread at 3½ lei the kilo, and bread of an inferior quality at 1 lei, but this last is very difficult to get, as, thanks to its cheapness, it is immediately bought up, and in order to obtain it, one must stand in line at four in the morning. A kilo of butter costs from 80 to 90 centimes. At Christmas time Bucharest was left without bread, which was especially hard for the working class. Though passenger trains were stopped for a time, this did not improve matters, as a lack of bread, principally of the second sort, is still felt. Wheat is also scarce, and its price is mounting. The government itself was obliged to raise the fixed price from 12 to 25 and 40 lei a kilo. The situation becomes more complicated thanks to furious speculation in cattle. We see the same expensiveness and scarcity in all objects of first necessity. The attempt of the municipalities to help the population by the distribution of objects of first necessity only led to the exhaustion of supplies. And the Rumanian industry is not in the state to remedy this deficiency.

The industry, which had attained a considerable development during the last few years preceding the war, and had principally been under the management of Germans, is at present completely disorganised, thanks to the want of fuel and of good administrators. Rural economy is in the same woful condition, which is caused by many reasons: The government delays the Agrarian Law, thereby making the peasants unwilling to work for the boyars. The requisitions of the war have left the peasants without horses, oxen or other cattle. The peasants are also in desperate need of agricultural implements, as those which were brought from Hungary have only been sold to the large landowners. A good harvest cannot be expected, as a great part of the land has not been cultivated.

As a reaction against the serious economic condition we have a continual growth of the revolutionary movement, against which the government of Rumania takes severe measures. In Rumania the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is realized by the Liberal Party, which for three-quarters of a century has put its stamp on the history of Rumania. It is characteristic of this party of business-

men, industrial and financial, that in their race for profits they do not hesitate to rob the Treasury; when the Parliament discussed the question of the above-mentioned loan, the Liberals, who gave themselves the name of patriots, offered the Treasury a loan in exchange for a lumber concession. The staff is quite subordinate to them.

All the political life of the country is monopolised by the Liberals, the rôle of the democratic parties is insignificant. In answer to the slightest democratic movement the Liberals put Terror into action. The actual head of the government, General Averesku, notwithstanding his popularity in the army and among part of the peasants, could only attain his present power with the consent of the Liberals, who change the government according to their fancy. General Averesku began his administration by forbidding strikes, and continued it by anti-Semitic agitation. In order to crush the proletarian movement the Rumanian government conducts a systematic propaganda among the peasants, hoping to find among them a support against the workmen in case of a revolution. But it is doubtful whether this propaganda will meet with success: the peasants have not forgotten

how the government acted in 1907, when 11,000 peasants lost their lives. In order to counter-balance the Socialist movement General Averesku founded the National League of Yellow Trade Unions, which are inspired by nationalist and anti-Semitic ideas. But all these measures cannot stop the growth of the revolutionary movement as long as the general economic state of the country remains in its present condition, and the Rumanian government will be forced to use more rigorous measures, such as the general execution of workmen on December 13th, 1918.

A few words more about the Communist movement. The masses are absolutely revolutionary, and try in every possible way to prove their sympathy with the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. But their leaders are undecided and afraid of going from words to action. The warners have more than once threatened to throw them overboard, but the revolutionary masses abstain from any split in the Labour movement and from forming a separate Communist Party, because of the united bourgeois front. It has even been necessary to give up for a time the idea of forming a Communist faction.







THE LEADER OF THE RUMANIAN SOCIALISTS  
**K. DOBROJANU-GHEREA**

(May 21, 1885—May 9, 1920)



## Documents of the International Communist Movement

### To the Executive Committee of the Communist International from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lettland

**Dedicated to the White Lettish Social Democrats, who have concluded a „civil peace“ with the executioners of the Lettish workmen.**

Dear Comrades:

We know the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which says that in Governments ruled by the bourgeoisie the Communist Parties ought to participate and also call the wide masses to take part in elections to local government institutions, as well as to Constituent Assemblies; for if the Party enters the elections with its own Communist program it does not imply a compromise of principles, but means a continuation of the same Communist program. We know the opinion of the great leaders of the proletarian revolution, comrades Lenin and Zinoviev, on this question. Nevertheless the Lettish Communist Party was not able to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of Lettland.

No differences in principle separate us from our comrades in Russia, but nevertheless we have decided in a different way. Why? Though it might be difficult to understand for our comrades outside Lettland, it will be easy to grasp for the ones who are now living and fighting in Lettland. Our comrades in Russia, as well as in other countries, are not properly informed of the terrible conditions under which the proletariat of Lettland must at present live and struggle. Some of the comrades abroad consider perhaps that the present bourgeois government of Lettland is actually democratic, that here the working-class possesses the usual Western European possibilities of organisation. This point of view is false; once having disposed of it, everything becomes clear. In Lettland the bourgeoisie is in power (the Peasant Union and the town bourgeoisie) and its democracy is demonstrated by purely White Guard atrocities, which throw in the shade the times of Tsarist reaction and even the exploits of the punitive expedition of 1905. All that was possible in the darkest days of Tsarism, and even of the German occupation, is possible now. To grasp

the dimensions of the reaction and hideousness of the Ullman government, one must take into consideration that the number of workmen brutally murdered during the past year is ten times greater than in the years 1905—1906. For instance, in 1919 the prefect of Libau issued in the town an official declaration, forbidding strictly all use of the words "Bolshevik" and "Communism", and all favourable reports about Soviet Russia. Everyone transgressing this order was threatened with six months imprisonment at hard labour. The slightest suspicion of belonging to the Communist Party was sufficient to have a man sentenced by court-martial to be shot, or to shoot him without law on the grounds of "escape", or to "find" the prisoner hanging in his cell. In that way were murdered many hundreds of workmen. If the number of workmen killed by German barons and the troops of Nedra in Riga on May 22, 1919, by the accounts of the bourgeois newspapers amounts to 7,500 and by the accounts of the inhabitants themselves to 12,000,—then the Ullmann government can boast of having exterminated not less than 3,000 workmen and soldiers. About 5,000 workmen and soldiers are at present languishing in prisons. This does not include concentration camps. And all this in small Lettland where the lists of electors (on the grounds of general right of election) for the Constituent Assembly hardly contained 900,000 people in all united Lettland (the number of executions and arrests in Lettonia is known to us but not included here). The slightest suspicion of libel, or even the finding of some Russian money in a worker's possession, is sufficient grounds for shooting him. Hundreds are murdered without trial for crossing the frontier from Russia. Many have been killed for serving in Soviet institutions. A few facts will be sufficient in order to make the picture more vivid.

In July, 1919, in the Stockman district in Livonia, they arrested the architect Jacob Apsits, who had been assistant of the Commissar of Munitions in the Lettish Soviet Government. Apsits was shot on that same day without trial. In November the engineer Jacob Preiss, who, under the Soviet government, was assistant to the Commissar of Foreign Exchange, was arrested in Riga. During the arrest nothing incriminating was found on him, but in a few days Preiss was killed while "escaping" from prison. In December was arrested Jan Landsman, secretary to the Commissariat of Social Assistance.

Landsman on that same day was judged by martial law and shot as "traitor, spy and Communist". In December they arrested the workman Fritz Bajar, on whom they found a tube of chemical material; after terrible tortures they shot him for not telling where the printing-plant was to be found. In December they arrested in Volmar a meeting of thirty people. Nothing was found during the arrest; but notwithstanding this, on the verdict of court-martial, eleven participators in the meeting were shot, among them two schoolgirls, one fourteen and the other sixteen years old. In order to justify such a murder of children, the newspapers filled their columns with false information to the effect that the prisoners intended to rob and kill officers. In the same fashion they murdered the Communist Emma Plum, and a member of an organisation of youth comrade Winter, and lately Jan Zukolsky. These are only a few facts; if one were to make a note of all the murdered, the list would be too long. The arrested are subjected to tortures. The exploits of Gregus under the Tsarist regime are put into shade; our national Social Democrats manage the business more efficiently. The victims of the bourgeoisie are not only beaten, but completely crippled. The prisoners are examined in the Army Department of Information (Nicolai Street 7, and now School Street 19). After this the prisoner is told that he will be shot; he is put to the wall, the gun is loaded and fired—but the bullets fly intentionally past him and the man is again questioned, and if he does not admit his guilt, he is shot at again. Many cannot stand this ordeal, are driven to madness and suicide, others confess that they are Communists in order to be done with it sooner, others again give away all they know.

In the beginning of March they arrested in her flat Lavis Bertze and M. Skudra, who had come to see her. During the tortures they

were both so mutilated that their prison comrades did not recognise them, as they were led to be shot. L. Bertze had a broken arm and in many places wounds caused by the tortures. She had a crooked leg before, and had walked for many years on crutches. On May 22, 1919, a bullet from the barons' gang had injured her arm. And this crippled forty-year-old woman, in whose house nothing incriminating had been found, the agents of Ullman's government mutilated in order to shoot her as a "state traitor". Such are the police conditions which prevent us from taking part in the Constituent Assembly. There can be no question of electoral lists for the Communist Party, for every elector who signed such a list, as well as the candidates, would be killed in the same way as thousands already have been killed. Not only Communist, but even non-partisan tickets are being persecuted. For instance in the elections for the Riga Town Council they put up a Non-partisan Workers' ticket; the elected Councillors were arrested and are in prison still. The same happened in Talsen where three Social Democrats were arrested.

Thus participation in elections is technically impossible to carry out—because the Communists cannot put up their candidates. And whom can one call the workmen to vote for under such conditions? For the Social Democrat-Mensheviks, playing the part of opposition to His Majesty? But everyone knows that the Mensheviks helped and are still helping to strengthen the rule of the bourgeoisie and deceive the workmen. Electoral campaigns are justified only when one can come out quite independently with a Communist programme. Any compromise, both in principle and practically, would be an irretrievable mistake. Therefore there is no other issue for the Communist Party in Lettland than to announce: «Down with the Constituent Assembly!» and in its place to install the Congress of Workers' Councils (Soviets). We know that the masses will take part in the elections, we know that the boycott will not become a boycott by the majority of the people, and that in place of the Constituent Assembly we cannot, in the near future, count upon calling together the Congress of Soviets. The deliverance of the Lettish proletariat will only take place when the European proletariat is freed. But to assist this victory we must strengthen our organisations and carry on Communist agitation.

We refused to put up the candidatures of our comrades to the Constituent, solely so as not

to augment the number of martyrs to Communism. This proposition will be considered doubtful by many, but in present-day Lettland «everything» is possible, for it is not without reason that Lettland is called the «Communists' grave», where countless murders of Communists have been committed, of which it is forbidden to say a word. If only a few Communists enter the Constituent Assembly of Lettland, the present government of land-and-houseowners will be overthrown. This the Government understands, and therefore exterminates mercilessly everyone in the slightest way suspicious. Whether the Constituent Assembly will modify the present situation in Lettland, it is hard to say. It is more probable that the present policy will continue. It will lead to the complete disillusionment of the unconscious working masses, who are still dupes of the Mensheviks. If the Menshevik Party should win the elections, it would be unfortunate for that Party; for it will not be able to carry out its promises while the bourgeoisie is in power, and the Mensheviks fear to take the power into their own hands. They vote for coalition, marking time in the same place, and await Socialism by evolution. They tremble in fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but squeal when they feel on their own backs the heavy hand of bourgeois dictatorship. They seek but cannot find the right way to real democracy. It might happen that they too will be driven underground, for now already the agents of the Ullman Government are organising attempts to murder Menshevik leaders. But in this case the Mensheviks will lose a great number of their members; the workers will go over to the Communists; the small bourgeoisie will shrink from illegality. And the Mensheviks will continue to graze in the rear

of the bourgeoisie. The same will occur in case of victory. The situation of Lettland will change only with the victory of the international proletariat.

The present moment is the epoch of the blackest reaction that the working class of Lettland has ever had to live through. If the revolution wins in Western Europe in the near future, then the deliverance of the Lettish proletariat will occur easily and quickly, for the Lettish White Guard Government cannot exist without the outward support of the Entente. If the revolution develops more slowly, and Lettland is compelled to become a colony of England—then the struggle will be harder and a long time will pass before the Communist Party will be able to use its legal possibilities. But whatever is the way of the development of the revolution, we know for sure that it will lead also Soviet Lettland through the dictatorship of the proletariat to Communism.

With Communist greetings  
The Central Committee  
of the Lettish Communist Party.

*P. Stuchka.*

March 30th, 1920.

P. S. In the electoral law for the Constituent Assembly of Lettland, there is an article which deprives the Communists of active and passive electoral rights.

Accepting this article "The People's Council" elected from its midst a commission of five lawyers, who were charged to formulate a definition of the word "Communist", and determine its characteristics. The Commission worked for a whole week, and at last came to the conclusion that it could not find the formula needed.

## The „Bund“ on the Soviet Power and the Third International

The general Jewish Workers' Union (Bund), at its Twelfth Conference, adopted a resolution concerning the current moment and the objects of the Party. We quote here some points in the resolution, dealing with the relations of the Bund to the Soviet authority and the Communist International.

1) The Eleventh Conference of the Bund stood on the platform of Social Revolution and official recognition of the Soviet authority. The

experience of the past year has entirely confirmed this position...

7) The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic is becoming a powerful organising centre of the World Revolution. The Soviet system is acquiring a wide recognition among the proletariat. The slogans of the Russian Revolution are now the slogans of the world proletariat. The victory of Soviet Russia is a matter concerning all the workmen of the world. The demand of the

workers not to interfere in the affairs of Soviet Russia, to lift the blockade, to enter into commercial relations — has grown more insistent during the whole year in all countries. It becomes the motto of all the electoral campaigns — the demand in economic strikes. This movement compels the governments to relinquish all military plans in regard to Russia — it is one of the most powerful factors which has brought about the lifting of the blockade.

The twelfth conference recognises the fact that the forces of the Social Revolution are organising themselves for the advance on capital under the mottos of the October revolution.

8) For Soviet Russia the last phase of the bloody and stubborn two-years struggle with internal and foreign counter-revolution, in order to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat has been brought to a victorious conclusion.

9) The victory at the fronts, the complete extermination of the forces of Denikin, Koltchak and Judenitch, give at last to the Russian proletariat an opportunity to turn to creative socialist labour, without laying down its arms.

New and complicated aims now rise before the Russian proletariat to strengthen national economy, to lift to a higher lever the industrial forces of the country, and consolidate the foundation of the Social Revolution — the economic dictatorship of the proletariat. The first business is to inaugurate a general conscription of all the working masses for a struggle on the new fronts — the fronts against disorganisation of industry and transportation, famine, epidemics, ignorance, which taken all together form the great bloodless front of labour. The gradual carrying out of general labour conscription, the introduction of an iron labour discipline, the education of the working masses in a spirit of collective combined creation, are the daily business of the time, and the revolutionary Marxist organisation of the Jewish proletariat, the "Bund", finds its great and responsible work in spreading those principles among the broad circles of Jewish workmen, and the still broader circle of yesterday's petty bourgeoisie, which must join the others in productive labour.

10) The conference of the "Bund" acknowledges that during the first year the Soviet power has unflinchingly followed the firm and decided policy, which alone can assure the victory of the revolution. This is the policy of actual agreement with the peasantry, when in stead of requisition there will be the system of compulsory tax on grain, the establishment of regular commercial exchange with the peasantry, the

organisation of technical and material aid for the peasants, careful accounting in organisations of Soviet economic and agricultural communes, instalment of rural Soviets and the placing of authority in the country in the hands of the middle and the poor peasants. Is it the policy of systematic grouping of the wide masses for the process of the Soviet creation, transformation of the Soviets into virile organs of Soviet activity, supplying of Soviet institutions with workers and establishing actual labour control, awakening of initiative in the wide masses. With all its power the "Bund" must come to the aid of the Soviet authority in this line of conduct, which has already been characterized by the Eleventh Conference as the only efficient one.

11) The "Bund" must support with all possible energy the inclination of the authorities to do away with the system of Terror.

12) The "Bund" must fight together with the Soviet Power against bureaucratism, administrative license, which are so often found in the provinces, owing to a lack of the right people, and the necessity to making use of bourgeois specialists and the passiveness of the wider circles.

13) The "Bund" supports the food policy of the government, and categorically condemns all open and secret attempts to strengthen and sanction free trade.

14) Summing up the experiences of the past year, the Twelfth Conference of the "Bund" states:

a) That the Eleventh Conference of the Bund placed it in principle on the platform of Communism.

b) That the program of the Communist Party, which is at the same time the program of the Soviet power, coincides with the position in principle of the Bund.

c) That "united Socialist front" with the enemies in principle of the Soviet authority, who oppose its power to the proletariat — cannot be recognized.

d) That the moment has come when the Bund can withdraw its official attitude of opposition, and share the responsibility of the policy of the Soviet power.

The Twelfth Conference of the Bund opposes itself to every attempt to create another Third International.

Providing:

a) that the Third International must admit not only Communist Parties, but all proletarian

parties who have actually broken with the Second International, and at the same time have placed themselves on the platform of Social Revolution, revolutionary class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat;

b) that tactical dissensions and even disagreements of programme between separate Communist and Socialist Parties which stand in general lines on the platform of the Third International—dissensions, which can justify the existence of these parties—can not be allowed to interfere with the unity of these parties in the Third International;

c) seeing that the Third International, during the period of its existence, has shown that it is building a new world policy, taking into consideration the objective surroundings in every country, grasping the value of actual possibilities, fighting energetically Anarcho-Blanquist tendencies in the working masses, and applying the principles of revolutionary Marxism;

d) that the Third International has officially announced its complete readiness to enter in negotiations with every party which confirms its actual rupture with the Second International, and has also expressed its readiness "to take account of the experience of the proletarian movement in all countries, to alter and complete the platform of the Third International on the basis of the Marxist theory and the experience of revolutionary struggle in all the world";

stating further that for the Bund, standing in principle on the Communist platform, there can be no such doubts and hesitations which are in other parties the result of their disagreement with Communism,

the Twelfth Conference of the Bund proclaims that the Bund of Soviet Russia joins the Third Communist International, and calls all the branches of the Bund separated from it by the imperialist and civil wars, to follow the example of the Bund of Soviet Russia.

## The Rupture of the Mensheviks with the Second International

At the meeting of the plenum of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies of April 20th, 1920, Martov declared that on the 10th March, 1920, the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party adopted a resolution concerning the question of the renaissance of the International. Clause 3 of this resolution reads as follows:

"The Second International cannot become such a centre" i. e. such a rallying point. It played a mighty part in the history of the first epoch, the epoch which preceded the war, in the period of organic and peaceful development of world capitalism, when the task of the Socialist Parties was to educate and organise the working masses, and direct their class struggle within the limitations dictated by the bourgeois régime.

"A death-blow was struck at the Second International by the fact that at the moment of the declaration of the great war, the leading Parties exchanged the policy of class struggle for the policy of social peace. At this moment it is completely destroyed by the fact that some of these Parties, in spite of the evident bankruptcy of this policy, are unable to return to the revolutionary class platform and continue to follow the old policy—making any union with them impossible for parties

and elements convinced of the revolutionary character of the present epoch.

"The Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, already in May, 1919, acknowledged the historical fall of the Second International, and condemned any attempts to reestablish it by a mechanical, purely outward union of different and incongruous elements. Last year, when the Second International still consisted of all revolutionary Socialist Parties except Communists, our Party considered it necessary to participate in the Berne and other Congresses, for purposes of information, without submitting to their decisions; now, with the approval of the Party Congress of March 10th, 1920, it is determined to break off all organisational relations with the remains of the Second International, and welcomes the plan of the German Independents and French Socialists to call a Congress of all revolutionary Socialist parties, in order to organise the above-mentioned International centre.

"The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party expresses its entire readiness to take the most active part in the Congress, as well as in its organisation."



## To the Proletariat of the World

### From the joint session of the Petrograd Soviet and the representatives of the English, French and Italian workers

On the occasion of the arrival in Soviet Russia of the representatives of the Italian, French and English proletariat, a great meeting of the Petrograd Soviet and all the proletarian organisations of the city and province took place to-day in Petrograd. At this meeting met and fraternized representatives of several countries which until now have been separated by the many war fronts set up by the Imperialist bandits.

And the first word is now addressed to you, proletarians of the world. We have this day assembled in a country which was the first, three years ago, to raise the banner of the proletarian revolution, and has so far honorably defended it against the united attacks of world capitalism. We are assembled in the northern capital of Soviet Russia at a moment when a new onslaught of international capitalist imperialism is launched against the Workers' and Peasants' State.

The Russian workers and the heroic Worker-Peasant Red Army created by them, successfully defended their country on many fronts, and defeated all the counter-revolutionary generals in spite of the liberal support given to the monarchist leaders by the "democratic" governments of England, France, Italy, America and other countries. The Russian working class had conquered all obstacles and was preparing an offensive on the labour front, in order with all possible speed to wrest Soviet Russia from the terrible grip of famine, cold and economic disorganisation. The Russian workers, as we the delegates of different countries have seen with our own eyes, went to work to restore their ruined economic structure with unheard of self-denial and heroic energy; but at that very moment International Capitalism hurled against Soviet Russia the forces of the Polish bourgeoisie. World Imperialism will on no account permit the Russian workers and peasants, after defeating their enemies, to reorganize their economic life on a new basis.

The world knows that the government of Soviet Russia did all that was humanly possible to avoid war with the Polish bourgeois government, but the International Stock Exchange insisted upon war between White Po-

land and Soviet Russia, and the war has become a fact.

Every one realizes that without the support of the French, English, Italian, German and Austrian capitalists, White Poland could never make war against Soviet Russia. Every class conscious worker can see that the governments of the European bourgeoisie, while they make overtures toward Soviet Russia, at the same time incite and direct White Poland's war against her. The protest raised by the workers of various countries, and the pressure exerted by Labour parties everywhere, have compelled some of the European governments for the sake of appearances to make a pretence of willingness to come to terms with Soviet Russia; in reality, however, all these governments continue to make warlike plans against her, and support the incredibly cynical, dirty and villainous campaign of the Polish robber-gangs against Workers' and Peasants' Russia.

Denouncing to the workers of the world this treacherous policy of the bourgeois governments of Europe, we at the same time point with pride to the fact that in several foreign countries the workers are doing their duty toward Soviet Russia. The transport workers of England, Italy, Germany and Austria refuse to transport war materials destined to the White Polish troops. Norwegian workers refuse to fulfill war orders in those factories which work for White Poland. The workers of all countries realize that the time is past when it was possible to be content with platonic protests against robber wars. We are happy to state that we see on the part of the workers of England, Italy, France, Germany, Austria and Norway a demonstration of Internationalism,— active, real, revolutionary Internationalism. In this true expression of proletarian solidarity we see proof that the Third Communist International is truly becoming the leader of the entire struggle for freedom of the world's proletariat. We are deeply convinced that these truly revolutionary actions of the workers of England, Italy, and other countries are only skirmishes in the great international conflict which is at this moment beginning.

We profoundly believe that this active support from the workers of other countries grows and gains strength with every day. We call upon the proletariat of all countries to show by their deeds that in the future no Imperialist clique can wage war against the government of Russia's Workers and Peasants.

The war which Soviet Russia is compelled to carry on against the predatory campaign of White Poland does not alone concern the Russian workers and peasants, but the class conscious proletarians of the world.

Comrades! See to it that not one train, not one steamer carrying even a pound of war materials for White Poland moves one inch, that not one military unit sent to the assistance of White Poland reaches its destination. Remember that henceforth the imperialistic bourgeoisie cannot be moved by resolutions and demonstrations. To use force means to be met with force. The European bourgeoisie must be taught this fact — that to assist White Poland means to

meet at every step the resistance of their own workers.

Polish workers and soldiers, do your duty! This the workers of the world demand of you. Remember that the Russian workers and peasants are your best friends, and that Poland's manufacturers, landlords and generals are your worst enemies.

Long live true, active and militant Internationalism!

Long live proletarian solidarity shown by deeds!

Long live the International Proletariat!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the Third International!

*Signed for the Italian delegation:* Serrati, Bombacci, Graziadei, Vaccirca, Darragone.

*The delegate of the French workers:* I. Deslinières.

*Delegates of the English workers:* Tom Quelch; Mac Laine.

*By commission of the Petrograd Soviet,*

G. Zinoviev.

## To the French Proletariat

### From the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies

The Petrograd Soviet in joint session with all the other proletarian organizations of the city and province of Petrograd, send their warmest greetings to you, French proletarians, men and women. Today for the first time we have with us one of your representatives, direct from Paris, a member of the Committee of the Third International, comrade Deslinières. After a long interval we at last may welcome to Russia a true bearer of the thoughts and feelings of the French workers. In the person of this comrade we do honor to you, French working men and women. Enthusiastically we clasp your rough hands, and say to you: "The meeting of the Russian workers with the representatives of the Communists of Italy, France and England is for us a pledge of our coming common victory."

French comrades, you are well aware of the part played at present by your bourgeois government. For many years Tsarist Russia enjoyed the well-earned reputation of International Gendarme. But the French imperialists now in power have broken every record, even that of the obscurantist, blood-stained Russian Tsarism. The Paris capitalist government has become the

bulwark of world reaction. The French bourgeoisie is acting the part of hangman to a whole group of peoples, and more than any other capitalist government, is guilty of the criminal campaign which for the last three years has harassed Soviet Russia. The French bourgeoisie is throttling the German workers, choking the proletariat of the Balkan countries, oppressing the colonial populations; but it displays a particularly frantic rage against its own people, the French proletariat.

Russia's class-conscious workers hate, with every fibre of their souls, the criminal government which has its seat in Paris. All the greater is their love and respect for you, French proletarians, who still bear the yoke of the most brutally imperialistic régime the world has ever seen. We send brotherly greetings to comrades Loriot, Monatte, Boris Souvarine, and all the other prisoners of French imperialism. By the arrest of your leaders, the furious reaction, and the persecution directed against the General Confederation of Labour, the government of the French stock-brokers merely shows that the hour of its downfall is not far off.

So far we have seen in Russia only French spies, who organised conspiracies in our rear, blew up bridges and spread destruction among us. We have seen French "white" officers, who helped Kolchak, Denikin and the other monarchists and reactionaries. In 1917 there came to us certain gentlemen, in the guise of workers' representatives, Albert Thomas and other hirelings of capitalism. Know, comrades, that the Russian proletariat does not trust these so-called "socialists" one iota. Also we maintain the greatest reserve toward the present official majority of the French Socialist Party, which withdrew from the Second International, but did not join the Third. All our trust, all our love, goes out to you, working men and women of France, who have once for all broken away from all conciliators and arbitrators, and who firmly take your stand under the banner of the Third International.

Under this banner, the great banner of Communism, the workers of the whole world are

gathering. A huge majority of the French proletarians, we are quite sure, belong in their hearts to our great international association of workers, the Communist International. We know that decisive events are preparing in France. Next year will be the fiftieth anniversary of the great Paris Commune. The sons and grandsons of the Paris Communards will know how to free their country from the bourgeoisie, will know how to create a Soviet power in France which shall take an honorable place in the International Soviet Republic.

Long live the French proletariat!

Long live Soviet France!

Long live the Third International!

The President of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies.

G. ZINOVIEV.

June 9, 1920.

## From the Petrograd Soviet of Labourers' and Peasants' Delegates

### To the Working Class of England:

To-day's joint meeting of the Petrograd Soviet and all the other organizations of the city and province takes place in honour of the French, Italian and English delegates. In the two comrades sent us by you we see the representatives of those English workers whose eyes have already opened to all that is going on, whose lot is cast, who have definitively taken up their position in the ranks of International Communism. In the person of the two comrades who have just arrived here we do honour to you, English working men and women, who are ready to struggle not in words alone, but in deeds, for Soviet rule in England and the world. In the person of the English comrades who have come to us we see the first of our English friends who are fully and without restrictions ready to take their stand in the ranks of the international comradeship of workers known under the name of "Communist International", and do their duty to the end.

You well know yourselves how much harm the English bourgeois government has done to our Soviet Republic. You well know yourselves how your government, together with that of the French capitalists, bears the chief blame for the campaign which has been organized against Soviet Russia. All the world knows that even now, the war which the Polish landlord is waging against the Russian Soviet Republic, is directed by the hand of the French capitalists, assisted by the English capitalists. You well know yourselves that the official leaders of the old English Labour movement, in the very beginning of the war, betrayed the red banner, as it was betrayed by the German and Austrian Social Democrats.

But the spirit of the proletarian revolution is alive in England. Ever more swell the ranks of those English workers who hold it their duty to protest against the policy of oppression which English capital is pursuing in Ireland. Ever more to the conscious workers multiply in England, who realize that without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without an armed conflict with the bourgeoisie, without the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist government, without the creation of a Red Army of their own, without the institution of a Soviet Republic in England, there is no way to deliverance from the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

Your struggles, your first steps are keenly watched by the conscious workers of the world.

The English proletariat must take its stand under the banner of Communism. The English trade unions must free themselves from the pernicious influence of bourgeois agents, who turn the English Unions into instruments for the enslaving of the masses by the bourgeoisie. The English proletariat must become Communist.

Long live the working class of England!

Long live Sovietism in England!

Long live the Third International!

The President of the Petrograd Soviet of the Workers and Red Army Deputies.

G. ZINOVIEV.

June 9, 1920.

## To the Revolutionary Proletariat and the Revolutionary Soldiers of Italy

From the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies

Brothers, Italian Proletarians! With feelings of deepest emotion we address you. In the person of your delegates we do honour to the entire Italian proletariat, and to the glorious revolutionary soldiers of Italy, the future core of the Italian Red Army.

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Red Army Deputies, together with all the other organisations of the city and province of Petrograd, assembled this day in honour of your delegates, declares to you that the moment of our meeting with the representatives of the working people of Italy is to us one of supreme happiness.

The Russian workers know perfectly well how difficult has been the path of the Italian proletariat since the beginning of the Imperialistic slaughter. But you did not lower your banner, did not allow yourselves to be deceived by treacherous phrases about „defense of the fatherland“ in a war whose real object was imperialistic robbery; you protested against the predatory war from the first minute it began. All persecutions by the bourgeoisie you answered with contempt, by gathering all your strength to continue the struggle against capitalism. Through long years of tireless battle against the bourgeoisie and its agents, the opportunists, you moulded and forged for yourselves a mighty labour party which, we are profoundly convinced, will soon finally expel from its ranks all the non-Communist elements, and lead the Italian proletariat to the assault of the bourgeoisie.

The Italian workers from the first moment of the imperialistic war remembered Karl Liebknecht's axiom, „the foe is in your own camp“. By fighting the Italian capitalists and their government you have fulfilled your international duty. Your party has rendered immense services in the work of creating the Communist International. Your glorious leaders, in the person of comrade Serrati, together with our own represen-

tatives Lenin, Zinoviev and Trotsky, took an ardent part in the early attempts to restore international solidarity, torn apart by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. The example offered by the heroic struggle carried on by the Italian workers was to us a torch in the darkness of Tsarist reaction, and showed us the way after the bourgeois revolution of February, 1917. We know that yours is not an easy struggle. We know that after taking power into your own hands, you Italian workers will have to face terrible hardships and enormous tasks. The path of the Proletarian Revolution, which leads to the emancipation of labour, to the deliverance of all mankind, to the creation of dignified conditions of life is not easy.

The Italian workers are our best friends; the Italian proletariat is the nearest to us in spirit. We not only respect and appreciate the Italian workers, we love them. The workers of Petrograd and, we are convinced, of all Russia receive your delegates as brothers, and in our meeting with them we see a pledge that the moment is not distant when all Europe will be one indivisible Soviet Republic.

With strained attention we shall continue to follow the phases of your heroic struggle. And we believe, we know that decisive events are coming in Italy. Any day now the all-purifying thunderstorm may burst there.

Long live your victories!

Long live Soviet Italy!

Long live the Red Army in Italy!

Long live the Italian Proletariat!

Long live the Third International!

The President of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies,

W. Zinoviev.

June 9th, 1920.

## The Resolutions of the Balkan Socialist Conference

In 1920 a conference of the Balkan Socialists took place in Sofia, with the participation of the Bulgarian Communist Party („Narrow Socialists“), the Socialist Labour Party (Communists) of Yugo-Slavia, the Socialist Labour Party of Greece and the Rumanian Socialist Party. This was the third conference of the Balkan Socialist Parties (the first having taken place in Belgrade in 1910, the second in 1915 in Bukarest). This conference adopted the following extremely important resolutions:

### *I. The problems of the Communist and Socialist Parties in the Balkans.*

The world war, far from having resulted in a national union of the Balkan nations and in their liberation, far from having solved their national problems and removed the cause of their mutual hatreds, has left them economically exhausted, totally bankrupt and politically subject to the great imperialistic Entente powers, under conditions which contain new sources of hatred and new wars. It is becoming evident to all the Balkan peoples that instead of having achieved, as a result of the wars, the national unity promised by the ruling bourgeoisie, they have arrived at the loss of their independence, at a state of political enslavement and starvation and extreme want among the working masses.

Totally ruined, burdened with enormous debts and taxes, financially and politically dependent upon Entente imperialism and having become a species of Ententes colonies, the Balkan states are unable to restore by their own means the economic life within their territorial boundaries, and are moreover unable to improve the terrible conditions of the working and the propertyless masses. The enormous war debts oppressing the Balkan nations suck out their lifeblood for the benefit of the European bankers and hamper their economic development. The nations applying for help from the great imperialistic powers will be deprived of free economic development; they will have to export their raw materials into these empires and import manufactured goods.

Nothing but the Social Revolution will secure to the small nations a free existence and an independent development. It will rid them of the enormous state debts, it will set free the productive forces of all countries, saving them from the narrowness of state frontiers, and will

open a free way out into the large space by uniting the small nations into an economic union.

The liberation of the Balkan nations from the political, financial, and economic rule of the imperialistic Entente, their national freedom and union, the creation of conditions necessary for the development of their productive forces, all this can be achieved only if they become united and form one Balkan Socialist Soviet Republic.

The Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation declares in consequence that nothing but the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with its organisation of the councils of Workers, Soldiers and Red Army deputies, will liberate the Balkan nations from all oppression and will afford them a possibility of self-determination uniting them all into a one Balkan Socialist Soviet Republic.

The Conference therefore calls upon the proletariat and the poor of the Balkan towns and villages, urging them to unite under the red banner of Communism, and to form powerful revolutionary organisations. It calls upon them to prepare and to arm themselves with force, with revolutionary spirit and discipline, the objective development of the conditions of life having allotted them a great historic mission. Their full liberation from all oppression, peace and welfare for the ruined and enslaved Balkan nations who have shed so much blood, depend on how they fulfil this great mission.

The Conference makes it a duty of the Balkan Communist and Socialist parties to educate the proletarian and propertyless masses in a revolutionary Socialist (Marxist) spirit, in order to make them conscious of their historic problems and the great aim of the proletarian liberating movement, and to unite them into mass organisations to struggle for the victory of the great International Communist Revolution.

