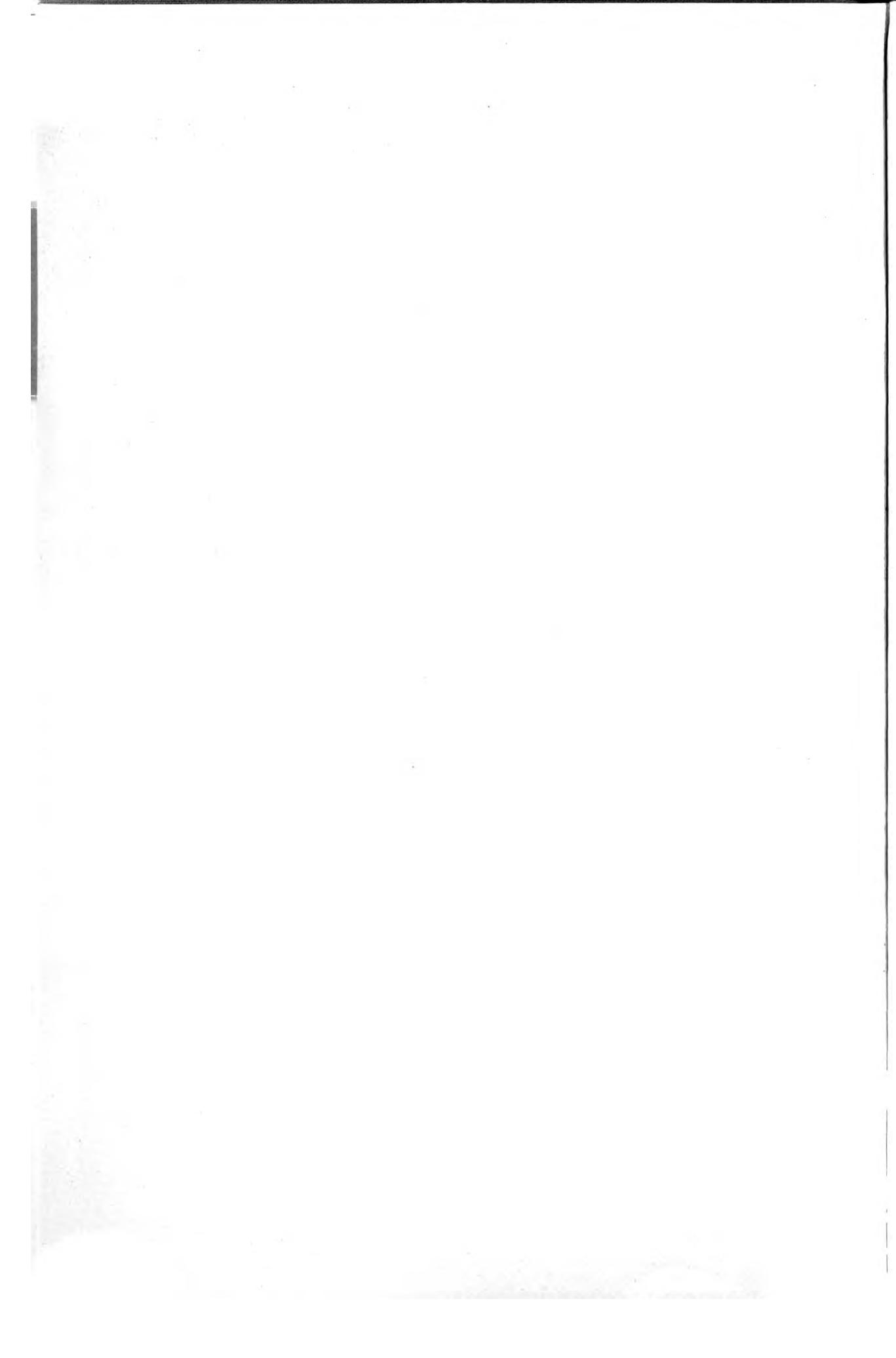




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BULLETIN

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Petrograd

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Workers of the World, unite.

≡ BULLETIN ≡

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 1

Petrograd

September 8-th, 1921.

CONTENTS: Appeals of the Executive of the Comintern: To New Work, to New Struggles. (To the Proletariat of all Countries).—To the Working Men and Working Women of Italy.—To the Proletariat of all the Nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia.—To the Members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.—To the Convention of the United Communist Party of Germany at Jena.—The Character of our Newspapers.—To the Proletariat of Yugoslavia.—Proletarian Relief to Soviet Russia. (To the Workers of all Countries).—The Speculation on the Famine and the Campaign of the World Capitalism against Soviet Russia. (To the Workers of all Countries).—Appeal to the American Workers.—**Resolution of the Small Bureau of the Comintern:** To all Communist Parties. (Supplementary to our appeal and directions with regard to the famine problem).—Appeal of the Comintern to the Workers of the Social Democratic Party of Luxemburg.—To the Revolutionary Syndicalists of all Countries.

A CALL

To New Work, to New Struggles.

To the proletariat of all countries.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is over. The great review of forces of the Communist proletariat of all countries is ended. It has shown that, during the past year, in a number of countries in which Communism has just begun to appear, it has grown into a great power capable of moving the masses and of threatening capitalism. The Communist International, while at its Constituent Congress represented, outside of Russia, only small groups of comrades, and at its second congress of last year merely sought for means of creating mass parties, now has at its disposal not only in Russia, but also in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, Norway, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, parties around whose banner great masses are rallying. The Third Congress is now addressing a call to the Communists of all countries to follow this path further and to do all they can, in order to unite ever more millions of workers in the ranks of the Communist International. The power of capitalism can be broken down only when the idea of Communism will be embodied in the tumultuous impetus of the greater

majority of the proletariat, led by communist mass parties encircling the fighting proletarian class in one iron clasp.

"To the masses" is the first war cry addressed by the Third International to the Communists of all countries.

Forward to new great battles.

These masses are coming to us, streaming into our parties; because the world capitalism is proving ever clearer and ever more palpably that the only way it could prolong its own life is by ruining the whole world and increasing ever more the chaos, penury and enslavement of the masses. In view of the world economic crisis, which is throwing millions of workers out into the streets, the cry to the toiling masses of "Work! Work!" which has emanated for years out of the mouths of the social democratic flunkeys of capitalism, as well as from that of the bourgeoisie, is hushed.

The cry for work is becoming the war cry of the working class, and it will be realised only on the ruins of capitalism, when the proletariat will itself be in possession of the means of production which it has created. The

capitalist world is on the eve of *new wars*. The American-Japanese, the English-French, the French-German, the Polish-German inconsistencies, the inconsistencies in the Near and the Far East, are all driving Europe to increase armaments. They are arousing the fearsome question: "Must Europe again tread the path of a new world war?" It is not the murder of millions that the capitalists are fearing. Already after the war, by their policies as well as by their blockade of Russia, they have coolly condemned millions of people to death by starvation. What they are afraid of is that a new war will finally drive the masses into the army of the world revolution, and that a new war will mean the final uprising of the world proletariat. They are trying therefore, as they did before the war, to bring about a *relaxing of the tension* by diplomatic jugglery. But the relaxing of the tension in one place signifies an increase of the tension in another. The negotiations between England and America on the limitation of the naval armaments of both these countries are necessarily creating a battlefront against Japan.

The Franco-English rapprochement delivers Germany to France, and Turkey to England. *Not peace, but a growing unrest, a growing enslavement of the conquered nations by the capitalism of the victorious countries*; this is the result of the endeavours of the world capitalism to bring some order into the ever growing world chaos. The world capitalist press is talking now of a world political tranquility because the German bourgeoisie has submitted to the dictatorship of the Allies and in order to save its power, delivered the German people to the hyenas of the Paris and London Stock Exchanges. But, at the same time, this press is full of information regarding the development of the economic crisis in Germany, the unheard-of taxes which in autumn will pour down like hail upon the masses doomed to unemployment, thus raising the price of every morsel of food, of every scrap of clothing. The Communist International, which is basing its policy on a calm practical observation of the world si-

tuation—for the proletariat can only bring a prolongation of our sufferings, a prolongation of its own death process. The world revolution is marching on a pace. The foundations of capitalism are shaking everywhere. The second call that the world congress of the Communist International is sending to the proletarians of all countries is:

**Forward to meet new great battles!
Arm yourselves for new fights! Align
the general battlefront of the proletari-
ariat!**

The world bourgeoisie is incapable of ensuring work and bread, housing and clothing to the workers; but it is showing its great capacity for organising the war against the world proletariat. Since the moment of its first great embarrassment and since it has overcome its fear of the workers returning home from the war, since it has managed to drive the workers into the factories again and to crush their first attempts at revolting, since it has succeeded in spite of the war in prolonging the agreement with the social democratic and trade union betrayers of the proletariat, thus splitting the latter, it has been tending all its efforts to organise a *white guard* against the proletariat and to disarm the workers. The world bourgeoisie is armed to its teeth, and is not only ready to repulse all uprisings of the proletariat by force of arms, but it knows how to provoke, when necessary, premature uprisings of the proletariat which is only yet preparing for the struggles, in order to defeat it before the general unconquerable front will have been formed. *The Communist International must set up its own strategy against the one of the world bourgeoisie*. The Communist International has only one infallible weapon against the cash-boxes of the world capitalism, that throws armed bandits against the organised proletariat, namely, the proletarian masses, the united compact front of the working class.

All the cunningness and methods of violence of the bourgeoisie must give way before the onrush of the closed ranks of the millions of proletarians;

then the railroads which carry the white guards of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat will come to a standstill. There will be a panic among some sections of the white guards. The proletarians will seize their arms in order to turn them against other white guards formations. If we succeed to lead the united proletariat into the struggle, capitalism and the world bourgeoisie will be deprived of the most important guarantee for victory, i. e. the faith in victory which has been restored to them only through the treachery of the social democracy and the splitting up of the working masses. Only by winning the hearts and minds of the majority of the working class can the victory over capitalism be achieved. The Third Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Communist parties of all countries and to the Communists within the trade unions to use their whole strength and all their efforts in order to free the widest possible masses of workers from the influence of the social democratic parties and the treacherous trade union bureaucracy. This is only possible if the Communists of all countries prove themselves, in these trying times, when every day brings new privations for workers, the champions of the workers in all their every day needs, if they lead them in the struggle for more bread and for the lessening of the burdens which capitalism is imposing on them in ever increasing measure. It is essential to show the working masses that it is the Communists alone who are fighting for the betterment of their conditions, and that the social democrats and the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, rather than fight, would see the proletariat perish before their eyes. We cannot beat the betrayers of the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie by theoretical discussions about democracy and dictatorship, but only by supporting the workers in their struggles for bread, for wages, for houses and all the necessities of life. And the most important battlefield on which we must meet them and conquer them is—the field of the Trade Union movement, the struggle against the yellow Amsterdam Trade

Union International, the fight for the Red Trade Union International. It is a struggle over the question of capturing the enemy forts, within our own camp, and a struggle for the formation of a battlefront before which world capitalism must give way.

Steer clear of centrist tendencies and develop the fighting spirit. It is only through the struggle for the ordinary needs and interests of the workers that we can build up a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and put an end to the splitting up of the proletariat, which latter forms a basis for the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. But this proletarian front can only grow strong and eager for battle, if it is kept together and led by strong and united Communist parties with an iron discipline. Therefore, the Third World Congress of the Communist International had to supplement its call to the Communists of all countries: "To the masses" "Build up a united proletarian front" by a further call: "Keep your ranks clear of elements capable of disintegrating the fighting morale and the fighting discipline of the shock-troops of the world proletariat—the Communist Parties". The Communist International Congress confirms the expulsion of the Italian Socialist Party until the latter severs all connection with the reformists and expels them from its ranks. By this decision the Congress expressed its belief that the Communist International cannot harbour in its ranks reformists (whose object is not the proletarian revolution, but reconciliation with the bourgeoisie and the latter's reform), if it is to lead millions of workers into the revolutionary struggle. Armies which tolerate leaders who contemplate reconciliation with the enemy are always sold and betrayed to their enemy by these very leaders.

The Communist International has also recognized the fact that there were still remnants of reformist tendencies in various parties although the latter had excluded the reformists from their ranks, and that these parties, while not working for the reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic in their propa-

ganda against capitalism, and for the revolutionising of the masses. Parties which in their daily work fail to become the inspiration of the masses, which are not capable of continuously increasing and strengthening the fighting spirit of the proletariat, *such parties are bound to miss good opportunities for struggle*, and to allow spontaneous outbursts of the proletariat to remain without results, as was the case in the occupation of the factories by the Italian workers, and during the December strike in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist parties must develop the fighting spirit within themselves. They must get ready to become the General Staff of the revolutionary movement which will be able to make the best use of our forces. The Third International says to you: Be the vanguard of the working masses when they begin to march forward: be their heart and their brain!—And to be the vanguard, means—to march at the head of the masses as their bravest, most conscious and most alert section! It is only by forming such a vanguard, that the Communist parties will be able, not only to build up a united proletarian front, but also to lead the proletariat to final victory.

Set up the strategy of the proletariat against the strategy of capitalism! Prepare your battles!

The enemy is strong, because for centuries he has had the power in his hands; which has fostered in him the consciousness of power and the desire to keep it. The enemy is strong, because he has been learning for centuries how to divide, subdue and keep down the proletarian masses. The enemy is experienced in the conduct of civil war, and therefore the III. Congress of the Communist International calls upon the Communist Parties of all countries not to leave out of consideration the danger arising out of the perfect strategy of the ruling and possessing class, as against the faulty, newly developing strategy of the proletariat which is struggling for power. The March events in Germany have shown the great danger, that the front ranks of the working class, the Communist vanguard of the proletariat,

may be forced by the enemy into the fight, before the gathering of the great masses of the working class has taken place. The Communist International is grateful for the ready assistance given by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout Germany to the menaced workers of Middle Germany. In this spirit of solidarity, in the rising of the proletarians of the entire country, and even of the entire world to defend a menaced portion of the proletariat, the Communist International sees the road to victory. It has welcomed the fact that the United Communist Party of Germany had placed itself in the lead of the working masses that hastened to the defence of their menaced brethren. But at the same time the Communist International deems it its duty to declare frankly and distinctly to the workers of all countries: *When the vanguard is unable to evade the open fight, when such fights can force the mobilisation of the entire working class, the vanguard must not forget, that it must not let itself be drawn into decisive fights alone and isolated, that when forced into isolated fight, the vanguard of the proletarian army must evade armed clashes with the enemy, because the source of the victory of the proletariat over the armed white guards consists in its reliance upon the masses.*

If the proletariat does not march as an overwhelming mass, the vanguard must not expose itself to the armed enemy as an unarmed minority. And the March events have taught yet another lesson, to which the Communist International draws the attention of the workers of all countries. The widest working masses must be prepared by contrast, daily, ever increasing and extending revolutionary agitation for the coming battles, which shall be entered under the watchwords that have become familiar and understandable to the widest masses of the proletariat. The strategy of the enemy must be met by wise and deliberate strategy on the part of the proletariat. The militant will of the front ranks does not suffice, nor do their valour and determination. The fight must be so prepared, so organised, that it shall bring along the widest masses, which

should recognize it as the fight for their vital interests. The fight must mobilise the masses. The worse the position of world capitalism will get, the more it will attempt to prevent the future victory of the Communist International by hitting its front ranks isolated from the great mass. This plan, this danger, must be met with an all-pervading, all-arousing activity which will assure its influence upon the wide masses, enable cool judgement of the battle situations, by deliberate tactics of evading the fight against superior forces of the enemy and by taking the offensive in a situation where the enemy is divided and the masses united.