### *II. The Affiliation of the Balkan Communist Federation to the Communist International.*

The Conference of the Balkan Socialist Federation, composed of the Bulgarian Communist Party („Narrow Socialists“), the Socialist Labour Party (Communists) of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Labour Party of Greece and the Rumanian Socialist Party, with the participation of the representatives of all the named parties,

discussed in its session of January 15, 1920, in Sofia the question of the affiliation of the Balkan Socialist Federation to the Third Communist International and arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The international revolutionary situation in the whole world, and more specially in Europe, caused by the five years of the world's war and the irreconcilable class opposition roused by this war in modern capitalistic society, has created a new revolutionary epoch, urging with an irresistible force the proletariat of all capitalist countries to seize the political power. Inevitable proletarian Socialist Revolutions are therefore to be anticipated in the advanced European countries, most of which have already entered the primary stages of this revolution.

2. In such a revolutionary epoch, and being given such an international revolutionary situation, the Balkan Communist and Socialist Parties consider that one of their chief problems is to coordinate their actions, and using their influence on the popular masses of the Balkans to give all possible support to the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic in the coming proletarian Socialist Revolution in Europe, and to paralyze thereby the counter-revolutionary forces moved against it from the Balkans or through the Balkans.

3. The position of the Balkan nations created by the war and resulting in the deepest changes in economic life, is marked on one hand by a colossal concentration of capital, a colossal monopolisation of the means of production and of exchange, and an irreconcilable class opposition, and on the other by economic ruin, starvation, dire want and fatal exhaustion of the working classes. The Balkan bourgeois parties are incapable of coping with the present situation and of satisfying the enormous needs and desires of the working masses.

In view of such conditions, the Balkan states are facing financial bankruptcy as a result of the war, of the unbearable burden of enormous state debts and heavy financial obligations imposed on them by the great imperialistic Entente powers. Disunited, hostile to each other and subject to the imperialistic Entente powers the Balkan states are unable to restore their economic life within their territorial boundaries, and on a capitalist base without the help of the European capital. But even were this help to be granted them, it would hamper the economic development of the Balkans; and European capital will moreover itself founder in the near future under the blows

of the coming Social Revolutions in Europe.

There is also in addition the lack of space, the complication of unsolved national problems and the reactionary, arbitrary forms of government employed by the bourgeoisie in the Balkans. This all leads to very hard conditions, with no possible issue for the Balkan nations, considering their disunion and the present capitalist relations. They are unable to unite and form a federation of the Balkan states under the rule of their national bourgeoisie because of the stubbornness and megalomania of the bourgeoisie, and because of the obstacles sure to be set up in this case in each of the states by the dynasties, autocracy and militarism.

All these conditions, creating such a situation in the Balkan states, as well as the growth of the Communist movement, and the fact of the proletarian Revolutions in Europe, will force the Balkan Communist and Socialist parties to seize the political power, to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and the propertyless masses based on Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils, and to found the Balkan Socialist Soviet Republic.

4. The victory of the Proletarian Socialist Revolution and the transformation of modern capitalistic society into a Communism, based on Socialist principles, will be accomplished with greater promptitude and less victims on the part of the proletariat in proportion to the courage and the full comprehension of its necessity that will be shown in the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the Workers', Peasants and Soldiers' Councils, and in proportion to the mutual help which the proletarians of all countries will afford each other in their revolutionary action and in proportion as they unite their revolutionary home struggles with the universal international revolutionary liberating struggle, subjecting their own separate cause to the interests of the interests of the victory of the International Proletarian Revolution.

5. In view of the accomplishment of these important tasks, the Balkan Communist and Socialist parties consider it necessary to establish close connections with each other, in order to coordinate their acts and their struggle with the activity of those proletarian parties which are fighting for the Proletarian Revolution as their immediate aim, and acknowledge the necessity of relentless class warfare for the victory of the Revolution, as well as for the proletarian dictatorship expressed in Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils.

6. The Third Communist International, founded in Moscow in March 1919, has set as its aim: a) to liberate the labour movement from the impure ingredients of opportunism and social patriotism which have caused the bankruptcy of the Second International in 1914, and are contrary to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; b) to unite the forces of all genuinely revolutionary parties of the world proletariat, putting into practice the principles and methods of revolutionary relentless class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils, and c) to secure and accelerate in such a way the victory of the universal Communist Revolution.

In consideration of all this the Conference decides:

1. The Balkan Communist Federation, consisting of the Communist and Socialist parties of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Rumania joins the Third Communist International and forms its Balkan section, accepting the principles and methods of the revolutionary class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship based on the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils.

2. The Balkan Socialist Federation, as the union of the Balkan Communist and Socialist parties was called up till now, will be hereafter called the Balkan Communist Federation\*.

## To the Circuit Soviet of Workmen, Vienna

### Notification

We, the undersigned Communist revolutionists, notify that the three days' demonstrative hunger strike is ended by us.

This demonstration was undertaken because we would not allow that the lie about our enjoying the right of refuge in German-Austria should remain unrefuted in the eyes of the proletariat. On the third day of our strike we were informed in the name of Chancellor of State Renner that all the interned would be let free with the exception of comrades Bela Kun, Max Levin and Ernst Por, who, at the request of the Italian Embassy, were to remain under arrest.

We accepted this condition as a temporary solution of the question, and stopped the strike in consequence.

The night before the first of this month the Secretary of State Eldash informed us that all the interned, whose release had been demanded, would remain under arrest, as the Italian Embassy had raised a new objection to our liberation.

We leave it to you to judge of this step, but we must remark that the Italian Ambassador denied a similar declaration of State Secretary Eldash the day before. It is not our business to decide which of the two has lied.

It appears from all this that the official declarations to the effect that we had to be defended against the attempts of Hungarian White Guards, who are over-running Vienna—are lies. It is quite evident that our detention bears the nature of an arrest, as we have been informed more than once that all requests for our extradition will be declined as soon as we leave the territory of German-Austria. We note with satisfaction that by means of the hunger strike we have succeeded in exposing the lie that we were enjoying the right of refuge in Steinhof.

The fact that our internment bears the nature of an arrest is a proof that the Noske policy can assume not only the form of a military dictatorship, but also that of a dictatorship of the police.

There is no doubt that in Vienna and in German-Austria we are the prisoners of the international imperialist counter-revolution, and that the Austrian Government has taken upon itself the role of jailer. There is no sense in demonstrating against such proceedings, even if the members of the Labour Party are playing this part.

We are firmly convinced that the Italian section of the Third International, the party of the Italian proletariat which has never refused to fight against the bandits of international im-



perialism, will not allow that friendly services be rendered in its name to the bandits of Korti.

Long live international solidarity!

Down with the robbers and flunkys of imperialism!

Long live the International Socialist Revolution!

With Communist greetings

**Bela Kun, Max Levin, Ernst Por, Bela Vago, Matthew Rakosy, B. Galler,**

Vienna, Steinhof, April 1 st, 1920.

## The Call of the Third International

### Declaration of the Left Wing of the I. L. P.

*Comrades*—We, the signatories to this letter, are of the opinion that we should not be doing our duty either to our fellow-members of the I. L. P. or to the cause that we have at heart if, in this crisis in the history of the Socialist Movement in Britain, we did not come forward and through such channels as are open to us state our case for the adherence of the Party to the Moscow International.

We have neither the machinery of our own, nor freedom to use the machinery of the Party for the purpose of replying to those—pre-eminently the elected representatives of the membership—who oppose admission to the International Communist Movement. We do not complain that the N. A. C. should give its advice to those to whom it is responsible and by whom it has been placed in charge of the administration that the I. L. P. should affiliate with the Third International.

We are jealous for the maintenance of that reputation which the I. L. P. acquired during the war for its steadfast opposition to the predatory politics of Capitalism and its unswerving determination to recognise no truce with the enemies of the working class. During the war the I. L. P. had no use for the opportunist tactics of pro-war Socialists of the type of Arthur Henderson, Albert Thomas, or Emile Vandervelde, any more than it had for the shuffling tactics of which Karl Kautsky was a prominent exponent.

Though not founded on a theoretical Marxism yet as if by instinct, the I. L. P., as a party, held aloof from, and was hostile to those influences which have made of the Second International a dishonoured corpse that now pollutes the atmosphere of working-class politics.

Though not founded on a theoretical Marxism, yet as if by accompanying Militarism ranged the I. L. P. alongside of the Italian, Serbian and Roumanian Socialists, and those Socialist sections then supporting Liebknecht in Germany and Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Movement. *Comrades*, we have, and continue to be proud of our war record, and we fear the associations which we are now bidden to accept and to continue.

It was not to line up with the militarist Socialists, and erstwhile members of National Ministries that our men and women faced the misunderstanding of their audiences, broke the ties of friendship and old associations, and, in hundreds of instances, elected to remain in gaol for years rather than obey the behests of their class enemies and oppressors.

*Comrades*, the I. L. P. refused to take the "safe and discreet" course during the war and scorned the dangers that lay in its path. After the struggles of the war years, are we now to think rather of coming successes in elections and of the chances of office that may lie before us, or are we to continue to face the blast of unpopularity and the ridicule and contempt of those who cannot or will not strive to understand the true significance of Bolshevism?

Our leaders—may we say once more those whom we have instructed to serve us—oppose the very thought of sudden revolution. They point us to the more practical course of gradual reform. They wish—in an evident ignorance of the lessons of our own nation's history—to achieve the ideal of the common ownership of the means of production and distribution (an end of most revolutionary and drastic character) by the mere use of so-called constitutional means evolved by and for the advancement of Capitalism, and by landlords and plutocrats who themselves did not always adhere to them in the fundamental crises of British history.

They speak, write and act as if the attainment of Socialism was to be but an incident in the "ins" and "outs" of Parliamentary controversy.

They who have witnessed the shameless trickery of the last six years and of the secret diplomacy which preceded these years; who have put their pathetic trust in the broken reed of American democracy and in spite of the political experience of the past generation, besought a Liberal President of the United States, and an old-fashioned British aristocrat, who had formerly been a Tory War Minister and Foreign Secretary, to rescue the world from chaos; who have seen the League of Nations change from an idealist's vision to a bondholder's nightmare of blockade and intervention; who have before their eyes the pitiless murder of Central Europe by the slow starvation of its helpless women and children; advise us to act and to organise as if the capitalists, when we knock upon the door, will be off and say no more. They advise us to think and act as if the propertied classes would acquiesce in their expropriation by parliamentary enactments.

We do not doubt that the capitalists will tolerate the existence and obey the enactments of a Labour Government as it leaves them secure in the possession of land and capital, but we have no use for such a Government. Willing the end, we hold that the I. L. P. must will the means.

In this country the proletariat is in an overwhelming majority. A *bona fide* Labour Government may serve industrial organisations as well as the majority of the Public by what is known as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Such a Government need make no apology for the use even of the army in the interests of the working classes, just as under capitalist control, the whole of the armed forces of the nation have been, in the past and are still at the present time, used for the suppression of spasmodic working class revolts. Scottish comrades, in particular, will remember the invasion of Glasgow by tanks and troops in the early part of 1919, and the elaborate preparations made for the possible crushing, by armed force, of the railway strike of 1919 will be fresh in the minds of all of us. Sir Edward Carson's threatened military operations to keep under servile bondage the whole of Ireland, have silent lessons

of their own. General Dyer's rough and ready methods adopted during what is popularly known as the "Massacre of Amritsar" to bring into terror-stricken subjugation 300 millions of Indians for the benefit of a few thousand Imperial capitalist exploiters, is not a bad example of the Dictatorship of the Imperialist.

The Moscow International not only does not reject but it emphatically endorses participation in Parliamentary elections and entry into Parliament, for the purpose of propaganda by exposure and of depriving the capitalists of whatever obstructionist power there may be in the domination of that institution. Lenin in his reply to Kautsky's "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" explicitly states his views:

"Or take bourgeois parliaments. Is it to be supposed that learned Mr. Kautsky has never heard of the fact that the more democracy is developed the more do the bourgeois parliaments fall under the control of the Stock Exchange and bankers? This, of course, does not mean that bourgeois parliamentarism ought not to be made use of; the Bolsheviks, for instance, made, perhaps, more successful use of it than any party in the world, having in 1912-14 captured the entire Labour representation in the fourth Duma."

Or let us take yet another definite example: Madame Clara Zetkin, the leading exponent of Communism in Germany, and one of the founders of the Spartacus Group, is an active participant in the Parliament of Wurttemberg.

Whilst we are in favour of exploiting to the uttermost, all the opportunities of constitutional procedure, we believe the working class will have no more use for Parliament under Socialism than the revolutionary plutocracy had for the supreme organ of feudalism, the Privy Council. We believe that the whole structure of the State must be dismantled and a new social organisation evolved, through which all who render or have rendered useful social service may participate in the administration of communal life. We definitely reject the principle of occupancy of lander property—the basis of the present franchise—and require the establishment of a labour right to participate in the administration of society.

We think that the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees set up on a basis of organisation by industry, including bodies catering for professional and home workers, constitute the beginning of the new policy and we urge that it shall be the aim of the International Labour Party, by all means in its power, to further the development of labour unions on the above lines.

Such, comrades, are the general principles and policy which we trust will command your support and, in any case, enlist your sympathetic consideration.

We are fully aware that, in adopting the only means at our disposal for bringing our views before our fellow-members of the I. L. P. we shall, in all probability, be subjected to the kind of criticism which is usually levelled at those who introduce disturbing elements into the realms of official somnolence and complacency. This prospect does not in the least perturb us. We do, however, ask those who, after full consideration, find themselves in agreement with us, to strengthen our hands by sending a brief note to such effect, addressed to Comrade Mrs. H. Fergusson, 4, Addison Way, Golder's Green, London, N. W.

Even more important, however, than indicating your individual in this way, is to get your Branch to make your voice and influence effective in the ranks of the Party by well-directed action at the forthcoming Annual Conference at Glasgow. This can be done by voting steadily and solidly for the resolutions which declare for disaffiliation from the Second International and adhesion to the Third International. This is the issue. Do not allow it to be side-tracked. Vote consistently against shelving motions in whatever guise they may be presented.

Even a decision in favour of affiliation with the Third International may be largely nullified if the carrying out of it is entrusted to a National Council either lukewarm or even actively hostile to Moscow. However essential it is that such a resolution passed by Conference and the personnel of the National Council should be in harmony and not in hopeless antagonism, we have to bear in mind that the elections at the Conference take place on previously fixed nominations, and also that they are based on consideration of more than one question relating to the Party. In view of this, it would be necessary to work continually through your Branches to urge upon the N. A. C. to carry out in spirit the wishes of the Branches in regard to our hearty co-operation with the Third International.

*We are yours fraternally,*

L. Anstey, Coventry.  
 Ronald G. Armstrong, City, London.  
 K. Atkins, Clapham.  
 Charles Barker, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 Elizabeth Barker, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 Miss L. Barker, Portsmouth.  
 George Barker, Abertilly, Mon.  
 J. Stuart Barr, Lesmahagow.  
 P. D. Bennett, Clapham.  
 K. Betts, Clapham.  
 V. S. Bhat, City, London.  
 F. Bond, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Lizzie Forster Bovill, City, London.  
 W. B. Forster Bovill, City, London.  
 Edmund Bowman, Blackburn.  
 Lenard Boyle, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Isaac Brassington, Ardwick.  
 A. C. Brown, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 Edward G. Brown, Gillingham.  
 G. W. Brown, Bristol, Central.  
 John Buchanan, Wishaw.  
 H. S. Button, Coventry.  
 Mrs. Button, Coventry.  
 Mrs. M. A. Bryan, City, London.  
 Albert Burns, Blackburn.  
 Thomas Carter, Wishaw.  
 F. H. Chapman, Clapham.  
 W. H. Clark, Coventry.  
 E. F. Clarke, Clapham.  
 William Hadley Cocks, Woolwich.  
 Joseph Cole, Redcar, Yorkshire.  
 Dorothy E. Colpus, Portsmouth.  
 R. V. Colpus, Portsmouth.  
 J. Connell, City, London.  
 H. Cox, Clapham.  
 James Craig, Wishaw.  
 Ethel Cundall, Redcar.  
 Miss L. L. Denman, Clapham.  
 Lily L. Dennon, Newport.  
 Alexander Dobbie, Wishaw.  
 John J. Donnelle, Motherwell.  
 J. Dryden, Barrow.  
 H. L. Dullforce, Clapham.  
 Arthur Field, City, London.  
 W. Field, Clapham.  
 George Flint, Blackburn.  
 Robert G. Foules, Edinburgh Central.  
 James M. Frame, Motherwell.  
 R. Gibson, Portsmouth.  
 H. C. Glass, Cathart.  
 Thomas W. Gowland, Kensington, Liverpool.

Samuel Graves, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 A. Gray, Clapham.  
 Arthur L. Gwilliam, Manchester, Moss Side.  
 George Hall, Gorton, Manchester.  
 William E. Halliwell, Coventry.  
 G. Maurice Hann, City, London.  
 Herbert F. Heavyside, Doncaster.  
 Henry Hicker, New Tupton.  
 W. Hickman, Coventry and District Branch.  
 T. Higgins, Clapham.  
 Wilfred Hill, Oldham.  
 W. M. Hills, Bromley.  
 H. A. Hinksman, Coventry.  
 J. A. Horobin, Coventry.  
 W. J. House, Clapham.  
 Edward Hughes, Redcar.  
 Leopold Hyam, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 Rachel S. Jeffrey, Central Edinburgh.  
 Mrs. Jepp, Portsmouth.  
 G. V. Jepp, Portsmouth.  
 A. Jewell, Clapham.  
 A. J. Jones, Newport, Mon.  
 F. E. Jones, Newport, Mon.  
 G. H. Joy, Leeds.  
 James Keating, Redcar.  
 Loty Emma Keating, Redcar.  
 P. Keating, Clapham.  
 William Kellie, Wishaw.  
 Will Lawther, Chopwell.  
 A. W. Lay, Hammersmith.  
 Annie Lee, Gorton, Manchester.  
 H. Lever, Blackburn.  
 R. W. Ley, Newport, Mon.  
 Nancy Livesey, Blackburn.  
 Frank Lloyd, Manchester Central.  
 David Lockhart, Redcar.  
 Margaret Lockhart, Redcar.  
 Bram Longstafe, Barrow.  
 E. M. Machin, Clapham.  
 H. Machin, Clapham.  
 Charles Marfitt, Blackburn.  
 G. H. Martin, City, London.  
 H. S. Martin, Edge Hill, Liverpool.  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Mason, Wishaw.  
 John Mason, Wishaw.  
 Archibald McAllister, Wishaw.  
 David McEwan, Bridgeton, Glasgow.  
 A. A. Mirza, City, London.  
 Harry Morris, Merthyr.  
 Tom Morton, Barrow-in-Furness.  
 Sidney Mugeridge, Bromley, Kent.  
 Marjory Neilson Newbold, Moss Side, Manchester.  
 J. T. Walton Newbold, Wishaw.  
 William Nicholson, Belfast Central.

C. H. Norman, City, London.  
 E. Agnes Norman, City, London.  
 I. W. Oldham, Stretford.  
 Arthur O'Leake, Woolwich.  
 Norah O'Shea, Portsmouth.  
 William J. Paul, Wallasey.  
 Joseph B. Payne, Lochgelly.  
 A. Plummer, Swadlincote.  
 Mrs. R. Poulter, Gillingham.  
 Reg Poulter, Gillingham.  
 A. Reginauld, Clapham.  
 H. M. Ribing, Newport, Mon.  
 Miss E. Richardson, Portsmouth.  
 Arthur Riley, Blackburn.  
 Annor E. Robinson, Manchester Central.  
 William Ross, Tranent.  
 Shapurji Saklatvala, City, London.  
 A. Serner, Hampstead.  
 W. J. S. Seed, Woolwich.  
 Charlotte E. Shaw, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 Jocelyn H. Shaw, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 F. Sheldon, Coventry.  
 J. T. Sillis, Clapham.  
 E. W. Smith, Portsmouth.  
 F. Smith, Clapham.  
 John Smith, Childon.  
 John Smith, Wishaw.  
 Mrs. Mary Smith, Wishaw.  
 T. Smith, Gosport and Ipswich.  
 Arthur Sokell, Coventry.  
 Mark Starr, Abedare.  
 J. E. Steed, Woolwich.  
 Thomas S. Steed, Woolwich.  
 James Stephens, Wishaw.  
 W. S. Stott, Nelson.  
 A. R. Stuart, Coventry.  
 Mrs. Sarah Totton, Doncaster.  
 Charles H. Taunton, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 John Taylor, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 A. Thompson, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Jean Thompson, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Mary Thompson, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Mrs. Margaret Thompson, Wishaw.  
 Mrs. Mary A. Webber, Woolwich.  
 Mrs. Louis Weir, Wishaw.  
 W. West, Portsmouth.  
 J. Whinnerah, Barrow-in-Furness.  
 James White, Motherwell.  
 Ellen C. Wilkinson, Manchester Central.  
 Albert Williams, Pontypool.  
 C. Williams, Newport, Mon.  
 J. E. Potter Wilson, Leicester.  
 J. R. Wilson, Kensington, Liverpool.  
 J. M. Woolley, Coventry.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

## To the Workers of all Countries

Workers of all countries! Blood is again flowing in the East. Again large provinces are being devastated by military operations, and again the workers of Russia have been compelled to take up arms, although they long for peace and burn with the desire to begin their creative work of reconstruction and renovation. The invasion of Russia by the Polish landowners and capitalists has interrupted the work of peaceful construction which had been entered upon by the Russian workers and peasants after they defeated Koltchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, those agents of world capital, and defended their lands and their mills and factories.

Who is the abettor of these new crimes? You all know that the Soviet Government recognised the independence of the Polish Republic from the very first day of its creation. You are aware that Soviet Russia has repeatedly offered to enter into peace negotiations with the Polish authorities. The Soviet Government, desirous of sparing the blood of the Russian and Polish workers, was willing to give territorial and economic concessions. You all know that Russia—confident that the Polish workers, allies of the Russian working masses, will sooner or later take the power into their own hands—was ready for the time being to cede to the governing classes of Poland even provinces in which the majority of the population was not Polish. You have also heard that the Soviet Government was willing to carry on the peace negotiations not only in Warsaw, but even in London or Paris, the capitals of Governments which are in league with the landowners and capitalists of Poland. To these offers of peace Poland responded by a treacherous attack against the Ukraina, where the war is being waged on the pretense of restoring to power Petlura, that adventurer, who during the war sold himself first to the Allied capitalists, then to German Imperialism, and who, after being overthrown by the workers and peasants of the Ukraina, has now been bought

by the Polish landowners, the traditional oppressors of the Ukrainian people.

Poland has entered this war with the object of robbing the peasants of their land handing it over to the Polish landowners.

Poland is fighting in the hope of being able to claim an enormous indemnity from the Soviet Government, which is already ruined by the invasions of the Allied capitalists.

This is what Poland is fighting for!

Besides these abettors of this criminal war there are others, namely, the Governments of the Entente. It is they who have armed and are still arming the White Guards of Poland. At the same time that they are negotiating for the renewal of commercial relations with the Russian Soviets, they cherish the hope that they will succeed in breaking down the resistance of the workers and peasants. According to their opinion the trade relations with Russia will demoralise her internally, and meanwhile they hope that the Soviet Republic will break down externally: they expect that other counter-revolutionary forces will rise against the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and that they will be able finally to subdue the Russian workers and peasants. The French capitalists are sending enormous quantities of war munitions to Poland, and 600 of their officers (with General Henri at the head) are helping their Polish friends to storm the Power of the Soviets.

The British Government could stop the war by a few firm words of command: "Enough of war, enough of ruin and devastation! The whole world needs Russia, as a source of grain and raw material". But the Government of Lloyd George, although appealing to the Soviets in the name of humanity and demanding an amnesty for the counter-revolutionists of Archangel and Crimea, has no thought of intimating to Poland that it is time to put an end to further bloodshed and tears. The Polish robbers promised Lloyd George that they would hand over to him the requisite quantity of grain and other products

from the occupied Ukrainian lands, and on the strength of this promise the British Government gave its sanction to Poland starting the war, continuing at the same time hypocritically to carry on the negotiations regarding the renewal of commercial relations with Russia.

The Italian Government of Nitti, although profiting by every occasion to express its friendly feelings towards the Russian nation in order to conciliate the Italian revolutionary masses, has not only not dared to protest openly against the invasion of the Polish White Guards into Russia, but is sending them arms through Austria.

What is there to be said about the American Government except that American airmen are throwing bombs on the cities of the Ukraina! All the Governments of the Allied Powers are the abettors of this war. They are all in a more or less degree supporting the Polish oppressors and robbers.

Workers of all countries! The Soviet Government of Russia will overcome the shameless bandits of Polish Imperialism just as it has defeated Yudenitch, Koltchak and Denikin, all of whom enjoyed the support of your Governments. After their easy victories in the Ukraina, the Polish legions must now face the terrible anger of the workers and peasant masses of the whole of Russia, including those who belong to no political party, but who have learnt at last to look upon the Soviet Government as the defender of the independence of their country. The question is only: How long will this war last? How much blood will be shed? How much property will be ruined? How many more new and fresh wounds will be inflicted upon the Russian people? On you, workers of all countries, it now depends that this war be ended in the shortest time possible by the complete defeat of the Polish landowners and capitalists.

Workmen of the ammunition factories of France, England, Italy and America! Do not make a single cartridge, a single rifle or gun for Poland!

Transport workers, Railwaymen, Longshoremen, Sailors! Do not send any provisions or munitions into Poland, because they will only serve the cause of the war against Workers' and Peasants' Russian Soviet Republic!

Workmen of the Allied Countries! Go out into the streets, organize demonstrations and strikes, and let your cry be: "Down with the support of the White Guards of Poland! The Allies must chain up their dogs—the Polish capitalists

and landowners—and make a fair peace with Soviet Russia".

Workmen of Germany and Austria! You know well that the Soviet Government is the pillar of the world revolution, which alone can free you from the yoke of your own capitalists and from the halter thrown around your neck by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. German railwaymen! Do not let any trains from France to Poland pass through your country! Workers at the port of Danzig! Do not unload any ships bearing cargoes for Poland! Railwayman of Austria! Not a single train from Italy should be allowed to pass through to Poland.

Workers of Rumania, Finland and Lettland! Your Governments are bound by secret treaties with the Polish landowners and the latter may involve you in this war. Be on your guard, do everything possible to prevent such a crime.

Workers of Poland! You have been linked with the Russian working class during your thirty years joint struggle, and there is no need to remind you of your duty. You are fulfilling it by your demonstrations and strikes, demanding peace with the Russian Soviet Government. You are joining in the fight, and paying with thousands of victims. The Third International is watching you with pride; your glorious leaders—Rosa Luxembourg and Ian Tyshko—were also members of it. It is firmly convinced that you will direct all your efforts to strike at the rear of the Polish army, and together with the workers of Russia you will be victorious over the Polish capitalists and landowners. You know well that the Soviet Government is not bringing oppression to Poland, but liberty as a nation, and freedom from the chains of the Allied capitalists, as well as help in your struggle against your own capitalists. The victory of Workers' and Peasants' Russia will also be the victory of the Polish working class—brothers and allies of the Russian workers and peasants! Your last battle is beginning. The day is near when we shall be the judges.

Down with the Polish landowners and capitalists! Long live Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Russia! Down with the war! Long live peace between the working masses of Poland and Russia! Down with the criminal game of the Allied Governments! Long live the International Workers' Revolution!

Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.

May 18th, 1920.

## To the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party

Dear Comrades!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International observes with regret that the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party has not answered its letter of February 5th 1920. In this letter we considered all the points of dispute, points on account of which there exists some dissent between us and the German Independent Social Democratic Party. A clear answer to our letter would have undoubtedly helped to throw light on the relations between the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party and the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International considers still more worthy of regret the fact that the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party has not considered it possible to bring our letter to the knowledge of the members of the Party. The relations between the German Independent Social Democratic Party and the Communist International do not affect only the Central Committee of the Party but also millions of German workmen joining the Social Democracy and by their energetic pressure compelling the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party to enter into contact with us. In reality, in the question of the relations of the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party and the Communist International, the deciding voice belongs to the independent working masses, for it is not a few men and women, sitting in the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party — but millions of independent workmen, who by their actions will decide whether the party belongs to the Communist International or not. We are convinced that it is sufficient to bring the independent workmen to the consciousness of the sense of their own struggle — and they will immediately go over to the Third International. In that way the concealment of our letter is nothing else than an attempt to delay the decision of the question of the relations of the masses of the German Independent Social Democratic Party to the Communist International. All attempts to justify the sabotage of the decisions of the

Leipzig Congress on the part of the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party, — which up to now has not done anything to carry out the decision of the congress except to send one letter — by references to exterior difficulties, to the Kapp revolt and the electoral preparations, have been shattered by the simple fact that for the struggle of the German working class the question of international union is a question of life or death. And besides that, the publication of our letter by our West-European Secretariat proves that technically such a publication was quite possible. As we know the serious desire of the majority of the workmen to enter the Communist International, we consider it our duty in spite of the obstacles created by the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party to the cause of the international union of the proletariat, to propose to you to send your representatives to Moscow, so that we should be able to acquaint them with the thesis of the Communist International on the tactical questions of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and in this way to throw light on the reasons which compel the Executive Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party to hesitate in deciding the question of joining the Communist International. And then it will already be the task of independent German workmen to decide whether they agree with the Central Committee of the German Independent Social Democratic Party or with the Executive Committee of the Communist International. There are no unsurmountable difficulties for the arrival of the representatives of the German Independent Social Democratic Party. If the workmen of South Africa, Australia, America and Germany manage, often at their own risk, to make their way through to us, all the more can the representatives of such a huge party, if only they seriously wish it, find their way here.

With Communist greetings,

For the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

K. Radek, Secretary.

May 27th 1920.

## To the Organizations of the German Independent Social Democratic Party; to All Workers, Members of the U. S. P. D., from the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

On July 15th, 1920, as you know, will be opened in Moscow the Second World Congress of the Communist International. The first session will take place in Petrograd. All workers capable of discernment throughout the world have eagerly answered our appeal to send their representatives to this assembly. Most of the delegates from England, France, Austria, Hungary, Italy, America, Sweden, Bulgaria, Holland and other countries have already arrived in Russia. Others are on their way to Moscow. It is now clear that our Second Congress will in truth be a world convention of the workers' vanguard. The Congress will sum up the experience gained in our struggle. It will show us, workers of all the world, the path to further struggles. Toilers all over the earth will listen to the voice of this Congress.

Comrades! Is it possible that you will not be represented at such a meeting?

We tell you plainly, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as well as the Communist workers of all countries, will be extremely grieved if you, workers and members of the U. S. P. D., are not represented at our Congress. We know that you, the proletarians of the U. S. P. D., are heart and soul with us. We know that you are longing to take your places in the ranks of our International Association of Workers, in the Third International; it is all the more impossible to admit that the conservative leaders of your Central Committee should baffle the wishes we have in common with you.

Thanks to our strong influence, to the influence of the workers, the Leipzig Assembly of the U. S. P. D. decided to leave the Second International and to enter into relations with the Third International, but the conservative leaders of your Central Committee in reality opposed their own wishes and are still displaying hostility toward this decision. They are planning to convoke another international conference, consisting of the parties which have left the Second but have not yet joined the Third International. This hopeless enterprise has been abandoned even by the moderate leaders of the French Socialist Party. Two delegates of this party, Cachin and Frossard, are already in Moscow, and we shall tell them in a straightforward way on what conditions the French

party may join the Third International. The French workers oblige even their moderate leaders to seek a closer contact with the Third International. Only your representatives are still missing in Moscow. We have already issued an open letter to the U. S. P. D. in which we clearly state the conditions on which we can receive your party, as well as other parties which have followed up to now the course of the "centre." Your Central Committee has not even published this letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Germany. They are afraid of it. They hide it from you. Only the Communists have published it. The Central Committee of the U. S. P. D. in a letter, dated June 6th and signed by Daumig, inform us that the open letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has not yet been printed by the Independents on account of a "lack of paper." A more miserable excuse could not be thought of. Such conduct only proves how right we were in saying that you could only enter the Third International over the heads of your conservative leaders.

In consideration of these things we propose to you, comrades, the following:

Let the separate local and provincial organisations of the U. S. P. D., which wish to join the Third International at once, choose and send their delegates to our Congress, fixed for July 15th.

Do not wait any longer. Do not allow your decision to be nullified. Organise yourselves rapidly and do your duty! Revolutionist workers, members of the U. S. P. D., must be present at the World Congress of the Communist International. We are waiting for you, comrades; hasten! Discuss our offer at all your workers' meetings. Proclaim it in your papers. Unmask those who try to miscarry your plans! Act!

With Communist greetings,

G. ZINOVIEV,

*President of the Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.*

K. RADEK, *Secretary.*

## A Clear Reply from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Questions of the British Independent Labour Party

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has received from the chairman of the British Independent Labour Party, Comrade R. S. Wallhead, and Comrade Clifford Allen, member of the National Administrative Council of the same party, the following letter dated May 25th, 1920:

**The Independent Labour Party to the Third International.**

At the last Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party the following resolutions were adopted with regard to the International:

1. This Conference instructs the National Administrative Council to withdraw from the Second International.
2. This Conference endorses the decision of the National Administrative Council to invite the Swiss Party to arrange for a consultation regarding the possibility of the reestablish-



ment of one all-inclusive International, for the purpose of formulating a basis of an International which, while making a quite definite pronouncement of our Socialist objective, would allow the national sections to adapt their policies to the different political and industrial conditions in their various countries, and decides that after the inquiry and consultations are complete, a special conference shall be called to consider the Executive's report.

The I. L. P. has severed its connection with the Second International, has given instructions for inquiries to be made with regard to the exact programme and conditions of affiliation to the Moscow International, and has further invited the Swiss Socialist Party to arrange for an consultation of Left Wing Socialist Parties. When these inquiries are completed a special Conference will be held to decide the question of affiliation.

The I. L. P. desires to know whether the Third International has any formal constitution to which parties desiring affiliation are expected to subscribe. If so the delegates would be glad to see a copy. In any case, will the Third International supply us with a written statement in reply to the following questions:

1. To what extent does the Third International demand a rigid adherence in each country to the methods outlined in its programme?

2. Will the Third International state how they conceive the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat as applied to Great Britain?

3. To what extent does the Third International agree to the use of parliamentary methods?

4. What is the attitude of the Third International to the I. L. P. remaining affiliated with the Labour Party?

5. Is the Soviet system of government a fundamental principle of the Third International?

6. If so, to what extent does the Third International recognise the possibility of diverse form of Soviet government in different countries?

7. Must societies affiliated to the Third International maintain that Communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be introduced by the use of armed force, or will they admit to membership parties that leave this question open?

8. In what respect does the Third International consider that Communism differs from other forms of Socialism?

9. Is it a condition of affiliation to the Third International to accept Communism as defined in the answer to the question?

10. Is the Third International willing to send representatives to the provisional Swiss Conference of the Left Wing Socialist Parties?

11. Is the Third International prepared to convene an International Conference to consider its programme, methods and constitution?

12. If so, what would the basis of representation and voting power be at such a conference?

R. S. Wallhead. Chairman.

Clifford Allen. Member of National Council.

May 25th, 1920.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International, after its sessions held jointly with the above-named comrades for purposes of mutual information, has resolved to address the following letter to the workers organized in the Independent Labour Party, as a reply in their logical sequence to the questions put to it.

## 1. Communism and Other Tendencies in the Labour Movement.

The eighth question of our English comrades deals with the distinction between Communism and other forms of Socialism. Our best reply to this question will be to remind the British workers briefly of the history of contemporary Socialism from its birth to the time of its crisis, the period of the imperialist war, and down to our days of the struggle for the realisation of the principles of Socialism. Socialism arose as a striving of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system by means of revolutionary struggle, to abolish the system of private ownership of the principal means of production, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to introduce a collective or social ownership of the means of production which are to be developed for the welfare of the entire workers' society. Such was the Socialism of Marx and Engels as set forth in the «Communist Manifesto» and in other works of our great teachers of proletarian Socialism.

These works did not proceed from the imagination of the theoreticians of scientific Socialism: they defined the aims of the labour movement by the experience of bourgeois revolutions, by the study of capitalism and the experience of the first great revolutionary movement of the working class, viz., the Chartist movement of the British workers. Contemporaneously with this proletarian revolutionary Socialism there existed various petty bourgeois philanthropic and even feudalistic tendencies in Socialism, in other words a great many efforts were made to subject the proletariat to the influence of other classes of society, to hold it back from the revolutionary struggle, deceiving it in the name of Socialism. From the very beginning Marx and Engels fought against all these adulterations of Socialism, revealing the truth concealed behind the false banner.

When after the failure of the revolution of 1848 capitalism entered upon a period of further development, spreading and gaining new strength every day; when the idea of the direct seizure of power proved erroneous, Marx and Engels, boldly confronting the facts, indicated a method of preparing the working class for its future decisive revolutionary battles for power. They pointed out to the working class that capitalism affords it the possibility of organisation and union, that it gives the advanced section of the working class the possibility of exercising its influence upon the backward sections, infusing into them the consciousness of the class solidarity of all the oppressed; they demanded from the class conscious workers that they should, without waiting for the final and decisive battle, utilise every possibility which had been forced from the capitalists for the establishment of legal open Labour Parties and for the organisation of trade unions, being guided by the principle that the working class will be able to utilise every capitalist crisis with the greater facility, the greater its unity, organisation and class consciousness will be. They called upon the workers to fight for the general franchise and democracy, in order that the masses might be able from the parliamentary tribune to tear the mask from every capitalist deceit, proving to the workers how every kind of transaction and understanding between the various sections of capitalism is made at the expense of the working class. They called upon the workers to make use of the conflicts arising between the various sections of the capitalist class in order to secure economic and social reforms which would tend to ameliorate the position of the working class, to strengthen it and afford it an opportunity of ma-

king progress in its struggle against capitalism. They called upon the working masses directly to take part in politics, and to exercise direct pressure upon the bourgeoisie. They appealed to the working class never to forget that all this struggle for democracy, that all this struggle for reform is only preparatory work, the aim of which is to strengthen the organisation and class consciousness of the workers' and to prepare them for the epoch of decisive battles with capitalism, which is being torn by inner contradictions; capitalism which will no longer be able to keep the masses in hand, but will on the contrary provoke revolutionary uprisings against it.

But in the long process of the peaceful development of capitalism, the object of this preliminary struggle, of this organising period of struggle was forgotten, the means having become in the eyes of most of the leaders of the working class and of a considerable number of the workers themselves largely an aim in itself instead of a means.

Developing and enriching itself as it does at the expense not only of the proletarian masses of Europe, but also of the peasant masses of the whole world, of Asia, Africa and America, modern capitalism endeavoured to suppress the revolutionary strivings of the working masses by bribing the more developed and most intelligent section of the proletariat. The skilled workers, the best organised sections of the proletariat and the most indispensable to capitalism acquired, during the last thirty years before the world war a considerable improvement in their position. The opinion was current and growing amongst them that they would finally succeed in securing a human existence under capitalism without overthrowing this system of society. The struggle for the improvement of living conditions had become to them not a means of revolutionary struggle, but an end in itself, and it is owing to this that even Socialism itself they saw in no other light than as an accumulation of such partial reforms. These illusions of the labour aristocracy who did not see the deep poverty of the millions of unskilled workers, and who were left unaffected by the ruin and destitution caused to hundreds of millions of peasants of the whole world by the sharks of international capitalism, were encouraged by the parliamentary labour representatives and by the trade union leaders. Engaged in the musty atmosphere of parliamentary work, witnesses of base behind-the-scene transactions, conducting negotiations on behalf of the trade unions concerning petty concessions and compromises, these leaders have lost touch with the wide unskilled labour masses, with the toiling poor, they became oblivious to the growth of capitalist exploitation and to the revolutionary aims of the proletariat. It seemed to them that because the capitalists treated them as equals, as partners in their transactions, the working class had secured equal rights with capital. Their own social standing secure and material position improved, they looked upon the world through the rose-coloured spectacles of a peaceful middle-class life. Disturbed in their peaceful trading with the representatives of the bourgeoisie by the revolutionary strivings of the proletariat, they were the convinced enemies of the revolutionary aims of the proletariat. They began to ridicule the aims of the working class, regarding them as symptoms of an infantile sickness in their development. The Second International which they had established in their peaceful epoch of capitalism, in that epoch of the transition of proletarian revolutionary Socialism to the compromising reformist Socialism of the labour aristocracy, largely accepted this point of view, although it verbally accepted all popular revolutionary phrases inherited from the past, which concealed this policy of compromise

with the bourgeoisie by various high sounding revolutionary words.

This reformist policy, which in England was represented by the Fabians, Ramsay Macdonald and Snowden, in France by Millerand and Jaurès, in Italy by Turatti and Treves, in Germany by the reformists with Bernstein at their head, in Austria by Victor Adler, in Sweden by Branting, and in Denmark by Stauning, was combatted by two other tendencies. One, which was headed by Karl Kautsky, fought against it verbally, drawing up resolutions on the principles of class war which was daily growing more acute, protesting against the support to the bourgeoisie and the aggressive imperialist policy. When, however, the question reached the point of solution, Kautsky and his European friends always found a way out for the reformists to carry through their policy. Thus for instance, at the moment of struggle against the first attempt of the treacherous policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie and of the subjection of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, when Millerand joined the bourgeois Government of Waldeck-Rousseau, Kautsky protested against this policy and against a coalition ruinous to the proletariat; yet he consented to it on the ground of national danger, that is to say in the event of war, — a war which represents the most concentrated and highest form of the utilization of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie for the latter's criminal aims. This International group of the «center» of the Second International sunk lower, rendering the international position more acute. And when after two Moroccan crises and after the 1908 Balkan crisis, which almost resulted in an international war, it became necessary openly to say to the proletariat that the moment for decisive battle was approaching, that it must of necessity increase its activity, that it must largely adopt the methods of general strike in order to stem the wave of the imperialist menace, and in order to prepare that force which might enable the proletariat effectively to oppose capitalism in the event of international war,—this «center» with Kautsky at its head deceived the proletariat with the possibility of disarming imperialism by compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie. Verbally adhering to the revolutionary methods of struggle, this «center» actually fought against propaganda and agitation in favour of general strikes, substituting instead election-bulletins and a coalition with the bourgeoisie as a means to victory.

The second and weaker tendency in the Second International was represented by the extreme Left in Germany and by the Bolsheviks in Russia; in the years preceding the world war these attempted to make the proletariat aware of the unprecedented danger threatening it by imperialism, and endeavoured to mobilise the proletariat for struggle by revolutionary methods. The difference between Communism and other tendencies in the Labour movement has been fully illustrated by the war. The right wing of the International with its president Vandervelde at its head, with Henderson in England, Renaudel in France, Scheidemann, Ebert and Legien in Germany, Bissolatti in Italy, Victor Adler and Renner in Austria and the Mensheviks in Russia—this right wing entered the service of the bourgeoisie, and it declared to the proletariat that its war-cry of «Workers of the world, unite!» should be replaced during the war by the new cry, «Workers of all countries, cut each other's throats in the interest of your fatherland!». The right wing of the Second International understood by the phrase «defense of the fatherland», assistance rendered to the capitalists of one country to defeat the capitalists of another country, for the purpose of robbing them. These representatives of the

right wing, at a time of the extermination of the world's proletariat by capital, became the favourites of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries; they joined the bourgeois ministries to render them assistance; standing on the mats outside the ministerial offices, they persuaded the proletariat to strain all its forces for war-work and to fight to its last breath on the battlefield for its respective capitalists, making every promise that these capitalists would reward the proletariat upon the cessation of the war with every kind of political and social reform. They helped the capitalists to deprive the workers of all the gains which they had secured, social legislation, organisation and freedom to strike, regarding the class struggle of the proletariat during the war as a crime against the fatherland. Thus they proved themselves to be part and parcel of the capitalist state, of the apparatus of capitalist exploitation of the proletariat. Theirs is the guilt for the prolongation of the war and the unprecedented sufferings of the proletariat.

The «centers» of the Second International, at the head of which there stood during the war, in England Macdonald and Philip Snowden; in France, Jean Longuet; in Germany, Kautsky and Haase; in Italy Modigliani, Turatti, Treves; in Russia, Axelrod, Martov—protested in words against the war, expressed its dissatisfaction in words that the workers were forced to exterminate each other; while in deed the Center did not carry on any propaganda in favour of the proletariat's fighting against its oppressors, did not carry on any propaganda in favour of the proletariat's turning its guns against those who forced them to kill their brothers, the workers of other nationalities. The Center did not form secret (illegal) organisations of the proletariat, did not organize demonstrations of the workers, did not call them to strikes. The Center was in «loyal opposition» to the gang of wold murderers and plunderers, and played in this war the role of Pontius Pilate, washing their hands of the guilt. Therefore the bourgeoisie, although dissatisfied with the Centrists, allowed them to remain at large, finding their protests useful as safety-valves for the dissatisfaction of the masses.

The third current, represented in England by Mac Lean and his friends, in France by Loriot, in Germany by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, in Russia by the Bolsheviks, branded the policy of the reformist Socialists, of the assistants to the bourgeoisie, as treason to the working-class. It branded the Pilate politics of the Centrists, politics which disintegrate the energy of the working-class; it formed illegal organizations, called the workers to street-demonstrations, called them to revolutionary action, called them to civil war against imperialist war. The bourgeoisie hunted down the representatives of this third, the Communist group, as traitors to the fatherland; threw them into prisons and sentenced them to penal servitude—perfectly well-aware of the fact that, although weak at first, this group was the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie.

In what manner are these three «forms of Socialism» distinguished? The first of them, reformism, represented by the social compromisers, openly joined the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, helping the former whenever their aid was needed. «In Russia for a period of seven months the Mensheviks and the so called Social Revolutionaries bodily protected the interests of private property, the landlords and the capitalists, and also defended the interests of the French and British stock-exchanges against the workers and peasants of Russia; moreover they executed and shot down workers and peasants in the name of capitalist profits. The German reformists with Ebert,

Scheidemann and Legien at their head are now for a period of a year and a half standing up in defense of capitalism side by side with the bourgeois parties: they are responsible for the restoration of the defeated army of the German Kaiser. This army they have used as a weapon against the workers whom they are fighting with mine-throwers and machine guns. At the same time they have been deceiving the masses with assertions that the dictatorship of the capitalist counter-revolution means the supremacy of «democracy», and that the executioners of the proletariat are the defenders of the will of the people against the revolutionary minority which seeks to violate this will. In England this right wing headed by Henderson is ready at any time to return to the bourgeoisie, provided only that a working agreement might be possible with the far-seeing section of the bourgeoisie, the Independent Liberals. That they are not in the government side by side with the jingoes with whom they sat during the war, is only due to the fact that Bonar Law, Curzon and Churchill will not suffer their work to be disturbed by the loquacity to which these gentlemen (the Hendersons) feel impelled to resort under the pressure of the masses. These worthies who now talk of a Labour Government are but waiting the day when, having a parliamentary majority, they will be able to invite to power the ex-minister of war, Lord Haldane, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Fisher and Mr. Asquith, that old fox of English Liberalism. For deep down in their hearts they, like Churchill, are convinced that the working class is unable to govern the country; for they, like Lord Fisher, wish the aid of a Labour Government to save English capitalism from the revolution.

In France Albert Thomas, who when asked during the war by a representative of the «Novoya Vremia», a Black Hundred Russian daily, regarding working class problems, declared that it was «guns, guns, more guns: that is what is needed». This Albert Thomas and his friend Renaudel wish for nothing more than an agreement with the Liberal bourgeoisie. They detest the government of rabid reaction, as this kind of government prepares the ground for revolution. Confronted with the bandit attacks of the Allies upon the Russian Soviet Republic, these right Socialists of France and England never went a single step further than did such liberal newspapers as the «Daily News» and «Manchester Guardian», limiting their work to protest against intervention, and restraining the workers from rising, the only effective form of protest. They even prevented the protest-strike of July 21st 1919, when the hordes of Denikin, Yudenitch and Koltchak, maintained by British and American gold, attacked Workers' and Peasants' Russia. The German Social Democracy organised a crusade against Soviet Russia by sending its bandit detachments into Lettland to fight the Lettish proletariat. The whole policy of the right wing of the Second International after the war consisted of an open crusade against the working class. For this purpose the German right wing went so far as to resort to the assassination of the revolutionary leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and Levine, and if Renaudel and Henderson from time to time even showed their disapproval of this kind of action, they never failed at the same time to defend the Second International, that is to say they co-operated with the butchers Noske and Scheidemann. This only proves that they are fully prepared to repeat the same thing in their own countries to-morrow.

What is the Center of the Second International doing since the war? In England the Center in the persons of Macdonald, Snowden and of the majority of the I. L. P., aids the right wing by persuading the workers

that Socialism can only be obtained through constitutional means, that is to say, by making use only of those rights which the bourgeoisie concedes to the working class, while retaining the real power in its own hands. The Centre protests against the bloody execution by British Imperialism of the Irish, Egyptian and Indian workers and peasants; but it carries on no kind of agitation among the British soldiers and sailors who are tools in the hands of Lord French, General Allenby and General Dyer. It exerts itself to restrain the workers from bringing direct pressure on the capitalists, thus making itself the chief obstacle to the revolution. In France in the person of Longuet it likewise attempts to restrain the workers from revolutionary activity, considering it quite sufficient to rend the air with revolutionary phrases. In Germany at the beginning of the revolution the «center» actually, openly and in conjunction with the Scheidemanns assisted the capitalists to restore their power, and at the time when it was represented in the government it refrained from destroying the old bureaucratic and military apparatus; by means of its deceitful democratic phrases it stole the power of the Workers' Councils, preventing their communication with Soviet Russia. Compelled by its own members to quit the government, the Independent Social Democracy of Germany attempts in the person of its leaders, during every revolutionary manifestation, to restrain the masses, putting forth perfunctory and delusive slogans, as for example the slogan of coalition between the Soviets and the bourgeois parliament; and later the slogan of «Labour Government» wherein the workers are to be rented by the Crispiens and Legiens of the trade union bureaucracy.

Modigliani remains in the Italian Socialist Party (which evidently is a Communist Party) for the sole purpose of restraining the working class from action at every decisive moment, and of misrepresenting in parliament the clear, definite revolutionary will of the workers. In Austria these leaders of the Center, with Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler at the head, and hand in hand with Renner, that cleverest of compromisers, support the coalition with the reactionary, anti-semitic, so-called Christian «democracy»; there they sold arms to the Tchekh White Guards who fought against Soviet Hungary, and are now selling arms to the Polish White Hundred against Soviet Russia. This traitorous policy they justify by the statement that there is no room in Austria for the class struggle, it being necessary to stand upon the threshold of the capitalist Entente, and like beggars, hat in hand, to ask for crumbs. They have replaced the militant banner of Socialism with the shreds and tatters of beggary.

At the same time the Communists have managed, by dint of their self-sacrificing, energetic defence of the interests of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, to assume the leadership of vast populous Russia; they have succeeded in snatching the government power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, in establishing the first Proletarian State, in defending it during the course of two and a half years; in creating a Red Army as a weapon against the attack of the capitalists of the whole world, and in spite of incredible sufferings of the masses, in laying the foundation of an organised advance-guard of the proletariat, infusing into it the spirit of a life and death struggle; they themselves perishing in prisons, sacrificing their lives in open battle, falling by the hand of the capitalist's hired assassins; they defend the banner of Communism with their own bodies, and have created in the working masses of Germany, sorely disappointed in the Social Democratic leaders, a new will to save sixty

millions of the German people who have been condemned by the Kaiser's policy and by that of German capitalism, as well as by the bandit policy of Allied capital, to death by starvation—to save these people by means of a proletarian revolution and by uniting them with the Russian proletariat under the common banner of the proletarian dictatorship. The Communists of Hungary, a young and resolute party, dared take upon their shoulders the defense of the toiling masses of Hungary at a moment when there was but one alternative—to enter the life and death struggle or to put their necks into the noose of Entente Capitalism. Under inconceivably difficult conditions they were the first to set an example of Socialist land-settlement. For three months they defended themselves, and at last, overcome by the deceit and the intrigues of treacherous compromisers, they were shot down by the Rumanian nobility armed against them by the Allies, and by English executioners like Horthy—there is no doubt whatever that their suffering and struggle have deeply sown in the hearts of the Hungarian proletariat faith in the possibility of struggle. The bloody baptism to which the Hungarian magnates supported by international capital subjected the workers, will only complete their education and will strengthen their will to conquer under the banner of Soviet Hungary. In incredibly difficult economic conditions the Communists of Poland, in a country ruined to the end by war, hinder by constant demonstrations the new war of the Polish White Guards against Soviet Russia, at a time when «the Polish Socialist Party», which belongs to the Second International, in the person of Pilsudsky, makes attempts in the interests of international capital to achieve that in which the White generals of the Tsar have failed, namely, the defeat of Soviet Russia. The Communists of Bulgaria have gathered round them by their determined struggle against the war, by their resolute defense of the interests of the proletariat, all the revolutionary elements of the country, and at the present moment stand upon the threshold of a most decisive fight for power. Hand in hand with them are the Communists of Serbia, who on the outbreak of hostilities were the only body which together with the Russian Bolsheviks had the manhood and courage openly to protest from the parliamentary platform against the war. At the present time they are developing a parallel action with the Bulgarian Communists, by mutual efforts to take into their own hands the solution of the Balkan question, and to deprive international capital of the possibility of making use of the struggle of nationalities in the Balkans to incite new international wars. In Italy, the Communists at the head of the daily growing millions are carrying on an offensive against the stronghold of capitalism. The growing wave of strikes and demonstrations shakes this and unites the labouring masses for the revolt. The agitation for and the establishment of Soviets is preparing the victory of Soviet Italy. The Communists of France are struggling in the ranks of the French party against the deceitful policy of Longuet, are preparing the advance-guard of the French proletariat to take the leading part when the French masses will realise how they have been deceived by their bourgeois leaders with cries of victory, when these impoverished masses will present their bill of costs to the bourgeoisie. The Communists of America prove by their long prison terms, to which the bourgeoisie sentences them for Communist agitation and propaganda, what capitalist democracy really means; they are tearing the mask from this and are exposing it before the masses as the reign of trust kings and speculators and the subjection of the masses. In the whole range

of the wide world, in South Africa and Mexico, in Australia and the Chinese ports, the Communists are the soul of that section of the working class which desires to take the power into their hands. Communism everywhere is the guiding star in the struggle against capitalism. To the question of the British I. L. P.—«In what respect does Communism differ from other forms of Socialism», we reply: «There are no other forms, there is only Communism. Whatever else goes under the name of Socialism is either wilful deception by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, or the self-delusion of persons or groups who hesitate, to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; who hesitate between a life and death struggle and the role of assistants to the expiring bourgeoisie».

## 2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the British Proletariat.

The second question of the representatives of the I. L. P. to the Communist International is to explain how in its opinion is the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be applied in Great Britain. We consider that in no country can the dictatorship of the proletariat be applied better and more directly than in Great Britain.

The capitalist system dominant in England has been created by the most merciless capitalist dictatorship. English capital has by violence deprived the peasants of their land. Beginning with the XVI century it forced the peasants from their lands to establish a system of capitalist ownership in land. Peasants and craftsmen who by force of economic conditions had become proletarianised were in a most dictatorial way turned into the wage slaves of capitalism, and had their ears and nostrils cut when they refused to work. They were driven by capitalism into work-houses which were houses of starvation and death, husbands were separated from their wives, and children from their mothers, and forced to toil without rest in the interests of capital. Workmen were sent to the gallows, when, ruined by the factories, they attempted to destroy the machines, failing to understand that the evil was not in the machines but in capitalist ownership. Workers who assembled peacefully to demonstrate their dissatisfaction were shot down, as happened at Peterloo in 1817. Hundreds of the best representatives of the English working class perished in prison, when at the time of the Chartist movement they attempted to raise the English proletariat to fight for their emancipation. From the time of Cromwell, Clive and Warren Hastings to the time of Dyer, Allenby and French, with arms in hand, the capitalists have crushed under their iron heel the peasant masses of Ireland, India and Egypt, pitting one section against another in order to strengthen their own domination, every attempt at insurrection being drowned in blood. There is no other capitalism in the world which has attained and maintained its power through so merciless, so bloody a dictatorship. If the mendacious historians of the British bourgeoisie are able to convince a considerable part of the British workers that the domination of the British bourgeoisie represents a peaceful domination, and a domination of the people—that England knows no revolutions and that the English people enjoy constitutional rights to realise every kind of reform desired by the majority—this brazen lie wields influence only because the labour aristocracy of the British working class has for 50 years and over forgotten the turbulent history of English capitalism, and the revolutionary record of the English labouring masses. The moment the majority of the

English people will turn against it, the ruling clique will relegate parliament to oblivion and will institute in England the same dictatorship of French and Churchill which it has established in Ireland. This clique, ready to discard the parliamentary bauble, is already preparing for a policy of blood and iron. When Churchill asserts that the working class, that the Labour Party is incapable of leading England, that means to say that any parliament with a Labour majority really intending to fight the bourgeoisie, will be dispersed with the aid of the expeditionary forces and of the bourgeois White Guard. Such a parliament, he will declare «incapable of governing England». Churchill's circular of February 1909, the intent of which is to prepare the use of military force against the workers in the event of strikes, goes to show that the English military clique does not for a moment think of drawing any distinction between its English, its Egyptian, Hindu or Irish slaves. Whoever tells the British working class that it can overthrow the capitalist dictatorship in the British Empire, through any other means than the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is by taking the full power into their own hands, by depriving of political power all those who defend capitalist exploitation and by organising a Red Labour Army,—deceives himself and others. It is possible to think that the working class in England can secure government power even without a revolution by means of parliamentary election victories. The world revolution knows various stages, as that for instance of the Hungarian workers, who received the government power without insurrection and without armed collisions, owing to the capitulation of the Karolyi Government. The Russian working class gained power not so much owing to the application of armed force as to the fact that the armed forces of the country went over to their side. When the point in question is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the formal way in which the proletariat will acquire power is of no importance; what does count, however, is the fact that the working class can neither protect nor maintain this power unless the capitalist class is disarmed, and unless it is deprived of its political rights, until the time arrives when it can be included in the ranks of the labouring people; unless the source of all the forces and wealth of the country be concentrated in the hands of the working class, whose power must be protected at all costs. Had the British working class gained power by means of parliamentary elections, by means of so-called democracy, which under the existing conditions of the concentration of the means of forming public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie is most unlikely—even in that case the Communists are not for a moment freed of their duty of saying to the workers the following. 1) That it is most unlikely that the English bourgeoisie, the most energetic and most skillful oppressor of national movements, the richest in the world, the ruler not only of millions of British workers but of hundreds of millions of the peasants and the workers of its colonies,—it is most unlikely that this bourgeoisie will give up its power without a struggle and become subject to the paper will of the parliament; 2) That therefore the workers should prepare not for an easy parliamentary victory, but for victory by a serious civil war; 3) That should the workers succeed in gaining power without this civil war, that would only signify that the necessity of civil war would confront the working class as soon as it sets out to realise its will to defend itself from capitalist exploitation and speculation; as soon as it will begin to liberate the masses in the colonies, now oppressed by British Imperialism.



The dictatorship of the proletariat is the more applicable in England because the proletariat forms the greater part of the population, because it is on a high level of technical and general education, and because it is organised in strong trade unions. It only requires a firm revolutionary will and the establishment of a resolute revolutionary party, which will be able to express and to effect and to spread this will amongst the millions of the working masses.

This is a reply not only to the second but also to the seventh question of our English comrades, the question whether the dictatorship of the proletariat can be introduced otherwise than by armed force.

### 3. Soviets and Parliament.

Our English comrades have put the question to us whether the acceptance of the Soviet system is obligatory for the members of the Third International. To this we shall reply by a slight excursion into the history of the English bourgeois revolution. When at the time of the English revolution the Independents who represented the richest bourgeoisie and the capitalist landlords became a conservative power, resisting reforms demanded by the national army—Cromwell in 1653, under the pressure of the army, declared: «The time has come, I must act». He made a parliamentary speech dwelling on the policy of greed and rapacity of the propertied classes; he was told that it was not a constitutional speech. Cromwell replied «You think this is not parliamentary language. I want to put an end to your parliamentary speeches; I say to you that you are no longer a parliament. Bring them in». And in were lead the revolutionary soldiers, and the parliament of the Independents was dispersed. Revolution is a struggle of classes; and the struggle is the more acute the sharper the antagonism of class interests. Being a life and death struggle, a civil war, an armed combat, the revolution tolerates no delusive institutions, the discussions and speeches in which are intended to conceal the nature of the current events from the masses. The clearer the masses see into the progress and objects of the revolution, the stronger it grows if helped by the revolutionary government. Revolution therefore has no need for deceitful institutions, the aim of which is to deaden the class struggle by speeches. More than that, revolution has no time for speeches; it has to act, and to act rapidly. This is the reason why Cromwell was compelled to disperse the parliament of the Independents. He formed the Small Parliament of craftsmen, farmers and tradesmen. This Small Parliament, which was the representative of the principal power of the revolution, of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, and a weapon in the hands of the masses, was nothing but a Soviet or Council of the representatives of the integral parts of the English Revolutionary Army. And for the very reason that Cromwell was connected with the bourgeoisie, with part of the landlord class and with the generals, he was subsequently compelled to disperse this parliament also, for the reason that, as he explained, it violated the rights of freedom and property. If a man possessed twelve cows it was the opinion of the Covenanters that this man should share them with those of his neighbour who possessed none; no man could have any property if these people remained in power. This parliament had therefore also to be dispersed. Revolution, like counter-revolution, like every active revolutionary social group, cannot indulge in speeches but must act. At the time of the French revolution the Jacobites gained a victory under the banner of demo-

cracy. The Constitution of 93 was democratic, it was one of the most democratic constitutions, but in order to protect the masses against the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie and landlords and against the European counter-revolution, the Jacobites were compelled to expel from the Parliament the Girondists and to deprive the counter-revolutionary classes of all electoral rights. They did not do this on paper, they did so actually.

The proletarian revolution, it is obvious, does not imitate bourgeois revolutions, it differs from them both in form and nature. But the proletariat in revolution must act not less, but more resolutely than the bourgeois, because a proletarian revolution represents a coup d'état infinitely greater than all the bourgeois revolutions taken together. Bourgeois revolution substitute one form of private property for another—the proletarian revolution abolishes private property and evokes infinitely more hatred, malignancy and resistance. With the modern means of transit and communication all the counter-revolutionary forces of the world can rally against the proletarian revolution and therefore delay is most destructive to the cause. The proletarian revolution is therefore compelled to act swiftly and resolutely, and must not indulge in lengthy disputes with the counter-revolution. The counter-revolution, as has been proved by Finnish, Russian, Hungarian and German experience, is not less determined. It refuses to speak to the revolutionary workers, making instead every effort to destroy them by starvation and bullets; therefore even had the British workers acquired power and failed immediately to deprive the bourgeoisie of its political rights and expel it from parliament, there is no doubt whatever that they would soon be driven to do so if they wished at all to utilise their power for their own liberation. But if they do expel the bourgeoisie from parliament, the municipalities and so forth, then these would become organs of the working class. If it were so then the question would arise as to the method of elections, namely whether it would be a Labour parliament and municipality, elected territorially or industrially. The territorial principle represents election by the population of the districts. This was the most suitable method of election for the bourgeoisie, for if the parliament as a whole was to create an impression that it represents the entire nation, then the elections had to be conducted on the territorial principle, without distinction of classes. But the Labour parliament, the Labour municipalities have no intention whatever of creating false impressions. It is their express intention that the population know definitely who compose them and whom they represent; and therefore election by the various branches of industry, factories, shops and organised employees, professional classes and agricultural workers, working on a collective basis, is the principle of elections most suitable to Labour democracy. The Labour deputies should be connected with a definite industrial group. They must be under its direct influence and control, and the masses should be enabled to recall them at any time. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the epoch of capitalist concentration is bound up with the Soviet system, for capitalism has concentrated the workers into big industries, and this concentration is a source of revolutionary energy which manifests itself in the manner of elections. Bourgeois democracy sought to pit the parliamentary clique against the formless mass of electors. Labour democracy is based on the closest contact of the Labour representatives with the masses by whom they are delegated, and on the right of recalling the deputy if the policy of the latter does not correspond to the view of his constituents. Labour

democracy demands a soviet system of elections by factories, shops and the various branches of industry. When the Communists in Russia put forward the slogan of «All power to the Soviets», they as yet had no idea whether this would be the form of proletarian dictatorship in other countries. The revolutions in Germany, Hungary and Poland prove that everywhere the workers strive to establish their dictatorship on the principles of the Soviet system as most suitable to their interests; there is a universal distrust of bourgeois parliamentarism, a distrust of Social Democracy which has sold the masses, a distrust which is now being expressed in the attempts of the masses to take the government power into their own hands through their representatives and to exercise a constant control over them. Our English comrades in their sixth question wish to know what other forms of Soviet government are possible in other countries. We can say nothing definite. It is necessary to admit theoretically the possibility of variations of forms depending upon the varying economic structures of the different countries in a state of revolution. It must however be said that the experience of the development of the World Revolution until recently has given no indications of the realisation of this theory. It is the opinion of the Communist International that it is not its concern to indicate the exact form in which revolution is to develop. The watchwords of the Communist International are of course based on the experience of the present level of the World Revolution; they are in no way to be observed as if they were the dictates of religion, but are to change in accordance with new experience. The thing that is important is that the masses should understand that without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, without its disarmament and the complete eradication of its economic power, the victory of Socialism is impossible; that to effect this it is necessary that all the power be in the hands of the workers, i. e., of a class which is realising the revolution, and that the power of this class is to be expressed in labour organisations, both in the central cities as well as in the localities, representing labour bodies which are fully dependent upon the mass of the workers, and the representatives of which can be recalled at any time.

#### 4. Words and Deeds in the Communist International.

Quite a number of questions of our English comrades, including the first, seventh and the ninth, deal with the attitude of the Communist International towards its affiliated parties, the application of the Communist program and Communist views. We are able to give clear and concise replies.

The program of Communism is a formulation of the general conditions for the development of the World Revolution in capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie can not be defeated without civil war in any of these countries. Nor is it possible to conduct civil war successfully without the organisation of the proletariat as the ruler of the country, that is to say the organisation of proletarian dictatorship; this dictatorship of the proletariat is to be based on workers' organs of power, the Soviets.

Since the program of Communism is not the work of the imagination of the founders of the Third International, *but is a method of struggle* meeting the general conditions of the development of the World Revolution, it is self-evident that only that party can be a member of the Communist International which is ready to imbue all of its propaganda, agitation and entire

policy with the resolute spirit and comprehension of the conditions of the struggle which find their expression in the Program of the Third International. The Communist International can permit no discrepancy between words and deeds. Moreover, one of the symptoms which marks the decay of the Second International is that it admitted into its ranks parties which in reality had nothing in common with Socialism—as was the case with the Labour Party of England, which was established *en bloc* by the trade unions, for the pursuance of specifically concrete political objects, and not for the struggle for Socialism. The Second International also admitted parties within its ranks whose practise was avowedly hostile to the interests of Socialism. Since the majority of the parties comprising the Second International was by its very nature and substance reformist, fighting for Socialism only in words, there was nothing binding upon its members, everything was tolerated. To this it must be added that since the struggle of the Second International was carried on principally in Parliaments, and was one of negotiations around a table between trade-union leaders and leaders of capitalist combines—this struggle had to reckon with a great variety of social groupings.

With the development of the World Revolution, in all advanced capitalist countries we see the propertied classes forming themselves into one great counter-revolutionary mass, submerging all differences between the various capitalist groups. The centre of the struggle is transferred to direct encounters between Capital and Labour. That is to say, the conditions of the struggle are, with the growth of the World Revolution, becoming identical in every country. This makes possible the unification of the revolutionary tactics of the workers. Thus is created a basis for a firm and general policy of all the parties which conscientiously join the Third International. There are leaders of various parties who under the pressure of the rank and file are forced to admit the possibility that the time will come when they will have to join the Third International. These leaders are opposed to the revolutionary methods of the Communist International, and make false charges against it, alleging that it forces upon the workers of other countries a revolutionary policy and definite methods of action decided upon in Moscow. In reality they fear that their own workers will impose upon them these revolutionary methods, and compelled to admit the possibility that it will be necessary to join the Third International, they already try to secure for themselves a free hand for their opportunism by appealing to the Communist International to note the specific conditions under which they work—all of which means nothing but to be allowed to stand by the Third International in words, while in deeds they carry on a policy of indecision and vacillation between the revolutionary proletariat and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The Communist International cannot—and absolutely refuses—to admit within its ranks representatives of parties which still confide in those whose words and deeds do not coincide. It says openly to the workers joining its ranks: You are able to carry out the policy of the Communist International only in so far as you are able decisively to break with those leaders who either consciously deceive you or, afflicted by their own contradictions, cheat both you and themselves. When such workers represent in a given party only a section of its members, only a minority, we are justified in saying to them openly: We welcome you as brothers, but we call upon you to fight for the affiliation of your party with the Communist International, not by obtaining the unwilling



consent of your leaders to join it, but by means of determined propaganda within your own Party to rid yourselves of the opportunist leaders of the Right. The Communist International as a militant organisation wishes to know definitely upon what forces it can rely, which parties it may depend upon as its loyal battalions. It in no way wishes to create a false impression of forces, it intentionally refuses to accept into its ranks any party unless the inner structure of that party is characterised by a membership of revolutionary temper, and is free from leaders of opportunist tendencies who at the decisive moment are likely to turn the helm of the party into the backwater of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

### 5. The Communist International and the Utilisation of Parliament.

To the third question of the English comrades, concerning the extent to which the Communist International agrees to the use of parliamentary methods, the Communist International has already given an answer in a number of documents. The Communist International does not look upon parliament as an organ fit for the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or as an apparatus of its power. The Communist International does not believe that it is possible for the proletariat to secure its victory by receiving a majority at the parliamentary elections, although there is no doubt that such a majority, indicating that most of the people are for Communism, could as a means of propaganda aid the final victory of the proletariat. But in a country where the working class is just beginning its struggle for power, the Communist International not only considers it admissible but desirable and even obligatory to utilise the election campaigns as well as the parliament for the purposes of Communist propaganda and organisation. Where the workers have not seized power as yet, where their press is weak, where this press extends only to a part of the proletariat, where the Communist organisation is often driven underground—in such places there is comparative freedom at election time, and should the workers acquire power then the parliamentary tribune can prove most serviceable for revolutionary propaganda and organisation. The policy of the Bolshevik faction in the Third Duma, the policy of the Bolsheviks at the «Democratic Conferences», have proved the usefulness of the parliamentary tribune for Communist agitation, as has also been proved by the practise of Karl Liebknecht in the German Reichstag in the blackest days of German reaction. But revolutionary methods of utilisation of parliamentarism are distinct from opportunist methods. The opportunist leaders go into parliament in order to secure improvement in the position of the Labour aristocracy by compromising with the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary Communists, on the other hand, if they at all enter parliament, make it their business to expose the bourgeoisie before the working masses by all the means in their power, from speeches to parliamentary conflicts, all the time drawing the attention of the working masses to the issue of the struggle. They make it their task to compel the bourgeois press by their manifestations to publish the aspirations and strivings of the Communists, thus bringing the wide masses of the poorer stratum of the proletariat who do not read Communist papers in touch with the Communist leaders and Communist ideas. They make it their task to assist the working masses to organise, to establish legal and if need be illegal organisations. Their work therefore represents only an auxiliary organ of the Communist work

in the masses. Their agitation should be directed to provoke mass movements, to the support of such movements and their defense before the whole world from the parliamentary tribune. The parliamentary Communist faction should therefore be entirely subordinated to the Communist Party, to the leading organ of the revolutionary mass struggle and to the Central Committee of the Party as the leading organ of the latter. The very fact that the working masses of Europe and America are acquainted only with the opportunist use of Parliament; the fact that they have only seen the corruption of parliamentarians and have rarely seen instances of parliamentarians perishing on the barricades—this fact alone makes difficult the realisation of the policy of the Communist International in this field. We are however firmly convinced that the working masses which are often driven from one extreme to another, from the extreme of parliamentary stupidity of the opportunist leaders to the camp of naive anti-parliamentarism, will finally come to see the sound policy of the Communist International.