The Third World Congress of the Communist International recognizes that *only through experience in fighting* the working class will form such Communist Parties that will be able to attack the enemy with lightning-like rapidity wherever it can be trapped in a tight corner, and to evade it where it has the upper hand. It is therefore the duty of the proletarians of all countries to appreciate and make use internationally of any lessons that the working class in any given country may have gathered through great sacrifices.

Take care of the militant discipline!

The working class and the Communist Parties of all countries should prepare themselves not for a period of quiet agitation and organisation, but for prolonged battles which capital will now force upon the proletariat, in order to beat it into submitting to all the burdens of capitalist policy. In this fight the Communist Parties must develop the highest militant discipline. Its Party leaders must coolly and deliberately consider all the lessons of the fight, they must prudently review the battlefield, uniting enthusiasm with the greatest deliberation. They must forge their militant plans and their tactical course in the spirit of collective thinking of the entire Party, giving due consideration to all criticism by comrades of the Party. But all the

Party organisations must unhesitatingly *carry out the course adopted by the Party.* Every word and every step of every Party organisation must be subordinated to this purpose. The parliamentary factions, the press of the Party, the Party organisations must unwaveringly obey the order given by the Party leadership.

The world's review of the Communist front ranks has ended. It has shown Communism to have become a world power. It has shown that the Communist International has so create and to form even greater armies of the proletariat. It has announced our determination to carry these fights to victory. It has shown to the world proletariat how to prepare and how to achieve this victory. It is now for the Communist Parties of all countries to make the decisions of the Congress, which have arisen out of the experiences of the world proletariat, the common knowledge of the Communists of all countries, in order that every Communist working man and woman may become the leader of hundreds of non-communist proletarians in the fights to come.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the World Revolution!

To work for the preparation and organisation of our victory!

Executive of the Communist International.

Germany: *Heckert, Froehlich.* France: *Souvarine.* Czecho-Slovakia: *Burian, Kreibich.* Italy: *Terracini, Gennari.* Russia: *Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.* Ukraina: *Shumsky.* Poland: *Glinsky.* Bulgaria: *Popov.* Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz.* Norway: *Schefflo.* England: *Bell.* America: *Baldwin.* Spain: *Merino Gracia.* Finland: *Sirola.* Holland: *Jansen.* Belgium: *Van Overstraaten.* Sweden: *Kilbom.* Lettland: *Stuchka.* Switzerland: *Arnold.* Austria: *Korichoner.* Hungary: *Bela Kun.*

Executive of the Communist International of Youth:

Muenzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17-th 1921.

Working Men and Working Women of Italy!

The Third Congress of the Communist International now sitting in Moscow, in the very heart of Soviet Russia which attracts all the thoughts and hopes of the proletariat that has been the victim of endless injustice and of countless errors,—this Third Congress has discussed the question of your position and of the revolutionary forces of Italy. Your ideas, your ardent desire to struggle and win are represented here among us by delegates from the Communist Party of Italy which is a section of the Communist International. This young party, full of hope and strength, courageous, disciplined and well prepared, is the only representative of the Italian proletariat at this Congress.

In all the countries the interval between the Second and the Third Congress was made use of to strengthen and build up the fighting forces of the proletarian revolution. Our parties have considerably gained in strength this last year.

The Third International, mocked at by Turati and called a "phantastic International", a "mirage" by him, unites in its ranks millions of proletarians of the world, including the working masses of the Far East and of distant South Africa. It has united at this Congress more than seven hundred delegates representing forty five nations. It is the authorised bearer of the hopes and revolutionary aspirations of the greatest part of the world proletariat. Henceforth it is the great force that Marx and Engels, the founders of the First International, had in view. It is the bitterest enemy of the world bourgeoisie, of the yellow International, the Second International, the International Two-and-a Half and the Amsterdam Trade-Unions' Bureau. It has overthrown the rule of capitalism; for nearly four years it has fought against the united forces of the world bourgeoisie, and it has been victorious. It is the only International that is capable to lead

the world proletariat to the revolutionary struggle, to lead it into the final and decisive attack against capitalism.

In Italy, however, the Communist International has unfortunately suffered a loss. At the Second Congress Italy was represented by a large party; to-day we see instead of it the young Communist Party which, unlike the Socialist Party of Italy, does not count hundreds of thousands of members.

[Comrades from Italy!

You were at Zimmerwald. You were among those who undertook to reconstruct an international organ of proletarian struggle on the ruins of the Second International, thus counterbalancing the treachery of their leaders.

Kienthal, which was the second halting-place in the wearying march of the heroic vanguard, saw among other delegates also representatives of the Italian movement.

No representatives from Italy could be present at the First Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in March 1919, for the military force of the bourgeoisie cut off the road to Moscow for them. But your revolutionary spirit, workers of Italy, soared in the halls of the Congress. We felt the mighty breath of your force that organised and armed itself for great future fights. Notwithstanding the active opposition of the reformists, notwithstanding the sarcasm, the accusations and libel launched against the Communists by Turati and his friends and always eagerly taken up and defended by the bourgeois press, notwithstanding all this the Socialist Party of Italy developing under the pressure of events changed its statutes and programme.

The Socialist Party of Italy realised that it had a great and important task to perform, and enthusiastically and joyfully it began its work.

The Congress of Bologna marks the beginning of a new struggle. The affi-

liation to the Third International was welcomed with great enthusiasm, and all the socialists of Italy united on the basis of the new task that arose before them. They united the revolutionary proletariat of Italy in a solemn covenant with the proletariat of the whole world for the decisive fight that will free the world from the yoke of capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and make Communism a reality.

Full of hope and expectation did the proletariat of the world watch the rapid revolutionary development of your country. You were considered the vanguard of the revolutionary army. The Russian workers and the workers of the world regarded you as their most reliable and most immediate support.

The December days of the year 1919, the March and July days of 1920, the sweeping September attack, when the hostile positions were occupied and held, all this is still fresh in our memory. Unfortunately, however, your force, menacing as it was in those days, has been broken by the enemy.

Whose fault was it that the movement failed? We cannot help pointing to those in whom we put full trust at the Second Congress last year, to those who promised us to do their utmost to carry out the holy task of the Communist International in Italy.

They came to us as delegates of a powerful party, as delegates of proletarian organisations, as delegates of the General Confederation of Labour, and they declared to be ready to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the realisation of the Communist ideas.

They came to Soviet Russia appearing to warrant our highest hopes. And they left Soviet Russia having declared all of them, including the reformist d'Arragona and the bourgeois "Commodore" Pozani masqueraded as a communist—having solemnly declared at numerous meetings and endless manifestations that in Italy the revolution was close at hand. Enthusiastically they promised to support and take part in the revolutionary work in your country. Misled by appearances the Russian people, hero and martyr at the same time, deemed it had imparted its unswerving will to them.

They returned to you. You were then engaged in an exceptionally hard and bitter struggle. And these men betrayed you.

They betrayed you who were carrying on a bitter fight, they betrayed the Russian proletariat, they deceived it cowardly with their declarations and promises. They betrayed the cause of the proletarian revolution. It was but doubts instead of belief, downheartedness instead of enthusiasm, cowardice in lieu of courage that d'Arragona, Dugoni, Nofri and Co brought you.

They had spent several weeks in Russia where the Revolution teaches us that the proletariat has to keep clear of all compromise in order to continue to live and to win in the open struggle, for all and every compromise only goes to serve the bourgeoisie and weakens the onslaught of the proletariat in the final attacks.

When you, workers of Italy, were besieged for a month in the factories you had occupied, the leaders of your organisation caught at the proposal of the Government as a drowning man will catch at a straw. They forgot the sacrifices you had made, they disregarded your wishes and renounced them, they retracted their promises and frustrated all your efforts. Again and again the reformists and Giolitti met at the "Hôtel de Boulogne" in Turin, the promised land of the first attempt at social democratic "Cooperation".

Instead of ranging themselves on the side of the best, the most determined and truest of your friends, in a word, on the side of the Communists, they threw in their lot with the reformists who are the last buttress of capitalist rule. They went to the Congress of the reformist fraction at Reggio Emilia in October 1920. They railed against the communist tendencies of the Socialist Party. They showed themselves true social democrats aiming not at the revolution, but at the cooperation of classes and at participation in the bourgeois Government. They proclaimed the slogan of class war only in order to lead the Socialist Party of Italy on to the false road of petty bourgeois reformism and of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

Serrati, who with the proletariat and by the Second Congress of the Third International was considered to be one of the most convinced theorists of Communism, one of the most valiant leaders of the future proletarian revolution, Serrati, who was upholding the revolutionary necessity of centralisation and discipline and who spoke with such determination on this topic that it did not occur to anyone that he would be capable to mock at the official decisions of the International and to sabotage them, that very Serrati, upon his return to Italy became the advocate and friend of the reformists, of the counter-revolutionaries, the traitors of Communism whose only object in remaining within the Socialist Party was to protract and sabotage all revolutionary action, to rail at and sabotage the most important decisions of the International.

Serrati rushes upon the Communists with the most equivocal of methods, with the most impudent lies. He wrestled against those on whose side he ought to have fought for the exclusion of the reformists and opportunists. At Livorno he and his opportunist friends, under the mask of communist unitarians, preferred a split with 58,000 Communists rather than losing their hold over 14,000 reformists.

By means of the slogan of "Party Unity", an exceedingly dangerous slogan for the proletarian revolutionary struggle in Italy, they induced the masses to break away from the Communist International and the world proletariat. Serrati and his friends had to choose between the Communists and the Third International on the one hand and the reformist traitors on the other; they closely allied themselves with the latter. Nay, more, they showed themselves social democrats, enemies of the revolution.

It was owing to that equivocal and highly dangerous conduct of those gentlemen that the Socialist Party of Italy lost its power. The revolutionary members of the party had to look to the Communist Party for leadership.

Does that mean that the Communist Party has become weakened in your

country? We do not think so. We still firmly believe in the sincerity and the revolutionary spirit of the Italian working masses, although these masses have been betrayed and misled by false shepherds and traitors. It is true, we had illusions as regards some prominent persons who seemed most promising, as regards certain elements who had come to us by misunderstanding.

The elements we have lost in Italy are those who believed one could become a soldier of the Third International merely as a pastime or out of sheer wantonness without undertaking any definite obligations. The withdrawal of those unwelcome friends from our organisation has been of great advantage to us. Many of you trusting your leaders and believing you still belonged to the Third International have remained in the nets of the Socialist Party of Italy. If you had known that the Third International has excluded this party and that its leaders kept aloof from the world movement of the proletariat, you surely would not have remained in the ranks of the party, for your chief desire is to keep in close and uninterrupted contact with the workers of the whole world.

It is with pain and regret that we think of the Italian workers who do not yet belong to the Communist International. Our ardent call goes forth to them, and we are convinced that this much desired moment will soon be here.

Comrades, workers of Italy! The Third Congress of the Communist International has cleared up the misunderstanding of which you had become victims owing to the machinations of individuals who misused your revolutionary trust. We do not pay any attention to the tears by means of which the Unitarians want to muddle up our work. In agreement with the decisions of the Executive and of the International Congress we renounce the Socialist Party of Italy, and by means of this act we emphasize that in the world-wide revolutionary struggle the interests and welfare of one or several individuals cannot be considered; by means of this act we condemn those who did not hesitate to break your

revolutionary weapon for the sake of their petty personal interests.

The rapid development of events in your country day by day furnishes greater proof that the Second Congress of the Communist International was quite right in having certain fears and demanding the expulsion of all reformists from the communist parties.

The Socialist Party of Italy refused to listen to the Communists who demanded separation from the social democratic elements at Livorno, and now this party has become the tool of those elements. In Parliament the socialist groups stand up openly for class cooperation; thus the social democrats are preparing to share the power with the bourgeoisie; they crown their counter-revolutionary and treacherous work with dignity the result of which will be the seizure of power by the Italian Scheidemanns.

Though last year the Italian Socialist Party most energetically advocated the struggle against the bourgeoisie, it now confines itself to hazily calling for peace. Proudly, a token of strength, did its banners flutter in the whirlwind of the revolution; now they drop before the enemy almost without struggle. The revolutionary proletariat of Italy is represented by Turrati who in Parliament scoffs at your defeat and is trying to consolidate a friendly alliance with the bourgeoisie; it is represented by Treves who in the Chamber of Deputies in union with the bourgeoisie advises to starve Soviet-Russia into surrender and sings songs of praise to the counter-revolutionary Mensheviks of Georgia.

The proletariat of the whole world is a witness to the negotiations between the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders of the Italian labour party, which negotiations are carried on quite openly now; it is a witness to the machinations of adventurers who smirch the belief in Socialism and in the future of the proletariat by hunting for ministerial seats and by their ignominious conduct. Indignantly the world proletariat wonders what the Italians are waiting for, why they do not condemn their leaders and traitors and reduce them to shame and humiliation.

Lately, however, we have been able to observe a new tendency among the Italians, a reaction against the apathy and passivity which had facilitated the work of the reformists. This reaction will soon bring about sure results, at the very moment when the Italian Socialist Party, casting off the last shred of shame, permits its leaders to weigh the conditions upon which they might deliver you up to your murderers. At the very moment when the white guards and the socialists in close contact are getting ready to disarm the proletariat, the proletarians of Milan are giving the signal of revolt.

The heroic victims of Grosseto, whom we always remember with extasy are fostering our enthusiasm with their blood.

Thousands and thousands of workers eager for the fray followed the coffin of Louis Gradda who had died for our cause, and these workers show the Italian proletariat the course it has to choose.

Comrades and workers! The Third Congress of the Communist International answers the appeal of the Italian Socialist Party with this appeal unanimously adopted by the delegates of 45 countries.

The delegates have had opportunity to consider and weigh the speeches and explanations of the representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and of the Communist Party of Italy. They greatly admire the confidence and enthusiasm you have shown. Notwithstanding all the barriers put up between yourselves and us, notwithstanding the libel that was intended to smirch the International in your eyes, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opponent, the Communist Party of Italy has succeeded to build up a strong organisation and to form its section in every labour organisation to serve as a nucleus for agitation.

Numerous papers were making propaganda for the ideas of the Communist Party, explaining the fundamental theses of its activity and the ways of adapting them to the conditions in your country and the world over. The young Communist Party took part in all the events into which

the workers were drawn and, unlike many another party, it openly proclaimed its opinions and decisions full of scorn and hatred against its enemies; it denied any and all compromise to its opponents. In its struggle against fascism, the champion of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois privileges, the party has given brilliant proof of its power. It has supported all the great strikes and led them to victory.

Thus the Communist Party of Italy has supported the fundamental principles of the Third International in your ranks. Now you have both the means and the possibility to unite with the proletariat of the whole world.

The Communist International strives to unite all the communist workers of Italy under its banner, but it refuses to throw open its doors to the traitors, the false friends, the reformists and opportunists. Once more the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes an alternative to the Socialist Party of Italy; it demands that the Party decide once and for all whether it wishes to side with the Communist International or with the reformist and opportunist gang. Will it join the sworn enemies of the bourgeoisie or the open and secret friends of the master class? Is it for Moscow or for Amsterdam? For Communism demanding sacrifices and struggle but unfailingly leading to victory, or for social democracy that is a mixture of apathy, cowardice and weakness, for social democracy, the protector of everlasting slavery? But the Congress of the Third International knows no hesitation. The world crisis is developing, the storm grows stronger day by day, the final breakdown of capitalism is approaching; while the last heat lightning of the European war still illuminates the battlefields. a thunder in the distance is already announcing the coming of a new hurricane, of a new world war. Industry is incapable of regaining its balance, and more and more it crumbles to ruins.