### 6. The Communist International and the Labour Party.

The fourth question of the English comrades demands an answer concerning our attitude towards the fact of affiliation of the I. L. P. with the British «Labour Party». This question confronts not only the I. L. P. but also the B. S. P., which belongs at one and the same time to both the Third International and to the «Labour Party». The answer to this question is very difficult because it demands not only a detailed knowledge of the dynamics of English politics, but also an estimation of the future of the «Labour Party». From the material which we have succeeded in examining on this subject, we have arrived at the following conclusions.

The «Labour Party» was established, not as an independent political party, but as an alliance of parties, trade unions and other labour organisations for the purpose of creating a parliamentary labour representation, to protect the interests of the trade union organisation of the British workers against the attempts of British capital to check the trade union movement. The majority of the delegates of the Labour Party consisted of liberal Labour politicians. At the time of the Campbell-Bannerman-Asquith government the Labour Party lagged behind the Liberal Party. Since that time the Socialist movement has grown among the British working class, which in its turn added strength to the Socialist elements of the Labour Party. Owing to the weakness of the British Socialist parties the main and vital question was that of their connection with the trade-unions and the labouring masses; they were compelled to join the «Labour Party». The fact that the «Labour Party» was not a political party with a definite program, with definite tactics binding upon all its members, that it had neither local organisations nor a daily press dealing with its policy, made it comparatively easy for the various Socialist parties to belong to it. At the present moment there is a tendency of the opportunist leaders to make the Labour Party a real party with local organisations and a program. They aim to create a large opportunist party which is to retard the revolutionary development of the masses. If this tendency were to succeed, the Labour Party would never afford the Socialist organisations which form part, the right to an individual Communist policy, nor to the propagation of the revolutionary struggle. It would bind their freedom of action hand and foot. It is evident that no kind of organisation seeking to carry out a Communist policy could possibly belong to the Labour Party. It would then become

necessary after a most energetic struggle against this tendency, to leave the Labour Party, and to endeavour to keep in touch with the working masses by means of increasing Communist activity in the trade unions, by detaching these trade unions from the Labour opportunist parties and by going over directly to Communism. We however consider affiliation with the Labour Party admissible in so far as it represents a bloc of organisations each free to carry on propaganda according to its own program. Affiliation should not mean a mechanical utilisation of the party for the purpose of keeping in touch with the masses, gathered under the roof of the Labour Party—but a striving to free the masses from the influence of the opportunistic leaders of the Labour Party. The policy which the I. L. P. pursued with regard to the Labour Party during the war and during the election campaign of December 1918, we consider inadmissible.

During the war the I. L. P. was not in favour of supporting British Imperialism, but it failed to carry on propaganda for its ideas. It failed to prove to the working masses that they were and are being betrayed by their leaders. Affiliation with the Labour Party then meant an alliance with opportunism—and in no wise a struggle against it. During the election campaign, as far as their personal views and temperaments went, the candidates of the I. L. P. more or less sharply criticized the government's war policy; yet the party as a whole failed to point out to the masses that the Labour Party as a whole was because of its support of the government responsible for the war, that its guilt was as great as that of the Imperialist government. We cite the following example to the parties which are at one and the same time part of the Third International as well as the Labour Party. At the time when the Russian Communists, being in a minority, were represented in the Soviets along with the Menshevik majority, they never for a single moment abandoned their energetic struggle against the policies of this majority, mercilessly exposing them as traitors to the proletariat.

Such a policy towards the Labour Party we consider to be a condition for affiliation with the Third International.

### 7. The Communist International and the Elements of the Center.

The last three questions of our English Comrades refer to our attitude towards the attempts at compromise with those elements which have left the Second International, and have not joined the Third International. These elements do not represent a homogeneous mass. For example, the Party in Switzerland:

As far as the right wing leaders of the Swiss Party are concerned, who by means of a referendum have sabotaged the decision of the Party congress to affiliate with the Communist Party, the point at issue is not only the fact that they are against proletarian dictatorship or the Soviet system, but that they are against the revolution generally. It is their opinion that in such a «democracy» as Switzerland, the working class will gain its victory by parliamentary means. They are not satisfied with participation in parliament alone; they are not even satisfied with the opportunist tactics in the parliament; they go much further than that; they accept local posts in the executive organs of the bourgeois government and even accept the post of police directors, whose duty it is to suppress the revolutionary movement of the working class. In Germany, the Independent German Social Democracy is generally in

favour of proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet system. Under the pressure of the labouring masses, which are tending more and more toward the latter, even the leaders of the right wing of German Social Democracy, who in the beginning of 1919 were against the Soviet system are now obliged to accept this program. If these leaders fail to carry out the definite instructions of their congress to join the Communist International without delay in the event that negotiations with other parties are prolonged, this is due solely to these leaders who consciously and internationally sabotaged the decision of the congress and set their own will against that of the German workers. These leaders made a jest of the decision of their congress by formally enquiring of the Communist International whether the latter was prepared to negotiate with them—and did nothing more. The Executive Committee of the Communist International gave them a written reply. The leaders of the Independent Social Democracy concealed this reply from the masses. They took no further steps to state their attitude towards the Communist International, and only recently we had to send them a letter reminding them of the expressed will of the great majority of their Party.

Every conference in which they take part as well as every congress which they arrange with other parties have but one aim—to gain time; for as their political leader, Rudolph Hilferding said: «We must wait; we cannot trust to a ship which is liable to founder». In Autumn of last year, at the moment of attack by Denikin and Yudenitch, the ship alluded to by Herr Hilferding was Soviet Russia—the mainstay of the Communist International. The leader of the German Independent Social Democracy preferred to play a safe game when Soviet Russia, however, did not perish, and the Communist International grew stronger. Just as Lloyd George and Churchill are delaying the peace negotiations begun with Russia, in the hope that the Polish White Guards would succeed where Denikin and Yudenitch failed—just so does Herr Hilferding prefer to wait a little—perhaps the member of the Second International, the marshal of the Polish White Guard troops Pilsudsky, will save him and his like from the Third International. In France the Longuetists are in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets in Russia, but they have no faith in their own revolution, doing nothing to hasten its course. They also confer and «wait» for the creation of a new International out of the Communist International, together with such «splendid» revolutionary elements as they themselves represent.

Finally the party in whose name comrades Wallhead and Clifford Allen have addressed us, is made up of only one fourth consistent and sincere adherents to the Communist International. To another fraction of the party, the question is not yet clear, while a third part, which probably consists of half the party, is headed by the most influential old leaders of the I. L. P., and represents a policy of opportunism and compromise with the bourgeoisie, a policy of sentimental pacifism, a policy of middle class ideology. This element of the party is consciously hostile to Communist policy. The conference of this group, in order «to study the question» is a manoeuvre of the leaders who wish to postpone the moment of their downfall. The Communist International knew very well that a union with the revolutionary proletariat, in so far as the latter unfortunately still follows these parties, can come about only through the development of the revolution, through the growth of class consciousness and not through conferences and compromises with the leaders. The Communist

international has no reason to fear these conferences provided they be public, and provided the questions of the Communist International are debated by the press organs of the various parties, and provided these parties renounce secret diplomacy and the shameless concealment of the documents of the Third International. To demand from the Communist International that it send delegates who are objects of persecution all over the world, for the purpose of enlightening the worthy opportunists of Switzerland, is positive proof to us that these gentlemen are intentionally sabotaging the will of the workers.

Surely since it was possible for revolutionary workers, lacking material means, but anxious to become acquainted with the Communist International, to see Soviet Russia with their own eyes—if these have proved able to come from as far as Australia and America, to make their way through some ten fronts to us—the more so could the representatives of influential, strong political parties manage to obtain the necessary permissions of their Governments to come to Moscow, or to get across illegally without standing any risk of being shot. At all events their lives will be protected by their respective governments, to whom they are so valuable. We invite representatives individually and in a body to come to Moscow, and here to obtain a practical perspective of our policy and of our principles. We guarantee them that every word of theirs will be saved for the future by means of a verbatim shorthand report, and will be afforded full publicity, in order that the workers may learn the distinction between the policy of these opportunist leaders and the policy of the Communist International, and we are convinced that such visit will greatly assist the spread of Communist ideas.

### **8. To the Communists of the Independent Labour Party.**

The Communist International is anxiously following the development of the class struggle in England. It welcomes with deep pleasure every manifestation of the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the mass of the British workers, every manifestation of their revolutionary energy. Marx said at one time that the world revolution is only a storm in a tea cup until the British working-class arises to overthrow British capitalism—the strongest capitalism in the world. Now British capitalism is no longer the strongest; it has a number of competitors and it has to withstand and the blows dealt it by its colonial slaves. It is probable that upon throwing off the chains of the capitalist governments, the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will meet the resistance of Anglo Saxon capital in the persons of British and American capitalists who will attempt to blockade it—it is then possible that the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will rise in union with the peoples of the East and commence a revolutionary struggle, the scene of which will be the entire world, to deal the final blow to British and American capitalism. The outcome of this struggle will finally depend on the British workers. The final honour of settling with their own oppressors belongs to them, it will depend on this most advanced section of the working-class which once before in English history pointed out the way to the workers of the world in the glorious Chartist movement. The result of such a movement will be self-liberation from oppression and exploitation, and will

also be the pioneer of the world revolution. It is equipped for this to the fullest possible extent; the British working class possesses powerful trade unions; it has over six millions of workers; it possesses an old standing habit of organised action; it has a considerably high level of education, and at the present time, it is awakening to revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary energy. To be the pioneers of World Revolution there is but one thing wanting—the British working class should emancipate itself from the Trade Union policies and traditions of its leaders, it should accept the program of revolutionary activity, for which purpose it should organise a strong Communist party to guide its struggle; this Communist party would infuse its spirit in the mass organisations, and would take upon itself the initiative of establishing new unifying organisations and labour councils. But the revolutionary forces of England are divided, a part of them are in the B. S. P., part of them are in the S. L. P., in the South Wales organisation and in Scotland; in the Left wing of the I. L. P. and the Communist groups. The Executive Committee of the Communist International appeals to the Communists of England to unite in one party. This party based on the one adamant program of the Communist International, should play the leading part in the developing revolutionary, but not yet sufficiently conscient, struggle of the English workers, pointing out to the masses not only the general slogans, but also a definite road leading to their emancipation. This party should coordinate the activities of the masses with the national movements of Ireland, India and Egypt, in order that the revolutionary masses of the British colonies may free themselves, with the aid of the British workers, and not against them or even in the face of their passive protests.

For on this will depend the attitude of the colonists to the British proletariat at the critical moment when the country will be in the process of revolution, especially considering the fact that the food supply of the country is largely dependant upon these colonies. Raising aloft the youthful banner of Communism, the British Communist Party should remember that this banner can be led to victory not through propaganda alone, but mainly by active participation in its mass organisations, actually proving to the labouring masses that the Communists are able to lead them in the struggle better and more effectively than anybody else. In this struggle, which began with demands for slight improvements of conditions, the Communist Party widens and consolidates its forces into a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The powerful British capitalism is not opposed by an equally powerful Communist Party. Capitalism therefore is able to split up the British labour movement, to prolong the crisis, to corrupt the Labour movement, thus making its development more painful, more dangerous to the working class. The emancipation of the British working class and of the working class of the whole world depends upon the Communist elements of England forming a single Communist Party. We therefore say to the British Communists who appeal to the international proletariat to unite with the Communist International:

Communists of Britain Unite!

The Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.

Moscow.

## The Communist International to the American Comrades

To the Central Committees of the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party.

From the editor: In spite of the fury of the American Imperialists, who arrest five thousand Communists in one day, the Communist movement in America grows rapidly. Owing to dissensions which have arisen, two Communist Parties have been temporarily organized. Both parties delegated their representatives to the Executive Committee. After a careful discussion of the reports of both comrades, the Executive Committee issued the following letter to the American comrades:

By the reports of the comrades who have come from America and represent both currents of American Communism, the Executive Committee has been able to acquaint itself with the dissensions between the American comrades—dissensions, which have led to an open rupture and to the formation of two Communist parties. The question was discussed at an enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at which assisted, beside the members of the Executive Committee, also the representatives of both parties of America and of the Communist organizations of France, Switzerland, Hungary, Finland and Yugo-Slavia. As a result the Executive Committee of the Communist International came to the following conclusions:

The rupture is very harmful to the Communist movement in America. It causes a dispersal of revolutionary forces and an unjustified waste of energy on internal struggle. And this at a time when the concentration of the forces of the American bourgeoisie has reached incredible dimensions, when the class struggle grows more and more acute every day, demanding colossal sacrifices on the part of every conscientious worker; and at a time when, in connection with the steady growth of the world revolution, the greatest possibilities and most brilliant perspectives present themselves to the working class in America.

A careful consideration of the material of both sides has convinced us that there is no serious difference in principle between the two parties. There are certain disagreements on questions of organization. There have been disagreements in several discussions concerning the

proper method of breaking with the old Socialist Party.

Nothing more. Under such conditions the rupture cannot be justified, and must be healed at any price. Since both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and we have no reason to doubt this—the unity of the Communists is not only possible, but absolutely necessary. The Executive Committee categorically insists on such unity.

The necessity of immediate reunion is imperatively dictated by one more circumstance. The two Parties represent different sides of the Communist movement in America, which can well complement each other. In one party (the American Communist Party) are chiefly foreign elements, united in the so-called „language federations“. The other (the American Communist Labor Party) represents chiefly English-speaking elements. If the first are often better trained theoretically and more closely connected with the Russian working-class traditions of revolutionary struggle, they are at the same time less connected with the labour movement as a whole, with the general organizations of American workmen gradually moving out on the wide road of class struggle. If the second group have not yet gone through such a theoretical school, they have on the other side the great advantage that through them the Communists can influence much more easily the real American workmen, who in the forthcoming decisive class battles will play the principal part. In the one propaganda is better, in the other, agitation. In such a way both Parties naturally complete one another. And it is only by their reunion that the foundation of a strong Communist Party, which would stand at the head of a general movement and of the approaching Communist Revolution, is possible in America. For the purpose of more rapidly achieving unity, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes to both parties to call immediately a general Congress, the decisions of which must become obligatory for both sides. For the preparation and calling of the Congress, as well as for the coordination of the work of both Parties before a complete unity takes place, must be formed an organization committee composed of an equal number of representatives of both Parties. For the foundation of the united Party

the principles laid down in the platform of the Communist International and in the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International must be adopted. Besides this, the Executive Committee wishes to point out the following:

1. The Communist Party must strive to obtain the unity of all elements acknowledging the necessity of a rapid conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course this acknowledgement must not be in mere words and purely theoretical. It must be expressed in action, and bind everyone who cares to be a member of the party to an unlimited struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois power and establishment of the power of the working class.

On these conditions, with the agreement on the chief points, the dissensions on other questions are not essential: for instance on the question of availing oneself of parliamentary and other legal possibilities, on the adoption of one or another means of struggle, on the different forms of organization, etc. Such disagreements are inevitable in all countries where one has to build a Communist Party out of elements with various political pasts (Left Socialists, those who have split from old Parties, Non-Party members, those who pass to the point of view of gradual class struggle, Anarchists and Syndicalists acknowledging the necessity of the seizure of the power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and others). To split on account of these disagreements, which have now, in this period of direct revolutionary struggle for power, only a secondary importance, cannot be admitted. The only thing which the Party may rightfully demand from every organization and from every separate member, is an absolute discipline, an unreserved submission of the minority to the majority. If before the acceptance of any decision by the Party, discussion of the question from all sides is necessary and free criticism desirable, nevertheless when an authoritative decision of the Party has been taken all members of the Party and among them those who do not agree with it, must carry it out without reserve. On one side, a large tolerance to all dissenters in the period of discussion; on the other, an iron discipline in the fulfilment of the decisions of the Party. Such are the elementary conditions without which the formation of a strong Party of the proletarian revolution is impossible.

2. A complete rupture with the past and the Socialist parties (S. P. and S. L. P.) is, of course, the essential condition for the formation

of a Communist Party in America. This does not mean, however, that separate comrades, as well as whole organizations belonging formerly to the old Parties, may not be admitted into the Communist Party, so far as they have completely adopted the point of view of successive class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party must be an all-embracing organization not a narrow, closed circle. Separation from non-Communist elements must be understood in the sense of isolation from the inveterate Social traitor elements and elements of the "center" from the old Parties; but in no case in the sense of a sectarian rejection of workmen, who previously belonged to old Parties and have now broken with them altogether.

The door of the Communist Party must be wide open for the proletarians even for those who have not yet acquired all the details of the Communist theory, but are sincerely devoted to the cause of the proletarian revolution and are conducting a struggle against the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will be for them the best school of Communism.

3. Up to now the American Socialists of the left Wing have directed their attention chiefly to propaganda, and in this direction they have effected very important work. But closing themselves up in a more or less narrow circle of adherents, they stood to one side of the actual class struggle of the proletarians, which flowed in broad torrents all over the country.

In any case, they did not play the leading part in the most serious collisions between labour and capital. One must remember that now comes the period of decisive battles. By gathering in one organization all the most active elements of the working class, and developing the broadest general agitation and propagation of the ideas of Communism, the Communist Party must, besides this, aim at being the leaders of the class struggle of the proletariat in all its various manifestations, beginning with partial economic strikes, demonstrations, general meetings, electoral campaigns, and ending with a general political strike and an armed revolt of the proletariat. The drawing of broad proletarian masses into the current of the revolutionary class struggle—such is the chief task of American Communists at present.

Aiding by all means the more rapid process of rupture in the American Federation of Labour, and other allied Trade Unions and their branches, the Party must strive to establish a closer connection with those economic organizations of the working class, in which one can

notice tendencies toward industrial unionism (I. W. W., One Big Union, W. I. I. U. and insurgent unions breaking away from the A. F. of L.). The party must work in close contact with them striving at the same time for their union and the formation of strong economic organizations of the proletariat imbued with class comprehension. Supporting by all means the industrial unions in their daily struggle for direct economic demands the party must strive to fathom and spread this struggle, to transform it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aims of the proletariat the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and extermination of capitalism.

5. The party must by all means support education at factories, hand in hand with party communist centres, factory workmen's committees, which could serve on one side as a basis in the daily economic struggle, on the other side as a school preparing the vanguard of the labour class for administering the industry at the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, these committees must work in complete contact with the organizations of industrial unionism.

6. The party must not be an conglomeration of independent, autonomous "national federations". National federations have played a serious historical part in the social movement of America, (a lengthy systematic opposition to old parties, the formation of the League of Social Propaganda, the organisation of the "Left Wing" but in future, owing to the rapid growing of the class struggle and huge complication of problems standing in front of the American proletariat. National federations will be capable of fulfilling their part only in case they join closely the brotherly organisations of American workmen. A sharp break in the historically produced organising lines is certainly undesirable, for it would lead to a complete extermination of "national federations" this indefatigable preacher of communist ideas in America. Therefore the Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that at the realisation of the named problems—that is complete organisatory

unity of national federations with the other parts of American communism, a great cautiousness and successiveness must be observed. National federations can keep their autonomy in the matter of propoganda in the corresponding foreign languages. But in the political and economic struggle they must be submitted to the guidance of the party. In the period of acute struggle the use of the general vote (referendum) inside the party must be brought to a minimum and in any case questions, demanding a rapid decision cannot be subjected to a referendum. In the intervals between the Congresses the entire power must belong to the Executive Committee.

7. The growing persecutions against the communists in America rouse the question of illegal work. The Congress of the Communist International in March 1919 expressed itself very clearly on that account. Illegal work is necessary, for the bougeois "democracies" in all the world create actually a situation of martial law for the workmen communists 2—3 years ago the very thought of illegal work in such a "free" country as England, seemed absurd to our British comrades. And now the British revolutionary workmen have learnt to effect illegal work also.

The same takes place in Germany where Social Democratic executioners, Noske, Scheidemann & Co attempt to drive the powerful communist movement of German workmen to illegal conditions. One must learn to marry legal work with illegal work. One must avail oneself of every of legal possibility. But at the same time one must learn to publish leaflets illegally, gather illegal meetings, or when it is necessary factory—works committees, have an illegal guiding centre, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is certain that you will manage the responsible problems, comrades, which are placed in front of you. The victory of the International proletariat depends on the success of communism in America. With communist greetings,

The Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.

## An Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party of Germany.

On the 4th of April, 1920, at the initiative of several groups of the Left opposition, a congress was opened in Berlin, which declared itself as a new party—The Communist Labour Party of Germany. At that congress, as is certified to by its organisers, 38,000 members were represented.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International heard about the congress only a few weeks after it had taken place. We did not receive any preliminary notice concerning the forthcoming congress. The declaration of the organisers of the congress (see the protocol of the congress that a representative of





ROSA LUXEMBURG IN THE WARSAW JAIL.





the Central-European Bureau of the Communist International assisted at the congress is false. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, having listened to the report of the representatives of the Central Committee of your party concerning the foundation of the Communist Labor Party subjected it to a lengthy and minute discussion, which took into consideration all the material connected with this question, then the Executive Committee, having fully acquainted itself with the actual state of the matter, decided to address you the following letter in order to explain to you the point of view which it has acquired in relation to the disputable points of the German Revolution:

We know that the great majority of the members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany are honest and revolutionary inclined workmen; we know that these same workmen are imbued with the sacred desire of struggle for the freedom of the proletariat; we know that they are themselves deeply convinced of the fact that they stand on the platform of the Communist International; we know that the verdict which we will pronounce on the the behaviour of the Communist Labour Party will be painful for them. But, differently from the Second International, the leading organ of the Third International examines the conflicts of different parties not from the point of view of "diplomacy" and is not guided by purely formal and organisation considerations. The Executive Committee in this case considers its task as being the leading ideal-political centre for the labour movement of all countries. The Executive Committee in this case considers it its duty to express openly its opinion on the points of dispute and problems which have risen so sharply on account of the rupture among the Communists in Germany.

We are in no way the defenders of a unity at any cost. The Executive Committee of the Third International entirely realises that there exists such situations, when to split a party organisation is the sacred duty of every revolutionist, as in the cases when the old party organisation to which it has belonged before, betrays the interests of the proletariat and leads it on to a road of perdition. Having taken the initiative of the Communist rupture in Germany the organisation of the new Communist Labour Party of Germany, we are deeply convinced, was not placed in such a position; on the contrary, the points of view which the Communist Labour Party of Germany expressed in distinction from the old Communist Labour Party of Germany (the Union of Spartak are, in the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, an apparent digression from Communism and will be the cause of the most ruinous consequences for the new party.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International does not mean at all by this that it is absolutely solidary in all the details with the Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartacus Union), against which the German Communist Labour Party lifted the flag of revolt. The Executive Committee of the Communist International considers, for instance, perfectly erroneous the motives given by the Central Committee of the Spartacus Union in its celebrated declaration of the 21st of March, 1920, in connection with the question which had then risen of the possibility of forming a so-to-say, "purely labour" government will be capable of assuring such a situation, which prevent the bourgeois democracy to step out in the shape of dictatorship of capital. We admit, too, that in the organisation struggle with the elements of opposition the Central Committee of the Spartak Union did not always display enough coolness and foresight, and owing to this pushed a part of the workmen into the outstretched arms of the Anarcho-Syndicalists bawlers. But we must announce with complete certainty to all the members of the German Communist Party, that in all the most important problems of principal and policy, which are now the interests of the day in Germany, as well as in all the Communist International, the truth is not on the side of the German Communist Labour Party, but on that the Communist Party of Germany (Union of Spartacus).

Let us consider these problems separately: The most important question, in our opinion, is the question of the participation of Communists in professional unions and in the electoral campaign of the factory-works committees (Netrichsraete).

On this question depends whether Communism in Germany will transform itself into a sect movement torn away from the masses, which in the best case will deteriorate in the same direction as in the case of the late De Leon of America, or, whether it will join the general labour movement and cure it of the rancid opportunism. The Berlin Congress of the Communist Labour Party in Germany has officially confirmed the reasons of the German Communists' retirement from the "free" professional unions—the reasons which were exposed by Fritz Wolfheim, G. Laufenberg, Karl Schroeder, Friedrich Wendel and several other writers. The Executive Committee of the Communist International can in no way agree with the indicated reason. What arguments can the Berlin Congress of the Communist Labour Party of Germany offer in favour of the reason of the Communists' retirement from the "free" professional unions, The Congress offers only one argument: alas! a perfectly insufficient and senseless one: the free unions are supposed to be reformatory unions which will remain an obedient arm in the hands of bureaucrat leaders.

Let us stop to consider this question carefully. The number of members of the professional unions in Germany grows with an incredible rapidity. From 3,000,000 members, which the unions numbered before the beginning of the imperialist war, and from the 1,500,000 to which the "free" unions were reduced during the war—these same "free" union have gone up now to nearly 8,000,000 members. The workmen and workwomen of Germany are irresistibly drawn to join the unions, expecting to find some satisfaction in several of their most elementary economical needs. The Communist Labour Party stands apart from organisations which contain nearly the majority of the working class of the given country? In our opinion, under no conditions! We know well that the charges exposed against the so-called "free" unions in Germany are quite justified. The "free" unions in Germany as well as the Social Democratic Party in Germany were undoubtedly for four years of the imperialistic war an agency of the imperialistic bourgeoisie. The leaders of the "free" unions are, in the eyes of all the Communist followers of the working classes, nothing else but traitors of socialism, evident agents of capital among the workmen, the labour aristocracy, giving the style to these "free" unions and having split from its midst a whole caste of working bureaucracy with its self-sufficient half-bourgeois interests, is the most important obstacle for the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie.

All the organisative formation of the present free professional unions is entirely and absolutely adapted to deprive the common members of the union of all rights and hand over all matters to the decision of a small circle of professional bureaucrats. All this is a fact. And in spite of this, the motto, "Away from the professional unions," is an erroneous motto which supports these hateful professional bureaucrats.

What can our partisans of the Communist Labour Party in Germany oppose to the "free" professional union which number 2,000,000 members? They have founded a so-called All-German Workmen's Union (Arbeiter-Union); but in this union as certified to by its organisers, from all Germany there have entered only 10,000 members. And the leaders of this union direct the matter in such a way that the danger of its transforming itself into a typical sect union quite wrenched away from the masses, into a dead, hothouse organisation, incapable of entering into contact with broad circles of the proletariat. This danger becomes more and more imminent every day. All the Social Democratic leaders of the "free" professional unions need is that the new-minded

workmen Communists should retire from these unions and leave like Legien, Sassenbach, Robert Schmidt and other professional "leaders" complete masters of the "free" professional Unions. The "Free" professional Unions, as well as the Second International are the result of a peaceful reformist epoch, which lasted more than half a century in Germany, beginning with the exclusive law against socialists and in 1914 with the beginning of the imperialist war.

The new epoch—the epoch of a hard class struggle, which is transforming our fight into a civil war—will equally transform the professional unions into a new organisation. Some of these "free" unions we will have to split altogether, others will either entirely or in a large majority pass over to our side. The rising proletarian revolution will terminate with hot fire all the opportunist tendencies from the large workmen organisations, among them that of the "free" professional unions and will transform these organisations into a firm basis of the proletarian dictatorship. This process of regeneration of the professional unions has started also in Germany. Already many of the professional unions in Germany exclude their Social Democratic leaders and replace them by partisans of the Independents and partly by Communists. Already among the members of the "free" professional unions one can notice an animated separatism, which serves to strengthen every day the influence of Communism in the professional unions. Of course, this process is very slow, too slow, much slower than we would have wished. Many common members of the "free" unions must learn from their own experience all the treachery of the present leaders and all the helplessness of the social-democratic policy. The March events in Germany, during the counter-revolutionary upheaval of Kapp, Lutwitz howed once more what a huge power the professional unions dispose of, what a lot of irretrievable harm they bring to the cause of the proletarian revolution in the moments, when they march behind the yellow Social Democracy and what a fine power they might have represented if the Communists would succeed in wrenching the union out of the sphere of influence of this Social Democracy.

The way of events, however, does its work in curing the common members of the professional unions of their trust in the "old", "experienced policy of the social-democracy. The lessons of life are too impressive. The task of the Communists in Germany is to hasten and facilitate the forthcoming evolution. This is possible to achieve only by remaining the "free" unions, forming in them to begin with small Communist fractions, taking an energetical part in the every day work of the union and is playing the bankruptcy of Mr. Legiens at every step of that work.

But it is exactly this that the partisans of the German Communist Labour Party do not care to do. They prefer to disdainfully wash their hands of an organisation, into which after all enter only 8 million members. They forget that it is much easier to give the motto: "Away from the unions," than organise even a small Communist fraction in one of the professional unions. By an empty sentence they replace a difficult and serious revolutionary task. Communists would not be Communists if they did not understand how to educate patiently and insistently the workmen demoralised by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy. And this task demands persons to remain inside the union and at every example of treachery of the gentlemen from the Social Democracy to illustrate in front of the common members of the professional unions the necessity of turning a new leaf.

The Russian Communists, whose example has now such a great importance for the workmen of all countries—were also for many years in the minority in the professional unions. Even after the February Revolution of 1917 the Communists still

formed the minority in the Russian professional movement. In the transitory years, 1908-1911, among the Russian Bolsheviks one could also find groups of extreme "Left" comrades who expressed themselves against work in the professional unions, which were following the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks jeered at these comrades as at empty-headed brawlers. And the Bolsheviks managed after long and persistent work to conquer the professional unions in their favor. The same must be done by the real revolutionary German workmen-Communists.

The Communist International as a whole is greatly interested in the fact that the German Communists should not commit an irretrievable mistake in the question of professional unions. Now, especially, this question acquires a deep international importance. The Second International, as much as political organisations of the labour class are concerned, has blown to pieces like a castle of cards. But the Second International attempts to revive, supporting itself exactly on the professional unions. The Amsterdam International Union of Social Democratic professional unions is at present a much more serious opponent of the Communist International than is the Brussels International Bureau of the Second International. If the Second International has still got a strong support in the labour movement, it is only thanks to the professional unions which we have not yet succeeded in drawing away from the pernicious influence of Social Democracy. To defeat the Amsterdam International Union of "free" unions just as we have defeated the Brussels Second International is the first important problem of the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie remains in power only owing to the influence of the Second International; and the latter exists only on the surface by the remains of its influence on the "free" unions. The mistakes of the Communists in that direction will cease at nothing less than a prolongation of the bourgeoisie domination. The German Communist Labour Party, without wishing it itself, of course, helps the bourgeoisie in prolonging its supremacy over the labour class. It is not the retirement from the "free" professional unions, not the scornful washing of one's hands of them, but an intense work inside these unions, the formation of Communist factors in each smallest department of their unions, an indefatigable struggle against Social Democracy in the unions, a systematic insistent work in order to tear this last instrument of enslaving of the workmen out of the hands of the agents of capital—such is the motto of the Communist International. The unwillingness of the German Communist Labour Party to take part in the electoral campaign of the factory committees (Betriebsräte) seems to us also to be a mistake which might lead to undesirable consequences. In the cases where you can organise in Germany by revolutionary order, at your own responsibility, such industrial councils which are considered outside the law (as was the case, for instance, during the Kapp days)—in such cases, of course, it is necessary to found such council. But it would be absurd to refuse to participate in the elections in the present Soviets even then when the elections are based on the reactionary law which was carried through by the Social Democrats together with the bourgeoisie in their Constituent Assembly. The chief matter, which we must have in view in Germany is the following: the idealistic influence of Communism in Germany is already very considerable and also among the Party of the Independents, which is compelled to follow our mottoes, repeat our programme. But this is not enough: we must have an organisation ratification of our ideas. This is the chief thing which is missing in Germany. In regard to organisation German Communism is still very weak, and exactly on account of this German Communists are obliged to profit with every possibility to ratify their ideas from an organisation point of view in order to form even on the ground of the present Scheidemann rule an organising centre. Russian Communists, under the domination

of the Mensheviks and Kerensky had also their illegal organisations, but they profited of every "legal" possibility, which was presented to them by the Kërensky régime in order to create legal centres for themselves. Russian revolutionaries under the Tsar did not refuse to avail themselves of the most reactionary of laws concerning factory-work bailiffs. So must the German Communists act at present.

The Berlin Congress of the Communist Labour Party has also acquired an entirely erroneous attitude in regards to parliamentarism. The congress expresses itself against any availment of parliamentarism in January at present. And in its explanation of the matter the congress could not offer a single argument except the refrain of the usual anarchial "arguments" in favour of its decision.

We know that the late Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg at the first Constituent Congress of the German Communist Party expressed themselves for the participation in the forthcoming elections for the German Constituent Assembly. Now even a blind man can see that Liebknecht and Luxemburg were right. But Liebknecht and Luxemburg remained, of course, in their party in spite of the fact that the majority of the party expressed itself against the elections for the Constituent Assembly. We consider that now also the question of parliamentarism as playing a subordinate part cannot become a cause of rupture among the Communists. One must not allow the party to split on account of that question alone. But in so far as this question has risen in Germany, the Executive Committee of the Third International in this question too is compelled to express itself most emphatically against the attitude which has been acquired by the Berlin Congress of the German Communist Labour Party. The Russian Communist Party took a most active part in the town municipal elections in the beginning of the February Revolution and attached a great importance to the work of the in that direction. The Russian Communist Party took part in the second elections in the Petrograd Town Duma, which took place a few weeks before the October revolt. The Russian Communist Party also took part in the elections for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, already when the power had been conquered by the working class. Russian Bolsheviks in the transitory years 1908-1911 broke sharply with the "Left," so-called retrists, who demanded the retirement of Labour Deputies from the Tsar Duma. In the "Black Hundred" State Duma, the Bolsheviks had their fraction, which, for a protest against the imperial war, was sentenced by the Tsar to the galleys. In all these cases the Communist revolution in Russia only profited by availing itself of parliamentarism. A huge service was done in one case by the late Liebknecht in 1914-1916 with his revolutionary speeches; this not a single conscious German workman can deny. The same can be said about the Swedish Communist Heglund in Sweden, Bulgarian and Servian Bolsheviks in their countries. Being afraid to profit by parliamentarism in Germany at present is to acknowledge one's indigence. Yes, the old peaceful reformist epoch gave birth to proletarians chiefly of the Scheidemann style, that is, persons for whom the parliamentarian tribune served as an instrument of agreement with the bourgeoisie and betrayal of the workmen. The new epoch, the epoch of the proletarian revolution, will produce parliamentarians of another type, the best example of which was the late Karl Liebknecht. The German Communist Party has got to exist half-legally in Germany at present. Every possibility of propagating one's ideas legally and especially of organising legally Communist centres must have a huge importance for the German Communists. It is necessary for the Communists to conquer some influence among the middle class and the small peasantry. Communists are in extreme need to step with a fine foot, not only among the industrial proletariats of the capital towns, but also among the working masses of smaller towns, and other centres. The occu-

pation of the municipal organs of these centres (this will not prevent us from dispersing them afterwards and replacing them by departments of the Soviet, as was the case in Russia) can lend to our Party in Germany a serious organisation foundation; and to refuse this would be the height of folly. The further dissent between the Spartak Union and the German Communist Labour Party is the question of the part played by the Communist Party in general in the proletarian revolution.

And again, the Communist German Labour Party, step by step, retreats from the points of view of revolutionary Marxism. One of the chief idealistic inspirers of your new party, Fritz Wolfheim, has exposed in numerous articles and pamphlets the Union of Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), as an example for German workmen-Communists. In the meantime, the Union of Industrial Workers of the World entirely denies the necessity of a Communist Labour Party and altogether the necessity whatsoever of any political party of the labour class. The Communist International considers that in comparison with the "free" Social Democratic Unions the I. W. W. goes a step further. The industrialists sincerely wish to fight the bourgeoisie. The Communists must participate in "free" Social Democratic Unions as well as in unions of the I. W. W., in order to lead their propaganda in these unions, join the workmen together and convince them of the necessity to stand under the Communist banner. The Communist International does not refuse collaboration with the I. W. W. But, of course, the Communist International will never agree with the reactionary opinion that the Communist Party is altogether not needed by the labour class that all political struggle is mere playing with politics, that all centralisation in the party leads unavoidably to the supremacy of a clique and that one can effect a proletarian revolution by means of forming general shapeless workmen unions, not participating in political struggle and having no special programme.

And in the meantime the leaders and inspirers of the Communist Labour Party of Germany are exactly marching along this road. What sense is there in the declaration of your Berlin Congress of the German Communist Labour Party that this Congress forms a party, not in the usual, traditional sense of the word ("nicht ihr überlieferten Linie?") None, except being a compromise to the anarchial prejudices of the industrialists. The industrialists, the Anarchists and the "Left" Communists who follow them, hopelessly confound the conception of party and class. They forget that the task of all the conscious new-minded men of the labour class is not to abase one's task to the level of understanding of the masses, with their prejudices, born of capitalism, but to lift the masses to the level of the new-minded vanguard. They forget that among the workman there are hundreds of thousands of men entering yellow Christian, liberal, priestly, and other different reactionary unions, that in the labour classes before the complete fall of capitalism a considerable reactionary streak is unavoidable. They forget that the Communist Party is the brain of the working class, its general staff without which it cannot conquer the powerful enemy—the bourgeoisie. All the arguments of Wolfheim and his friends of the German Communist Labour Party against centralisation, all their preaching of a wide "autonomy" of local organisation, is typical of the educated class' incomprehension of the fact that in the actual epoch an iron centralisation of our struggle is the first condition of victory. It is useless to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat if one does not understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat expects a strictly centralised, Communist, working party, cast of one piece, strong by its iron discipline, a party which will not manage to defeat its numerous enemies, if it does not establish beforehand an actually military discipline in its lines. We do not want merely to revolt against the bourgeoisie, we want to conquer it, and to conquer it without having to organise ourselves militarily is practically impossible.

It is time to understand that. We know from the history of the Russian labour movement that the partisans of wide "autonomy" of local organisations, preachers of the principle of federalism inside the Labour Party the eternal protestants against proletarian centralisation have always been the Mensheviks, that is Russian Scheidemannists, who, of course, hid behind proclamations of the initiative of the workers, of the undemocracy of their leaders, of the formation of the party "from downwards", of the sacredness of the electoral principle, etc. The Russian Bolsheviks, then, when the Bolshevik Party had to exist illegally entirely admitted the principle of an infringement of the electoral principle, admitted the principle of cooptation in leading institutions for otherwise it was impossible to do any work. The Russian Bolsheviks during twenty years defended and carried through the necessity of a strictly centralised Labour Party, with a powerful leading centre of the party, the directions of which are absolutely obligatory for all, and in whom the whole party has a complete confidence. The Communists of Germany are being placed in a very difficult situation. The bourgeoisie has killed those of their leaders who disposed of a complete and divided confidence on the part of the workmen. The bourgeoisie knew what it was doing. By doing this, it created colossal difficulties for our party in Germany. But the workmen-Communists of Germany must not augment their difficulties themselves. A new epoch will give birth to new leaders. Leaders coming out from the ranks of the working masses, grow with the masses, with the growth of the proletarian revolution. The task of each conscious workman in Germany is to understand and make an account of all the extra objective difficulties which stand in their way to the formation of a powerful and strictly centralised labour party in Germany. The slightest falsity in this question of cardinal importance on the part of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution will bring irretrievable harm to the German labour class. The lovers of pompous phrases from the "Left" of the type of Wolfheim and Laufenberg like to accuse German Communists-Spartakists of coming to an agreement with the German Party of Independents. Let us consider this accusation. From the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which we hope, you know of, you must be acquainted with our relations towards the German party of Independents. We consider that the right leaders of this party, the Kautzky's, Hilferdings, Kohns, Krispiens & Co., are objectively the traitors of a general kind and the best supporters of the bourgeoisie. We consider that the struggle with these leaders of the Independents is absolutely necessary and not to be delayed. But at the same time we know, and this you know just as well, that many thousands of workmen entering the Party of Independents and remaining there also because the lines of the German Communists are split, differ in nothing from common workmen-Communists. These workmen, members of the Party of Independents, in that same letter we pointed out quite clearly what propaganda the German Communists ought to lead in regard to the Independents. But the question is: Can one name a special object of accusation against the German Communist-Spartakists from the fact that they are striving to unite with the German Independents? To unite with the workmen entering the German Party of Independents is the duty of German Communists. To obtain an agreement with the million or nearly so of workmen who are organised in the ranks of the Party of Independents, but who the lessons of time will push every day nearer to us, is no opportunism but the first duty of every serious Communist in Germany. The German Communist-Spartakists could only be accused in the case if it would have been proved that in their desire to unite with the Independents they retreated from the principle of Communism and transgressed the conditions ex-

posed in the mentioned letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. But exactly this no one has attempted to prove; therefore, the accusations, made by Laufenberg, who only yesterday propagated the agreement not only with the German Independents but with the German bourgeoisie (revolutionary Burgfrieden) seems to us more than doubtful.

The Communist Labour Party of Germany has split from the Communist Party considering the policy of the German Communist Party as an opportunist one. At the same time from the very beginning of its foundation it accepts in its midst Laufenberg and Fritz Wolfheim, who in their first Communist declaration expressed themselves for a civil peace with the bourgeoisie if the bourgeoisie will consent to recognise the Soviet Government. In that case, in their opinion, the proletariat was not to crush and extinguish the bourgeoisie. In that same appeal they à priori consented to give electoral rights to all the peasants, independent of the dimensions of land they possessed; in that way the policy of Laufenberg and Wolfheim meant the establishment of only an appearance of a Soviet Republic for a real Soviet Republic, a real proletarian dictatorship can only be established when the proletariat will carry the day over the bourgeoisie in the civil war. If the power finds itself in the hands of the proletariat without such a struggle it means that the struggle is still ahead. If, on one side the refusal of power acquired without a serious struggle would be pure doctrinarianism, on the other side the duty of the Communist Party in such a case would be to warn the proletariat against confidence in the bourgeois elements which would recognise its power in words.

Laufenberg and Wolfheim did exactly the opposite: they tried to direct the policy of the proletariat into the channel of a pseudo-Soviet republic. For such a republic, that is a coalition with the nationalist tendencies of the bourgeoisie and the officers, was necessary for them in the war with the Entente. The war with the Entente! this is the alpha and omega of the policy of Laufenberg and his partisans. The war against the capitalism of the Entente, of course, might become a necessity for Soviet Germany if the workmen of the countries of the Entente, in case of a victory of the German proletariat, will not come in time to its help. But if this war will become necessary the German proletariat will have, unavoidably, in order to carry on with it, to overthrow the German bourgeoisie and deprive it of its power, for the German bourgeoisie—the German counter revolution—in spite of all the "songs of hatred" addressed to France and England, will join the capitalists of the Entente for a combined struggle with the German proletariat. By their appeal Laufenberg and Wolfheim have concurred in the spreading of the harmful illusion that the German bourgeoisie in her feelings of national hatred can become the ally of the proletariat. If the proletariat would have let itself be drawn in by this absurd illusion, it would long ago have been transformed into gunflesh for the German capitalists, who, under the banner of the pseudo-Soviet republic would have led the proletariat into a battle with the Entente and then, throwing down their mask, again have re-established the supremacy of capital. The national narrow-bourgeois point of view of Laufenbergs and Wolfheims must unavoidably have led them to a struggle with the Communist International. He who has confidence in his own bourgeoisie will certainly preach distrust of the international proletariat, and there we see how Wolfheim in *The News*, of your Hamburg organisation, of the 6th of March, dares to load the Communist International with the most absurd national reproaches. The Berlin organisation, at the head of which stands all your present leaders—as, for instance, Schroeder, Yung Wendel—not only in no way protested against the national counter revolutionary agitation of the Laufenbergs, but even republished their articles in the Berlin paper of the party concurring in the spreading of the national poison among the Berlin workmen.

Your congress also did not utter a word against the Laufenbergs and Wolfheims—what is more, starting to shout against the opportunism of the German Communist Party, it received with outstretched arms the counter revolutionary Hamburg group; encouraged by this, the group abandoned the remains of its decency. In the name of a whole circular organisation of your Party, in the name of the conference of the North District Laufenberg published on the 1st of May a new manifesto under the title "Communism Against Spartakism." In this renegade's manifesto Laufenberg and Wolfheim reproach one of the leaders of the German Communist Party, Paul Levy, of having called the soldiers to revolt on the 6th of October, 1918, that is then, when the German army, still under the shelter of the imperial eagles, made Northern France, Belgium, Poland, the Ukraine and Servia feel the hard yoke of the German imperialism.

Yes, as the last footman of German imperialism, Laufenberg and Wolfheim, in the name of a whole organisation of your party, accuse Paul Levy of having treacherously weakened the front. Evidently these members of your party do not keep to the opinion that the duty of every Communist, of every revolutionary workman, was to destroy the imperial army, to try to snatch out of the hands of German imperialism this instrument of murder, even if it were for a time to concur in the victory of Anglo-French capitalism. That which Laufenberg and Wolfheim impute as the crime of the Spartakists is one of the finest merits before the world revolution, just as one must admit as the merit of the Russian Communist Party, that it, straining all its forces, destroyed the Tsar's army, even if for that destruction one had to pay the price of a short triumph of German capitalism. Each stone which your Hamburg comrades throw at Paul Levy on account of that, reaches also Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who did nothing else during the war than destroy the German; so as with the torch of the German revolution to wake from their slumber the workmen of all other countries. "Our Enemy Is in Our Own Country!" such was the title of one of the first manifestoes which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg addressed to the German workmen. "Turn the muzzles of your guns on your own officers!" exclaims Karl Liebknecht, addressing himself to the German soldiers from the tribune of the Prussian Landtag. The German Communist Labour Party in its manifesto proclaiming the foundation of the party, names Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the great new-minded fighters of the German proletariat, and at the same time it allows the Laufenbergs and the Wolfheims to insult their memory; more than that, it invites these nationalists to her meetings, arranged in the Hall Farus, where Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg made their speeches. Laufenberg and Wolfheim not only curse the hour when the German revolution saw the light. Do not confine themselves only to profaning the graves of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, they carefully lick off the traces of blood from the hands of the German capital and its hangmen—all these Lütwitz, Noskes, Merkers, Walters and other bourgeois and Social Democratic staff rascals, bathing in German proletarian blood. According to the sentence, drawn by the Hamburg "Left" public prosecutor, it follows that it is precisely Paul Levy and the Spartak Union who are chiefly to blame for the civil war in Germany. It appears that it is not the German bourgeoisie who has lit the fire of civil war in order to compel the German proletariat, arm in arm, to strain itself in working for the foundation of capitalistic profit, it is not Scheidemann and Noske who devastate the workmen's districts with machine-guns, defending this same capitalistic profit; not the German White Guard General, defeated in the battlefields of the great war, who organise triumphant marches in the streets of German towns, driving on crowds of proletarian women and children with machine-gun fire. All this blood is shed, don't you see, exclusively, thanks to Paul Levy and *The Spartakus*, so assert

in the name of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, the historian Heinrich Laufenberg and his adherent, Fritz Wolfheim. If you set off to-morrow in numerous crowds to the Humboldt Forest, to the graves where thousands of defenseless victims of the White Terror are resting, take care not to forget to tear off from your red banners the inscriptions accusing German capitalism, German Social Democracy and the executioners wearing the General's uniform. They are, so it appears, quite innocent of all the horrors which fell to the lot of the German proletariat during the past eighteen months. "Down With the Spartacus Union!" "Down With Paul Levy!" those are the cries with which you must march to the grave of your lost comrades, to the grave of the young workman who fell in the yard of the Alexander barracks, transpierced by a bullet, with the cry, "Long Life to Spartak!" on his lips.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has declared to your delegates that until you will cease to allow such a defamation of the glorious history of German Communism, until you will cease to tolerate whole organisations and individuals who trample with their feet the principles of Communism; until then the Executive Committee cannot consider you as a serious revolutionary Communist Party, Your representatives had to acknowledge the entire dectitude of such a point of view, they felt themselves compelled to make an official declaration, entered in the protocol, stating that on their return to Germany they will demand from you the exclusion of Laufenberg and Wolfheim, a well as of the organisations sharing the same point of view. We greet this awakening of a proletarian sense of honour and proletarian understanding in your delegates and with complete confidence expect that you will fulfill the obligations which they took on themselves so solemnly to carry out, and set aside the obstacles which stand in your way to the Communist International. Your representatives pledged themselves with another obligation: You have formed an independent party. In the meantime your party belong organisations that reject any kind of a party as a reactionary and opportunist institution; such an assertion we find, for instance, in the resolution of your Dresden organisation of April 18, entered in by Rhüle and accepted at the party meeting. This resolution, accepted a fortnight after the foundation of your party, condemns the existence of the Communist International. We have openly declared to your delegates that we consider such a point of view incompatible with an attachment to the Communist International. A Communist who opposes himself to the necessity of the existence of a Communist Party is comparable to a man who would undertake to cut off his right hand. The greatest misfortune of the West-European labour class consists in the fact that they enter the epoch of the world revolution having no strong, unique, struggling revolutionary parties. Your representatives agreed with our point of view and pledged themselves to exclude Otto Rhüle and all the organisations sharing his point of view from the party. We expect from you the fulfillment of this obligation also. You must fulfill it if you want to present yourselves at the Third International Communist Congress as a Communist Party.

If you care to present yourselves at the International Congress, if you wish to obtain recognition and be received as an equal member of the International Communist family—and we do not doubt but that you wish to do so..for in the opposite case there was no sense in sending delegates to Moscow—then the evident preliminary inference is the demand that you should declare beforehand that you will submit to the decisions of the Communist International. The Communist International has once and for all finished with the rotten practice of the Second International, which gathered round itself parties having nothing in common one with another. The Communist International is not a casual agglomeration of parties joined by the mellow cement of general phrases and wishes. The Communist International

is a fighting union, each member of which must act according to general rules established by the International Congress entirely submitting himself to the decisions of this Congress.

• • •

We cannot leave you one more thing unsaid. We mean the perfectly outrageous, coarse and unprincipled persecution of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartakus Union) and of the separate eminent workers of the educated class—which is lead in the columns of the Hamburg paper of the "Left" Communists and in other publications of the adherents of the German Communist Labour Party. The reporter at the Berlin Congress of the German Communist Labour Party in his report on the political situation and the problems of the party announced proudly: "It was said here, we have no educated class; we have only workmen. This is right. We support this declaration and we consider it as a promising one for the further development of our party (we quote the official protocol brought to us by two delegates of the Berlin Congress, page 10). The protocol marks in this place, "Loud applause." This point of view is an erroneous and a demagogic one. We know very well that the educated class is to be found anywhere but in the lines of the Communists and that there is no danger of an overflow of the bourgeois educated class into the Communist Party. Only separate members of the educated class devoted to the labour class support the workmen now in their struggle for Communism. And as is generally the case in those circumstances, as it was at a certain time in Russia, we see that at the head of this persecution stands precisely the small crowd of educated persons who wish to direct Communism on to a false road. The same thing happened to you! Typical, hesitating men of the educated class like Laufenberg and Wolfheim stand at the head of the advance in the party-educated class and declare themselves against such persons as Clara Zetkin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. We repeat that we do not in any way defend every step of the Central Committee of the Spartak Union. We admit that this Central Committee has committed more than one mistake. We consider the chief weak point of this Central Committee is that, for instance, in the question of participating in the professional unions it hesitated too long itself and did not occupy a decided position. We know very well that a whole generation of the so-called "leaders" have shamelessly betrayed the cause of the labour class. We know that there are cases when the struggle with old leaders becomes an absolute necessity and when, without dethroning these leaders, it is impossible to make a step further in the creation of a real proletarian movement. But the German Communist Labour Party, with all its programme declaration, with which we have become acquainted, has up to now convinced us only of one fact: that its struggle with the Spartakus Union is dictated not by these considerations, but is an evident hesitation in the direction of the small-bourgeois, anarchist policy.

We have openly expressed our opinion, comrades! We propose to you the schemes for a thesis of the three most disputable points in Germany (parliamentarism, the part of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution, the professional unions). These are theses which are approved by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and will be proposed to the forthcoming Second Congress of the Communist International. The childish diseases of Communism, which play such a big part in your present disputes in Germany will be discussed at the forthcoming Second Congress of the Communist International. This

Congress will carry out a decision which will be obligatory for all who want to belong to the Third International. In the meanwhile we propose that you should immediately enter in an agreement with the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and form a temporary organisation office of the two Central Committees on equal principles under the presidency of a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The German labour class is going through such a period when every division of the Communist forces can be extremely dangerous for its struggle. We are obliged to do all that is in our power in order to weaken the pernicious consequences of a rupture. Therefore, our practical proposals are the following:

1. To confirm immediately the declaration of the delegates of your party that Laufenberg, Wolfheim and Rhüle will be excluded from the Party.
2. To declare officially that, of course, you will submit yourselves to the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.
3. Accept our proposal concerning the organisation of a temporary compromising office of representatives from both Central Committees under our presidency.
4. Send your delegation to the Second Congress of the Communist International on the 15th of July, 1920

In this open letter to you, comrades, workmen from the German Communist Labour Party, we were compelled to thrust our fingers in the open wounds of your movement. We have openly expressed our opinion on all the disputed points. A "neutrality" in the struggle for the way leading to the world revolution does not exist for us. "Foreign countries," in the matters of which the International must not interfere, also do not exist. The International is the Fatherland of all the workmen. This is confirmed in the thesis written by Rosa Luxemburg in 1915, which shone like a leading star to the best revolutionary German workmen then, when they were still shedding their blood on the battlefields for their capitalist "Fatherland." We are certain that every revolutionary German workman will approve the straight open tone of our letter, whatever his point of view on the exposed opinions should be. Take care that this letter should penetrate by thousands of copies in your organisation, in order that the public opinion of the German Communist Labour Party should compel their leaders to forget all questions of personal self-pride and think of the matters which are so important for all. You must decide whether you want to belong to the Communist International, to which millions of workmen of all countries look up to with love and hope—from Finland to South Africa, from East Asia and Europe to California. You must decide whether you want to cover your banners with glory, fighting shoulder to shoulder with this awakened million-army. You must not take a decision on that question which can bear such serious consequences too rapidly. You must decide only after ripe consideration.

We wish with all our hearts that our brotherly letters should concur to the good of the union of all Communist workmen of Germany in one powerfully fighting front.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Unions of all the Communists of Germany!

Long life to Soviet Germany!

Long life to the world revolution!

With Communist greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow-Petrograd, June 2d, 1920.



## To the Oppressed Peoples of Persia, Armenia and Turkey

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is calling a Congress of workers and peasants of Persia, Armenia and Turkey, on the 15th of August 1920 in Baku. What is the Communist International? It is the organisation of the revolutionary working people of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, England and America, who, roused by the roar of the great war, and driven by hunger, have revolted in order to work for themselves, not for the rich and not to take up arms against their own suffering and unfortunate brothers, but to use them for their own defence against the exploiters. These working people have grasped the idea that their strength lies in unity and organisation—that only in this can they find a pledge of victory—and as a result they founded last year a powerful organisation in the shape of the Third International. The latter, in spite of all the persecutions of capitalist governments has become in the eighteen months of its existence the soul of the revolutionary workmen and peasants of all the world, striving for free dom.

Why does the Communist International call now the congress of Persian, Armenian and Turkish workmen and peasants? What does it offer them, what does it want of them? The workmen and peasants of Europe and America, fighting with capitalism, address themselves to you—because you, as well as they, suffer under the yoke of World Capitalism; like they, you have to struggle with the world plunderers, because your union with the workmen and peasants of Europe and America will accelerate the destruction of World Capitalism and assure the freedom of the workmen and peasants all over the world. Peasants and workmen of Persia! For centuries the Teheran-Cadjan government and its lickspittles—the provincial khans—have plundered and exploited you. The land was appropriated by the lackeys of the Teheran government. They dispose of their land, impose taxes on you according to their own judgement, and, having sucked all the juice out of the land and brought the country to a state of ruin and misery, they sold Persia last year to the British capitalists for the sum of two million in order that they could form in Persia an army, which would oppress you still more than it did before—and that this army should draw out of you taxes and contributions for the khans and the Teheran government.

They sold to England rich South - Persian springs, aiding by this the complete looting of the country. Peasants of Mesopotamia! The English have declared your country independent—but 80.000 British soldiers garrison your land, rob and kill you, violate your wives. Peasants of Anatolia! The British, Italian and French governments have held Constantinople under the fire of their guns—they induced the Sultan to agree to the division of purely Turkish Territory, and to the handing over of Turkish finances to the disposal of foreign financiers, so as to facilitate the pillage of the people of Turkey, impoverished by the six years war. They have occupied the Heracles coal - shafts and your forts, they send their troops to your country—trampling your fields; they dictate their laws, foreign to every peaceful Turkish peasant; they want to turn you into beasts of burden on which any load can be thrust. Most of your „Beks“ and „Effendis“ have sold themselves to foreign capitalists; the others call you to take arms for the struggle against the foreign invasion, not admitting, however, that you should take the power of your own country into your hands, seize the land and the fields granted by the Sultan to different parasites, and cultivate this land for your own benefit. And to -morrow, when foreign capitalists will have agreed with the oppressors on milder peace terms — then your leaders will profit by this to lay new claims on your hands, as is done in districts solely occupied by foreign troops—by the landowners and officials.

Peasants and workmen of Armenia! During long years you have been the victims of foreign capitalists, who lead long conversations on account of the massacre of the Armenians by the Kurds, who called you to fight the Sultan and at the same time made gain of continually new profits from your struggle with him. During the war, they not only promised you your independence, but induced your teachers — priests and merchants—to request the land of Turkish peasants in order to establish an eternal war between the Turkish and Armenian people, from which they could draw an eternal profit; for while these dissents continue among your people, foreign capitalists will draw their profit—terrorising Turkey with the danger of Armenian revolt—Armenians with Kurd massacres. Peasants of Syria and Araby! The English and the French have promised you your independence, but meanwhile their troops have occupied your

country; they dictate to you their laws, and you, having freed yourselves from the Turkish Sultan and government, you have become the serfs of the Paris and London governments, which distinguish themselves from that of the Sultan only by keeping you more firmly in their hands and plundering you more.—You understand all this very well yourselves. The Persian workmen and peasants have revolted against the treacherous Teheran government. The peasants of Mesopotamia have started a revolt against British occupation by troops and the British Press informs us of the losses borne by the British army in the fight with the rebels near Bagdad.

Peasants of Anatolia! Kemal-Pasha calls you insistently under the banners, to struggle against the foreign offensive, but at the same time we know that you are attempting to form your very own party, your own peasant party, which will be capable of continuing the battle in the case of the Pasha's concluding peace with the Entente's spoliators.—One cannot succeed in reestablishing calmness in Syria; and you, Armenian peasants, whom the Entente is starving to death, in order to hold you in her hands, you understand better and better that it is absurd to hope for salvation through the support of the capitalists of the Entente. Even your bourgeois government of the Dashnaktsutiun party, these servants of the Entente, even they are compelled to turn for help to the workmen and peasant government of Russia and ask for the conclusion of peace.—Now we see that you begin yourselves to understand what you need—therefore we address ourselves to you as the representatives of European proletariat, profiting by the huge experience accumulated in our struggle with the aim of helping you to obtain your freedom.—We tell you: the time when European and American capitalists could crush you by armed force—this time has vanished, to return no more. Everywhere in Europe, in America, workmen revolt—take up arms against the capitalists and lead a bloody struggle against them. If we still have not conquered world capitalism, at any rate the capitalists are powerless now to dispose of the blood of their people at their pleasure.—During two years the Russian Revolution has been fighting against the whole world. French, English, American capitalists have tried every means—armed force, hunger—to conquer the Russian workmen and peasant, to tighten the rope round his neck and make a serf of him. They have not succeeded. Russian peasants and workmen firmly defended their

power, formed their own army which, has dashed to pieces the reactionary troops supported by the capitalists of the Entente. Workmen and peasants of the Near East! If you organise yourselves, form your own workmen and peasant power, if you arm yourselves, join the Russian workmen and peasant army, you will conquer British, French, and American capitalists, release yourselves from your oppressors, get your freedom, found a free world republic of workmen, avail yourselves of the riches of your land in your own interests and in the interests of the rest of the working humanity, which will gladly exchange them for products which you need and come to your held in every way. We want to talk to you about all this at the Congress. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, as the representative of the English, French, American, German and Italian workmen, will come to Baku in order to discuss the question—how to join the efforts of the European proletariat with ours for the struggle with the mutual enemy. Do not grudge any effort to appear at Baku in the greatest possible number on the first of September. You who used to go to Holy places across wildernesses—get along now across mountains, rivers, woods and wildernesses, to meet one another and talk of how to free oneself from serfdom, join in one brotherly union and start an equal, free, brotherly life.

We address ourselves at first to the workmen and peasants of the Near East, but we will be glad to see among the delegates, the representatives of distant oppressed people—we mean the representatives of Indian,—as well as of Musulman people, who develop freely in contact with Soviet Russia. On the 2-d of September thousands of Turkish, Armenian and Persian workmen and peasants must peacefully assemble in order to free the Nearest.

Let the Congress tell our enemies in Europe, America and in your country that the time of servitude has passed, that you rise and that you will conquer. Let this congress inform the workmen of all the world that you defend your right and that you join the powerful revolutionary army which fights now all injustice and spoliation. Let your congress fill with strength and faith the many millions of oppressed in all the world, let it inspire them with confidence in their own forces, let it hasten the day of final victory and freedom.

The Executive Committee of the  
Communist International!  
President: Zinoviev.  
Secretary K. Radek.

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|---|---|
| For the British Socialist Party:<br>W. Mac Laine, Tom Quelch.   | Boukharin, Vorovsky, Balabanova,<br>Klinger.                                |
| For the Factory-works Committees of England:<br>Jack Tanner, G. T. Murphy.  | For the All-Russian Central Council of the<br>Labour Unions:                |
| For the French delegates to the Congress of the<br>Communist International:<br>A. Rossmer, Deslinières, Jacques Sadoul. | A. Losovsky.  |
| For the Italian delegates:<br>Bombacci, A. Graziadei.   | For the Communist Party of Poland:<br>J. Marchlevsky (Karsky).              |
| For the American Communist Party:<br>L. Fraina, A. Stocklitsky.   | For the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the<br>Balkan Communist Federation: |
| For the American Communist Labour Party:<br>A. Bilan.   | N. Shablin.   |
| For the Spanish Federation of Labour:<br>Angel Pestania.  | For the Communist Party of Austria:<br>Reissler.                            |
| For the Central Committee of the Russian<br>Communist Party:  | For the Communist Party of Hungary:<br>Raccosi, Rudnianski.                 |
|   | For the Dutch Communist Party:<br>D. Vinkoop.                               |



# The International of the Communist Youth

## The Berlin Congress of the International of Youth.

### I.

1. The First International congress of Unions of Socialist Youth took place in 1907 in Stuttgart. It was called in the epoch of peaceful development of capitalism. But even for this epoch it managed to work out a revolutionary programme for the international movement of the proletarian youth: The struggle against militarism, and the participation of the youth in the political life of the working class. Such were the foundations of the young people's movement. In its first period from 1886 (foundation of the first Young Guard organisation in Ghent) up to 1907. The Stuttgart congress was summoned when the organisations were still very weak. (The strongest of them counted: Belgium in 1909 — about 8,000 members in 123 organisations; and Sweden in April, 1907—about 17,000). The Anarchist and Syndicalist influence, against which revolutionary Socialist elements had to carry on a desperate struggle was still very strong in them. But their organisations were revolutionary, they educated and prepared not middle-class officials of Party and professional bureaucracy, but revolutionary Socialists burning with enthusiasm.

Alas! The declarations of the Stuttgart Congress were not carried out. From 1907 on, first in Germany and then in the majority of European countries, Social Democratic parties and Trade Unions, who had no relations to the organisation of the Unions of Youth, and in many cases (Austria, Switzerland) had persecuted them—suddenly developed a strong affection towards «unexperienced youth» and resolved to direct it on the right road. At first Schultz, and after him other apostles of opportunism, frightened by the revolutionary spirit of the independent organisation—proclaimed a liberal «pedagogical» principle: «The Youth must not mix in politics». Then, in the interests of Social Democracy, Anarchism was discovered among the Youth and as a result of theoretical transformation of the youthful proletarians into helpless children—sprang the idea of dissolving the Independent Unions of Youth and setting Committees of Youth, composed of representatives of parties and Trade Unions.

The German Social Democracy acted in touching accord with clause 17 of the Imperial Code, forbidding political organisations of the Youth, and with the German police that enforced it by aid of bayonets, prisons and whips. The new committees undertook with great efficiency to throw political ideas out of the heads of the Young people, and transformed the German Youth movement into an educational-sportive union with a slight Socialistic colour. Only a few organisations of proletarian youth succeeded in maintaining their independence and political activity. And for that reason the second congress of the International of Youth, summoned in 1910 in Copenhagen, passed unnoticed. It confirmed the Stuttgart principles of Leibknecht concerning antimilitarism, and the thesis of Roland-Holst

on Socialist education. But instead of struggling for the independence of the organisations of Youth against the opportunist Social Democracy—upon the report of Danneberg, secretary of the International of Youth, a resolution was carried out of «combined work of the Socialist Unions of Youth with Socialist Parties and Trade Unions».

2. The next international conference of the Socialist Unions of Youth, took place in 1912, immediately after the congress of the Second International. The only question there debated was the question of the attitude of the organisations of Youth in the event of the great war. The conference went no further than to join the declarations of the congress of grown up Socialists.

Then the Great War broke out, and shattered the plans of convoking a congress of the International of Youth in August 1914, simultaneously with the congress of the Second International. The International secretary, Danneberg, then in Vienna, did nothing to re-establish international relations of the organisations of Youth. On the initiative of Swiss, Italian and Swedish comrades they met (unknown to Danneberg) at the Berne conference of the unions of Youth. Neutral countries were chiefly represented there, and the leading part was played by Scandinavia and Switzerland. The Central Committees of French and Austrian organisations refused to send their delegates. Germany was represented solely by three Southern towns who had separated themselves from their central committees. The Berne Conference of the International of the Youth had, undoubtedly, a revolutionary importance. In surroundings of the betrayal of the working class by the international Social Democracy, suddenly rang out in Europe the voice of the proletarian youth against imperialistic slaughter and social patriotism.

The conference called organisations of all countries to active political warfare. It proclaimed the complete independence of the Youth movement. It established an «International Day of the Youth»—a day of struggle against militarism, against Socialist betrayal, for Communism and class war. It elected as International Secretary comrade Münzenberg.

But as the Berne conference coincided with the period of Zimmerwald, when the differences of opinion between the Zimmerwald Right and Left were not yet clear—declarations were not meant for a Communist revolution and for a further delineation in the labour movement. And it committed a great mistake—adopting the Kautsky motto of general «disarmament» in the question of struggle against war—as revolutionary and realisable in capitalist society.

From then on meetings of the Bureau of the International of the Youth took place annually, and as the war developed and the workers of the whole world became more and more revolutionised, it placed itself more and more on a purely Communist basis, as did the quarterly review *The International of Youth*, published by Münzenberg.

3. In 1919 began the childbirth pangs of the Berlin Congress. It was called for the Summer by the Zürich secretariat of the International of Youth, at Basel, and by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Union of Youth at Moscow. Then upon the agreement of both organisations with the Hungarian comrades, the Congress was transferred to Budapest. But the critical position of the Hungarian Soviet Republic persuaded the bureau to select Vienna as the place for the Congress, where it was to convene August the 25th.

Various circumstances, however, prevented this plan from succeeding. At the appointed time only the representatives of Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy, Germany and Hungary arrived in Vienna. At a conference of these delegates a temporary committee of five members was elected, and charged to prepare and summon in the near future a congress in Germany. This committee, consisting of representatives of different countries, succeeded, after unthinkable difficulties, in summoning representatives from 14 organisations of Youth of different countries to Berlin, where from the 20th to the 25th of November the congress of the International of Youth took place.

The Berlin congress of the International of Youth was the largest of all the international congresses of Youth, by the number of organised Young proletarians, represented at it. No eminent leaders of Socialism took part in it. The delegates were mostly young workers, unknown in wide international circles. But behind it—unlike the Stuttgart congress—stood large organisations of proletarian Youth, who had gone through a hard school of revolutionary struggle. Therefore the declarations of the Berlin congress will have a tremendous effect on the Youth movement of the whole world.