In all countries the bourgeoisie violating its own laws tries to save its decaying power by means of fire and sword. The revolutionary groupings

become stronger and more definite. Bitter fights are impending, and the international revolutionary proletariat has to meet them armed to its teeth, freed from all its enemies (in the first place from the social democrats and opportunists) and united with its brethren who are fighting throughout the world under the leadership and control of the Communist International.

Is the revolutionary proletariat of Italy going to stand aloof from this struggle? Will it follow its reformist and opportunist leaders in their cowardice and treachery?

The Third Congress of the Communist International is quite at ease with regard to this, it does not doubt for a single moment that the Italian workers, and even those of them who, having been deceived, have remained in the Italian social democratic party till now, will do their revolutionary duty. They will not betray the confidence that the Russian proletariat and the proletariat of the world has placed in them. They will break away from the reformists, the social democrats, the counter-revolutionaries, the opportunist leaders of the Italian Socialist Party and will unite with the Communist Party. A hearty welcome awaits them in the large family of the Communist International.

Comrades, workers of the Socialist Party of Italy! The Communist International calls upon you to demand that a congress of your party be summoned immediately. Do not trust your leaders who will try to deceive you once more! To this congress elect only trustworthy proletarians who are in favour of the immediate expulsion of the reformists and of unconditional submission to the decisions of the Third World Congress of the International! Your Congress at Livorno has adopted the resolution of Bentivoglio and declared that it submits to the decision of the Comintern in advance. Now the Communist International has made its decision. Be on your guard! Take good care that Serrati and his gang do not evade the resolution of Bentivoglio which was sanctioned even by the Livorno Congress! Clean your ranks from the reformists, and build

up a great Communist Party! The proletariat of the whole world will rejoice at it. Workers of Italy, the fate of your party lies in your hands! Hasten! Form fighting groups of those who are for the Communist International! Repulse those fine speakers who but try to throw dust into your eyes! Do not be misled by the high-sounding phrases about "unity" that the reformists, the agents of capital, manipulate with. The Third Congress of the Communist International firmly relies on the revolutionary proletariat of Italy and sends hearty brotherly greetings to it.

Long live the revolutionary party of Italy!

Long live the Communist Party of Italy!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Germany: *Heckert, Fröhlich*. France: *Souvarine*. Czecho-Slovakia: *Burian, Kreibich*. Italy: *Terracini, Gennari*. Russia: *Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky*. Ukraine: *Shumsky*. Poland: *Glinsky*. Bulgaria: *Popov*. Yugoslavia: *Marcovicz*. Norway: *Shefflo*. Great Britain: *Bell*. America: *Baldwin*. Spain: *Merino Gracia*. Finland: *Sirola*. Holland: *Jansen*. Belgium: *Van Overstraaten*. Sweden: *Kilbom*. Lettland: *Stuchka*. Switzerland: *Arnold*. Executive of the International of Youth: *Münzenberg, Lekai*.

Appeal to the Proletariat of All the Nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia.

Comrades, working men and working women!

The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the fact that the Czech, Slovak, German, Magyar, Polish and Ukrainian workers of Czecho-Slovakia, as well as the poorer peasantry, have found their way to the Communist International in spite of all obstacles and difficulties.

In its turn the Executive Committee of the Communist International sends hearty greetings on behalf of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world to the revolutionary working class of all the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia, firmly convinced that the large and daily increasing militant army of the Communist International has received, owing to the joining of the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia, a valuable adjunct and enriched itself by a fresh detachment full of military daring.

Comrades! The division by nationalities of the proletarian organisations, this legacy of the accursed rule of the Habsburgs and the opportunist

traitors, the leaders of the old social democratic parties, so fatal to the class struggle of the proletariat, has led to the circumstance that you have come to the Communist International not as one single unit, but as two separate party organisations. However, the formation of a united committee and the fact that at the sessions of the World Congress both parties have begun to work together show that you will readily understand the resolution of the Congress to form immediately a commission on a basis of equality for the purpose of amalgamating the revolutionary proletariat of all the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia into a single Communist party. The Executive Committee will help you in this by word and deed.

The Communist International is fully aware of the special difficulties which the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia will have to overcome on its road to Communism. From the very start the movement of the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia was hampered by the economic ruin and the political and national yoke of the old thoroughly rotten

Habsburg state. After the first promising outburst the labour movement was directed into the channel of national opportunism and split up by the social democratic leaders. In this way they drove the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia during the world war into the ranks of the social patriots and nationalists. The end of the world war called forth a new wave of nationalism in the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia. The intoxication aroused by the national liberation and acquisition of political independence enabled the leaders of the social democracy to deceive the proletariat by unrealisable hopes, and to place its organisations at the disposal of the Czech capitalists and those of the Entente. The system of violence by means of which the founders of the Czecho-Slovak state established its frontiers drove the German, Hungarian and Polish workers into the arms of nationalism. The right of self-determination served the German patriots as a pretext for a union with the German bourgeoisie.

But the new state soon proved to be a purely capitalist and militarist one, and the cruel discouragement sobered the proletariat. The rulers of the new republic answered the first signs of deep discontent evinced by the proletariat by violent measures; the dictatorship of the Czech bourgeoisie with the base assistance of the social traitors crushed by bloodshed and imprisonment the first stormy outburst of the workers in December 1920. The proletariat then firmly turned toward the path of Communism. The German, Polish and Hungarian proletariat soon perceived the emptiness and worthlessness of the nationalist phraseology, and together with their vanguard they found their way to the Communist International.

Workers of Czecho-Slovakia! After overcoming tremendous odds by your energy and class-consciousness you have entered the ranks of the great army of the revolutionary proletariat of the world rallied under the banner of the Communist International. The latter is basing great hopes on you. The line of conduct of the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia, who owing to her

will, owing to her well developed industry, powerful agriculture and experienced and disciplined proletariat, represents one of the most important countries of Europe economically and politically, is destined to play a considerable role in the proletarian revolution in Europe. It depends on you to make the country in which you are living a stronghold of the proletarian revolution. The Communist International is convinced that the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia, penetrated with the ideas and principles of the proletarian revolution, will overthrow the bourgeoisie. Having acquired the political power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat you will create much more solid guarantees for the freedom and national existence of the Czecho-Slovak nation than the peace of Versailles and the unsolid mutual relations of the capitalist countries that are based on violence. A federation of soviet republics, the rule of the workers and the poorer peasants in the whole of Europe will form the solid invincible foundation of your freedom and national existence.

Workers of Czecho-Slovakia! The Communist International does not demand from you any revolutionary adventures or premature experiments. It is fully aware of all the difficulties of a proletarian revolution in Czecho-Slovakia. It calls upon you to prepare carefully for the forthcoming decisive battles against all the might of a capitalist state and simultaneously to carry on the struggle on the basis of the ever increasing acuteness of the class inconsistencies, the economic crisis and the onslaughts of the capitalists, as well as against the political machinations of the bourgeoisie and its flunkies.

Every circumstance must be utilised for this purpose; at every even most insignificant collision the Communist party must show by its action that it is the most faithful, the most energetic defender of the proletariat, its most trustworthy leader. In this way it will win the confidence of the masses and rally them around its banners. It is necessary to educate the masses by means of the struggle and

propaganda, action and organisation. Then the victory in the decisive fight will be ours.

But the immediate and most important duty is the abolishment of the last national partitions dividing the Communist proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia and its amalgamation into a single solid block. This amalgamation must not bear a formal-organisational character only, it must be closely welded by the unity of the programme, by communist internationalism. The proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia must offer the most stubborn resistance to the bourgeois tendency towards national oppression; it must not allow any renewal of the old game of the ingloriously perished Habsburg State. The proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia must set the revolutionary union of the Communist proletariat of all countries against the reactionary union of the bourgeoisie of Czecho-Slovakia and the capitalism of the Entente. The German, Polish and Hungarian workers must also prevent their bourgeoisie from utilising the ruling position of the Czech bourgeoisie for a nationalist agitation; they must resolutely oppose all tendencies towards the separation from the state of Czecho-Slovakia and during all the phases of the proletarian revolution they must fight side by side with the Czecho-Slovak proletariat. They will thus become the bridge joining the revolutionary Czecho-Slovak proletariat with the revolutionary proletariat of Germany, Poland and Hungary. Closely welded together in a spirit of international revolutionary Communism the federation of the revolutionary working class of all nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia as a single Communist party will become an invincible organisation of the proletarian revolution. For the

final victory it is also unconditionally necessary to win over the central organisations of the Czecho-Slovak trade unions, as well as the separate German trade unions and bring about their fusion into a single international militant organisation affiliated with the International of Red Trade Unions.

Comrades! Your affiliation with the Communist International has placed these great tasks before you. Their accomplishment is the necessary condition of your victory. In accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International these tasks are facing the proletariat of all countries. We are fully convinced that you will do your duty, and we hope that Czecho-Slovakia, like five hundred years ago Bohemia and her people, will again become a centre of Communism in Europe.

Forward to work! To the fight!

Long live the single international Communist party of Czecho-Slovakia!

Long live the Czecho-Slovak republic of workers and the poorer peasants!

Executive of the Communist International:

Germany: *Heckert, Fröhlich*. France: *Souvarine*. Czecho-Slovakia: *Burian, Kreibich*. Italy: *Terracini, Gennari*. Russia: *Zinoviev, Bukharin, Lenin, Trotsky*. Ukraine: *Shumsky*. Poland: *Glinsky*. Bulgaria: *Popov*. Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz*. Norway: *Schefflo*. England: *Bell*. America: *Baldwin*. Spain: *Merino Gracia*. Finland: *Sirola*. Holland: *Jansen*. Belgium: *Van Overstraaten*. Sweden: *Kilbom*. Latvia: *Stuchka*. Switzerland: *Arnold*. Austria: *Korichoner*.

Executive of the International of Youth:

Munzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17th 1921.

To the Members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

Dear comrades!

The Third World Congress of the Communist International renewed the discussion on the question of relations between your party and the Commu-

nist International. After carefully weighing all the circumstances it has come to the conclusion that the present conditions which obtain according to the resolution of the Executive Committee

of November 25th 1920, that were to be generally considered temporary, are not to be tolerated any longer. The Congress is of the opinion that it cannot indefinitely recognise two parties in one country, that are mutually disagreeing with one another. According to the unanimous decision of the Congress it would be a crime against the German as well as against the world revolution not to put an end to the split of the German Communists, especially after it was explained that only narrow sectarianism is standing in the way of unity of both parties. Consequently, the Congress decided unanimously to bring about the amalgamation of both bodies as soon as possible. In view of the fact that the United Communist Party of Germany expressed its willingness to unite with the Communist Labour Party it was decided to propose to the latter to call a party conference within two months to decide on the question of unity. Should the party conference, contrary to all expectations, decide against solidarity of the German Communists, then the Communist Labour Party can no longer be recognised as a sympathising component part of the Communist International.

Comrades! Your representatives to the World Congress handed in a declaration just before the closing of the sessions in which they attacked in the strongest terms the World Congress and the Communist International and also declared the final decision of the Congress to be not only unacceptable, but even not worthy of discussion. To the Executive Committee of the Communist International this declaration seems only like an attempt to prevent at the very beginning the membership of the Communist Labour Party of Germany to decide freely as to whether or not you, comrades, wish to join the compact mass of the fighting millions of revolutionary Communists of the world. To gain their end, the authors of the statement have even taken recourse to misinterpreting altogether the proceedings of the Congress and its results. This is how they judge the Congress: "It is only the characteristic continuation of the wrong

road already started on by the Second Congress, which is: away from revolution to reformism, from struggle to tactics of diplomacy and the illusionary covering up of all contradictions and antagonisms."

Such an assertion is wrong in all respects, and it can be proven by facts. The Congress has most energetically continued the struggle against opportunism. It affirmed the exclusion of the Serratists from the Communist Party of Italy. It has greeted the March action in Germany as a revolutionary step of the German Communists; it confirmed the exclusion of Paul Levi from the United Communist Party of Germany and demanded from the followers of Levi strict obedience to the party discipline. While it is true that the Congress considered it its duty to point out the mistakes that have been committed during the March movement, which mistakes the United Communist Party of Germany recognised by its self-criticism, but it was done in order that the whole International could learn by these mistakes so that even our errors might serve the purposes of revolutionary development. The Congress has made it obligatory to all parties to prepare thoroughly their actions, in order to emboss by means of the latter the strongest impression upon the proletarian masses thus assuring the most political success. It is ridiculous to maintain that the Congress has thereby entered "on the road from revolution to reformism; from the struggle to tactics of diplomacy." The Congress is warning against premature uprisings because it foresees the sharpening of the political struggle in all countries of Western Europe and because it considers it the duty of the Communist Parties under the present conditions to gather and prepare the revolutionary forces for the final battle.

The attitude of the Congress on the Czechish question was dictated by the same expectation of the coming decisive struggles. The Congress has sharply criticised all the weaknesses and errors of the Czechish party and its leaders, who are still assuming an opportunist attitude. But it also had to recognise that the Czechish left wing

has in a short time developed towards Communism, that the Czechish proletariat has proven its revolutionary character by its heroic struggle, but that it has had no opportunity as yet to recognise clearly the opportunist tendencies in its own ranks and to free itself consciously from them. Under such circumstances the Congress could not take upon itself the responsibility to recommend a split in the Czecho-Slovak party. On the contrary, it had to take care and unite the whole revolutionary proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia, without distinction of nationality, into one closely welded Communist party in order to carry through the ranks of that body a clear-conscious communist programme. The Communist International will most energetically support this cleansing process within the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia by any and all means, and will stop at nothing that might be deemed necessary for the development of this party. Only a blind sectarianism, only a voluntary closing of the eyes to facts and possibilities for development that there are in Czecho-Slovakia, can call forth a protest against the decision of the Congress.

It was the same blindness to facts, the same sectarianism that prompted the attacks of your representatives to the Congress on all other important questions. Unfortunately all this still continues to correspond with the general conduct of the leading circles of your party. We see therein a great danger for the revolutionary movement, and we think that you will also understand how greatly your leaders are mistaken. Because in the entire International not one party could find it possible to join with the tactics expounded by the C. L. P. G. Furthermore, on deciding questions, the arguments of your leaders were equal to those of overt counter-revolutionists and Mensheviks, or else they meet with their desires. We can prove this by a number of instances.