## II.

I. The decisions of the Berlin Congress of the International of Youth are no fiction. They were discussed in all countries for many years. And what is more—they were prepared by a practical struggle of the Unions of the Youth in the whole world. Therefore I will go into a detailed description of the position of the Youth movement in all the different countries, profiting by local reports made by the delegates to the Congress, and other material which I have gathered from the press, from letters and private conversations.

The predominant influence at the Berlin congress belonged to Russia and Germany. Not only because it was chiefly they who had organised the congress, but also because in those two countries, in connection with their strong revolutionary movement, the organisations of Youth are the strongest. Therefore the situation of the Russian and German Youth movement is of the greatest interest for us.

II. The Russian Communist Union of Youth has existed only 18 months as an All-Russian organisation. Up to its first congress in October 1918, in which 175 delegates represented 22,000 organised members, the movement was incomplete and elementary. The strongest organisations existed in Petersburg and in Moscow (already in the Summer of 1917).

At the Second All-Russian Congress (October 1919) the number of its members amounted to 95,000, and at present the Union numbers about 250,000 members in 3,129 organisations. Such a speedy development of the Russian Youth movement is explained, of course, by the specially favourable conditions of proletarian dictatorship. The Russian Communist Union of Youth, though setting itself the same task as the West European organisation, directed its work

on other lines than the Youth of Western Europe. Up to now its attention has been chiefly directed to the civil war. It gave its best forces to the front as Red officers, agitators, organisers, volunteers and medical corps. All its verbal and published agitation was submitted to the motto: «Everything for the victory over the counter-revolution». Now in connection with the turning of Soviet Russia to peaceful work in the domain of Socialist industry, its chief problem becomes the schooling of conscientious practical workers in national economy and the struggle against disorganisation. Together with this, in connection with a more peaceful atmosphere, its activity in founding a Socialist school and in reorganising the work of the young, is all the more strengthened. A typical feature of the Youth's movement in Russia is the absence of any Youth organisations except Communist ones.

III. Much harder work falls to the lot of the «Free Socialist Youth of Germany». This organisation was founded at the conference of opposition groups to the old Social Democratic «Working Youth», held in Jena, in January 1916. They declared war on social patriotism and the waverings of the members of the centre. They enunciated, as the chief principle of organisation, the motto: «First clearness—then majority». Karl Liebknecht was the god-father of this new union, and his revolutionary enthusiasm and influence are noticeable in all the activity of the «Free Socialist Youth». During the war, compelled by the repressions of the Kaiser's regime to exist illegally—it was under his direction that they struggled against imperialism and militarism. They prepared a numerous staff of future members of the German Communist Party. Carrying on a continual bitter struggle against the religions and bourgeois Youth associations, as well as with the Scheidemann «Working Youth», they spread its influence in the broadest circles of proletarian youth. Up to October 1918 there existed in Berlin and several other centers special groups of Youth, which actually joined the Independents. In October 1918, as a result of compromises on both sides, a union of both organisations took place at the All-German Conference in Berlin, and the Independents acquired a great, though not a predominant, influence in the «Union of socialist Youth». Before the group of «Spartakus» broke away from the Independent Party, «Free Socialist Youth» found itself in organisational connections with the latter. The November Revolution, in which the working youth took a warm part, opened a wide horizon before the «Free Socialist Youth». Thousands of experienced and faithful comrades returned from the front and from prisons. There arose the possibility of legal work. The revolutionary enthusiasm in the working class caused a few new young proletarians to rush into the organisation.

The Central Committee of the Union began to publish a fortnightly review, «The Young Guard». In January 1919, the Communist Party was founded. In connection with this, before the German Youth organisation arose the question of her relation to the Socialist Parties. At the All-German Conference in February 1919, the «Free Socialist Youth» recognised the Communist Party as the only revolutionary one. At the Weimar conference in October 1919, it finally accepted the programme of the Spartakus Union. At the same time, in the process of daily labour the last connections with the Independents, of which the greatest importance for our organisation was their financial support were gradually being broken. Conserving its political and organisational independence, the «Free Socialist Youth» became actually a Communist organisation, in complete accordance with all its former activity.

This caused the few remaining Independent elements to abandon it. The rupture took place at the Weimar conference, where from several hundreds delegates about thirty split off. The dissenters formed under the banner of «Non-partisan Socialism»—a new union, «The proletarian Youth», which actually was led by the Independents. Taking into consideration the revolutionary spirit of the Proletarian Youth in Germany, and a strong turn to the left among the party of Independents—we can boldly foretell the early death of the new organisation. The reaction in Germany conducted by the Social Democrat Noske again drove the central organs of the «Free Socialist Youth» into illegal existence. The same happened to many local organisations of the union. But in spite of new obstacles, the «Free Socialist Youth» grew stronger uninterruptedly. It has a strong organising apparatus which embraces all the provinces of Germany. Its central organ, «The Young Guard» (appearing from September 1919 illegally) is published in 40,000 copies. «The Free Socialist Youth» founds its branches in factories and works, organises the students, begins to work in the country. The connection with the Communist Party becomes stronger and stronger.

IV. The situation is slightly worse in German-Austria. The old «Union of Young Workmen», led by Danneberg during the whole time of the war, keeps to the principle of the Socialist centre. Carrying out loyally its obligations in regard to the protection of the precious Fatherland, at the same time it «grieved about the terrible calamities, which have beset the people». This double-faced policy weakened the strength of the opposition. The latter managed nevertheless to grow, and strengthened so much that in 1917 the Social Democrats were compelled to expel it from the Union. This opposition, though weak in numbers, worked illegally until October 1918, preparing the ground for the Communist Party and the Communist Union of Youth.

Only after the dethronement of the Hapsburg monarchy, the Communist Union of the Proletarian Youth of German-Austria was organised. Its first congress took place in August, 1919. Its weakness is explained, apart from the newness of the movement, chiefly by the fact that from the very beginning of its work the Union gave all its best forces to the then rising Communist Party. Also, in view of the general conditions of its activity, it is incapable of giving to the working youth the same splendid educational work as the Social Democratic Union.

Beginning from the first congress of the Communist Union of Austria, one notices a decided crisis in its activity. Its organisations start rapidly growing in the provinces. The number of its members augments (up to November it amounted to one thousand). The fortnightly review of the union «The Communist Youth», continually improves its resources and distribution. For the 7th of September (International Youth day, 7th of November and 5th of January, 1920 (Liebknecht Day) special numbers appeared in 45,000 copies. The Union lately participated in a strike of trade-schools, and this caused its President comrade Richard Schiller to be arrested.

The advantage of the Austrian over the German Union lies in the complete legality of its work, which does not exclude, however both arrests and executions of the demonstrators.

Unfortunately the Austrian Union of Youth—contrary to the German one—is in a great measure infected by the «Putsch» theories, which have caused dissension between them and the Communist Party, which has already freed itself of this «infantile disease». One must hope that

the revision of the tactics of West European Communist organisations will also take place in the Austrian Youth Union. The revolutionizing of the Austrian proletariat, pushed on by a continuous, catastrophically growing disorganisation, the marked rupture in the Social Democratic Union, the improvement in the work of the Communist Union of Youth, the support of the International of Youth—are the guarantees of a rapid expansion of our movement in Austria in the nearest future.

As well as in Germany and in Russia, the Communist Youth movement has developed very strongly in Italy and Sweden.

V. The Italian organisation of Socialist Youth has passed over entirely without any split, to the Communist platform. This absence of serious interior dissent and struggle with the grown up (which in other countries was chiefly caused by political differences between the revolutionary Union and the opportunist Party) gave the Italian organisation the possibility of maintaining itself during the Great War, and developing an incredibly strong activity when the war was over, in the period of the World Revolution.

This is undoubtedly strongly aided by the revolutionary spirit of the Italian proletariat, and the miserable conditions of the peasantry and the educated class. During the war the Italian Union of Youth, as well as the Party, stood on a firm international platform. On account of this it was many times subjected to cruel repressions by the Italian Government. The exile of comrade Schweide, the martyrdom of Marinozzi and hundreds of other victims of the «civilised» Italian Government, are brilliant proof of the heroism of our Italian comrades. The Russian Revolution roused enthusiasm among the Italian youth. They organised obstruction during the voyage in Italy of the Kerensky delegates—meeting them with shouts: «Long live Lenin!» The idea of Soviet power and the Third International became the centre of gravity of agitation for the Italian Union of Youth. As soon as the war was over, the organisation started rapidly to grow. Up to November, 1919, it counted about 30,000 members and its weekly review, «the Vanguard» appeared in 25,000 copies. According to the latest information the number of members in the Italian Union has reached 40,000 members. The organisation has begun to spread in the most out of the way spots of Italy. Efficient work is done by the Italian Union in the army, where it forms secret councils of soldiers. In the Union itself there is a preparatory school for the Red Guard. The Italian Union always participated actively in the establishment of strong international connections between the Youth of all countries (for instance, the participation in the summoning of the Berne Conference in 1915, the invitation to the Spanish and Grecian Youth to join the International of Youth, etc).

Now the Italian Union is striving to digest the number of new members, which it has absorbed in the last year.

VI. As well as in the hot climate of Italy, the Youth movement develops in the cold climate of Sweden. Here the Social Democratic Union of Youth went over entirely to the platform of the Communist International (officially in July, 1919). During the war it was the only revolutionary Socialist organisation of Sweden, which struggled against the opportunism of Branting's Social Democracy. In spite of some errors (disarmament and others) the Swedish Union has preserved strictly, up to the present day, its fine traditions of antimilitarist struggle, having once prevented a war between Sweden and Norway (1915—1918) and forming the chief obstacle to the Swedish activists. In the first period of its development, the Union went

through a hard struggle with the «Young Socialists» (anarcho-syndicalists) which had split from it but who now represent an insignificant number.

During the war, as well as in the present moment—the centre of gravity in the work of the Union lay in the struggle with the social patriots. From this struggle was born the Swedish Left Socialist Party. Its leaders, among whom we will name our fine comrade Höglund—were educated in the Union of Youth. At the present time it is the Party's chief support. One can find in it no trace of the humanitarian centre (Lindhagen and others) which still exist in the other parties, though without having a great influence there. The number of members of the Swedish Union grew from 18,717 members in 1917, to 30,000 members in 1920. Its splendid paper «Stormklockan» comes out weekly in 25,000 copies. Having with the Left Socialist Party a special printing office «Vpered», the Union develops a wide publishing activity, publishing hundreds of books, leaflets, appeals, pamphlets and placards, paying special attention to information concerning life in Soviet Russia. Its verbal agitation is splendidly organised. Red motor-cars, red boats—periodic agitation tours of the most eminent leaders of the Swedish Communist movement. All this can serve as an example for organisations of Youth of all countries. The Swedish Union pays its greatest attention to the work in the army having long ago revised its line of antimilitarist policy. The Swedish Union took the warmest part in the creation of the Communist International of Youth. It has a great (and very favourable) influence on the Youth movement of Denmark and Norway, and in the All-Scandinavian Association of Unions of Youth.

VII. In Norway the Youth movement carried on, beginning in 1907, a struggle with the opportunist elements of the Labour Party. This struggle specially, increased after the October Revolution, caused the passing of the whole Norwegian Socialist Party to the Communist International in the spring of 1918. The same work is now being done by the Norwegian Union in the trade Unions, through their special clubs, organised according to different industrial branches. The antimilitarist campaign, founded on agitation inside the bourgeois army, is conducted with special energy. Conferences of revolutionary soldiers are being summoned, the last of them taking place in the beginning of February 1920.

The number of members of the Union amounts to 12,000; they are organised in 70 departments in 20 districts of the country. The weekly paper of the Union, «Class Struggle», appears in 8,000 copies, and contains 8 large pages. The agitation work of the Union, especially in favour of Soviet Russia and the Communist International of Youth, is carried on with great success.

VIII. In Denmark the Youth movement is more weakly developed. Here the Social Democratic Union of Youth developed slower than the communists, which is explained by the general situation in Denmark. Only in October 1919 a strong Left Party split from the old Social Democracy, and fused with the formerly organised Revolutionary Party, which joined the Communist International. At the same time the Social Democratic Union of Youth also left the old Party. The internal dissensions between the social-patriotic minority and the revolutionary majority interfered severely with the organisation work of the Union. In February 1920 the social-patriots left the Union.

This fact will, no doubt, strengthen its work in gathering wide circles of young men, in spite of the fact that it has to give all its best men (Comrades Christensen, Hel-

berg, Erwig and others) to the new Party. The Social Democratic Union of Denmark numbers at present about 10,000 members and publishes a fortnightly review, «Forward».

IX. The revolutionary Youth movement in France is still in a very incomplete stage. The Socialist Youth organisation was greatly weakened by the war. Its National Committee maintained the point of view of «defense of the Fatherland».

However the opposition inside the Union grew very rapidly, especially in the department of the Seine. Together with the development of revolutionary events in Europe, the organisation moved to the Left—«Longuetists» up to now have a predominance in the National Committee. The Seine Department, that of Marseilles and other organisations of the Union have already expressed themselves in favour of the Third International. The quarrel between the insignificant majority of Longuetists and the decided minority of Communists is bound up with the organisational «for or against autonomy»—that is, for or against the removal of the proletarian Youth from under the tutelage of the Centre, in order to reorganise itself under the Communist banner. One can affirm with confidence that in the nearest future the present minority will become the majority. On the other hand, the Syndicalist organisation of Youth, also little noticeable during the war, in its congress in September 1919, decided to join the Third International. But there, too, has remained a great deal of Syndicalist confusion, such as Neomalthusianism «as a revolutionary measure». One can now confidently hope that the two organisations will unite under the Communist banner. Such a policy is carried on in France by the Executive Committee of the International of Youth. Now already, judging by the Paris «Humanité», both organisations arrange combined meetings. France was not represented at the Berlin Congress at all, for technical reasons. A detailed report from the Socialist organisation of Youth was sent to the Congress, from which it could be seen that the French comrades consider themselves bound by the decisions of the International Congresses.

X. For the same technical reasons, the American delegate of the «Independent Young-People's Socialist League», who was already in Stockholm, did not appear at the Congress. This small organisation during the war remained faithful to the International. Its president, comrade William Kruse, was condemned by the Chicago Court of Justice to several years of hard labour. As soon as he got out of prison he entered the group of the centre of the old Socialist Party. Therefore, between him and the organisation, which had become more revolutionised, there arose a conflict. The Young Peoples' Socialist League elected as its President comrade Oliver Carlson, who stood on a revolutionary platform. The Party nominated Kruse as its candidate for that post, and in his hands remained the organ of the League. The chief point of discussion in the Congress was its relation toward the Socialist and the Communist Parties. The Congress, summoned in December 1919, which was to decide this important question, was dispersed by the American police. We are sure that the American Young People's organisation will in the near future join the Communist Party and the Communist International of Youth. The cessation of internal dissent in the League, and the growth of the revolutionary spirit in the proletariat, promise a rapid enlargement of the ranks of the American Young People's League, now numbering only 6,000 members.

In England the organisation of Youth formed itself only at the end of 1919. Up to that time there existed me-



ely Socialist Sunday Schools for grown-up children. Then an organisation of Youth was formed in Glasgow, whose task was the Marxist development of its members. Its work was actually the continuation of the work of the Sunday schools. The new Union, which embraces all England, already resembles the Unions of Youth of the Continent. They have elected as their President Hodge, an eminent leader of the miners, who participated especially in the struggle for nationalisation of mines. Unfortunately up to now it has been impossible to determine the political colour of the new organisation.

XII. In Hungary the union of Youth was completely destroyed by the counter-revolution. A great number of the members of the Union were shot or are in prison. Only a small number succeeded in emigrating to Austria, from where they are endeavouring to reestablish (under unthinkably hard conditions) the activity of the Hungarian Youth in the way of organising small illegal groups of Young Communists. Before the overthrow of the Soviet Republic, the Union numbered about 120,000 members and took a great part in defense of the Republic and the Soviet organisations, paying the greatest attention to the reorganisation of the working youth and their education.

XIII. The small Swiss Socialist organisation of Youth (about 3,000 members) conducted during the whole war a revolutionary Socialist campaign against opportunism and the centre, especially in the question of «defense of the Fatherland» After the destruction of the Zurich branch, and the Central Committee of the Union, in November 1917, which was followed by the seizure of the paper, «The Free Youth», and the exile of the Union's secretary comrade Münzenberg, the activity of the Swiss organisation of Youth was greatly weakened. This was aided also by internal quarrels within the Union, which arose in connection with the founding of an ultra-revolutionary Communist Party, and the undecided policy of the left group of Social Democrats. These quarrels divert the Union's attention away from its direct task of organisation and Communist education. The situation in the Swiss Union has improved. A new paper is published in Basle «The New Youth». The centre of gravity is removed to organisation work. The struggle between the Union, Communist in spirit, and the Social Democratic Party, has again become sharper. The Central Committee of the Party has placed before the Union, as an imperative condition for its support, the withdrawal of the Union from any political activity and complete submission to the Party which was, of course, decidedly rejected by the Youth.

XIV. The Belgian «Young Guards», who have behind them an old tradition of revolutionary antimilitarist struggle, who have carried through, during the German occupation, illegal international work stand now on a Communist platform. Their Brussels paper, «Socialism», stands on the platform of the Communist International. The «Young Guards» boycotted the last elections to the Parliament, and for that reason the Belgian Socialist Party is going to expel them from membership.

XV. In Holland together with the Central Committee of Youth appointed by the opportunist party, (Organised on the model of the German «Working Youth») there existed for a long time a revolutionary organisation «Zaer» (the Sower), working with the Dutch Communist Party and publishing the paper «The Young Socialist» During the war was founded a revolutionary Syndicalist organisation of educated youth, which probably, in the near future, will join the «Zaer». We consider it our duty to mention here the death of an eminent leader of the Dutch revolution-

nary youth, Comrade Van Amstel; which was the cause of Holland not being represented at the Berlin Congress.

XVI. The Spanish Organisation of Youth (5,000 members) passed entirely in the end of 1919 to the platform of the Communist International.

The Madrid organisation, numbering 1,500 members, conducted formerly some work in that direction.

XVII. Portugal up to now has only a Syndicalist organisation of Youth detailed information concerning which is lacking.

XVIII. Of the Balkan organisations the Greatest is the Socialist Union of Rumania (6,000 members) which publishes a fortnightly review «The Young Socialist» in 4,000 copies; until now it worked with the Rumanian Socialist Party, pushing it to the left. The question of the relations of the Rumanian Youth towards the Communist International up to now is not solved, though the predominance of the left wing is clear. The Bulgarian Communist Union of Youth, judging by its paper «Mladenskaja Pravda» develops its activity on very broad lines. In Serbia the Socialist Youth movement was destroyed by the war. Now they have organized a Communist Union, numbering already about 2,000 members. We have practically no information concerning the groups of Greek Youth in Athens and Salonica, who conducted an international agitation during the war.

XIX. The Techech organisation has lately decided to join the Communist International, and is supporting the left wing of the Party in its struggle against the opportunists and the Centre. It is publishing a paper «The Young Socialist».

XX. In Poland the Communist organisation of Youth in spite of police persecutions, has its clubs in Warsaw, Lodz, Dombrov and other industrial centres of the country.

### III.

I. The order of business at the Berlin Congress was printed in the previous number of the Communist International.

After greetings and reports from the delegates the Congress listened to a report of the representative of the Third International concerning the political situation. The chief thesis of the report, popularising the declarations of the first Congress of the Communist International, did not arouse special discussion. The discussion concerned in greater part tactical questions. But in the chief questions (Proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power, Red Terror, struggle with the Centre, and so on), the opinion of the Congress was quite unanimous. With the resolution concerning the report the of political situation, it was decided to consider as the first point the programme of the Communist International of Youth. The discussion of the programme, the plan of which was drawn by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Union of Youth, formed the central point in the order of business, and aroused the greatest animation. On the question of parliamentarism, the congress expressed itself unanimously in favor of using it for revolutionary aims, adding that the participation in the elections must every time be decided by the national organisations, depending upon the conditions of time and place. Therefore, in spite of the desirableness of a revolutionary use of parliamentarism, the Swiss organisation of Youth was right in refusing to support the list of Social Democrats, which contained socialists from Gerilich to . . . Platten; and the Belgian Young Guard, which boycotted the elections owing to the absence of Communist candidates. The political struggle, and the preparation during its process of hundreds of thousands

of Young proletarian fighters—such is the first and chief task of the Unions of Youth at the present time. The discussion started long ago between the Social patriotic and Kautsky organisations of Youth (or old men with long beards but «young souls» on one side and the Communist unions on the other, is at an end. «The youth must not mix in politics! This is a matter for grown-ups. The Unions of Youth have merely theoretical and educational problems. They must not interfere in Party and political discussions—such is the ideology of social patriots and members of the centre who are tutoring the Youth. «The Youth is the revolutionary part of the proletariat its Vanguard in the struggle for Communism. The struggle itself is the best unrivalled measure of Communist education» such is the motto of the young Communists.

2. In connection with the question of political struggle of the Youth Unions is the question of their educational work.

Some of our comrades decidedly protested against the expansion of the educational work of our organisations in the direction of «unsocial» science and arts. They consider such work as luxury in the present times. The Austrian and Rumanian comrades declare that it would be an utter loss of time, energy and money, which must now be concentrated on one task, the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress expressed itself on another aspect: Directly after the overthrow of capitalism comes the epoch of proletarian dictatorship and Socialist administration, when one cannot do without educated workmen. The working class, for a complete victory of Communism, must conquer every kind of knowledge and develop it further from the Marxist point of view. Also the Youth is striving for knowledge. If we do not give it to them, they will seek it in bourgeois and social patriotic organisations. Of course, when barricades are in the streets it is ridiculous to talk of educational work. But in the intervals between the barricades there are periods which one must profit in the consciences of the young fighters.

3. The same argument of «luxury» arose in the discussion of the question concerning the part played by physical development in the Unions of Youth. Here, in addition, was pointed out the danger of our organisations degenerating into sporting societies. But in this question the Congress accepted the point of view of the necessity to bring the elements of physical education into the Unions of Youth. Firstly, because we are striving to educate a man in harmony with every thing—a man not only strong in spirit—but strong in body. Secondly, because under the incredibly hard conditions of work in bourgeois governments (prisons, trials, illegal existence) the physical health of the members of our organisation acquires a great practical importance for the whole movement. Thirdly, because the young like every kind of sport, and with a clever handling of this inclination the bourgeois leads the proletarian youth by their sporting instinct to a national and chauvinistic ideology (boy-scouts). Also sport can serve us as a means of gathering wide circles of young men—and thus bring them to serious political work. The question of the economic struggle of the Unions of Youth, that is concerning their work in defending children from the exploitation of capitalists and the reorganisation of labour on Socialist principles as soon as capitalism is overthrown—passed practically without discussion.

4. The decision on one of the most important questions of the movement of Youth—the question of militarism and the struggle against it—shows how much the Youth movement has grown in the last ten years. At the Berne conference

of 1915 the motto of «general disarmament», especially respected by Kautsky, Wilson and also... the Scandinavian organisations of Youth—was still accepted. This motto of liberal pacifism is now finally swept away by the Berlin Congress. The experience of the peace at Versailles and the Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions, have proved that the bourgeoisie needs arms for future imperialistic wars, as well as for crushing the rising proletariat, and that therefore it would be an utopia to expect the banishment of armament without the banishment of bourgeois governments. Therefore the task of the proletariat is to prepare armed revolt, that is, the formation of Red Guards and Red Armies. The so called antimilitarism in principle did not find a single defender at Berlin. The relation of the Communist Youth to the social patriots and the centre and its organisations of Youth, is clear; it is—merciless struggle, revelation of their betrayal, as well as exposure of the beautiful sentences concerning the non-interference of the Youth in politics, of their self-sufficient part in the information of the world culture, and so on, under the flag of which they lead the vilest betrayal of the proletarian Revolution.

V. Much more serious was the question of the relations of the Communist Union of Youth to the Communist International. There is no doubt in the necessity of combining the work of these two organisations, of the closest relations between them. The only disputable question was of an organisational character, of certain «distribution of labour» between them, which is undoubtedly necessary. On this point the Congress enunciated two leading principles. 1) The organisations of Youth are not political parties, they accept the programme of the Communist Parties of their countries; 2) The organisations of Youth must be independent. This independence does not exclude an organisational connection with the party—on the contrary, it is necessary. This sums up the programme of the Communist International of Youth. In the question of organisational relations of the International of Youth and the Communist International, the minority of the Congress considered that the International in regard to the Communist International is a fraternal organisation with equal rights. This minority based itself on the revolutionary traditions of independence of Youth, movements, and on the greater authority and activity of an international union of the proletarian Youth, if it were quite independent of the adults. The majority of the Congress, admitting that the International of Youth is a part of the Communist International, followed the chief principle of the present Communist movement—centralisation. In this lies the chief difference between the Third International and the Second. This principle would be overthrown if the Youth, the Women, every Trade Union and so on, having their International connections, would build them quite independently from the Communist International. It is clear that the admission of the International of Youth into the Communist International—meaning the recognition of the latter's political guidance of its congress and executive organ—cannot deprive the International of Youth of its independence in organisational, agitative, and propagandist work, and of a free discussion of the most important questions of principles and policy of the World Revolution.

VI. Up to the present time, in some countries there have existed separate Socialist and Communist groups of students and even school children. Some of these as, for example, the group of the revolutionary students of Paris, have taken part in the struggle against the imperialistic war, and in warm support of Soviet Russia. The Congress had to express its relations towards them, moreover because an international Congress of student organisations was

summoned in December in Geneva. In its declaration denying the necessity of special organizations of educated Youth, the Congress was guided by the following principles:

1) The necessity of bridging the chasm between the intellectual and physical workers.

2) The desirability of using the educated Communists for work among the proletarian youth.

3) The necessity of abolishing the unwholesome monopoly which the young educated class has acquired for the discussion of the school question, and of inviting broad circles of working youth to join this discussion.

The decision on the question of separating special groups of educated element within the general organizations of Youth, the Congress left discretion to the national unions, to decide according to the different conditions of Labour in different countries. We can certify with pleasure that the international union of Communist Student organisations (Geneva, December 1919) agreed with the point of view of our congress.

VII. The constitution of the International of Youth aroused very little discussion. Its leading principle is the centralisation of the world movement of the Youth, large powers and heavy responsibility of the executive organ. An important decision is that „in each country only one organisation can be a member of the Communist International“. This paces the members of the non-invited Austrian Social-

Democratic and the German Independent organisation of Youth in a dilemma, they must either join the Communist Unions on the basis of their revolutionary program, or be excluded from every kind of international connection — for there is only one. International up to the present. At the same time the rule which demands from all organisations entering the International of Youth, the recognition of the Berlin programme, establishes a homogeneity of formation without which it cannot struggle actively. The manifesto of the Congress of the Working Youth of All Countries (printed in № of the Communist International) was accepted without discussion. It was a result of the accepted programme.

VIII. Having discussed a number of small, but important questions, indicated in the short report, published in № 9. of the Communist International, the Congress elected an Executive Committee of five comrades having an absolute authority for local organisation and capable of working. This Committee, having worked under the most difficult illegal conditions for five months, has proved to be worthy of the responsible task laid on it by the Congress. The Communist International of Youth is the largest, oldest and most experienced organisation of the Third International. It stands in the vanguard of the revolutionary battles of the present time, it is one of the foundations of Socialist construction and one of the guarantees for its success in the nearest future.



## The Programme of the Communist International of Youth.

The unheard of development of capitalist accumulation and production has brought capitalism to a new stage in its development—to the phase of Imperialism, which is characterised by the formation of trusts and cartels, and by the rule of financial capital. The colonial policy, caused by the necessity of finding new markets for trade and of procuring raw materials, the competition of the national capitalist cliques lead with iron necessity, to imperialist wars. The war of 1914—1918, whose consequences cannot be liquidated by the resources of capitalist society, has disturbed and destroyed most of the capitalist countries. The terrifying calamities of war, famine, financial and commercial bankruptcy and the destruction of human lives, have brought humanity to a crisis, from which there is only one way out—World Social Revolution. The material conditions necessary for this are ripe; the class contradictions have become extremely acute. The victory of the Revolution depends entirely on the will and energy of the international proletariat. The way to Socialism leads

through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is characterised by the government of the revolutionary Soviets. The first task of the working class is the struggle to obtain the downfall of the political, economic and intellectual dominance of Imperialism, and to institute proletarian dictatorship. This struggle can only come to a victorious end when the proletariat decisively breaks away from the Second International, which has struck fast in the mire of reformism and compromises with the bourgeoisie, and is endeavouring to save bourgeois society, betraying thereby all the working class. Only then will the working masses unite under the standard of the Communist International, the leader of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle. In a revolutionary epoch one must employ primarily the means of revolutionary struggle of the masses—demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, armed uprisings. But at the same time the proletariat cannot reject in principle other political resources, such as the Parliament. The entry into Parliament depends

on the political situation of the moment, and must be decided in each case separately by the organisation of each country.

2. If the position of mature workmen under the rule of capitalism is exceptionally hard, the position of the working youth is quite intolerable. Low wages, a long working day, barbarous treatment from the contractors and immediate superiors, characterise the position of the young workers. Conditions are still worse in the trades, where the apprentices are wholly in the power of their trade masters. Such an unlimited exploitation of young workers hinders their intellectual and physical development. The bourgeois government allows the working youth only as much education as is necessary to be able to utilize it to the utmost degree, in the capacity of zealous and useful domestic cattle. The bourgeoisie strives to entice the youth into its own circle of ideas. Schools, clerical and bourgeois unions of young people, as well as militarisation, have but one object—to alienate the proletarian Youth from the struggle for Socialism, and to train them into devoted soldiers of Imperialism. The world war considerably aggravated the situation: millions of youthful proletarians were sent to the front as cannon-fodder, and millions driven into munition works.

But although the State and the contractors exhaust the strength of the youth to the utmost, political and personal rights are only permitted them in the very slightest degree. Such a state of things has incited the working youth to a merciless struggle against Imperialism.

3. The formation of a separate organisation of proletarian youth is dictated: a. By the position of the Youth in the process of production and in society; this position forces it to fight in defence of its own interests, in the organising of labour, reforming of schools, etc. b. By the psychological peculiarities of youth (the prevalence of sentiment over reason, aptitude for cooperation, great receptivity as regards all new and revolutionary ideas, readiness for sacrifice and action). c. By the necessity of special methods for its Socialist and revolutionary education (independent organisational work, active participation in political manifestations), the application of all methods which give youthful workers an opportunity of acquiring qualities which will be extremely necessary to them in the future, as champions of the proletariat and bearers of the Revolution.

4. The working Youth is the most active and most revolutionary part of the proletariat. The most important task of the Communist organi-

sation of Youth is, for the present, an unwearied agitation in the wide masses of workers, the organisation and carrying out of political demonstrations, the immediate struggle for Communism, taking part in the overthrow of capitalist tyranny, and the education of the Youth to make them fit for the building of the Communist community.

5. The Communist organisation of the Youth carries on an energetic struggle against all the bourgeois parties, and also against such right Socialists, lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as Scheidemann, Renner, Bissolati, Renaudel, Henderson, Gompers, Troelstra, Branting, Vandervelde, etc. and against the Socialist "centre" (Kautzky, Macdonald, Robert Grimm, Bauer and others), who by their hesitations only tend to uphold capitalist society. They struggle likewise against the Syndicalist ideology, which opposes itself to the political struggle for the conquest of proletarian dictatorship, rejects the right of the political party to conduct this struggle, and rejects proletarian centralisation. They equally struggle against the Anarchist ideology, which does not admit the proletarian government as an intermediate phase between capitalism and Communism, and which preaches in the sphere of political economy petty bourgeois ideas. The same struggle is directed against those organisations of the Youth which are connected with the above-mentioned parties. In their political struggle the organisations of the Youth keep to the principles of that party or local faction which is affiliated with the Third International, or to the principles proclaimed in the programme of the Communist International. The organisational relations towards the Party are determined by two fundamental principles: 1) The Independence of the Youth; 2) Close contact and reciprocal help.

6. Although the Communist organisations of the Youth continue an energetic struggle against bourgeois militarism in all its abstract and practical forms, yet they do not defend the ideas of Liberal pacifism. They know that the working class will yet be forced, in order to put down Imperialism and to defend its own victorious dictatorship from unexpected attacks by the bourgeoisie, to have recourse to arms and to fight against bourgeois militarism. For the arming of the proletariat! For the Red Army! That is the cry of the Communist Youth.

7. The struggle for the amelioration of the economic situation of proletarian Youth is one of the principal problems of the organisations of the Youth. A radical reform of the conditions

of labour is only possible in a Communist community. At the present period of capitalist domination it is possible to attain a partial amelioration of the situation of the Youth only through the revolutionary class-struggle, but in no wise by collaborating with the compromisers and with the bourgeois governments.

8. One of the elementary problems of Communist organisations of the Youth is the training of well developed proletarian champions and future builders of Communist society. Communist judgment and readiness for action are attained not only by taking part in the political struggle, but also through theoretical Socialist instruction, which proves a sharp weapon in the fight against bourgeois ideology. Socialist education combined with active participation in the political struggle—these are the true methods of forming youthful proletarian champions.

9. Moreover the Communist organisations of the Youth set themselves the task of universal education of Youth in the Marxist spirit, thereby raising the culture level. The working Youth must extort from the bourgeoisie the treasures of human knowledge, which are indispensable to the workers as a guide in the liberating movement of the proletariat. They must conquer the paths to science, literature and art. Beside honest workmen and brave soldiers of the Red Army, the working Youth must supply scholars, technical specialists, organisers, philosophers, poets and artists of the new Communist Society. It is the mission of the working Youth and its organisations to be in the first ranks of the constructors of the new culture, conceived by the Communist Spirit.

10. The Communist organisations must turn the proletarian Youth into a healthy people, healthy bodily and spiritually. Therefore the Communist organisations of the Youth are concerned also with the physical development of the young. This work, to which at present we can only give part of our activity, is of great importance for the working Youth.

11. Although the Communist organizations of the Youth strive to influence with their

ideas wide circles of proletarian Youth, nevertheless this is not done by sacrificing anything of the clearness of the Communist programme and tactics. A matter of extreme importance is the agitation by the Communist organisations of the Youth among the village workmen and the poorest peasants.

12. The Communist International of the Youth looks upon the existence of separate organisations of educated Socialist Youth as superfluous. Honest revolutionists from the ranks of the young students must become members of the proletarian organisation of Youth, as equals amongst equals, as comrades amongst comrades. The formation of groups of educated Youth within the general organisations of Youth must be regulated according to the conditions in each separate country.

13. In the present revolutionary epoch, the struggle of the proletariat can only be victorious, if it is world-wide.

This refers also to the struggle of the proletarian Youth. Therefore the political organisations of the Youth unite themselves under the standard of the Communist International of the Youth. The great aim of the International of Youth is centralisation in the guidance of all work and struggle of the Communist organisations of Youth in all the different countries. Its regulations dictate the supreme law to all the organisations of the Youth. Its practical work consists in international agitation and international guidance of political manifestations. Its duty is to give unity to all the activity of the organisations of the Youth, to serve them as a directing force, to support them morally and materially, to form new unions and to connect as closely together, as possible the proletarian organisations of the Youth of all countries.

14. The Communist International of the Youth stands on the principles of the First Congress of the Communist International. The Central Committee of the Communist International of Youth is bound through its organisation to the Third International, and works in close connection with it.