To the much used phrases so often repeated in your organisation could be added the one of "the struggle with the leaders in the labour movement." This struggle was thoroughly

justified in the old social democratic party, the leaders of which were up to their ears in the mud of reformism and opportunism and became a hindrance to the working class in its struggle with the capitalist class, paralyzing the workers and betraying them to imperialism. We have fought tenaciously and with all our energy against those treacherous leaders, and the Communist International is continuing this struggle with all its might. Do you not really want to understand that the Communist International is absolutely in need of the closest union of all its forces in order to lead to the end its great struggle for the fall of the bourgeoisie? Have you not learned from your own struggle, from the March movement, that only the strictest centralisation within the party can ensure the successful carrying out of the fight? Are you not stopping to think over the fact that the traitors of the revolutionary struggle, the Hilferdings and Crispiens, are also fighting against centralisation and the dictatorship of leaders as your leaders are fighting against the Communist International and your fraternal organisation, the U. C. P. G.? Do you not hear the same hue and cry against the dictatorship of Moscow from the mouths of the Independent traitors, the renegade Levi and all other counter-revolutionists, beginning with Scheidemann and ending with Helfferich? They are all crying and yelling because they know that the strength of the revolutionary proletariat lies in the complete centralisation of the Communist Party and the Communist International, in their compactness, in their iron discipline. They are clamouring and shouting because they wish to inject confusion into the ranks of the militant workers. The struggle which is to bring about the abolishment of the bourgeoisie is the most serious class struggle which the world has ever seen. It demands a military organisation from the vanguard of the working class. He among you who is against centralisation, does not understand what great problems, what stupendous efforts are yet facing the working class; he is working toward the splitting up of

your forces, toward your sure weakening in the final battle. For the sake of the future of the revolution, and for that of your own victory you must break with these petty bourgeois views, you must join the ranks of the army of the revolutionary proletariat. Unity and solidarity in the struggle can be brought about only by the strictest centralisation of a revolutionary organisation, while your leaders want to bring it about by the formation of small and "clean" parties. Take off the spectacles that your leaders have put on you and consider the conditions in Germany with unprejudiced eyes. You know how deeply the revolutionary idea is rooted in the German proletariat. If you wish to give up the idea of becoming a mass party, you thereby disown the masses generally; thus, you nullify your struggle against Menshevism which means that you will contribute toward leaving the broad proletarian masses, who are intrinsically revolutionary, to the command of the capitalist henchmen and traitors. It is not true that mass parties cannot be revolutionary militant bodies. Look at your kindred party, the U. C. P. G. Only a few months after its formation, even before the organisational difficulties of unity had been overcome, before the process of amalgamation had been completed, it had fought shoulder to shoulder with you and had set an example of heroism to the whole German proletariat. You must recognise also, and the members of your central committee have frankly acknowledged it, that certain deficiencies in the fighting capacity of your party were to be noted in the same degree as in the U. C. P. G. Look at the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia whose acceptance in the Communist International your representatives consider as a proof of the weakness and opportunism of the Communist International. This mass party with a membership of over 400,000, which—we admit—is yet in the process of development, has carried on a heroic struggle against the counter-revolution in December of last year, having suffered many sacrifices to the cause of Communism, and it has set to its masses a clear

example of revolutionary activity. Comrades, you will be able to fulfil your revolutionary duty to the end only in case you do not estrange yourself from the masses, only if you mobilise all the revolutionary forces of the German proletariat and enlist them in the revolutionary army, thus forming a large Communist mass party.

What are the results of your two years' propaganda work? Do you really think that with the membership that you have acquired up to now, and at the rate of your development (is it developing?) you will be able to form the vanguard of the German revolution? Do you really think that with such forces it is possible to solve the gigantic problems of a victorious proletariat? You evidently must be simply giving up all hope in yourselves and in the revolution, if you do not renounce the spirit of sectarianism, which is binding you hand and foot.

We ask you what are the results of your work in the labour unions? Remember how often we have insistently and in vain argued with you on the principles of revolutionary trade union work. You have succeeded in carrying out your ideas on the "unions" in some of the German provinces. You have succeeded in this by stupendously straining all of your forces, and we ask you of what significance are the few hundred thousands that you have gathered in the unions in comparison with the eight millions which are organised in the German trade unions? And you know only too well,—the Communist Labour paper itself says so—that these unions are far from being Communist organisations and that during the March activities many of them have not been up to the notch. Unions that estrange themselves from the working masses that are organised in the trade unions cannot hope to attract to their side the working class. Learn by the example of the organisation that your leaders are always holding up to you as a model, namely: the Industrial Workers of the World in America. This organisation is already 15 years carrying on the struggle on the platform that is taken by you as a basis for your

work in the trade unions. And what are the results? It embraces at present exactly 15,000 members. May this be a warning and lesson to you! Learn from what you may see in Germany itself. We know that you are being slandered as unionists, you are being persecuted as such. But it is nothing in comparison with the persecution of the Communists who are carrying on the struggle within the trade unions against the trade union bureaucracy and for winning the former over to the revolution. The enemies of the revolution understand their own interests better than the workers do theirs; this is an old well-established fact. The expulsion of our propagandists, of whole groups, is proof of the fear of the trade union bureaucrats thanks to the Communist activities within the trade unions. If you cannot be convinced by our arguments on principle in this question, then you should be convinced by the above mentioned experience. The fight of the Communists within the trade unions has to a large extent contributed toward the amalgamation of the Social Democratic party of Germany and that of the Independent Social Democrats. The Hilferdings were compelled to move further to the right and to unmask their political physiognomy. Both these counter-revolutionary bodies still have a solid footing in the trade unions. When it will be taken away from them the power of their parties will be broken. The conquest of the trade unions is one of the prerequisites for the conquest of power. All complaints against the "opportunism" of our trade union work, all the praise of your own "steadfastness" are nothing but vain boasting to conceal your own weakness.

Dear comrades! Your leaders wish to tear you away from the Communist International; they sent your representatives to the Congress with instructions which from the very beginning amounted to a declaration of war against the Communist International. What arguments did they advance against the latter? Practically the same nonsense that is being repeated by the counter-revolutionists and Menshe-

viks the world over, namely: the ridiculous assertion that the Communist International is nothing but a tool for the foreign policies of Soviet Russia. Comrades, it is the same accusation that was brought up by Levi in his treacherous criticism of the March movement. If Levi declared at the time that the March uprising was the work of Russian emissaries, as Soviet Russia deemed it desirable to call forth an auxiliary movement in the West, then you, at least, knowing the whole history of the March struggle, in which you yourselves have participated, you, surely, know well how ridiculous and at the same time how mean this accusation is. But the charges advanced by your leaders to the effect that our Russian comrades are trying to carry through some petty policies of compromise in the International in order to win the good graces of the Western capitalists are no less ridiculous and mean. Such ideas can only give birth in the heads of political youngsters. The Russian comrades are sufficiently experienced in politics to know that the sympathies of the capitalists for Soviet Russia cannot be bought by decent conduct or by readiness to repent. They know very well that any concession on the part of the capitalist government can only be wrested by force, and this force is that of the Soviet Government, the Red army and, to a considerable degree, the power of the revolutionary energy and success of the proletariat of all capitalist countries.

All hopes of Russia are based on the uprising and victory of the Western European proletariat and, in so far as the fate of Soviet Russia is bound up with the tactics of the International in the West, the policies of our Russian comrades in the International must be that of striving to bring about the rapid victory of the working class in the West. It is not the International that is the tool of the Soviet Republic, but Soviet Russia is the greatest stronghold of the Communist International. It cannot be otherwise, inasmuch as the fate of the Soviet Republic and that of the Communist International are in the hands of serious statesmen.

Do you know, comrades, who was the first to maintain that the Communist International is carrying out the policies of the Soviet Republic? It was Wolfheim and Laufenberg, who stepped out in the role of saviours of the German revolution. Having begun their evolution by these accusations against the International they gradually became actual anti-Bolsheviks and the meanest traitors of the German revolution. There is a certain logic in this development and therefore we have to warn you also against the views that are being developed by comrade Gorter in his writings which have appeared recently in some of the publications of your party. This theorist, according to Roland-Holst, while sympathising with your revolutionary spirit, is inclined to be lenient in regard to many of your mistakes and weaknesses; Gorter is far from life and reality, says Roland-Holst, and out of the Cronstadt mutiny he has created an argument against the rule of the Bolshevik party in Russia. (We do not know whether you agree with Gorter on this subject, or not?) We tell you, however, that precisely the Cronstadt mutiny stands as an irrefutable proof of the necessity of the realisation of the proletarian dictatorship by a strong and disciplined Communist party. The Cronstadt mutiny and the whole unrest whose object in the spring of this year was to shatter the Soviet power were carried on under the slogan of a struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie and for a non-party soviet power. The workers and peasants who have taken part in the strikes and mutinies were undoubtedly honest in proclaiming this slogan, but it has been established that the entire movement had been immediately supported, reinforced and utilised by the Mensheviks, the social revolutionists and the blackest of counter-revolutionists. There were weighty reasons for this. All these counter-revolutionary elements know perfectly well that a Soviet power that brings to life the slogan of "class rule" and not that of party, in other words, not being supported by the organised power of the proletarian

struggle, is doomed to perish. It will inevitably become the victim of the counter-revolution. There are plenty of instances to prove this: for example, the Hungarian and the Bavarian dictatorships of the proletariat. They furnish indisputable evidence in favour of the correctness of our assertion. Furthermore, Cronstadt would have become a catastrophe for the whole Soviet power and would have stopped the march of the world revolution for an indefinite length of time if the Russian Communist Party would not have held the power in its hands and if it were impossible, thanks to the military mobilisation of the party, by an unprecedented heroic blow to transform the Cronstadt action from a fatal threat into a counter-revolutionary episode. When it is a question of a life and death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, then the supremacy of the working class may be acquired, held and protected from innumerable attempts against it only by means of the most class-conscious, daring and self-sacrificing stopping-at-nothing elements of the proletariat organised into a Communist party. You are destined to accomplish this task, the highest and most difficult one in history. Therefore we call upon you to free yourselves from those who strive to hinder you, as well as from the prejudices that are binding you. You are criticising us, and we know that in many respects you are quite right. We are seriously striving to remove those defects in all the Communist parties which you are justly pointing out to us. The short history of the Communist International gives sufficient proofs of this. But we say to you at the same time: be critical also in respect to your leaders, to yourselves, and do not reject the arguments of experienced revolutionists without verifying them. Furthermore, bear in mind that in criticising the policy of the Communist International, your theorists are using the same arguments as the contemptible traitors, the Mensheviks, etc. It was so on the question of tactics in the trade unions, on that of centralisation in the party, on dictatorship of the

party or the class, on Cronstadt, etc. We do not in the least doubt the revolutionary spirit of these comrades, but whether they talk constantly on historical materialism, or whether they assert that Marxism alone is not sufficient to solve the problems of revolution, they are unable to hide their spiritual kinship with the petty bourgeois of the right or left wing. And sooner or later they will go the same way.

Dear comrades! For the short period of your existence as a party, you have passed a long course of development. You have excluded Laufenberg and Wolfheim, Rühle and Pfemfert from your ranks. Did you not defend them against us in the beginning, when we foretold what course they would take? Now you see how right you were for having excluded them from the ranks of the struggling proletariat. They are proving this by their actions. They are still continuing their revolutionary high-sounding talk, but practically they are in the camp of the counter-revolutionists, abusing you, criticising your best and most important revolutionary activities, desecrating the graves of your fallen heroes. You broke with them when they endeavoured to stop the way for you to the Communist International. At present you are again facing the question: for or against the Communist International? And we say to you: each one of you is a welcome guest of ours, we do not shut our doors before any one of you. But, believe us, those who will prevent you from coming to us, will follow the same course as Laufenberg and Rühle. Comrades, we fully realise the difficulty of the decision which we are demanding of you. You must join the United Communist Party of Germany against which you have been carrying on a struggle for years. We are de-

manding this decision in the interests of the revolution. We know quite well how slowly the wounds heal after such a party struggle. But of what importance are old scars in comparison with fresh wounds dealt to your party and to the United Communist Party of Germany in a common open fight? Common sacrifices, blood shed together must serve to unite you. The common struggle which unites you must be stronger than the theories which separate you. The United Communist Party of Germany has proven that your doubts with regard to its fighting capacities are unjust. You have no longer the right to shun it now. You have to make your choice at once: either to increase the revolutionary forces of the German proletariat by uniting or to split them. We are demanding your decision in the name of the world revolution, in the name of the victory of the proletariat.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President: G. Zinoviev.

Germany: *Heckert*. France: *Souvarine*. Czecho-Slovakia: *Hampel*. Italy: *Gennari*. Russia: *Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky*. Spain: *Merino Garcia, Cesar Rodrigo Gonzales*. Ukraina: *Shumsky*. Poland: *Glinsky*. Bulgaria: *Popov*. Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz*. Norway: *Schefflo*. Sweden: *Linderuth*. England: *Bell*. America: *Baldwin*. Finland: *Sirola*. Holland: *Jansen*. Roumania: *Badulescu*. Latvia: *Stuchka*. Switzerland: *Arnold*. Austria: *Korichoner*. Georgia: *Zhakaya*. Lithuania: *Mitzkevicz-Kapsukas*. Persia: *Sultan-Zadeh*. Esthonia: *Pögelman*. Denmark: *Jorgensen*. India: *Roy*. Greece: *Dimitratos*.

Moscow.

To the Convention of the United Communist Party of Germany at Jena.

Dear comrades,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is hereby sending its hearty greetings to the valiant party of the German proletariat.

On the day of the opening of your convention the Executive Committee sends special greetings to the thousands of comrades, members of the United Communist Party of Germany, who

are now in prison and put there by the government of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats for having carried on their heroic struggle against the yoke of capitalism.

The Executive of the Communist International considers it its duty to submit to your convention its views on a number of pressing questions of the movement.

I. The Significance of the Third World Congress of the Communist International.

At the present moment the bourgeois and socialist press is giving varicoloured interpretations to the resolutions of the recently closed Third World Congress. Your convention will have the possibility of hearing the detailed reports of your delegates. We hope that these reports will convince you of the fact that the Third Congress was equal to the complicated tasks which were facing it.

The Third Congress met in a period of transition when the rate of development of the revolutionary movement has slackened a little and when at the same time the former small groups and organisations affiliated with the Communist International have grown into serious mass proletarian parties. After a most careful analysis of the economic and political situation, the Third Congress once more came to the inevitable conclusion that the world proletarian revolution is advancing and that its advent is as inevitable as that of the morning after the night. But at the same time after carefully investigating the movement in a number of countries during the elapsed year, the conclusion arrived at by the Third Congress is that it is necessary for our parties working in Western Europe to prepare their actions *much more carefully and seriously* than they have heretofore. Our parties in Western Europe have against them their bourgeoisie armed to its very teeth. This bourgeoisie is everywhere and at all times the supporter of the social democrats and independents. The enemy in Western Europe is incomparably stronger than he was in Russia in 1917. He is most cunning, possessing excellent strategists,

and its main object is to challenge our young parties prematurely to the decisive struggle in order to weaken them by some bloodletting and to crush them before they will have been able to win the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

An offensive war against capitalism is most necessary—said the Third World Congress. Whoever is opposed to offensive measures against capitalism is no revolutionist, no Communist—he is a servant of the capitalists. But in order that the offensive should meet with success, our parties in Western Europe must prepare it much more carefully. *The main task consists in winning over to our side the majority of the proletariat and especially the majority of the workers organised in the trade unions.*

It is necessary to show great tact and patience in order to overcome this task, namely, the winning over of the majority of the proletariat. When we shall have the majority of the workers on our side then the bourgeoisie and the social traitors will not escape their desert in spite of all their strategy.

“To the masses”, such is the chief call of the Third World Congress,—into the very thick of the proletarian masses; into the depths of the trade unions, and for the conquest of the majority in all these organisations at whatever cost and in spite of all..

Our opponents from the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals are now trying to interpret the resolutions of the Third Congress as tending towards the right.

Well, let them say what they will. The working masses will join our ranks the faster, and we shall be able the more rapidly to overcome the tasks set before us by the Third Congress, namely: the winning over of the majority of the workers in each country.

II. The Third Congress and the United Communist Party of Germany.

A considerable place in the discussions of the Third Congress was allotted to the labour movement in Germany and to the differences within the United Communist Party of Germany.

The German delegation came to the Congress soon after the end of the March battles, fresh with the impression of the struggle. The attitude of the Third Congress with regard to the events in March is stated with sufficient clearness in its resolution on the matter. The latter did not abstain from pronouncing the severest criticism on the mistakes which had been committed during the March action; it condemned harshly and most emphatically all attempts to conceal these mistakes.

The Third International differs in this respect from all other organisations in that it never stops before self-criticism and fearlessly denounces all mistakes committed by any of the parties affiliated with it. The German workers and the workers of the world will be able to see from the attitude of the Third Congress towards the March action that we have now a serious international proletarian organisation *which is capable of studying the movement in each country*, is able to see both the strong and the weak sides of the movement, is capable to rectify mistakes and does not conceal the weak sides of one or the other party.