## THESES

### Concerning the Mutual Relations between the Communist International and the International of Communist Youth \*).

#### I.

1. The Communist International of Youth stands on the platform of the resolutions passed by the first Congress of the Third International. It declines to formulate its own political program and adheres in full to the program of the Communist International, reserving the right to be independent in its organisational work. The Communist International of Youth is a part of the Communist International.

2. The Communist International of Youth does not represent a party in itself. It is a political organisation and, in common with the other organisations of the young with which it is in touch, it aims at taking an active part in every struggle for a proletarian revolution, and before all in those branches which more particularly concern the young, such as antimilitarist propaganda, anticlerical education, the economic safeguarding of the young, and the teaching of proletarian youth. The whole work, moreover, is deliberately opposed in its spirit to the activities of the Social-patriotic and independent organisations of the young, where the proletarian youth is being educated to serve the interests of the Social patriots and the Independ-

dants, who are standing in the way of the revolution or even acting as counter revolutionaries.

3. The Communist International and the Communist International of Youth strive to keep in organisational touch with each other. The International of Youth delegates its representatives to the leading organs of the International movement, and the delegates of the International have the same reciprocal right. The Communist International supports in the most energetic way the International of Youth.

The relations between the Communist Parties and the organisations of Communist Youth are determined as appears from the following:

1. The organisations of the Communist Youth decline to formulate their own political program and work, although preserving independence in their organising work, in close touch with the Communist Party in their country.

2. Each delegates its representatives to the central organs of the other, and both enjoy the same mutual rights.

3. The Communist Parties support the organisations of Communist Youth with all available means.

#### II.

The Pan-German Committee of "The Free Socialist Youth of Germany" discussed the question of the International of Youth in its February session, assigning to it the first place on the order of business. After the report about the Conference of Youth, held in Berlin, came the discussion on the programme of the International.

The discussion centred upon two points: the relation of the International of Youth to the Third International, and the relation of the sections of the Youth in the separate states of Germany to the corresponding local Communist parties. Some of the delegates were afraid the program did not sufficiently insist on the independence and freedom of action of the Youth

in their relation to the local parties and to the Third International. In opposition to this view the following resolutions were decided upon:

1. The relations of the International of Youth to the Third International are the same as the relations to the latter of the separate Communist Sections of adults existing in the different German States. Whereas in the National Unions of Youth the special economic and educational aims of the young have great significance, therefore is necessary a large liberty of action in relation to the organisations of adults. The International of Youth is an almost exclusively political body. It enters as an integral part into the Third International, in order to achieve the greatest possible unity of programme and tactics.

\*) Editor's note. The following theses are being printed as stuff for discussion only.

Adopting such a position, the International of Youth is able to exercise its own political influence in a much more active way than if it stood outside of the Third International as a "fraternal organisation". And this also spares the useless waste of technical and organising forces needed for double apparatus.

2. The Youth shares the programme of the local Party or Section affiliated to the Third International. If there are two Communist parties in any country, this is due either to an actually deep, fundamental divergency between them, or to a temporary process of class consciousness in formation, reflecting only a transitory state of thought. In the first case the affiliation of both Communist Parties to the International is impossible—to say nothing of the influence such a deep divergency would have on the local organisations of the Youth and the International of Youth.

The Third International does not want—the old International did—any adherence to its programme in words alone, without a participation in deeds. It demands in consequence an adherence not only to its principles, but to its tactics as well, as far as this is possible, in all countries, considering the difference of the conditions and the faster or slower pace of development.

Therefore if both parties in any country stand alike on the platform of the Third International, it follows—this is due to the character of this International—that both parties are alike in substance, and the organised Youth need not enter into a conflict with them. But if the parties do not both adhere to the Third International, the abyss that separates them is so deep that the Youth could not be a war companion of both, and must side with one or the other.



## To the Communist International of Youth.

### To young proletarians of all countries.

It is with the greatest joy that the Executive Committee of the Communist International has learned of the formation, at the Berlin Congress, of a Communist International of Youth. This fact is of immense importance in the history of the Communist revolution. It crowns the long period of the heroic struggle conducted by the revolutionary organisations of all countries against war and social patriotism for the proletarian dictatorship and Communism; a struggle which shone forth like a bright ray of light in the dark years of the world war. The Berlin Congress opens a new page in the history of the international movement of the young people—a page of united struggle of the organisations of the Youth of all countries, under the battle cry of the Berlin programme of the International of Youth. We know what a vast part this organisation is destined to play in the world revolution, on barricades and in illegal work of all kinds, in the Red Army and in the Soviet state. Yours is the great honour and on you lies the heavy duty of completing the labour, by us begun, of constructing Communist society.

Among various shameful deeds perpetrated by the Inter-

national since treason grew ripe in its ranks, one of the basest and most treasonable was its opposition to the young people's movement, to its independence and its participation in the active struggle for Socialism. The social-patriots and the men of the centre dreaded and still dread the revolutionary spirit of the young people and their International. The Third International, which sprang up partly owing to the Unions of Youth of all countries, is thoroughly aware of the importance of your work and struggles. Lovingly and with comradesly interest it will support you in your activities.

A new force of fresh young fighters is flowing into our ranks. The Communist International has included in its rolls the Communist International of Youth. This gives us the assurance of victory for our cause. Forward, young friends! Go on uniting, organising into Communist Unions, form into the battle organisations of the Communist International of Youth, and storm the fortresses of Capital, conquer freedom and prosperity for mankind!

*The Executive Committee of the Communist International.*



## Letter from the Executive Committee of the Communist International of Youth to the First Congress of Communist Students.

Comrades!

The International proletarian Youth, who believe in the class struggle and have lately united into a "Communist International of Youth", hail with much joy the meeting of the International Congress of Communist

Students of both sexes, who boldly speak out in favour of an International of the Working Class and of world revolution.

As Executive Committee of a body which has already perfected its organisation, the "International of Youth", we have sent our



delegates to your Congress; but besides that, we now address you by means of this letter, in order to acquaint you with the position we assume on principle with regard to the work which stands on our order of the day.

As we see from the invitation to your congress, you have no doubt concerning the fact that nothing but a revolutionary conflict and the victory of the proletariat can save the world from complete ruin.

We are convinced that you will decline all attempts to organise a Student International on any basis of social patriotism, and that you will repudiate all elements containing any such tendencies. Also we believe that no intelligent young people, with their clear thinking, can build their union on the misty ideology of the Socialist "centre". This, however, is not sufficient to help solve the question as to the forms which the students—fortunate possessors of spiritual treasure—are to give to their participation in the struggle of the proletariat for the social revolution. To find that solution is the primary object of your congress. In accordance with the decision you arrive at your united organisation will either stand or fall.

The experience of the Russian and Hungarian revolutions has shown us the immense importance of the fact that the forces of the "intellectuals" and the learned specialists have to the widest extent helped in the conquest, defence and strengthening of the proletarian state. From this point of view we can only joyfully welcome the collaboration in the work of liberation of the proletariat, spontaneously offered us by the "intellectuals", themselves carried away by the revolutionary spirit. Still, however, the same experience also shows that this collaboration can be of real enduring value only if wholly subordinated to the external and internal laws of the proletariat's political and economic struggle. Such subordination is absolutely necessary even in the spiritual domain, since the intellectual revolutionist must become steeped in the proletarian psychology, as only by complete adherence to the proletarian spirit of collectivism can the dangers of the "intellectuals" individualistic psychology be avoided. And lastly the experience of the Russian revolution has confirmed the fact that the nearer the working class, in its struggle, approaches the stage of open revolutionary action, the more rapidly approaches the decisive moment, the more must the organised proletariat concentrate all its forces on one object—the conquest, defense and strengthening

of its political and economic power. Before this demand all others are thrust to the background—to emerge once more after the proletarian rule has been securely established.

Starting from this conviction, the last congress of proletarian organisations of Youth adopted the following decision, as enunciated in its political programme and in the Constitution of the "Communist International of Youth".

12. "The Communist International of Youth" considers the existence of separate Socialist organisations of intellectuals as superfluous. Sincere revolutionists among the intellectual youth must become members of the proletarian organisations of Youth, as equals among equals, as comrades among comrades. The creation of groups of intellectual Youth within common organisations of Youth must be regulated in accordance with the conditions of each separate country".

Thus the question concerning the form of the Socialist students' participation in the revolutionary conflict appears to us to be settled. And this decision we offer to your consideration. It demands of you the same step which has already been taken by the organisations of youthful workers when they placed in the background all the special demands and aims of the young people, for the sake of forming a solid front, and thus won the right of asserting that they took up a position at the head of the entire proletarian revolutionary conflict.

Just as we went united into the political battle, not taking our stand alongside the Third International, but becoming merged in it, so we request you, as a youthful revolutionary organisation, to enter into our International of Youth.

Just as we, within the limits of this common corporation, took into account the conditions of independent youthful organisations in their union with the International central organ, so we point out to you the possibility of intellectual work within the Party and the organisations of Youth, the creation of a central bureau of international information whose activity will correspond to the special conditions of intellectual work.

We hope that because of the fact, which you express so well, that society is entering a period of decisive and final conflict, and that the greatest possible union of forces is absolutely necessary—we hope, as we have said, that from this fact you will draw all practical conclusions.

Follow the comrades who are calling you; look to the East, look to the Russian student-revolutionists, who, through scores of years of

strenuous struggle, with unexampled self-sacrifice, gave their blood to the last drop for the struggles and victory of the working class. And those who did not fall victims to the Tsar's hangmen, and did not perish in the night of exile, now see that they took the right way when they did not allow themselves to be fooled by the siren songs of democratic justice, reconciliation of the classes, and the unclassed intellectuals who pretended to unite them; and renouncing all that was nearest and dearest, unconditionally joined the proletariat's struggle.

And you too, comrades, will have to face this decision. On you lies a great responsibility and you know the law that at a period of acute class countercurrents, every decision which is

not sufficiently sharply defined, not sufficiently uncompromising for an epoch of proletarian world revolution, causes confusion in the ranks of the fighters and leads straightway to counter-revolution.

Comrades!

We believe in the force of historical evolution, which, if not to-day, then to-morrow, will open the eyes of those among you whose sight is not yet cleared. We believe that, assisted by that soaring of the spirit which prompted your invitation to us, you will walk the right path. We are waiting for you to take your stand at our side for the last gigantic struggle for the establishment of a Communist society.

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## Young Sweden.

Besides the Left Social Democratic Party there is in Sweden only one other organisation connected with the Communist International, it is "the Social Democratic Union of Youth". In the course of its existence this association has played a conspicuous part in the Swedish Labour movement: at first as vanguard of Socialistic propaganda in general, then as centre, which united all the opposition elements of the old Social Democracy, and lastly, as the largest and most truly Communist organisation. Less than a year has elapsed since the Union of Youth fully adopted a Communist programme and tactics and joined the Third International. The latter decision was adopted by the congress of the Left Socialist Party although not with the same unanimity as at the congress of the Youth. For there is in the Party a minority, pretty considerable so far, which does not recognise Communism, and this minority includes various elements like the parliamentarian-inclined representatives of the Bennerström current, and the "humanists", who dominate the majority of the parliamentary faction, with the majority leader Lindhagen, etc. The Union of Youth on the contrary, which since its final secession from the "right" Socialist Party has become the framework of the "left" Socialist movement, and without whose participation no new party or party publication could have appeared these last three years, is unanimously in favour of the new orientation of the struggle, whose

pioneers were and are to this day the Russian Bolsheviks.

It is undoubtedly of interest for every worker in the revolutionary Labour movement outside of Scandinavia to become acquainted with the Communist movement of Youth in Sweden. We shall not give a detailed historical account or description of the movement; all we intend to do is to make a few remarks on the history of the Union of Youth and a brief review of the present situation.

In the eighties of last century, Sweden, owing to certain circumstances, was ripe for the beginning of a working class movement, and Socialist propaganda, through agitators and small newspaper leaflets, penetrated into such layers of the population which the spirit of the time made singularly responsive to it. Organisations began to spring up all over the country. In the early nineties an experiment was made in Stockholm of instituting socialist Sunday Schools, and within a few years, independent organisations of young workers, men and women, sprang up in various places. These local groups formed into a union—which, however, in the first years of the Twentieth Century, lost itself in the jungles of Anarchism and never had much influence.

In March 1903 several of the more considerable Social organisations separated from the rest and formed a Social Democratic Union of Youth connected with the old Labour Party,

which did not at the time have any influence in parliament, and was very different from what it came to be in later years. The first years of the Union's existence were a period of intense work, directed partly to the creation of the greatest possible number of local organisations, partly to the assistance of the labour movement generally. The Union of Youth, as soon as born, at once started an organ of its own, a monthly, with the title of "Forward" ("Fram"), which quickly spread and which conducted a successful agitation in favour of young workers standing by themselves and forming independent self-reliant organisations. In the Summer of 1905, when the Swedish-Norwegian union fell apart, the two-year-old Union of Youth first began to act on a large scale. The Chauvinists shouted themselves hoarse calling for war measures against the sister country. "War with Norway!" became the watchword of the nationalist crowd. Among the working class demonstrations began, protests against making war on a sister nation, the other half of the Scandinavian peninsula—and foremost in this protest was the Swedish working Youth. In connection with their Congress of 1905, a campaign was organised against armaments and intervention. The Congress appealed to the young people and to the working class generally in a brief but glowing manifesto, calling on them to stand shoulder to shoulder for the preservation of peace; "Peace with Norway!" became their watchword—and the peace with Norway was not disturbed. But for this manifesto Z. Höglund got six months in prison, the same Höglund who afterwards, in 1909—1917 became the first standard bearer of the "red" movement of Youth in Sweden. The following passage from the manifesto will give an idea of its contents:

"The Youth know their duty, and will not allow themselves to be used for a war against the Norwegian workers, who understand very well that the Swedish laborers will turn their weapons—should they be forced to use them—not against the Norwegians".

After 1905 the work of transforming the organisations of Youth into one mighty fighting body was carried on. Notwithstanding some difference of opinion on the question of independence (some would have subordinated the Union absolutely to the Party managers) relations with the Party were, on the whole, satisfactory. Up to 1908 these differences concerned only one or two questions. From that time on, however, everything changed. In that year the Social Democratic Party assumed a considerably

more influential position in the Riksdag, after the Party's success at the elections. Branting made his appearance there, at the head of the Socialist fraction, which had more than doubled in number.

About the same time the consequences of the economic crisis became apparent; after the great strike of 1909, which ended in defeat (according to Scandinavian standards it had been a grand collision between Labour and Capital) there followed a series of conflicts, in the labour market, unlucky for the stepchildren of capital, and the workers turned to political reform work in the hope of thus relieving their oppressive situation through the medium of the parliament. At the same time the Labour movement passed through another crisis; numerous workers who figures on paper as members of Trade Unions, left them, and a great many active members became victims of the great strike; for the vindictive employers composed "black lists", owing to which the "guilty" could find work nowhere in the country; nothing remained to them but to emigrate. The Union of Youth suffered most of all. But the "Red" boys and girls were gaining strength in spite of everything, and a year after the great strike, the forces of the entire movement were completely restored, thanks to the energy of the Union of Youth

In the meantime differences with the Party had matured in the Union; for the parliamentary fraction, headed by Branting, began more and more clearly to manifest its intention to lead Social Democracy into the opportunist camp. At the Union's congress of 1909, its "Left" wing definitely asserted its will at the election of the Union's Board of Managers, who, to a man, joined the even-increasing opposition, which struggled against the Party's deterioration.

From the year 1909 there began to appear in Stockholm, at the initiative of a few clubs, a weekly paper, edited by Z. Höglund. This paper, "The Alarm Bell" ("Stormklockan") was by decision of the congress declared to be the Union's official organ equally with "Forward". After the parliamentary elections of 1911, when, for the first time, took place the Party's so-called "break-down", while Social Democracy gained a still more numerous representation than before, the country got a liberal government and the Party continued to rule. This was assisted by the fact that a considerable portion of the so-called bourgeois radicals, among whom was the subsequently famous Baron Palmstierna, went over to the side of Social Democracy,

much reinforced owing to the elections. The "right" wing of the Party began to pave the way for the admission of Socialists into the cabinet, while the Party, in its general policy, entered into intimate relations with the bourgeois "lefts", the liberals.

In 1912 there was another Congress of the Union of Youth. This Congress declared against the entrance of Socialists into the ranks of government and against any relations with the bourgeoisie, openly emphasizing the will of the working youth, that the masses should firmly stand on the ground of the class struggle. Then all members who were loyal to the Party and true to Branting went out of the Union. On the other hand, many members of the Union expressed approval of the "Alarm Bell", on account of that paper's constant, sharp criticism of the opportunist leaders. From this moment—that is to say, for the last eight years—we can speak of a right and a left wing in the Party, the latter being in a great measure supported by the sympathy of the members of the Union of Youth. However open collisions between the two wings occurred only when the war began, when the Party management concluded a "civil peace" with the bourgeoisie, and began to share in the work of reorganization of the army, which resulted in a "budget of national defence" unheard-of for Sweden and her scanty population.

Immediately, after the war began, the Party held a convention, at which Branting by threats of resignation compelled a decision in favour of a liberal Socialist coalition cabinet. This was a new and supreme manifestation of the treacherous policy toward the working masses which has characterized the conduct of the Social Democracy for the last few years.

To this the Congress of the Union of Youth, which took place somewhat later, toward the end of 1914, responded, on one hand, by renewed attempts to obtain the recognition of the Union's complete independence, and on the other, by a sharp protest against the transformation of Social Democracy into a bourgeois party and the petty barter conducted with the bourgeoisie by a majority of the Party's parliamentary group. The attempt made in 1915 to draw Sweden into the world war on the side of Germany met with the firm resistance on the part of the peaceably-inclined working class. (The Party did not use all its power to fight the criminal game of speculating with the war, but the "Alarm Bell" took advantage of the opportunity, in the summer of 1915, to show

what zealous pro-Germans were some of the more conspicuous "comrades" of the "right" wing, who openly invited recruits to the so-called "activist" clique which "agitated" in favour of Sweden's coming out boldly for defense of the Fatherland—of the Kaiser and Krupp.

The Party youth, organised in an union of their own, took on themselves the task of proving the necessity of class struggle for Sweden as well as for other countries, and undertook the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism among the working masses in the spirit of genuine Marxism.

When, after the wreck of the Second International, the red banner was again raised all over the world, and, at the initiative of the Russian and Italian comrades, at the Zimmerwald Conference the first blow was struck at the social-chauvinists of all countries, the Socialist Youth proved themselves ready for events: they sent two representatives to Zimmerwald, and declared their adhesion. After this conference the Union of Youth entered into close contact with the revolutionary currents which were all the time gaining strength in the belligerent countries, and became the vanguard of the Zimmerwald International in Sweden. At the same time the conflict of the young people with the Party entered an acuter stage, as the latter's course inclined steadily to the right, sinking deeper and deeper into the slough of civil peace.

In the beginning of 1916 Sweden was again threatened with the danger of being drawn into the world war, and, it proving impossible to induce the "right" wing of the party to organise measures for averting the criminal speculation with the war, the Union of Youth determined, entirely on their own responsibility, to convoke a Labour Congress on the question of peace. It assembled in Stockholm, in March, 1916, and, besides the delegates of the Young People's clubs, there came to it representatives of several Trade Unions and local Party organisations, wherein the majority consisted of members of Young People's clubs and other radical elements, convinced of the necessity of an organised struggle against the German agents who were conducting the agitation in favour of war. Of the important part which this Labour Congress played in the campaign against Sweden's participation in the universal slaughter, this is not the place to speak. Indictments were laid against thirty comrades, and three of those who attended the congress were tried for high treason. Another consequence of this Labour Congress was

that the dissensions in the Party rapidly led to a rupture. The fact that the bourgeois circles of the Social Democracy joined the movement against the congress and those who had taken part in it, did not cause any particular collisions between the two currents. But dissensions took place about this time in the organisation; the group in the Riksdag fell asunder; a group of about ten members formed a "Left Socialist" independent group, separating from the rest of the faction, which consisted of about a hundred members. I have not, unfortunately the precise figures at this moment.

In May the members of the Young People's clubs, together with the older Party comrades of the "left", began to issue the "Politiken", which at first came out every other day (a daily now), as the organ of the Communist movement in Sweden, under Ture Nerman's editorship.

Thus was sharply marked the divergency of views which was to lead to a complete rupture between the two currents. In February, 1917, a Party conference was convoked; the decisions it took clearly demonstrated that the Union of Youth and the Social Democratic Party had practically nothing more in common, and that there was no hope whatever of forming a majority in the Party in favour of a revolutionary Socialist point of view. A "Left" Social Democratic Party was formed, principally through the efforts of the Union of Youth; then "Politiken" began to appear daily, and many provincial organs were founded. Half the shares of a publication by the Union of Youth, called "Forward", in memory of the Union's first organ, suppressed in 1912, were taken by the Party. After the new constituent convention in May 1917 and a congress of the Union of Youth had taken place simultaneously, these two organisations, which covered the whole country, took up the joint work of preparing the ground in Sweden for the liberation of the workers, making it their first task to unmask to the workers the treasonable intrigues of the social patriots and the capitalist oppressors.

During the last three years the Union of Youth no longer has had to devote most of its time to an internal opposition Party policy, and the struggle for achieving a majority in Party organisations. It could give its best to its real object: the education of the young people. The number and importance of Unions of Youth have greatly increased of late. But, at the same time, they neglect no chance of helping the Left in its during revolutionary actions. They put their greatest, most active strength into the struggle

against the base campaign which the bourgeoisie and Branting's followers conduct against Soviet Russia, who is defending her existence with such fearlessness and firmness.

As mentioned above the Union of Youth resolved to join the Third International (when the question of adhesion to the Third International was put to the vote, there were only a few "noes"); that the Social Democratic Union of Youth is carrying on a political struggle against the bourgeois democracy and recognises the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of transition to the new social order. The constitution of the Union of Youth defines its aims as the propagation of Communist ideas, more particularly among young people. The programme of the Union emphasizes the necessity of disarming the bourgeoisie; this clearly shows the Union's point of view with regard to militarism, in contrast to all the obscurities of the old programmes in the matter of disarmament.

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The Social Democratic Union of Youth (the old name is retained, though with the addition "of the Third International", is at the present time a powerful and active organisation. To give some idea of its activities, I will say something of what it has accomplished in 1919.

In this year as in former ones Union agitators travelled all over the country, acting on a definite plan. Their work consists principally in giving evening lectures, partly in localities where there are local organisations of the Union, partly where there have been as yet no such organisations. In addition to this a new method of agitation was tried during this year: organisers were sent out, who were to stay each one month in a given locality, spending several days in this or that place, giving public lectures, instructing clubs, organising the propagation of literature, doing all sorts of enlightening work, in short assisting the organisation of the Young People's Communist movement. Five organisers worked 126 days in all, during which time they gave 97 lectures, delivered 42 addresses of instruction. It has now been decided to appoint several permanent organisers in districts which are most in need of organising experts. In the course of last year a beginning was also made with a systematically organised body of cyclist agitators. In those parts of the country where railway communication is poor, these special agitators sent by the Union of Youth travel on bicycles. There are 46 of them, and their special work consists in propagating literature and exer-

ting personal influence on the rural population. In the course of this one summer they organised 791 open meetings and 46 closed sessions, at which the members of Young People's clubs were given instructions about organising new clubs. For travelling about the country the Union's agitators also utilized "Red" automobiles, each holding two orators and a lot of revolutionary literature; the Union shared the use of these motors with the Left Party.

It should be remarked here that the Union of Youth generally used several kinds of agitation entirely new to Sweden. As to the Red motors, when, in 1911, the "red" Youth of the country first began their automobile excursions, they excited extraordinary interest and universal attention. It was then a great novelty to the bourgeois organisations; they began later with their "automobile agitation", but never had such brilliant success with it as the Union of Youth with their red motor. The political caricature also was as yet a thing unknown in Sweden. It was the "Alarm Bell" which first made use of it, with the assistance of two talented artists. These are a few instances of the wealth of ideas, of initiative, the perfection of organisation which distinguish this "criminal youth", as one of the organs that crawled before the bourgeoisie had the impudence to call them.

Among the things accomplished in the course of the year 1919, should be noted the organization of three special "agitation days": "Red Sunday", the 2nd of March, devoted to spoken and printed agitation for Soviet Russia; "The Day of the International of Youth", the 7th of September, and lastly, the "Day of the Second Anniversary of the Russian Proletarian Revolution", the 7th of November. On these days special orators went to various places and everywhere distributed literature specially prepared for the occasion. A file of the "Alarm Bell" was published in a special edition of 1,500,000 copies; besides which was published a pamphlet against bourgeois charities; also, jointly with the party, the Union issued special First-of-May and Christmas numbers. And, over and above all these things accomplished by the Central Committee of the Union of Youth, the work of the regional organizations should be mentioned. For the Swedish Young People's Union is divided into 25 regions, each having its own committee, entrusted with the supervision of the work of the local organizations (clubs), within the region.

In the course of the past year the Union of Youth extended its activities so as to enclose the children. In spite of the bitter and obscur-

antist resistance offered by capitalist society in both church and school, the members of the Union of Youth in about 50 localities rushed into the thick of the fray, with the war-cry "See to the children", in order to collect and organize groups of youngsters from 8 to 15 years of age. A special children's monthly was published, and special instructors were appointed—one in the Union's board of managers and one in each of the district committees and club committees.

The Educational work deserves a separate chapter.

The Young People's Union made every effort to foster among the workers the wish for knowledge generally and for Socialist learning in particular. There is in Sweden a general workers union for the propagation of knowledge, common to both the "left" and the "right" Socialist Parties, as well as to the Trade Unions, the Syndicalist and New-Socialistic (Anarchist) groups. The educational work is conducted "circles" belonging to local organisations—and our Union of Youth possesses an absolute as well as relative majority in the general number of "circles". In addition to this the Union carries on Communist work, the programme of which includes, among other things, reading and discussing the works of Engels, Bukharin, Radek, Marx, Lenin and others.

We cannot here dwell with greater detail on this side of the work, but must be content with a general deduction. The instruction of the members, especially the Communist branch, has developed considerably during the past winter. The number of single lectures as well as of sets of lectures, has increased amazingly in comparison with the preceding year.

Lastly the propaganda has been going on among the soldiers, who were always year dear to our hearts. Our efforts at revolutionizing the Trade Unions have not been fruitless either. This is proved by the fact that many Trade Unions have refused to join the "right" Socialist Party. All this, together with the above-mentioned facts, gives a tolerable idea of the activity of the "red" youth in Sweden during the year 1919.

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The Union of Youth already numbers about 500 clubs, with a membership of over 25,000 (For comparison's sake we may remark that the "Left" Party numbers not much over 20,000 members, although many members of the Youth belong also to that).

We observe of late that, in the various countries to which the activity of the International of Youth extends, the Unions of Youth multiply as rapidly as in Sweden, but, in view of the size of the latter's population it may be said that, not a single country compares with Sweden, either as to the number of members or as to the extent of the organizations' activities. For Sweden has, at the present time, a population of only 5 to 6 millions, and it will need no little exertion on the part of any Union of Youth in one of the larger states to bring up to a similar level the relation of membership in proportion to population.

The Swedish section of the International of Youth makes every effort to assist the unification of forces, with the object of demolishing the Chinese wall which Capitalism has erected between the several countries. The Swedish Union of Youth, jointly with Swiss and Italian comrades, took part in the Congress convoked at Berne in 1915. They had representatives at the Berlin congress in 1919; now they have begun to issue a periodical, "The International of Youth", in Swedish, and all possible measures are being taken for the propagation in Sweden (and even in Western Europe and America), of information concerning the activities of the International of Youth and its aims.

As in all the countries where capitalism still lords it over the labouring class, exploiting and oppressing it, so in Sweden the condition of the proletarian youth is hardly one to be envied. From early childhood the boys and girls of city and country have to leave home and go off to hard work in the mines, in factories and mills, or in sewing workshops, — on sea or land or in forests; after a brief and unsatisfactory course at primary school, they become, equally with their parents, brothers and sisters, the objects of capitalistic exploitation. But work comes harder to the young than to the old generation; they are not yet reconciled to their bondage, have not quite yielded yet to the influence of the clergy and the bourgeois press and many other means of acting on men, familiar to bourgeoisie.

Nor do the young easily give in to the wretchedness of the social patriotic demagogues and bourgeois democracy. It is significant that in Sweden, where a man like Branting just now "reigns" supreme, where for more than two years the Liberal Socialists have been at the helm, and where now these several months, the country has been ruled even by a social-traitorous government, with whom the capitalists

naturally are delighted, — that in Sweden, where the labourers have not yet seen through the amazing comedy which is being acted by the government Socialists, it should be just the young people who are the most dangerous foes of this gentry and their flunkies. The red youth of Sweden will never forget that, when these last years, the stormy waves of the World Revolution rolled up to the comfortable shelter of the old Social Democratic Party, and when all the elements for immediate action were right there ready to their hands, this worthless, thoroughly rotten Party betrayed the people's cause. The old workers forget more easily. Already they have forgotten the famine caused by the Entente blockade at the time of the war; they do not remember how Branting and his fellows when striving for power, promised universal suffrage, important Socialist reforms, even socialization on a large scale — and how he afterwards deceived all expectations. Young People's memory is fresher; they do not forget the appointments, they do not forget for one thing, that the suffrage "reform" — deprived them actually disenfranchised them. Yet, although it is easy to get the proletarian youth to work, for the new ideas, still it proves more difficult to induce them to work on a wide scale within the Communist organizations; in the interest of the cause preference should be given to a separate independent young proletarians' movement with regard to the party for that indicates a stupendous increase of revolutionary creative energy.

We need to institute "children's gardens", (Kindergardens); Communist work among children, as we showed by Sweden's example is something entirely different. The school for boys and girls, acting under the supervision of goodnatured uncles and aunties has no meaning in the period of the "new-evangel", what we want now is advance detachments of young people for class strife and war united into organizations of their own, acting each for itself, but in complete harmony with its class comrades, soldiers of the international Communist army. Most likely this way of looking at things will not be intelligible to all. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the very best way of training the proletarian masses for participation in the revolutionary struggle consists in forming of them special fighting battalions for that purpose. The Young People's movement in Sweden is the best proof of this. The movement will in this respect gain immeasurably in importance if, by proving its viability it helps to prepare the soil

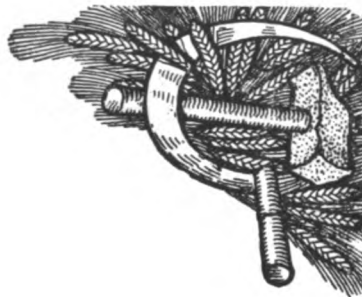


for the International of Youth in countries in which, so far, it has been little influence or is yet quite unknown. The older comrades in the Third International should lend a helping hand to the Communist International of Youth the members of which came forth in ever greater

numbers under the red banner of the freedom of the revolutionary proletariat.

Hjalmar Vicksten.

Moskow, June 1920.



# International Communist Women Movement

## A Year of Struggle of the Workwomen in Western Europe and America

The year 1919 was for the West European workwomen a year of active, obdurate and incessant struggle for political rights. This year was also a year of victory. The women of Germany, Austria, England, Italy, Spain and Holland have obtained equal political rights—in full or in part—with the men, at least in respect to formal written rights.

The women have won a victory, but it is a fictitious one, for political rights are a powerful weapon for the organisation of a free state only when the power is in the hands of the workers and the peasants. And the year of struggle showed to the West European and American woman the obviousness of this truth. It showed them that neither suffrage nor parliamentary institutions, can abolish capitalist exploitation so long as the bourgeoisie is in power. It proved to them that during the period of an obdurate civil war, the question does not consist in the right to elect or be elected, to take part in some bourgeois government, but *in the seizure of the whole power by the working masses, in the dictatorship of the workers and peasants*. So long as such dictatorship has not been established, all partial improvements in political and economic respects will resemble little houses of cards which will fall down at the first push of the bourgeoisie.

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The German Women's Movement during the period beginning on International Women's Day, in 1919, up to our time, gives the following picture:

The celebration of the International Day passed in an atmosphere of victory, as the revolutionary struggle had given at last to the German workwomen and peasant women the same rights as to the men. But the Communist Women were not blinded by this victory; they did not cease their revolutionary propaganda. It was not to collaboration with the bourgeoisie that they called the working class—men and women—but to a decisive struggle for the whole of the power, for the introduction of the Communist order. "Violence can be overcome only by violence," said the appeal of the German Women Communists. "Do not lay down your arms: or else, in spite of your victory, hunger, cold, want and illness will rule in the country, as before. The struggle is not ended, it is only beginning, and much more blood must flow before the working class will be able to breathe freely." And the workwomen did not lay down their arms. A whole year they have conducted an incessant bloody warfare with their class foe—the bourgeoisie.

What were they struggling for?

For the right to work for themselves, for the right to give bread to their hungry children. They were strug-

gling against the war and the robbers of the world, against too heavy taxation, embezzlement of public funds, speculation.

Has the ordinary life of the workwomen experienced any change since they acquired political rights? No. At a great meeting in June, 1919, where the question of the substitution for the women's labour of that of the men returning from the front was being discussed, the Berlin workwomen drew a most gloomy picture of their situation.

"After having made cannon-fodder of our husbands," said a workwoman of the Auer factory, "we were forcibly driven to the factories and there made to work for a pittance. Now they are dismissing us, they are driving us into the streets, where hunger and prostitution await us."

"The Socialist government," said another, "does not trouble itself about our invalids of labour. The highest pension awarded for the loss of 100 per cent of labour capacity is 858 marks a year. Out of this sum 260 marks must be paid for lodging, 75 marks for fuel and 8 marks governmental and communal taxes. For food, clothes, shoes and family, if any, there remains only 515 marks: i. e., 10 marks per week.

The position of a war-cripple in the "Socialist State" of Noske-Scheldemann is no better. He gets only 4 marks 90 pfennigs per day. Whether he has a family or not, whether he needs special medical care or not, the bourgeoisie considers that this wretched pittance is sufficient.

The immeasurably miserable position of the German proletariat is reflected especially strong in the children. The German women Communists, together with the workwomen members of the Independent Party, organised a strong campaign in favour of motherhood and infancy.

Comrade Zier, a member of the Independent Party, laid a project before the National Assembly, April 17th, 1920, in which she demands for would-be mothers eight weeks' rest before the birth of the child and eight weeks after, at the ordinary wages. Besides she demanded medical relief without charge for lying-in women and nursing mothers.

After long debates this proposition was accepted under the following form:

1. An insured workwoman receives a lump sum of 50 marks at the time of confinement.
2. Four weeks before confinement and six weeks afterward a workwoman receives 1 mark 50 pfennigs per day.
3. The sum of 25 marks is paid her for medical treatment.
4. A nursing mother receives 75 pfennigs per day during twelve weeks.

Such is the protection of motherhood in a country where a bottle of milk costs 2 marks!

Still worse is the position of a mother with a baby born "out of wedlock." From so-called "moral" considerations almost no relief is accorded to her. A woman bearing a child eight weeks after the return of her husband from the army is also deprived of the customary relief.

Such a protection of motherhood cannot solve the question, and the workwomen are compelled to have recourse to revolutionary methods of struggle. They have to fight also for the same pay as the men get, and against the infringement by the employers of the eight-hour workday, which the revolution had obtained for them.

After a year of struggle the economic situation of the workwoman has not improved. The bourgeois government has not proved itself capable of overcoming the crisis and the famine, and the German workwomen are demanding with ever-increasing insistency that the power be transferred into the hands of the peasants and workers.

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The situation of the Austrian workwoman is not better than in Germany.

There as well as here they have to carry on an energetic struggle, and this is the picture of their movement that Schlesinger draws in *The Woman Socialist*, April 6th, 1919:

"The revolution gave complete equality of rights to all the nationalities of Austria. It gave to the women the same rights as to the men, and the former took a most active part in the elections to the National Assembly.

"The Social Democrats feared that thanks to the women's votes the reactionary and clerical candidate would be elected, but the contrary took place. These candidates were defeated and the Social Democrats received the majority of votes. A tenth of the Social Democratic faction in the Parliament consists of women."

To relieve the miserable fate of the famishing women and children—such is the first task which fell to the share of the women elected to Parliament.

A difficult work, because in this branch as well as in all others, it is only the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism which can create human conditions of life for the workwomen.

The revolution, which gave suffrage to the women, awakened in the workwoman an interest in politics and the revolutionary struggle. The number of women members in the regional party organisations of Vienna increased in July, 1919, to 2,000. In June of the same year in all the Austrian organisations hot debates were carried on in regard to the question whether it is necessary to have separate women's organisations.

The whole mass of the workwomen were unanimously against it. The same organisations ought to unite men and women, as they are all fighting against the same foe and marching towards the same object. But the propaganda and the campaign among the women is carried out by a special group of women elected by the general Party organisation.

On August 2d, 1919, a conference of workwomen was held in Vienna, in which the representatives of Tyrol, Styria and Corinthia, Salzburg, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia took part. The conference discussed the question of the methods of carrying on the work among the women workers, and of their mutual relations with the Party. All the delegates, with one exception only, decided in favour of a collaboration of the workmen and

workwomen in one and the same organisation, but for a special group to carry on the propaganda among the workwomen.

On August 30th, 1919, a *parteitag* of Teheko-Slovakia, which together with Bohemia and Moravia, had become separated from Austria, was held at Töplitz-Schehau. At this meeting a special group was appointed from the general Party organisation to serve the interests of the workwomen of this part of Austria. This conference, in which sixty-five women delegates took part, ended with the following words pronounced by Adelheid Kopp: "We are convinced that the hour will come when the world organisation of the workers will abolish all frontiers, and in spite of all and everything we shall all be brothers and sisters."

The Teheko-Slovak women, like all others in Austria, obtained the same rights as the men. On June 15th the Teheko-Slovak women-peasants and workwomen took part for the first time in the municipal elections: Their participation in the elections did not justify the apprehension that (in Moravia especially, where the clergy is very powerful) the women would give their votes to reactionary candidates. On the contrary, thanks to the women's votes (60 per cent of the votes), the Social Democratic Party won the day.

It was interesting to note the extraordinary activity of the peasant women during the elections. In some of the villages they all went in groups to the polls and voted unanimously for the Social Democrats. The latter obtained 1,000,000 votes at these elections, out of which 600,000 were those of the women. The Teheko-Slovak workwomen passed their first political examination brilliantly, and it is to be hoped that at the moment of the final and decisive battle with world imperialism they will not be the last in the ranks of the revolutionary fighters.

The workwomen and peasant women of Hungary did not remain inactive during the period of the more obdurate struggle of the Hungarian proletariat for its liberation. They were out in the streets in great numbers in the ranks of the workers, helping them by word and deed, dying with them for the freedom of the workers. The number of workwomen members of the Hungarian Party is very great. The present women are especially active in the Party organisations, whose task is no small one. Out of 4,000,000 women in Hungary with the right of suffrage 1,000,000 are quite illiterate. A great number of the workwomen and peasant women are wholly under the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy.

"A great deal of work lies before us, active, fruitful work. The seeds sown by the revolution will bring in excellent sprouts," wrote Sirena Buchinger in *The Woman Socialist* on Workwomen's Day, in 1919.

All the Austrian proletariat and especially the peasant women and the workwomen were flushed out with victory. All expected miracles from universal suffrage. But in Austria as well as in Germany came the dreary awakening after the beautiful dream. Elfrida Friedleuder wrote on the subject on Workwomen's Day in 1920:

"As strong as was the interest of the peasant women and workwomen in politics, as active as was their participation in the elections to the National Assembly, at present they have become indifferent to the movement. They have lost all hopes for the possibility of improving their lives by means of the National Assembly, they do not believe any longer that a political equality of rights in a bourgeois order of government can abolish famine, want, prostitution, and at the same time they are growing more

conscious of the necessity of a transfer of the whole known power into the hands of the working class.

"That is why lately and especially in the provinces the peasant women and workwomen are more and more joining the ranks of the Communist Party."

We have said that the West-European workwomen and peasant women may celebrate the year 1919, as one of victory. But that does not relate to France. Nowhere has women's labour been so much exploited as in France, and nowhere has the struggle for women's political equality been so weak as in that country.

On May 21st, 1919, they obtained some insignificant political rights, although every attempt at a revolutionary struggle is as severely punished as formerly. As in past years the 1st of May, 1920, was the day for the massacre of the workmen and workwomen; the pavements of Paris were dyed with their blood.

An active member of the French women's movement, Louise Saumauneau, with a tendency towards the right parties, writes in her appeal to all workers:

"In all countries where capitalism rules the day, the position of the workwomen is the same. Exploitation and slavery reign everywhere; and although on all our barracks, prisons and ministerial palaces the words "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" are inscribed, these words have nothing in common with the cruel action of the bourgeoisie.

"Life itself," continues Comrade Saumauneau, "is calling us-peasant women and workwomen to the revolutionary struggle. Let us close our ranks; let us unite into economic and political organisations. Let us put an end to the exploitation of workmen and workwomen. It is time to change private property into national property. But the liberation of the working class is impossible so long as the bourgeoisie has the power. We must consequently take all the power into our hands, it is necessary that the workmen and workwomen, peasant men and women should be able to publish their own laws and put them into execution. Up to now the workwomen of France have been in the vanguard of the Labour movement; we must remain there till the world proletariat will conquer the world bourgeoisie, till the final triumph of the Communist order."

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In all countries the women received more or less extensive rights, but the interesting fact is that they were the more extensive the weaker the position of the bourgeoisie is in the given country.

In Austria, for instance, the women acquire rights beginning from the age of twenty-one, in France, twenty-four years, and in England only from thirty years. The victorious French bourgeoisie considered it possible to give the women their rights at the age when they have small children, when they are most taken up with the care of their families. The English bourgeoisie feared to give the right of voting to the revolutionary younger people, because it knew beforehand that their votes would not be for the bourgeoisie but against it.

The age of the women electors prevented the women from taking part in the elections, and although in such places where they did take part their votes were in the majority for the Socialist, only one woman, Mrs. Arthur, a member of the Independent Labour Party, was elected to Parliament.

Notwithstanding such ill success the English workwomen do not despair, but continue to conduct a serious

struggle against the bourgeoisie, taking a most active part in the movement in the capital.

On June 24th, during a Party day at Southport, 154 delegates from all parts of England were present at the conference. The reports of the chairman of the meeting, Susan Laurence, showed that throughout the whole country there are workwomen's organisations in close adherence to the Labour Party, that the work is going on with animation and the number of members increasing. Besides participation in the general struggle, the workwomen demanded protection of motherhood and infancy, improvement of the dwelling conditions, protection of women's night work, etc. Their campaign was especially strong against unemployment, which had arisen in consequence of demobilisation.

The conference elaborated a series of political and economic demands, which it laid before the government.

In economic respects the workwomen demanded the regulation of prices of food products, the organisation of public dinners and the feeding of the destitute without charge.

Besides, the conference demanded from the government employment for the women who had been turned off from the factories.

In political respects it demanded the cessation of England's intervention in the affairs of Soviet Russia, and a demobilisation of the troops.

The conference hoped that its modest demands would be complied with, but it soon became convinced that the bourgeoisie in no wise desired to trouble itself with the improvement of the conditions of the exploited class. The care of the unemployed women was undertaken by the Central Committee of the English workwomen, which organised various professional courses for them and took upon itself to find work for those who had passed them.

Among the Irish workwomen a great interest in political life is to be noticed. The Union of Irish Workwomen drew up a project for a series of measures, which were passed unanimously at populous meetings.

These measures were as follows:

1. Workers' control of production.
2. Improved labour conditions for youths and old people (in England young people of fourteen to fifteen years of age work from eight to nine hours a day).
3. The permission for workwomen of fourteen to fifteen years of age to have five hours a week for visiting schools, sewing classes, and so on.

On April 21st, 1920, a National Conference of Workwomen was held in London, at which were present 400 delegates from 180 organisations.

The debates at the conference tended to show that from the time of the preceding conference, i. e., June 24th, 1919, the government had not taken any steps for the protection of motherhood and infancy. The English workwomen are only dreaming yet of a six weeks' rest before confinement and a similar period of time after it. They do not even venture to think of the possibility of receiving full pay during that time. The English workwomen notice with sorrow that their wealthy and extensive country is more backward in the protection of motherhood and infancy than even small and poor Norway. The conference demands the obligatory instruction for young people up to eighteen years of age, and the prohibition of all exhausting labour, overhours and night work for women.

The question of equal pay for equal work called forth animated debates. "This question," said one of the delegates, "is of importance not only to us but to the whole

working class, as owing to the smaller rate of pay we become the competitors of our comrades, the workmen. For the struggle against the exploitation of women's labour it is necessary for us to enter into a union with the workmen."

A proposition made by Marion Philipp regarding the obligatory joining of the Party by the women working at the mills and factories, called forth an animated discussion.

The conference ended with a resolution demanding the recall of the coloured troops from Europe and independence for Ireland.

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As regards the Italian women, although Parliament had decided in favour of an equality of rights in principle, so many important amendments have been introduced into the project that it will not obtain force of law before the month of August. But the Italian workwomen are not remaining passive while waiting for the acknowledgment of their rights, and are taking part in the revolutionary movement. All the organisations of the Italian peasant women and workwomen have joined the Third International, conjointly with the Socialist Party, with which they are united.

Notwithstanding the greatest difficulties and governmental repression the Italian workwomen have been carrying on a widespread propaganda of Communist ideas among their sisters.

Their work has been crowned with success. The Women's Socialist Group in Rome addressed the following resolution at the end of 1919 to the whole International of Workwomen:

"The Women's Socialist Group in Rome is convinced that the treaty of Versailles will only lead to the strengthening of the power of world imperialism. It will enslave still more of the proletarian masses and increase their misery, hunger and the death rate of the children. The actions of the Entente against Russia and Hungary are in strong contradiction to the right of self-determination of nations.

"The Women's Socialist Group in Rome regards such actions as an attempt to crush Communist society, which is just beginning to be formed in Soviet Russia, and which alone will bring liberation to the whole world of workers.

"It protests most energetically against such violence, which can only lead to new wars and new victims.

"In consequence of this the Women's Socialist Group calls upon the workers of all countries to organise a World International of Workers."

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From the very beginning of the war the Swiss Socialist Party was divided into two parts. The majority adopted bourgeois views, but the minority progressed undeviatingly from Zimmerwald to the Third International. The Young People and the Workwomen joined this minority of the Socialist Party.

The Swiss workwomen pronounced themselves against the war, and at the Women's Conference at Berne in 1915, their watchword was: "Down with war; long live the world proletariat." Although Switzerland has kept its neutrality, the consequences of the war—high prices and unemployment—have been felt in this country also. The workwomen have had to struggle against the ever-increasing difficulties of life, and Rosa Bloch, the leader of the workwomen, was compelled to become acquainted with the prisons of "free Switzerland."

On April 5th, 1919, a very large protest meeting was held in Zürich against the high prices which placed the proletariat in the most difficult position. The movement begun in Zürich spread over the whole country, and in some towns it took the form of strikes.

In summer the workwomen of Zürich and Bâle took part in a strike of protest against the excessive exploitation of the workmen and workwomen in the dyeing industry, and the women showed a maximum of activity and organisation during this strike. Through their Party organisations they organised a regular relief for the comrades on strike, and also the dispatch of the children of such families into the country to the peasant members of the Party.

In September, 1919, an extraordinary congress of the Swiss Party took place. The principal question before this congress was that of the Party's joining the Third International. While the men's votes at the congress were divided equally, the twenty women delegates all voted in favour of joining the Third International. If at present the Swiss Party belongs to the family of the Third International, it is owing in no small degree to the women's part of the Swiss proletariat.

The Workwomen's Day in Switzerland in 1919 as well as in 1920 was celebrated under the watchwords: "Struggle against high prices, and a demand of political rights for women." Up to now the "democratic republic" of Switzerland is hesitating about according political rights to the women. But what is not accorded by the government the Swiss workwoman will take by her own untiring revolutionary struggle. Political rights won by the working class itself will prove to be fuller and more solid than those which the capitalist throws to it as a charity. This is why the workwomen are not despairing, although they are without rights. They know that the day is near when in the course of the world revolution they will take their rightful place in the country. Until then the workwomen's organisations, as well as the paper, *Die Vorkämpferin*, are carrying on an energetic Socialist propaganda.

Even in Spain the women have acquired equal rights with the men under the pressure of the world revolution. We say *even in Spain*, because Spain is one of the countries where the clergy plays a very important part. The equality is not complete, because the clergy and the bourgeoisie of Spain have as yet only accorded the women a passive suffrage, and that only in the Communal Councils. Spanish workwomen, beginning from twenty-three years of age, may, consequently, be elected as members of the commercial institutions, but they have no right to take part in the elections themselves.

The women of the proletariat in Holland are also struggling for their liberation, and the Dutch bourgeoisie has had to make concessions to the spirit of the times. The Dutch women have acquired as yet a passive suffrage in the Communal Councils. At the elections, which took place May 22d, 1919, the Dutch Socialists elected to their communal institutions fifty women—almost all Socialists. But these women delegates, like the other workwomen of Holland, being deprived of the right to active suffrage, were unable to elect the delegates desired by the working class. The bourgeois press, it is true, is holding out hopes to the women that in two or three years they will be given not only a passive but an active suffrage. The Lower Chamber has already agreed to this, and if the Upper Chamber will pass the project, then in 1922 the women of Holland will take part in the parliamentary elections, and in 1925 in those of the communal

councils. But will they wait so long? As far as we know they are striving most decisively to step over the bourgeois parliament straight into the proletarian Soviets, and their cry is: "The whole power to the Soviets of Workers', Red Army and Peasant Deputies. Through the Soviets, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism."

From America we have unfortunately very little information regarding the course of the revolutionary struggle of the workwomen, but the very small amount that we have shows us that all is not quiet in America. We have heard that Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare has been sentenced to *five years' imprisonment* for her propaganda of Socialism, for demanding the end of the murderous war, for demanding the freedom of the workers. We know also that O'Hare's imprisonment has not stopped the propaganda. New fighters have taken her place, who are carrying on with equal zeal the great work of the Communist organisation commenced by her.

The movement of the workwomen and peasant women in West Europe and America is carried on not only within the limits of their own countries but also with a consistent national character. In 1915, during the greatest flare up of chauvinism, the workwomen of the whole world at the International Women's Conference tended a friendly hand one to the other. Since then the international bond between the workwomen has not become weaker, but it has even grown stronger. The International Women's Bureau, whose secretary is Comrade Clara Zetkin, has not for one moment discontinued its functions.

On February 9th, 1919, the workwomen of England sent a friendly greeting to their comrades in Austria. Comrade A. Hopp (Austria) received from Comrade Isabella Ford (England) the following greeting to be transmitted to the Austrian workwomen:

"We, workwomen of England, send greetings on the day of your elections to the National Assembly. Our bourgeoisie is striving by all means to inspire us with hatred towards you—our sisters and brothers, Austrian proletarians. But know that we are not moving on the road of hatred and vengeance, but on the road of universal brotherhood and the universal solidarity of the workers."

In answer to this greeting Comrade Zetkin addressed an appeal to the workwomen of all the world calling them to unity, to fraternity, to a vigorous, unanimous onslaught upon foes of the world proletariat.

"It is difficult for us to enter into a mental close bond. The war does not allow us to establish regular relations, but we understand each other without superfluous words, because our object is the same and our way is the same—through world revolution to world Communism. Forward to the work. Long live the international movement of the workwomen!

So says the appeal of Comrade Zetkin and this watchword found its glowing echo. Workwomen of all the world, build the house of Communism.

Z. LILINA.



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## Bertrand Russell and Guild Socialism

The doctrine known by the name of "Guild Socialism" has of late grown very popular in England. Nor in England alone. The entire English and American Socialist press is paying it much attention and giving it much space. Here in Russia, owing of course to our isolation from Europe, the reading public is entirely unacquainted with this noble theory, this new movement. It is my object in the present sketch to give as brief and impersonal an account as possible of the "Guildistic" theory.

This movement has no future. It is not a big mass movement, but a surface thing, temporary, fleeting. Still some knowledge of it is imperative.

"Guild Socialism" is something in the nature of a compromise, something typically English, midway between Syndicalism and Socialism. It is an attempt to pacify the Syndicalistic revolt against "orthodox state Socialism", to reconcile Bakunin and Marx—of course a failure. For any reconciliatory patchwork in the province of revolutionary thought must always end in failure, in a crash, and brings the conciliator to a swamp, the shallow, stagnant swamp of petty bourgeois conditions.

Marx, in the "guildists" opinion, has become obsolete. Marx, you see, was right in the main fundamental things, but mistaken when it came to details. Bakunin, on the contrary, was wrong in the things and right in details. Bakunin also is obsolete, but his "great follower", Kropotkin, has renovated him. No one has renovated Marx—quite the contrary; his "great follower" Edward Bernstein, has completely convinced all sanely thinking men that he should by rights have been shelved long ago.

So says Bertrand Russell.

The theorist of "Guild Socialism," Bertrand Russell, accepts Bernstein wholesale. As far as he himself is concerned, he can say nothing against Marx and Marxist "doctrine", but agrees in everything with Bernstein. In his opinion Bernstein has brilliantly proved that there is not, nor ever was anything like concentration of capital—that class antagonism is not growing sharper, indeed, quite the contrary, it is gradually vanishing. That Marx's prognosis generally cannot stand criticism (See Bertrand Russell's "Roads to Freedom," London, 1919).

Bernstein's petty bourgeois revisionism, such is the point of departure of Russell's "new theory". Departing from Bernstein, Russell of course arrives at the conclusion that there is no need of a revolution. Social revolutions must be cast in the mould of peaceable transformation. It is not at all necessary that the Socialist order of things be built on the débris of the capitalist order. Why débris? Why absolutely demolish the capitalist order? Not necessary at all. Let the capitalistic order live on. Guild Socialism will slowly and gradually suppress it, it will *cease to exist*, and the Socialist order will *grow out* of capitalism.

The preachers of a bloody revolution, writes Russell, are profoundly in error. A sanguinary revolution can succeed only if the proletariat be sufficiently strong. But then, if sufficiently strong, it will be able to conquer without bloodshed. Is the proletariat so strong that it is able to raise an armed revolt—why, then it can conquer without the aid of one. In an extreme case Russell consents to a general strike, but beyond that you are not to go. In no case whatsoever.

Besides being obsolete, besides being mistaken in details (and details, in Russell's opinion, are much more important than the main things), Marx is wrong in that he advocates the state. He is a champion of the state at his fingers' ends. He imagines the socialist order as inserted within the framework of the State, squeezed into the State machine, "inserted" "squeezed in", consequently no freedom. *Freedom*—that is what is wanting in Marx,—absolute, unrestrained, unbounded freedom. Absolute freedom is unthinkable within the framework of a State. This is precisely wherein Bakunin has the advantage of Marx, all his speeches breathe the spirit of absolute freedom. Marx' whole theory breathes the spirit of necessity, compulsion, immutability. Whoever said that Marx wanted to liberate the proletariat? No such thing. He wants to place it at the helm, to make of it the ruling class. But transforming a class into a ruling class does not at all mean liberating it.

Russell has not understood Marx. He has read him, stated him, and not understood him. His criticism of Marx is taken wholesale partly from Bernstein, partly from Kropotkin. He repeats the commonplace, hackneyed Anarchist arguments. He makes out Marx's ideal to be that of a "pedant bureaucrat," strives to prove that Marx advocates the suppression of the will of the minority, by that of the majority—i. e. in point of fact, violence; that in the end, it all amounts to this: that the Socialist state as imagined by the Socialists, will differ from the capitalist state only in that the proletariat will oppress the bourgeoisie, instead of the bourgeoisie oppressing the proletariat. The oppressed will become oppressors and *vice-versa*. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie will merely exchange places. But the fact will remain. In all this "criticism" what is most remarkable is this: Russell has not understood Marx, and does not notice all his arrows hit—*not Marx but Bernstein*; he is striking not at the real Marxism, but at a Marxism, perverted, distorted by the revisionists and opportunists.

To continue. In Russell's opinion Marx's "methods", and tactics are also all wrong. Parliamentary in itself (this again hits not Marx, but Bernstein), parliamentarism gets nowhere and cannot get anywhere. Russell most conscientiously rehearses all the well-known, trite, time-honored, anarchist arguments against parliamentary struggle and arrives at the conclusion that



the struggle should be conducted not in parliament but in the mills and factories—not in political talking clubs, but “where the workers work.”

The conclusion, as you can see, is near akin to that of the Syndicalists. Taking Bernstein at his point of departure, Russell comes to Sorel, the syndicalistic revolt against the Social State-parliamentarism.

But neither can he agree with the Syndicalists and Anarchists. True, they have one enormous advantage over the Socialists, they stand for absolute freedom but deny the state. But this advantage is at the same a defect. For the State is an evil, but an inevitable evil. It is impossible to imagine the future Socialist society as entirely devoid of State elements. The State must be preserved to a certain extent, in a certain form. The State must be preserved *but freed from noxious elements*. This neither the Syndicalists nor the Anarchists have understood, and therein lies their mistake. The “Guildists” have given mankind this new formula, therein lies their merit.

The principal and fundamental mistake of the Anarchists and the Syndicalists is that they lose sight entirely of the psychological factor, do not in the least take human nature into account. They construct their theory, as do the State Socialists, entirely on objective data; they make definite deductions from the study of history, but they do not study psychology, and believe that it has nothing to do here, that the subjective element plays no part. And all the time it is exactly the opposite proposition that is the true one; the subjective element, human nature, does play the chiefest part; the subjective factor is, to a certain extent, the first premise of all objective factors. Did the Syndicalists and Anarchists study history properly, they would know that we cannot do without the State. Such is human nature; it cannot possibly get along without organs of compulsion, without power and the fear of power, without police and *gendarmes*. Police and *gendarmes* there must be, at whatever cost. Perhaps, admits Russell, after many many years, human nature, under the influence of culture and liberty, may so far change that it will be possible to organise life without organs of compulsion. Then it will be time to raise the question of anarchy and absolute time-honored, anarchist arguments against parliamentary freedom. But until then, for God’s sake, let police and *gendarmes* alone!

And so the State must subsist but be freed from noxious elements. How is that to be accomplished? Here we pass from the critical portion of Russell’s theory to the construction.

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Wherein, properly speaking, lies the difference between Syndicalism and Socialism? The answer is that Socialism is said to hold the point of view of *consumption* and Syndicalism that of *production*. Socialism looks on the worker, first of all, as on a consumer. When the Socialist says “the worker is being exploited”, he means the worker is being exploited as a consumer. The Socialist says the worker is entitled to the full produce of his labour. This sentence contains the whole quintessence of the consumption point of view. The worker must receive the product. Receiving the product or products—such is the Socialist ideal.

When the Socialists say “the workers must organise, This means: organise as consumers, in a political party.

Every political party is a party of consumers. When the Socialists say: “the workers must struggle,” that means struggle as consumers. Every political struggle is a struggle for consumption. And the Socialists imagine the future Socialist society as a huge international universal cooperative business.

The Syndicalist looks on the worker first of all as a producer. In the Syndicalist’s language, exploitation means: oppression of the worker in the factory, the mill, oppression of worker as producer, as creator of socially useful wealth. “Organisation”, in Syndicalist parlance, means a “producing organisation”: the workers must organise in factories mills, in small producing nuclei, not in a political party; and “struggle” in the same language, would mean struggle *inside* mills and factories, not *outside* of them.

Which of the two points of view is correct? Both are equally so, and the problem of Guild Socialism consists in reconciling them. Here again the Guild Socialists play the part of reconcilers. Guild Socialism looks on the worker both as producer and consumer. The worker must struggle both inside the factory and out of it; every worker must be simultaneously a member of two organisations: a political (parliamentary) Labour party, and a factory or mill union. Each of these two organisations has its own aims, its own problems, also its own means and methods. To effect a fusion of both is impossible, nor is it necessary. They can and must exist simultaneously and parallelly with one another.

As the reader can see, since Guild Socialism starts from cleavage, dualism passes like a red thread through Russell’s entire theory. I said in the beginning that Guild Socialism is something midway between wrongly understood Socialism and Syndicalism. But this is not theory, we have here a case of simple guileless, naive “eclecticism.” Both are right, both have an equal right to exist, both are in error on many points; we accept both, believe both, follow both—such is the essence of Guild Socialism.

The Socialists say: “In the socialist society that is to be, all power will be vested in the Socialist proletarian state.” The Syndicalists say: “in the future society all power will be vested in the united industrial groups of labourers. The Guild Socialists say, “in the coming society power will divide: on the one side united industrial groups; on the other the Proletarian State.” Naïve eclecticism!

The transition from Capitalism to Socialism (a gradual painless transition) will begin, according to the Guild Socialists, with the nationalisation of industry. The administration of factories and mills will pass into the hands of committees, elected by the workers. Every factory, every mill will become a self-administering unit. All factories and mills, all undertakings in every given branch of industry, united on federative principles, will form federations or *guilds*, (whence the name Guild Socialism). The state will be governed by a Supreme Council of the Guilds, which will consist of representatives of all factory and mill federations. The Supreme Council of the Guilds will wield the highest power in the land.

But the power of the Supreme Council will be limited. It will extend only to certain definite sides of social life, only to the sides bearing on production. The Supreme Council of the Guilds will be the highest *producing power—only* producing. It will have cognisance and the settling of only such questions as supplying industrial undertakings with raw material and fuel, taking stock of and distributing labour forces, and the like. It will

also be the warden of labour. But alongside of the Supreme Council of the Guilds there will be a parliament! Yes, indeed, a parliament! The most commonplace parliament! And all questions regarding consumption, (i. e. purely political questions,) will be in its competence.

The transition from Capitalism to Socialism will by no means abolish or destroy the parliament. It will stay; slowly and gradually the workers will conquer it. Two parallel processes will go on together: on one hand the slow and gradual nationalisation of industry, on the other, the slow and gradual conquest of the parliament. In the coming Socialist society the parliament will also be the highest power. For avoidance of friction between it and the Supreme Council an interdepartmental commission of control will be formed, consisting of an equal number of representatives of both organs of the highest power.

It goes without saying that these two organs of the highest power will be entirely different, nay, diametrically opposed to each other in their views on power, society, the State. The Supreme Council will look on the State as on a *federation of autonomous industries*: the parliament will look upon the State as on a *federation of autonomous, self-governing provinces*.

The parliament will hold the geographical territorial point of view; the Supreme Council the territorial, industrial. The interdepartmental commission which controls business will be to reconcile these two points of view. *How they will go about it, only Russell can tell.*

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Russell's book, *Roads to Freedom*, was written in 1918, when the Soviet régime already existed in Russia. The Soviet regime brilliantly refuted by practical proof all the curious artful devices of Russell's theory. But this did not in the least convince him. For Russell's way and the Soviet's do not lie together. Russell's way is not our way, because we are Marxists, and hold with the State, because we have made a violent revolution, because we have achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat, because we are oppressing the *bourgeoisie*, and so on. But what Russell can least agree with is our watchword: "He who worketh not, let him not eat." This watchword, according to Russell's point of view, is the coarsest encroachment on personal liberty, the most brutal violence.

"The Socialists," in proclaiming the watchword, "He who worketh not, let him not eat," are instituting slavery. They force people to work by the fear of starvation. This is slavery. All compulsory labour is slavery (quite evidently). The Socialists erect compulsory labour into a principle."

In Russell's opinion the question of labour must be approached from an entirely different side. Labour must not be made *obligatory*, but *pleasant*; this is Guild Socialism's problem, its new formula. "Until labour is made pleasant, we shall not have the right to say that we are nearing a normal, proper social order. Things must be ordered so that people shall wish, shall love to work, that creating, labouring shall become a dominating necessity of human nature, that man cannot live without labour. Until then, until labour is made pleasant, we have no right to punish men for refusing to work, for such refusal is perfectly natural, quite according to human nature.

Make labour pleasant, (in this, of course we agree), and in the meantime you dare not deprive idlers, and lazy parasites, exploiters, of their right to laziness! . . .

But Russell is, as he himself confesses, a typical Englishman, a man of the golden mean, a man of compromises. And on this point, the question of pleasant and compulsory labour, he is also ready to make terms with the State Socialists, the terms being as follows:

Let us, says Russell, institute an order of things something like this: every citizen, whether labourer or idler, receives all that is necessary to satisfy his most urgent needs—food, clothing, shelter—all, in short, that man can absolutely not do without, must be accessible to all entirely free of cost, in unlimited quantities, like air and water. But all that is not absolutely necessary, that makes for the satisfaction of the higher cultural needs, (books, theatres, and so on), objects of luxury, must be distributed exclusively among those who toil. Objects of luxury must become *premiums* for toil. Wherein does Russell's theory differ from ours, the Soviet theory? As regards principles, *in nothing*. It comes to the same slavery. We make people work under the fear of *physical* starvation, Russell proposes to make them work under the fear of *spiritual* starvation. The difference lies not in the principle. Our theory differs only from Russell's in that it is vital, practical, realisable. Russell's theory is quite unpractical and unrealisable.

Take it all in all, Russell is not a practical man. His theory throughout is not practical, viable, not of this world. He upbraids us (as he does the Anarchists and Syndicalists) for not considering the subjective factor of human nature. But he himself does not in the least consider the objective, the economic factor. Marx's and Bakunin's theories (in so far as the latter *had* a theory) were built on history, Russell's rests altogether on psychology. And mark you, not on mass psychology, but on individual psychology. Nor on scientific experimental psychology, but on casual psychological observations, partly profound and correct, partly brilliant and original, but frequently paradoxical and incorrect. A theory so constructed certainly cannot lay claim to the name of a serious scientific theory.

But Russell has no ambition to be considered serious and scientific. He is ready to admit himself that his whole doctrine is a patchwork stitched together anyhow of odd scraps of Marxism, Bakunin, and other things. But who, he asks, can prove that such a patchwork theory must necessarily be wrong?

Russell's theory must be ranked with the revisionistic theories constructed on "criticisms" of Marx. He ranks it so himself. The trouble is that the criticism is built throughout on misconceptions. Russell does not understand Marx. Marx's object was *the abolition of classes, the creation of a classless society*. The proletarian dictatorship is only a transitory, a temporary thing. The proletarian dictatorship will end, will vanish, when the proletariat gains its last, decisive victory. The proletariat is taking power into its hands only in order to uproot that of the *bourgeoisie*; when that is destroyed root and branch, when the old order is demolished to its foundations, the proletariat will construct a new world, in which there will be no ruling power. . . All this is so clear, so simple, so old, so long known,—to us! But Russell knows nothing of it because he deals, not with the genuine Marx, but with a Marx handled and prepared on the one hand by Anarchists, on the other by the Revisionists. Starting from a criticism founded on a misconception, Russell advances through a dense, impracticable forest of sophisms, and curious logical constructions, sometimes original and to the point, but mostly naïvely incorrect, ingenuously childish,—to arrive in

the end at a dual, socialistic-syndicalistic society, built simultaneously on two diametrically opposed, mutually excluding principles.

Russell fancies himself a revolutionist, a man of the extreme "left." But he denies the revolution. A normal expansion of the Trade Unions will, he says, by gradual steps bring us to the nationalisation of industry and the creation of "guilds." A normal expansion of Parliament. A normal expansion of capitalism will bring us to socialism. Everything must and will proceed "normally." Revolution is, of course, the least element in all this. Any liberal-minded English bourgeois will subscribe with hands to this theory of slow and gradual expansion; the Liberals also dream of absolute freedom and complete elimination of the State. No wonder even the *Times* praises Russell's little book. The *Times* has at once scented as "one of ours," the normal, thoroughly proper, quiet, peaceable Socialist. Oh, what a good Socialist" exclaims the *Times*—"so good that really he does not look like one at all!" To us Communists, living and working in the fierceness and tempest of Socialist creative construction, Russell's theory must perforce appear (naïvely laughable, curiously amusing. But in England they take him seriously. He has followers there. In England "Guild Socialism" is still in favour.

Guild Socialism arose in 1914, on the eve of the war, when the Syndicalist revolt against Webb and the old leaders broke out in England; it was an attempt to put down that revolt, and to reconcile the insurgents with their "old idols," whom they were about to discard. In 1914 took place the "guildists" first congress, which issued their first programme: *The men who learned nothing from the war, or from the great upheavals which followed the war, have preserved that programme in its entirety to the present day. Such is Bertrand Russell.*

He wrote his book, "Roads to Freedom," a theoretical justification of Guildism, in 1918, in the last months of the war. But in the book there is hardly a word about the war, not one word about the Russian Revolution, not one word of all the clamorous questions which were

brought to the front by the war. The war and the revolution simply passed Russell by. In 1918 he justifies what appeared to him right in 1914. With the greatest facility he jumped the chasm which had opened during those four years—1914 to 1918. In fact he did not notice that chasm.

Russell has followers. Not, of course, among the masses. The masses will have none of these half-and-half, golden-mean, eclectic theorists. Guildism is not a mass-movement—and never will be, Guildism and Russell are popular among the "thinking" intellectuals, and partly among the labour intellectuals.


But it is not very probable that the "thinking" intellectuals should *long* be content with the Russell compromise. Guild Socialism, of course, has no future. It is only a temporary halt, a breathing space; ahead of it stretched a long road—long and arduous. In two or three years from now Guild Socialism will be forgotten, and, possibly, Russell himself may be the first to repudiate it.

Young, energetic, strong revolutionists did not stop at Russell's haltingplace; they went on, indefatigably, and have got far ahead of Guildism, as far as Sovietism, as the proletarian revolution—John MacLean, McManus, Sylvia Pankhurst—they have left Guildism far behind. The "intellectuals" are still resting at the station "Guild Socialism" . . . but the masses have gone ahead—after the young, the strong revolutionists.

At this writing Bertrand Russell is traveling in Russia, studying the Soviet social order. He intends to write a book on Russia and Sovietism. What sort of a book will it be? What will Russell say? Will he say something new? Will he revise his old theory under the point of view of what he will have seen in Russia? Or, on the contrary, will he give an estimate of Sovietism from the standpoint of his old theory? . . .

*Qui vivra verra!*  
*Live and see!*

MENSHOV.



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The Fifteenth of the Empire Typography  
Zwenigorodskaja, 11.

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