The Third Congress fully repudiated the "theory" of offensive action at whatever cost and demanded that the United Communist Party of Germany should modify its bearings in the sense that we have mentioned above. A great majority of the members of the delegations of your party at the Third Congress agreed with the resolutions passed by the latter, and we are convinced that an overwhelming majority of your convention will also join this resolution. For an international militant proletarian organisation such as the Communist International it is necessary that each component part of it should conform its actions to the decisions of the whole.

III. Two Tendencies in the United Communist Party of Germany.

Two tendencies from the straight line have become clearly marked recently in your party. On the one hand there are the ultra "left-wing" comrades, endeavouring to acquire the leadership

in the Berlin organisation who talk nothing but platitudes and empty phrases. The whole history of your movement during the past year shows that the party must pay a great deal more attention to its Berlin organisation, than it has done up to now.

The Berlin workers-Communists supported by the entire party will be able to render all such idle clamourers harmless. These ultra "left wing" comrades remind one strongly of the group of Russian "recallists" which has played a certain rôle in the Russian movement during the years between the two revolutionary waves. The characteristic features of Menshevism are well known to our European comrades. "Menshevism" has become an international conception. Our European comrades will have to acquire a closer acquaintance with another Russian "tendency" which may in its turn also become an international one; we are speaking of the "recallists". A group of recallists had broken away from the party of the Bolsheviki in 1909 and carried on an independent existence for a short time. Having started with an ultra-"left" criticism against the Bolsheviki, the recallists practically united with the Mensheviki against the revolutionary nucleus of the Russian party. The recallists preached against parliamentarism, against the utilisation of all legal means; they were ever ready with ultra-"left" nonsense, but they did not understand that in a period between two revolutionary upheavals a proletarian party must patiently and insistently rally and prepare its forces, must penetrate into the masses and not turn away from the minutest details of the daily work of winning over the majority of the workers to its side. Later on a considerable part of the recallists realised their errors and returned to the ranks of the Bolshevik party.

The object of the existence of the Communist International is to enable some parts of it to learn by the mistakes of others. In the period which the German labour movement is passing through now, this "recallist" tendency may bring incalculable harm to the party.

The other tendency which has manifested itself in your party—is the one of opportunism. Paul Levi is a most vivid example of this tendency. The Third Congress has finally excluded him from your party and from the ranks of the Communist International. The resolution to that effect was passed unanimously. If at one time it might have seemed that the chief accusation against Paul Levi was that of having monstrously violated the party discipline, now it is being proven most clearly by each number of the journal published by him that it is not solely a matter of violation of party discipline. In a spirit of Menshevism Paul Levi has even gone to the extent of criticising the policy of concessions and the policies of the Soviet government in general. Each line of Paul Levi's writings smacks with the same Menshevik point of view also with regard to the other integral parts of the Communist International. The policies of the Soviet Government and those of the Russian Communist Party are not a matter of concern to Russians alone, it is surely a question of international importance. One of the questions of the order of the day of the Third Congress of the Communist International was that with regard to the inner policies of the Russian Soviet government. A resolution on the subject was passed by the Congress unanimously. A Menshevik attitude towards the Soviet power in Russia will inevitably lead to Menshevik views on all the other important questions of international policy and the Communist movement. P. Levi has gone so far as to deny the necessity of organising an International Council of Red Trade Unions, that is to say, he went over to the side of the yellow Amsterdam. Touching upon the question of taxes and other questions of internal policy in his journal he has gone so far as to maintain that in the immediate future the task of the Communist Party of Germany is that of a struggle for reforms on the basis of the present system. Briefly, we are now witnessing the birth and rather rapid growth of a semi-Menshevik wing which is attempting to get in

the foreground of the United Communist Party of Germany.

We need not waste superfluous words on the subject of P. Levi himself: he has not as yet relinquished his seat in parliament notwithstanding the repeated resolutions not only of his own party, but those of the Third World Congress as well. Levi continues to hold on to his parliamentary credentials, in spite of the fact that at the given moment the holding on of same is equal to having stolen them. Levi has been excluded from the party.

With regard to the conduct of some of Levi's partisans, your convention will have to take some decisive steps on the matter. The Third Congress of the Communist International has forbidden any collaboration whatever with Levi's organs. A group of members of your party have declared that they will now write anonymously in Levi's journal. Such behaviour does not serve as a proof of courage on the part of those who take recourse to it... But the party will surely find some ways and means to put an end to such unbecoming conduct.

In a number of conferences with all the comrades from Germany the presidium of the Third Congress and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia have come to a complete understanding on the basis of the resolutions of the Third Congress. These resolutions must at all costs be carried out loyally, honestly and conscientiously as becomes genuine revolutionists. The Third Congress further decreed that the most serious and energetic measures should be adopted against all those who shall be guilty of any infringement of the discipline of the United Communist Party of Germany.

It is up to your convention in Jena to see that this resolution is actually carried out.

All those who honestly desire to see these resolutions brought into effect cannot put up any demands with regard to the equal make-up of the Central Committee, nor can they in general act as if they were contracting parties. A Party Congress is the

highest tribunal of the organization, and its resolutions must be binding to all.

IV. The Immediate Tasks of the United Communist Party of Germany.

However important may have been the differences which have emanated in connection with the March movement, the problem of the party is not that of looking backward. The party must ever look forward. Thus the differences of the past will be the sooner forgotten, the more the party will be able to concentrate its entire attention on the new important and immediate problems of the movement.

The question of new taxes is becoming an important one in the internal policy of Germany. The United Communist Party must manage to be in the foreground on this question; while strengthening its contact with the masses and taking part in the development of the everyday struggles the party must put forth a *genuine revolutionary* and not a reformist programme. The party must carry on a strong agitation in favour of the idea that the payment of the taxes, the payment of the indemnity imposed by the Entente on Germany should be laid on the shoulders of the German capitalists, and not on those of the German workers and poorer classes in general. The party must advance the demand that not only *all the workers but also all those who have participated in the war as rank and file soldiers* should be exempted from the payment of any taxes whatever.

On the ground of agitation against all financial burdens the party must pave the way for itself to win over on its side that part of the population over which it has up to now wielded insufficient influence. The attitude towards the tax policy must be utilised by the party as a means of showing up to the workers of Germany all the depth of the treachery of the social democrats and independents.

The animated discussion which has recently been raised with regard to the proposed fusion between the Social

Democratic Party of Germany and that of the Independent Social Democrats is placing new tasks before the German Communist Party. Naturally, in so far as this fusion is being prepared by the leaders of the two above mentioned parties, it is only a new attempt to deceive the workers. The Communists should be able to expose this new attempt to fool the unsophisticated. But at the same time they must understand that the various ever growing interpretations concerning the fusion of these two parties are symptoms of serious events. If at the top, the Scheidemanns and Hilferdings are talking so loudly of fusion, this means that below, in the very thick of the proletariat, a deep fermentation is going on and leading to a real uniting of the proletarian ranks.

This is also quite natural. In 1914 before the beginning of the imperialist slaughter, the social democrats called forth a split among the world proletariat by going over to the side of their "own" governments. By splitting up the international proletariat the social democrats helped "their" bourgeoisie to carry on the imperialist war. In 1918, with the beginning of serious revolutionary movements in Europe, the social democrats and the independents again split up the workers. The German social democrats would not have been able to disperse the newly formed Soviets of Workers Deputies in Germany if they had not managed to split and divide the German proletariat. Three years have gone by since 1918, three long years of privations and discouragement for the German workers. The German workers feel—and the way the German proletariat rose against the Kapp counter-revolutionary uprising has practically proven it—that unless the unity of the proletarian ranks be restored, there can be no talk of new achievements, nor of a successful resistance against the advance of capitalism. Hence their deep yearning for unity. The social democrats and independents are sometimes possessed with a kind of intuition. Realising the vague aspirations in the depths of the proletarian masses, the Scheidemanns and Hilferdings are again

trying to deceive the workers, by playing the comedy of uniting the leaders in order later on to try again to give up the German proletariat to treachery and plunder.

In connection with these circumstances the task of the German Communist Party is becoming more difficult; it must not only denounce the unity of Scheidemann and Hilferding, it must place itself at the head of these aspirations for solidarity of ranks. The slogan of *Unity from the bottom* must be set up against the comedy of unification of the social patriots and independents at the top. At each step of the actual every-day proletarian struggle the Communists must put forth a programme around which the widest working masses would be able to unite.

Do you want unity, fellow-workers? You are right—without it you will not be able to conquer the bourgeoisie. Well, let us unite on the issue that the costs of the imperialist war should be paid by the bourgeoisie, and not by the proletariat; let us unite for the disarming of the sons of the bourgeoisie; let us come together on the slogan: control over production. You have no proper dwelling-places—let us prepare for the confiscation of the houses of the bourgeoisie. You see that the bourgeois parliament is a weapon for the enslavement of the masses—let us demand the organisation of Soviets of Workers Deputies, etc. etc.

Such must be the work of agitation of the German Communists with regard to these questions.

The question of relief for the famine-stricken regions of Soviet Russia is the next most important political question. The campaign is only just beginning, and it will undoubtedly lead to a political struggle. The international social democracy and the independents, as well as their supporters, the bourgeoisie, are pulling down their masks day by day and showing the real meaning of their "support".

The United Communist Party of Germany must take its place at the head of the movement and unite around itself all the workers who really want to help Soviet Russia.

The work in the Trade Unions as carried on up to now by the German Communists has not been sufficiently intense. You have not attained in Germany even such results, as have been already accomplished by the left revolutionary wing of the trade union movement in France. The immediate and important tasks of your party are the following: more organisation in the matter of winning over the trade unions; to penetrate into each department of each trade union; to wrest the trade unions out of the hands of the social democrats and independents by any and all means.

And finally the last problem of your party which we would like to point out to your convention is (as far as we can judge) *the question of organisation*. After the split in Halle the party has not had sufficient time and possibility to cement its component parts. It is necessary to give much more attention than has been given up to now to the formation of an illegal proletarian organisation, that would be able to guarantee the uninterrupted work of the party in spite of all kinds of reprisals on the part of the bourgeoisie, in spite of any conditions that might arise. It is necessary that the local branches and papers should be self supporting. It is necessary to give more clearness and form to the organisation, both to the central and local bodies. There should be centralisation, indeed, and not only resolutions passed on it. No serious results can be brought about without a strict proletarian discipline, without a genuine directing of the movement from one central point.

V. Attitude towards the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

(C. L. P. G.).

You, comrades, no doubt know that the Third Congress most decidedly demanded that the Communist Labour Party of Germany should join the ranks of the United Communist Party, and in the event of its not complying with this demand, it was to be considered as having withdrawn from the Communist International. Judging by press information, the Communist La-

bour Party will not comply with the above demand, and therefore it may be considered as having severed relations with the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International considers that it had acted quite right when it received the C. L. P. G. as a sympathising party a few months ago. We have proven to the whole world by the history of our mutual relations with this party that we have done all that was possible to attract the honest-minded revolutionary elements of that party to our ranks. And we are sure that in the end we shall really win over all the best workers of that body. The agitation which the leaders of the C. L. P. G. are now carrying on against the Communist International and the Soviet Government is placing them in the same category with most ordinary counter-revolutionists. The best workers, members of this party, will now understand, whither their so-called "leaders" will lead them.

The United Communist Party should take no notice of the agitation raised by the leaders of the C. L. P. G. It is necessary only to explain to the workers that there exist two tendencies among the anarchists of all countries; some of them supporting the Soviet Government and the Communist International, while others are carrying on an almost counter-revolutionary agitation against them. The leaders of the C. L. P. G. evidently belong to the latter group. We must endeavour to approach the rank and file of the C. L. P. G. and win them over to the ranks of the United Communist Party in spite of their "leaders", who will undoubtedly very soon find themselves in a quite definite camp. The well deserved semi-ironical attitude of revolutionists towards the clamorous agitation which the C. L. P. G. leaders are now raising must not prevent us from treating the rank and file of that party as comrades and paying them the greatest attention.

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A few months ago a dispute arose among the German Communists with regard to the question of the mutual

relations between the Communist International and the Italian Socialist Party.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International was able to prove by documentary evidence at the Third Congress the absolute correctness of its position on the Italian question and the erroneousness of the views which have been expressed against it on this subject. The Third Congress unanimously approved the action of the Executive in this matter, and the representatives of the German opposition acknowledged their mistake.

We are convinced that your convention in Jena will unanimously support the young Communist Party of Italy against those who are advocating centrist ideas in the Italian party.

Yours is the first assembly of a large mass Communist party after the Third Congress of the Communist International. The decisions of your gathering with regard to the resolutions passed by the Third World Congress will undoubtedly be of international importance.

We are sure that each of your resolutions will be dictated by the wish to assist the other Communist parties in their struggle and to help the Third Congress to overcome its difficult tasks.

However hard the transitory period may be, the Communist International will be able to solve the problems placed before it by history. The fraternal United Communist Party of Germany will manage to rally around its glorious banners all the class-conscious and militant elements of the German proletariat.

Draw up a straight line of conduct for the party and do not allow deviations to this or that side. Establish an iron proletarian discipline in your ranks and increase many-fold your work among the masses.

Organise, organise and again organise!

Penetrate deeper into the very thick of the proletarian masses!

Remember, that propaganda should not be counter-balanced to agitation. Good revolutionary propaganda and agitation serve to prepare successful action. A successful attempt in its turn

is the best means for strengthening the Communist propaganda and agitation.

The enemy will not accord us too much time for peaceful preparation,—make use of each hour... Decisive battles are ahead of us. After all the terrible defeats which the German proletariat has experienced, its desire now is not only to fight, but to win!

The United Communist Party of

Germany will know how to organise the victory of the German proletariat.

Long live the United Communist Party of Germany—one of the most valiant detachments of the Communist International!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President: *G. Zinoviev.*

Moscow, Aug. 13th 1921.

The Character of Our Newspapers.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International requests the central committees of all parties to acquaint the editors of our newspapers with the contents of this letter and to raise a discussion upon it.

The third resolution of the Congress of the Communist International dealing with the question of organisation contains a special chapter devoted to the question of our communist newspapers. The Executive Committee of the Communist International desires to supplement this resolution by this circular letter.

Newspapers play a great part in our agitation, particularly in those countries where we have one or more daily newspapers. Our organs, however, up till now have been very unsatisfactory. Have we created a *new type* of communist newspaper in Europe and America? The reply to this question must undoubtedly be in the negative. Most of our newspapers, in their exterior and in the method of conducting them, are very much like the old social democratic newspapers with the only difference that we endeavour to conduct a different "point of view". This is not enough. It is necessary that we create a *new type* of Communist organ, the staff of which shall be composed principally of workers, and which shall grow parallel with the growth of the mass labour movement.

Examine closely our most important daily organs: L'Humanité, L'Internationale, Ordine Nuovo, Politiken, Rabotnicheski Vestnik or even Rote Fahne.

Do these contain many letters from workers? Are these genuine popular newspapers in the best sense of the word? Does one feel in them the pulse of the present day labour movement?

Resolution 3 of the Congress of the Comintern dealing with the question of organisation quotes "Pravda" as it was issued in 1911, 1913 and as it was edited during the period intervening between the February and October revolutions is a classic example of a proletarian newspaper. What was the strong point of "Pravda" at that time? First and foremost, because it devoted more than half of its space to letters from working men and women from the factories. „Pravda“ was a special type of Communist newspaper. It performed functions which no other Russian newspaper performed. It differed even in its exterior from all other bourgeois and social democratic newspapers. Half a newspaper was written by working men and women, soldiers, sailors, cooks, cab-drivers and shop assistants.

What was said in these letters, written by skilled and so-called unskilled workers of the lower professions? These letters spoke of the every day life in the factory or work-shop, barracks or the factory districts. In simple

language, the details were given of the privation and oppression to which the workers are subjected. These letters exposed the petty tyranny of the minor officials in the factories and works. Taken as a whole these letters drew an impressive picture of the poverty and sufferings which the masses had to undergo. These letters, better than anything else in the world, expressed that growing and seething protest which afterwards burst out into the great revolution. The newspaper became the great teacher of the labouring masses, and the workers themselves have largely contributed toward it. It became the friend of the home in every labourers hut and in every proletarian tenement, at every factory, lathe and at every workers eating house.

It was only necessary for a letter to appear in our paper from a particular factory or barracks for the number in which it appeared to be greedily seized at that factory or barracks. The workers became accustomed to reading this correspondence. The publication of a letter concerning a particular factory would become quite an event for that factory. The exposure made in it would be read by party men and non-party men as well, and the newspaper would become a terror to all the oppressors of the workers and all the "officials."

We shall be told that in the West the publication of such letters would be difficult and almost impossible. In countries which have an old labour movement, say some comrades, such complaints are carried to the trade unions. In Germany, it is said that the workers are accustomed to report cases of injustice to the trade unions through their officials (*Vertrauensmänner*).

But the habits and customs of the workers in the West is quite a minor point. Difficulties should be overcome, and we must overcome them at all costs. We repeat, that we must create a *new type* of proletarian newspaper. A daily Communist newspaper must under no circumstances concern itself solely with so-called "high" politics. On the contrary, three quarters of the

paper must be devoted to the "every day" life of the workers. It is precisely because the workers up till now have been accustomed to carry their complaints to the trade unions which in a majority of cases, as is known, are dominated by the reformist agents of capital, we communists must strive to secure that this material flows into our communist newspapers. This will be one of the best methods of cutting the ground from under the feet of the trade union bureaucracy. Our daily newspapers must become real schools of communism. They must serve not only the political but also the economic struggle.

Our newspapers have to compete with bourgeois and other newspapers. We must give plenty of good material, well set up and readable. In one of the columns of the first page there should be a brief description of the contents of the number. We must systematically think out why the rank and file of the working class are attracted by such bourgeois newspapers as the "Morning Post" in England and "Le Journal" in France. We must learn from such papers as the "Daily Herald" which strives to serve all phases of the life of the workers and his family. We must also learn from bourgeois and social democratic newspapers for the purpose of competing with them. Furthermore, we must introduce something that is peculiarly *our own* and what the bourgeois and social democratic newspapers cannot give. *This is precisely the letters from working men and working women from the factories and works, letters from soldiers, etc.*

Another objection which we often encounter is that the rank and file of the workers in Western Europe are not accustomed to write, being in a habit to let this be done by their "Functionaries", their representatives. This objection, too, holds no water. The Western workers are incomparably more literate and educated than the Russian workers used to be a few years ago. If we were able to accustom the Russian workers to correspond with their papers, there can be no difficulty for developing a similar habit

among the West European workers. All that is necessary is that the parties assume upon themselves this task and understand that it is of the utmost importance.

At the beginning, of course, things will not run so smoothly. The first articles and letters, will be written awkwardly. Every paper (as it was at first in the "Pravda") will have to install a special number of comrades who will be engaged in correcting the workers' letters. We shall have to encourage by all means the workers who begin to write, to help them and write at their dictation or copy their stories. We shall have to rewrite and correct the letters written by the workers, but such work is worth while.

Our papers are now too dry, too abstract, too similar to the papers of the old type. They are made up too much of what is of interest to the professional politician, and contain very little of such items as would be eagerly read by every working woman, every day-labourer, every kitchen maid, every soldier. Our papers contain too many "learned" foreign words, too many long and dry articles. We are too eager to imitate the "respectable" papers. All this must be changed.

In order systematically to carry out our plan we must organise a group of correspondents in every big establishment, in every shop, in every mine, on every railroad line. We must gather those circles of workers. We must patiently and systematically teach them how to write in their papers. We must discuss with them the periodic character of the newspapers and most attentively listen to the practical suggestions which they make.

We must develop a new *Communist reporter*. He must be less interested in the lobbies of the parliament than in the factories, shops, the workers' homes, the workers' dining rooms, the workers' schools, etc. He should contribute to the paper not lobby gossip, but reports of labour meetings, descriptions of the workers' needs, the most concrete information about the rise of the cost of living etc.

The "Pravda" has published in its column a large number of poems

written by workers. These poems from the standpoint of the learned literary critics did not meet the requirements of literary form, but these poems have better expressed the real sentiments of the working class than many of the long articles. The rank and file appreciate very much poignant sarcasm, a vitriolic sneer hurled at the enemy. One caricature which hits the nail on the head is of better use than scores of high flown so-called "marxist" boring articles. Our papers must search for people who are able and want to serve the idea of the proletarian revolution with their pencil. We must make the largest use of what is necessary in a most popular form. We must often have in the paper some stories written by workers, because the working masses like to read and better understand this form of literature. We must often, instead of the customary official daily editorial, insert a more or less remarkable letter by a worker or a group of workers from a certain factory, or a picture of some workers who have been arrested or the biography of a worker who has been sentenced by the bourgeois courts and who has displayed a staunch spirit at his trial.

Less abstractness and more concreteness—this is what is needed for our papers. Every occurrence at the shop and factory should be reflected in our paper. The re-election of the Executive Board of a big trade union should be for us an event of importance and find its expression in the columns of our paper. Every list of candidates put forward by our opponents should be subjected to the severest and most telling criticism. Every detail of the struggle in the shop and factory should be systematically recorded in our paper. Our struggle against our political opponents, beginning with the open bourgeois and ending with the "Independent Socialists", must be more concrete, more lively and passionate, less stereotyped than heretofore.

In a word, our ambition should not consist in doing everything "just so", but in endeavouring to give, in addition to good information, which is of course indispensable, good material which wi

make any of our central party organs readable papers, be loved and understood by every worker, and by every proletarian, irrespective of party.

Having thus altered the character of our papers, we shall put them on a different financial basis, and will make them the connecting link between the masses and our party. If we succeed in reorganising our papers in this sense, we shall easily attain what the "Pravda" was able to attain in Russia in the Tsarist days. We shall find the means to collect in small contributions from the workers the sums required for the support of our papers. By changing the character of our papers we shall encourage the workers to compete among themselves in the collection of means for their own papers. Groups of workers and the numbers of readers and supporters of such communist papers will grow with lightning rapidity. These very collections will serve as means for propaganda, all the papers will publish the financial results of the collections. Should a group of our leaders be arrested at some factory, this factory and the neighbouring one will at once begin to collect funds for the maintenance of the families of the arrested. All this will be published in our papers. We will describe in them the workers' demonstrations, not in the present dry, official style which does not convey anything to the heart or mind of the people, but will give vivid sketches composed by the workers who participated in the demonstrations and will describe them in simple and yet picturesque language. With such editing of our papers every copy will kindle and increase the sacred hatred against capitalism. It goes without saying that in properly conducted communist papers regular and reliable international news must take a prominent place. In accordance with the resolution of the III. Congress, the Executive Committee of the Communist International is organisg from

September 1-st the publication of a communist bulletin which will be published at frequent intervals in 4 languages in Berlin. We shall do our utmost to make the bulletin the means of facilitating the publication of reliable foreign news by our communist papers. Naturally this will only be possible if every party will pay the greatest attention to this essential daily work, and will put the necessary forces at our disposal. A well conducted, well informed communist paper which wins us new friends every day, a paper which serves as a working class platform (in the true sense of the word) and which will be the trumpet call of the proletariat — such a paper will be a powerful weapon in the struggle of the Communist parties.

Comrades, let us do our utmost in order to bring into being such a new type of a truly proletarian paper.

With Communist greetings

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

President *G. Zinoviev.*

We beg all the editors of the Communist papers to convene special meetings of collaborators and to call to those meetings the workers from the most important works and factories. We ask you to discuss at those meetings the plans proposed in this letter, and to communicate the result of these discussions to the Executive Committee.

We also beg of you to discuss these plans at bigger town and regional party conferences.

We are willing to open in the columns of the "Communist International" a much needed discussion on this question, in order to arrive at the most practical and most desirable alterations by means of this international interchange of opinions.

To the Proletariat of Yugo-Slavia.

The latest reports of Yugo-Slavia tell of the terror exercised by the Government clique while trying to check the workers' movement.

Thanks to its implacable revolutionary position the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia has rallied around its banner not only the majority of the proletariat but also the destitute peasant masses. The Communist International greatly rejoices at the successful development of this party. It has the greatest admiration for the heroic efforts made by the proletariat of Yugo-Slavia in its struggle against the raging bourgeoisie and the accomplices of the latter, the centrists and social patriots. In this hard struggle on two fronts simultaneously the Yugo-Slavic proletariat has revealed its political maturity. Neither the monstrous reaction nor the bloody terror of the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie have been able to carry confusion into the ranks of the proletariat or daunt its spirit. Its complete victory over the social patriots and centrists furnishes the best proof of its staunch adherence to the high ideals of Communism.

However, this very implacability, this staunchness in the class struggle shown by the Yugo-Slavic proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party served to alarm the bourgeoisie of Yugo-Slavia. Hence the latter's truculence in fighting the Communist movement, particularly for the last six months.

In this struggle the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie has trod under foot its own laws and constitution, thus destroying the last illusions about lawfulness and bourgeois democracy. Having realized that the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia had become a serious danger for its pernicious regime the bourgeoisie openly took to violence, and on December 29th 1920, by means of a coup d'état it proclaimed unlimited dictatorship over the working population of Yugo-Slavia.

Now the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie is trying to justify this dictatorship by referring to the text of the decidedly reactionary and counter-revolutionary constitution recently put before the Constituent assembly, and also by issuing a special law against the Communists. On the strength of this law the propaganda of Communist ideas has been prohibited under threat of capital punishment, fifty nine Communist members of parliament have been deprived of their seats. It is a case unparalleled in the history of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. The Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie is evidently desiring to become famous in history at all costs—Herostrats like; however, at its best it is but sisyphian work it is attempting to do.

In the present phase of the general breakdown of capitalist society, a breakdown economic and political as well as intellectual and moral, the Communist movement is developing with the irresistible force of a natural phenomenon, and the heroic exploits of the Yugo-Slavic Government clique playing the role of a Don Quixote are therefore doomed to failure from the very outset.

A hasty glance at the political, economic and financial position of Yugo-Slavia suffices to show us the desperate position of the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie. It is here we have to look for the reasons of its campaign against the working class which is united under the banner of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia. The policy of violence adopted by the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie is no sign of its power, on the contrary, it is rather dictated by the fact that the bourgeoisie realises its own complete bankruptcy all the way through, a bankruptcy, it is unable to avoid.

The most ignominious role in this barbaric onslaught of the Yugo-Slavic bourgeoisie against the Communist movement is being played by the traitors

of Socialism Lapchevich, Topalovich and Co. They are even outdoing their colleagues in other countries by openly becoming accomplices of the bourgeoisie and police agents. Materially and morally aided by the bourgeoisie and with the active cooperation of the police, the traitors of Socialism in Yugo-Slavia are fishing in muddy waters: they accept out of the hands of the police the people's houses, bookstores and Communist printing-shops, as well as the cash of the Trade Unions, while the very best and most active Communist workers have been thrown into prison and exposed to unheard of tortures.

The revolutionary proletariat of Yugo-Slavia is suffering great hardship at present, but the Communist International is strongly convinced that this proletariat, hardened and knitted together in this bitter fight, will be able to repel this last assault of the united forces of the bourgeoisie and the traitors of Socialism. In its relentless struggle the proletariat of Yugo-Slavia may be sure not only of the sympathy, but also of the active cooperation of the Communist Parties all over the world and of the Communist International.

Proletarians of Yugo-Slavia! True to the revolutionary traditions, try to gather all your forces in order to break as soon as possible the united front of bourgeois reaction and the traitors of Socialism. Brand the traitors of the proletarian cause with everlasting shame,

prove it to all your enemies that nothing can kill the revolutionary conscience, or break the revolutionary will.

Be untiring and fearless! Only thus will you win!

Long live the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia, the revolutionary vanguard of the workers and peasants of that country!

Long live Communism!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President: *G. Zinoviev.*

Germany: *Heckert.* France: *Souvarine.* Czecho-Slovakia: *Hampel.* Italy: *Gennari.* Russia: *Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.* Spain: *Merino-Gracia, Cesare Rodrigo Gonzales.* Ukraina: *Shumsky.* Poland: *Glinsky.* Bulgaria: *Popov.* Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz.* Norway: *Shefflo.* Sweden: *Linderuth.* Britain: *Bell.* America: *Baldwin.* Finland: *Sirola.* Holland: *Jansen.* Roumania: *Badulescu.* Lettland: *Stuchka.* Switzerland: *Arnold.* Austria: *Korichoner.* Georgia: *Zhakaya.* Lithuania: *Mitzkevicz-Kapsukas.* Persia: *Sul'an Zadeh.* Estland: *Pögelman.* Denmark: *Jorgensen.* India: *Roy.* Greece: *Dimitratas.*

Red Council of Trade Unions:

Losovsky, Tom Man, Nine.

International of Youth:

Voyovich, Unger.

Proletarian Relief to Soviet Russia.

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

A great disaster has befallen Soviet Russia, as in 1891. A drought continuing from March to June has brought famine and penury to the Volga regions, which up to now have furnished 30% of the whole Russian harvest. There are not enough seeds even for the next sowing season. Twenty millions are threatened with death from starvation not only in this year but in the following years as well. The famine will be followed by epidemics

which will simply mow down the exhausted masses of the people.

These disasters are coming down upon Soviet Russia at a time when she is weakened by seven years of imperialist and civil wars, at a period of economic frustration when she is as yet unable to inject new vitality into the public economy, nor to finish with the remnants of the old order. Soviet Russia has fought and suffered for the whole international proletariat. The wounds

from which her very life blood is flowing now have been dealt her in her battles with the world capitalism, in her struggle not only for the Russian revolutionary proletariat, but for the working class of the world as well. Why did the capitalists of all countries help the Russian bourgeoisie to devastate and ruin Russia? It is not only for the sake of the interests which they ground out of the Russian people, but also for the purpose of crushing down the first state that has raised the banner of the proletarian revolution that is now shining like a beacon light for the awakening proletarian masses of all countries. At present the capitalist states and governments are preparing to utilise the famine in Russia in order to organise a new offensive against her under the mask of charity, in place of the former onslaught, which was defeated by the efforts of the Red Army and the resistance of the European proletariat. Part of the capitalist press is declaring openly and cynically: "let the masses starve a bit, they will then revolt against the Soviet government". The French imperialist government is sending troops to Poland, in order to prepare there a base for new operations against Soviet Russia, that are to take place when the famine and penury will have reached their climax. French diplomacy is endeavouring to induce Roumania, the Baltic States and the Little Entente to participate in this criminal project. The governments of England and America which had formerly overflowed with effusive benevolence now pretend to know nothing of the sufferings of the Russian people. In a roundabout way they promise to help Soviet Russia hinting at the same time that their promises would be realised only if Soviet Russia would consent to the formation and functioning of their own organisations as well as those of the Russian counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie on Russia's territory. This means that they want the Russian working class to allow world capitalism to organise a counter-revolution on the territory of Soviet Russia in exchange for a piece of bread, or to reject their services, to refuse the bread and

thus raise the hungry masses against itself.

Working men and working women of all countries, do not forget the blood which the Russian worker has shed for you. Do not forget that during all these years the Russian popular masses have suffered hunger for the common cause of the world proletariat. Do not forget either that the counter-revolutionary offensives against Soviet Russia are directed against you as well. Destroy the projects of world capitalism. Frustrate them completely. The Communist International is calling upon not only all the Communist parties, red trade unions and cooperatives, but on all honest-minded proletarians in general to notify their governments that they will not look on coolly at the preparations being made by the capitalist governments for a new war against Soviet Russia; they will not permit their governments to make any stipulations with regard to the succour that is to be given to Russia. The Soviet government has already invited the assistance of the bourgeois circles whose conscience and a feeling of humanity have predominated over party and political considerations. This proves that the Soviet Government wishes to render aid to all those who need it and that all the honest-minded elements in Russia are ready to fight the famine together with the government.

However, the issue lies not only in frustrating the wicked plans of the counter-revolution; the world proletariat must render active assistance to the Russian masses. We know that you are not rich yourselves and have no surplus of bread to give away. But we know also that when an accident happens to any worker's family, the poorest worker gives help in a greater degree than the rich people who engage in charity at the expense of the people. We appeal to all the Communist parties and red labour unions, we call upon all labour organisations and parties, desirous of helping the Russian people, to proceed immediately to organise the work of relief. We shall see now where the international solidarity of the working class exists only

in theory, and where it is carried out in practice. We are calling upon the Communist parties of all countries to get in contact with all labour organisations for the purpose of forming central committees of relief, whose task it will be to carry on an agitation among the wider popular masses for the collection of funds for the purchase of bread and medicaments. Every car-load of grain sent by the labour organisations to the famine-stricken regions will strengthen the courage of the Russian workers in their struggle against famine; it will prove to the deeply suffering Russian masses that they are not alone, face to face with the whole capitalist world which is trying to profit by their hunger; it will prove that the world has one fraternal proletarian family, ready to share its last piece of bread with its suffering comrades.

To work, proletarians of all countries!

To the great work of relief for suffering Soviet Russia!

Long live the international proletarian solidarity!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Germany: *Heckert, Fröhlich*. France: *Souvarine*. Czecho-Slovakia: *Hampel*, Italy: *Terracini, Gennari*. Russia: *Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky*. Ukraina: *Shumsky*. Poland: *Glinsky*. Bulgaria: *Popov*. Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz*. Norway: *Shefflo*. England: *Bell*. America: *Baldwin*. Spain: *Merino Garcia*. Finland: *Sirota*. Holland: *Jansen*. Belgium: *Van Overstraaten*. Sweden: *Kilbom*. Roumania: *Badulescu*. Latvia: *Stuchka*. Switzerland: *Arnold*. Austria: *Korichoner*.

Executive Committee of the International of Youth:

Voyovich, Unger.

Moscow, July 30th 1921.

The Speculation on the Famine and the Campaign of the World Capitalism against Soviet Russia.

To the workers of all countries!

Already in its first appeal to you to help famine-stricken Soviet Russia the Communist International pointed out that it is not only a matter of tending bread and medicaments, but that of not allowing the capitalist governments to profit by the misfortune of Soviet Russia by compelling her to make political concessions, or to prepare a new campaign against the Soviet Government. Our fears are proving to be correct. True, the capitalist governments are declaring that they consider the question of famine in Russia exclusively from the point of view of humanity, but this is a downright lie. For all capitalist countries the famine is a desired ally in their obdurate war against the workers' and peasants' government. In proof of this is the *behaviour of the French Government* which is preparing to deal

a military blow to Soviet Russia. It is sending troops to Upper Silesia not only for the purpose of placing the latter's coal mines, like those of the Ruhr province, under the threat of the French guns, but with the object of transforming it into a base for military operations against Soviet Russia.

The Polish army is weakened. The economic situation of Poland does not allow the Polish government to prepare openly for a new war against Soviet Russia. Therefore Briand is endeavouring to assemble French troops in Poland, to form army staffs, to prepare reserves of ammunition, in order to induce all the other frontier states to enter into the campaign against Russia during the winter when the lack of fuel will aggravate the conditions there. The agents of the French government are working in this direction in all the frontier countries. In *Roumania* they have already

attained serious results. By autumn Roumania is preparing some "large manoeuvres" which are actually preparations for a winter campaign against Soviet Russia. At the same time French diplomacy has done all it could to prevent help being sent to Russia on the part of separate charitable institutions. Under the slogan of the necessity of concentrating the organisation of relief, the stage managers of international capitalism are trying to concentrate such relief in their own hands in order to make their political stipulations and to demand from the Russian government certain political concessions for the Russian bourgeoisie in exchange for bread. Should the Soviet government refuse such concessions to the bourgeoisie, then its enemies are fondling the idea of starting on a campaign of lies as a forerunner for military operations, that are being prepared by the French government, as an act for the relief of the famine-stricken population: We are obliged to break down by force of arms the barrier between the famishing Russian people and its well wishers who have collected food for it abroad, but who are deprived of the possibility of bringing it over owing to the malevolence of the Soviet government. This is how they mean to explain their intended damnable plans!

Working men and working women! We call upon you to accelerate the formation of independent proletarian relief committees. The revolting intrigue hatched by the bourgeois governments can only be put a stop to by the rapid and energetic help of the working masses. Only a prompt intervention on the part of workers committees of relief can prove that the work of relief is being delayed not for technical reasons, but owing to the endeavours of the world capitalism to transform the famishing Russian peasant and working masses into an object of speculation.

We are appealing to you to start an energetic campaign by means of agitation and demonstrations against all attempts of the bourgeois governments to dictate any conditions to the Soviet government and the Russian

workers in exchange for assistance. Wrest the scourge of hunger from their hands! Remind them of the statement made by the Liberal paper "The Nation", namely: half of what has been expended by the English government for the ruining of the Russian public economy by Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich would have been sufficient to provide the famine-stricken regions of Russia with bread. The call: "*Down with speculation on famine, help for the famishing masses of Russia*" must fill the pages of your newspapers; it must be heard at all your meetings, and we are convinced that this call will unite *all the working masses without distinction of parties*.

At the same time we are calling you to a resolute struggle against the preparation for a new intervention. Workers of France! It is up to you to cut short by all the means in your power the attempt to start a new war against Soviet Russia, as is being planned by the French government together with the Russian white guards. It is your duty to watch attentively all consignments of ammunition, or sending of troops to the East, to publish and prevent them as far as possible. Workers of Germany! The time has again come, as in 1920, when you had strained all your efforts to show your solidarity with us and not to permit the transport of munitions and troops for Poland through Germany. German railway men and workers! Pay attention to the trains from the West! Workers of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, German Austria, Roumania, Finland, Esthonia and Latvia! Be on your guard! Watch every step of your governments! Frustrate all attempts of world capitalism to prepare a new war against Soviet Russia! Workers of Greece, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria! Trains with munitions for Roumania are passing through your territories as well! Be on your guard!

The Communist International is perfectly sure that the attempts of the world reaction, and chiefly those of France, will break against the solidarity and iron resistance of the proletariat. It is expecting that not only the Communist parties, but also all the

organised industrial workers will do their duty with regard to Soviet Russia. The hunger campaign against Soviet Russia is but part of the general campaign of world capitalism against the proletariat. The bourgeoisie of all countries wishes to suppress Soviet Russia in order to free its hands for the struggle against the proletariat of each country.

Down with the hunger campaign of capitalism against Soviet Russia!

Down with speculation on famine!
Hail to the proletarian help for Soviet Russia!

Long live the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries against world imperialism!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Moscow, August 12th 1921.

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

Appeal to the American Workers from the Executive of the Communist International.

The famine in the Volga Districts of Soviet Russia has aroused the sympathies of honest-minded workers all the world over. The workers of all countries are hastening to help the First Labour Republic. The Communist International has called upon the workers of the whole world without distinction of parties or tendencies to organise the relief for the famine-stricken regions of Soviet Russia. The workers of all the countries of Europe are organising Central Committees for the purpose, and these committees are including the representatives of all parties, all the trade unions, workers' cooperatives, etc. The Communist International is now turning to you, American workers. You must now organise your non-party labour committee for the relief of the famishing

in Soviet Russia. Duty of honour of the workers of America demands that they should help their Russian brethren independently. The Russian form of relief is the giving up of one day's pay in favour of the starving population of Soviet Russia. All contributions in money or in kind are to be sent to the Soviet Power through the workers' representatives. Organise immediately throughout the whole country workers' committees of relief for the famishing in Russia. Do not lag behind the workers of Europe.

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

We ask all sympathisers to reprint the above.

Moscow, August 24th 1921.

To all Communist Parties.

(SUPPLEMENTARY TO OUR APPEAL AND DIRECTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE FAMINE PROBLEM).

The Small Bureau of the Executive of the Communist International has adopted the following resolution:

"A number of bourgeois governments who at first professed to be ready to help Soviet Russia are now beginning

to reveal their counter-revolutionary interventionistic intentions.

In connection with this, hesitation and uncertainty are being observed in the various parties and groups of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half

International. The Executive insists upon it that we propose to the above parties and groups to conjointly organise assistance to Soviet Russia, under the strict understanding that this assistance be on no account rendered through the bourgeois governments but through a special non-party organ

to be appointed by all the labour organisations“.

President of the Executive
Committee: *G. Zinoviev.*

Members of the Small Bureau of the Executive Committee: *Souvarine, Gen-nari, Heckert, Bela Kun, Radek, Bukharin.*

To the Workers of the Social Democratic Party of Luxemburg.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the Third International notes with satisfaction that owing to the stormy demand of the members the Board of the Social Democratic Party found itself compelled to delegate a representative to the Third World Congress of Communists in Moscow.

This representative has confirmed to us that only the conduct of certain reformist and wavering leaders had prevented the party from joining Moscow at the congress in Differding in January 1921.

The comrades who had advocated the affiliation to Moscow at the Differding Congress ultimately formed a Communist party and showed you the path which all revolutionary workers must follow.

You who have remained in the social democratic party have had to become convinced by your own experience that the growing acuteness of the class struggle leads also to the aggravation of the antagonism between the revolutionary workers and the cowardly reformist clique of the leaders.

During the March events in Luxemburg when the workers had courageously followed the example of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, Spain and Italy, and seized the factories of their exploiters, you were able to note that the parliamentary socialist faction protested against this movement of the workers and declared that it

had nothing to do with this demonstration of the workers. (Its leader, Peter Krier, did not protest against such tactics of the faction, although as a head of the trade union he had taken part himself in the movement).

This refutation of all solidarity with the struggle of the workers had necessarily to lead to a solidarity with capitalism.

This is an old, oft-repeated experience in the history of the class struggle; now the Luxemburg workers have passed through it.

Having renounced all participation in the March movement the leaders of the Luxemburg social democracy were not ashamed to point out to the government in parliament that the chief duty of the government was the restoration of social peace and to promise their benevolent concurrence and collaboration in the accomplishment of this task.

And when the government proceeded to the restoration of the social order by handing over hundreds of workers to the law courts and throwing several communist comrades into prison, the official organ of the social democracy wrote: "these verdicts are not subject to criticism“.

The social democratic leaders thus took upon themselves part of the responsibility for the terroristic acts of the government.

These leaders turned against the struggling workers, and the latter, on their part, must now turn against such leaders and separate from them.

In the detailing of a representative of the workers organised in the Social Democratic party to Moscow the Executive of the Communist International sees the first successful step in this direction.

It expects that the congress which is to convene in accordance with the resolution passed in January, will unanimously decide in favor of an unconditional affiliation of the Social Democratic party with the Third International, of the expulsion of the leaders who have gone over to the camp of the counter-revolution, and of an immediate fusion with the Communist Party of Luxemburg.

The Executive of the Communist International considers this fusion to

be a preliminary condition for the revolutionising of all the Luxemburg workers and their enrolling into the army of the International revolutionary proletariat.

With Communist greetings

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

President: *G. Zinoviev.*

Representative of the Luxemburg Social Democratic Party at the Third World Congress:

Jacob Ney.

To the Revolutionary Syndicalists of all Countries.

The Red International of Trade Unions has become a reality. From now on it will be the rallying centre of all the trade unions of the world which have made it their aim to abolish the capitalist system.

We revolutionary syndicalists came to Moscow to defend our principles at the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions. However, the tendency represented by us did not win the victory. The trade unions of Central Europe are not quite identical in their ideology with the syndicalist movement. Nevertheless they possess good revolutionary qualities. The proletariat of Russia, Germany, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia have written many brilliant pages in the history of the revolution. And if the different methods of approaching certain sides of the struggle separate us, we are at the same time united by the same revolutionary impulse and our common faith in the final triumph of the proletariat.

The division of the revolutionary trade unions into two Internationals would be a crime in respect to the

world proletariat, and it would paralyse its struggle against the coalition of the bourgeoisie and the yellow Amsterdam International. When the foundations of the capitalist world are beginning to totter it is particularly necessary to have a single proletarian front.

The formation of a Red International of Trade Unions is an event of quite especial importance: it is a sign of a complete amalgamation of all the workers fighting for their final emancipation. The 15 million workers who are already gathered under the banners of the International of the Revolution are undoubtedly destined to see the growth of the great army of the proletariat, that is preparing for the decisive battles.

The International of Red Trade Unions which has been called to life by the vivifying breath of the Communist International has made it its immediate object to bring about the union of all the bona fide revolutionary forces into a single powerful block of the Revolution. The undivided union of all the revolutionary syndica-

list organisations may ensure its autonomy and strengthen its independence.

Certainly, we have not been completely satisfied with all the resolutions of the Congress. We have also made some mutual concessions. But nevertheless, once that we really wish to work for the revolution we consider it our duty to remain in the Red International of Trade Unions and to strengthen it. That is why we now address ourselves to the revolutionary syndicalists of the countries which have not joined us yet and call on them to join the International with the firm resolve to defend our principles and to concur in the triumph of the re-

volution in all the countries of the world.

Ramires. (General Confederation of Labour of Mexico).

Sirole. (Delegate of the French syndicalists).

Postumer. (Dutch Federation of Transport workers).

Buman. (National Workers Secretariat of Holland).

Andreychine. (American Delegation).

Nine. (National Confederation of Spain).

Vecchi Mari. (Syndicalist Union of Italy).

Tom Man. (English Delegation).

Moscow, August 2nd 1921.

≡ BULLETIN ≡

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 2

Petrograd

September 20-th, 1921.

CONTENTS: Appeals of the Executive of the Comintern: For the Unity of the World Proletariat as against the Union of the Social Traitors. — To the Workers of the Union of Jewish Communists ("Poale Zion"). — To all Members of the All-Jewish Workers Union ("The Bund") in Poland. — To the Workers and Soldiers of all Countries. — To the Communist Party of Hungary. — Theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Washington Conference. — To the Workers of Great Britain. — A Resolution on the White Russian Question. — An Agreement between the Communist Party of Ukraina and the Communist Labour Party of Poland. — An Explanation to the Agreement. — A Pretended Attempt against the Lives of the Ministers of Lithuania. (Declaration of the Secretariat of the Executive of the Comintern). — To all Communist Parties, all Red Trade Unions, all Workers' Committees for the Relief of the Famishing in Russia.

For the Unity of the World Proletariat as Against the Union of the Social Traitors.

Working men and working women!
Unite from the bottom, and do not
wait for the machinations of the social
traitors from the top!

Men and women proletarians! The International of those who, during the war, helped the bourgeoisie to use the proletariat for the fratricidal war, the International of those who after the war, were the strongest buttress of the military police-forces and helped the capitalists in every way, beginning with open fraud and ending with treacherous murder, this International has proposed to the Second-and-a-half International to unite. What does the Second-and-a-half International represent? It is an International of go-betweens, it is the International of those who did not dare to engage in a struggle against imperialism and, whenever they had to choose between revolution and counter-revolution, after prolonged hesitation always ranged themselves on the latter's side. In reply to this proposal the proud Spaniards of the Second-and-a-half International declared that unity was possible only on the basis of class war, and demanded that the policy of compromise be given up. But after having enunciated these high phrases, the same Interna-

tional timidly declared itself ready to discuss with the colleagues of the other faculty what could be done. However, the Second International did not let itself be deceived by these phrases of the representatives of the centre. The "Vorwärts" declared that its party had not the least intention to give up the policy of compromise, and that it was altogether to be doubted if Messrs. Ledebour and Adler themselves were serious about their clamour against compromise with the bourgeoisie. Once they will meet the open social patriots face to face, it may turn out that their declarations are actually nothing but radical phraseology. And the gentlemen of the "Vorwärts" are right a thousand times. The very same Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer who are to-day raising their voices *against* a *coalition* with the bourgeoisie but yesterday were sharing power with the dirtiest counter-revolution, with the christian socialists of Austria. And as to the honourable Dittmanns, as to those knights of the class war without fear or reproach, have not they been holding office with the Scheidemanns, have not they been working with a Government of which General Gröner was Secretary

for War and von Solf Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with a Government which not only defended the interests of capital but did it conjointly with the "socialist ministers" who acted as representatives of the bourgeoisie?

The spokesmen of the Second International enquire with derision and mockingly, what about the *dictatorship of the proletariat* which is included in the programme of the Second-and-a-half International. On paper it is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in practice, however, it supports the capitalist government of Germany, a government whose aim it is to fleece the German proletariat to the last farthing in favour of the Entente. On paper it advocates the rule of the workers, but in practice we find the gentlemen of the British I. L. P. flatly refusing to fight the trade union bureaucracy which has betrayed the miners' strike. On paper it is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, while in practice it carries on a campaign of libel against Soviet Russia—the only state that offers opposition to the world-wide dictatorship of world capitalism.

The "Vorwärts" is right a thousand times in saying that the difference between the Second-and-a-half and the Second International is merely *nominal*. What the representatives of the Second-and-a-half International assert is downright hypocrisy. We have only to remember that the gentlemen of the Second-and-a-half International are allied with their brethren of the Second International on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Unions International, and that they are fighting side by side against turning the trade unions from being the last buttress of the bourgeoisie into a medium of support for the advance of the proletariat.

The Second-and-a-half International, the International of the heroes of the revolutionary phrase—the phraseology serving them to hide their dirty opportunist policy—is even now working practically hand in hand with the filthy gang of most shameless reformists. The fact of the sly demagogues like Grimm, Bauer, Crispin, Longuet and Vandervelde preferring to carry

on their pernicious work under their own firm of the proletariat does not alter the essence of the thing in the least. All the same the fruits will be reaped by capitalism. In practice capital frequently manages to set two firms to work simultaneously for its aims. It even goes so far as to stage a heroic fight against the trusts, in order to drain the foolish public that is being exploited by the trusts, still more effectually. It is the business of the proletariat *not to let itself be deceived by this sham war between the Siamese twins, but to regard them as the same flesh and bone*. But it is not enough to tear the mask off this comedy of a war between the reformists and semi-reformists. It is not enough to show the proletariat that the union of those elements is directed *against the revolutionary proletariat*. It is not enough to chastise the hypocrisy and treachery of the Second and the Second-and-a-half International. First and foremost it is necessary to grasp the reasons why this propaganda for unity has been embarked upon now. The reasons may be summed up as follows:

In 1914 imperialism got the better of the world proletariat, because the proletariat was split. The social democrats and later on also the social traitors and "independents" went over to the bourgeoisie and thus split the working class. This act of treason was worked up before the war already. When the war broke out, the Scheidemanns, Adlers, Renaudels, Sembats, Brantings, Huysmanns, Vanderveldes, Axelrods, Tcheidzes and Plekhanovs took the part of "their own" bourgeoisie, by means of deceit carrying along with them large masses of workers. The world proletariat was humiliated, discouraged, deceived, betrayed and split. The social traitors and "independents" desired a split, and actually succeeded in bringing it about. When the revolution broke out in Germany, Austria and Bulgaria in 1918 there was among the proletariat a strong desire for unity. This desire found its clearest expression in the fact of workers' councils being created during the revolution. To save the bourgeoisie, the social democrats and "independents"

once more did their utmost in order to split the ranks of the proletariat and get the councils out of the way. The workers were cheated out of the fruits of the revolution, and, with the aid of the present leaders of the Second and Second-and-a-half International, the bourgeoisie triumphed once more. The proletariat, on the other hand, remained split.

Three years of terrible want and misfortune have passed; labour leaders have been murdered, bitter fights have been fought, but they were not victorious.

The proletariat sees now that it has been deceived. Now it realises that the only way to defeat the bourgeoisie is to unite the *large masses* of the proletariat for a true revolutionary struggle. The proletariat is longing for complete revolutionary unity. It is longing for a large, serious and unified revolutionary mass organisation. It wishes to put an end to the split that was begun by the socialists and independents. This highly important process of fermentation is going on in the very depth of the working masses. The treacherous leaders of the Second and Second-and-a-half International guess it. These traitors know that they as well as their capitalist protectors are lost, once the world proletariat will really unite. They are trying to adapt themselves to the new conditions. They want to turn the efforts for unity to their own social patriotic interests. They want to make use of this striving after unity in order to exploit the best and highest feelings of the workers. They want to use it for their own foul schemes, for the filthy union of the social patriot and independent leaders. Just imagine the Noskes and Vanderveldes, the Dittmanns and Renaudels playing the part of preachers for the unity of the proletariat, of that very proletariat which they have betrayed, sold and split hundreds of times! Indeed, it is a picture worthy of the painter's brush!

We have found out those leaders of the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals. But we have to keep in mind that the slogan of unity on the lips of those heroes is exceedingly *charac-*

teristic: it serves them to cover up their foul transaction. With the workers, on the other hand, it is the expression of a *healthy striving after real unity among the proletariat*. There is a new element in it, and we have to realise it. The Communists have to place themselves at the head of this new movement.

Workers, is it unity you want? We welcome it. Unite from the bottom *for the struggle against* the bourgeoisie! Those are our slogans, and they are yours too. Join us, for only we, Communists, wish the real unity of the revolutionary working masses. Long live the union of all the workers, but their union *against* Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert, *against* Jouhaux and Renaudel, *against* Renner and Vandervelde, *against* the Dittmanns and all other servants of the bourgeoisie! It is the duty of the Communist Parties of all countries most determinedly to strive to unite the working masses all over the world under the leadership of the Communist parties, to unite them for the struggle against the national offensive of capital, against the attempt of the world capital at making the proletariat pay the expenses for the restoration of capitalism. It is our duty to strive to unite the working masses and to see to it that they pass from defending themselves against the attacks of capitalism to attacking the capitalist rule, to fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an International Republic of Soviets. To fight for the unite of the working masses all over the world in order to enable them to ward off the blows dealt them by capitalism, to fight at the head of the united working masses for their freedom—this is our task, and in accomplishing it we shall weld the masses together around the Communist International, *the only true International which is able to wrench the proletariat from the influence of the bourgeoisie, unite the workers and put them up against the master class*. Undiluted reformism as well as semi-reformism spell the dependence of the proletarian masses upon the national bourgeoisie in their respective countries and upon capitalism all over the world.

Down with the sham struggle that the rascals of the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals pretend to carry on against each other!

Down with their union which is directed against the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist International, the iron bond of all lands!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President: *Zinoviev.*

Germany: *Heckert.* France: *Souvarine.* Italy: *Gennari.* Russia: *Bukharin, Lenin, Trotsky.* Ukraina: *Rakovsky.* Czechoslovakia: *Hampel.* Spain: *Merino Gracia, Gonzales.* Poland: *Glinsky.* Bulgaria: *Popov.* Yugo-Slavia: *Marcovicz.* Norway: *Shefflo.* Britain: *Bell.* America: *Baldwin.* Finland: *Sirola.* Holland: *Jansen.* Sweden: *Linderuth.* Roumania: *Bodulescu.* Lettland: *Stuchka.* Switzerland: *Arnold.* Austria: *Korichoner.* Hungary: *Bela Kun.*

International of Communist Youth:
Voyovich, Unger.

To the Workers of the Union of Jewish Communists.

(POALE ZION).

Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International tendered a fraternal welcome to the comrades you delegated to the III International Congress, and with them it investigated very closely the question of the affiliation of your organisations to the Communist International.

The Executive Committee recognises the fact that you have begun to expel from your ranks the open reformist and centrist elements. It recognises that, in almost all lands where you have organisations, you are prepared to wage the struggle against the bourgeoisie side by side with the Communist sections in those countries. It furthermore recognises that, due to your common exertions, you have succeeded in establishing the beginnings of a communist movement in Palestine, which upon the ratification of all the conditions stipulated by the Executive Committee, will be fitted to become the national section of the Communist International.

However, there are tendencies within your movement that are in principle incompatible with those of the Communist International which rather cause us great concern.

The idea that the concentration of the proletarian, semi-proletarian, and Jewish masses in Palestine will afford a basis for the social and national emancipation of the Jewish working class, is utopian and reformistic, and actually counter-revolutionary in its practical consequences, as it is tantamount to the colonisation of Palestine, which, in the last analysis, would merely reinforce the position of British imperialism in Palestine.

The complete liquidation of such ideology is the most important condition which we feel compelled to stipulate.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is aware of the fact that the strong emigration which is a concrete expression of the peculiar industrial conditions of the Jewish proletariat, is a problem which the national sections of the Communist International must concern themselves with as much as it could be utilised in the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the fulfilment of the concrete vital demands of the workers. It is the duty of the national sections of the Communist International to establish the appropriate organs for the investigation and solution of this question.

The Executive Committee has decided to establish a Jewish Bureau in the centre of Jewish activity, whose task it will be to carry on Communist propaganda among the Jewish proletarians throughout the world.

The Executive Committee calls upon your Central Bureau to convene an international conference of all the Communist Poale Zion organisations within six months, for the purpose of finally dissolving your international organisation, and merging your organisations within the national sections of the Communist International, within a period of not more than two months, and under the aforementioned conditions.

In conclusion the Executive Committee appeals to all the Jewish Com-

munist workers to battle against the particularistic tendencies prevailing in the Jewish Communist Labour movement, and to realise that the revolutionary Jewish Workers can become an organic part of the Great Communist Workers' family only within the Communist International.

Long live the Union of the Jewish Communist Workers within the Communist International!

Long live the Third International which alone is capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of the workers of all nations to final victory!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

August 26th, 1921.

To all Members of the All-Jewish Workers Union ("The Bund") in Poland.

In March 1921 the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed to the Congress of your Organisation (news of which we had received from your representative), a detailed communication containing a minute criticism of the activity of your Bund and explaining the conditions, the fulfilment of which was imperative for the admission of the Bund into the Communist International.

Unfortunately, we are compelled to state that the step taken by our Executive has not had the desired effect. The Congress of the Bund was disbanded before it provided an opportunity for giving the greatest publicity and consideration to the questions raised by the Executive, no discussion taking place, and the contents of the letter were treated as though it were an internal affair of the central committee. Moreover, and this is more serious, the letter of the Executive did not exercise any influence on the attitude of your Party, and on the contrary, the centrist, reformist, nay, counter-revolutionary character of the public manifestations of the leading organs of your Bund became, if possible,

more pronounced during these last months, their anti-communistic tone more challenging, without any attempt on the part of the left wing to counteract such counter-revolutionary attitude. The columns of the Jewish Bund press are open to menshevik campaigns against Soviet Russia, to the publication of Martov's manifestoes and for counter-revolutionary conspiracies of the Mensheviks of Georgia, organised in Poland. In international questions the Bundist press is most emphatically backing Longuet, Serrati, Levi, Hilferding against the Communist International.

The centrist majority of your Central Committee, in answer to the letter of our Executive, has passed a resolution categorically renouncing 5 of the conditions for admission, rejecting all "split peril" and insisting on the democratic right of the centrist majority to retain the leadership of the party. The resolution even goes to the length of expressing the hope that the III Congress will reform the Communist International to the extent of it being able to admit into it the united Bund. It justifies the necessity

of this reform by instancing "the development of the workers' movement in Italy and Germany", viz. the "unfortunate" exclusion of Hilferding and Serrati.

We are also sorry to note, that the resolution of the minority of your Central Committee differs essentially very little from the one of the majority. In it, too, the minority is condemning some points of the conditions of entry (like the one, for instance, where it stipulates that the press should be directed by experienced Communists), it, too, is demanding a change of conduct of the whole Communist International, besides also referring to "the recent events" in Italy and Germany.

In our letter we invited the Bund to delegate representatives to the III Congress of the Communist International, to enable them to get into closer contact with the entire Comintern, also to afford us an opportunity to get better acquainted with the Bund through their intermediary. But the results of the presence of the two delegates of the central committee of the Bund who were admitted to the Congress with consultative votes, did not meet with the desired expectations. The delegates to the Bund did not participate in the work of the Congress, did not request the floor on any question, whether in the commissions or in the plenary sessions, while one of them availed himself of his stay at Moscow to commit a trespass against the Soviet Republic, in consequence of which a commission of the Executive Committee pronounced him as unworthy of participating in the negotiations of the Executive Committee.

The situation in the Bund, as appears from extensive material at our command, may at present be characterised as follows: We see before us an old workers' organisation that is entrapped with strong social democratic and partly nationalist traditions, which has

gone through the war and the revolution without any splits, and is being led by confessed centrists. There is a "left wing" within this party, supported by a considerable part of the workers organised in the Bund which harbours strong and upright sympathy for Communism, but is sadly lacking in clear-headedness and resoluteness.

The prime task of these elements is to organise into a solid, conscious wing, to take an unreserved stand on the basis of the III International and all the decisions of its Congresses, and to take up a decided struggle against the centrists and nationalists for the conquest of the majority of the Party. It will be the duty of these comrades—not only to recognise the spiritual leadership of the Comintern, but also unhesitatingly to cooperate in closest union with the Communist Party of Poland. It will be the task of the Communist Party of Poland to lend every assistance to the really revolutionary elements in the Bund. The former policy of systematic sabotage of the decisions of the Comintern, of the defense of the centrists, and the everlasting capitulations and compromises, of distrust and separatism as against the Communist Party, must be totally abandoned and make room for courageous, clear, militant tactics.

This is the advice which the Comintern gives to those workers organised in the Bund who honestly and genuinely desire to join its ranks.

Revolutionary Jewish Proletarians! Get rid of the centrist elements, and thus make your way more quickly into the ranks of the only world organisation of proletarians—the Communist International!

To you, the real Communist elements in the Bund, we tender our most fraternal greetings.

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

August 26th, 1921.

To the Workers and Soldiers of all Countries.

Comrades! The imperialists are planning a new intervention in Soviet Russia!

The ruling classes of the capitalist countries are again on the look-out for a pretext that would hide to the working masses their busy preparations for the new bloody attacks against Soviet Russia. As long as they still breathe they not will leave off renewing their base attempts at crushing the hearth of the proletarian revolution and thus dealing a severe blow to the whole international revolution. Cleverly making use of past lessons, they adopt new tactical methods in their struggle.

Once more the Wilsonian comedy is being enacted, with its League of Nations that was to have brought about general disarmament and guaranteed the peace of nations, but actually turned into a league of international bankers and trusts having for its sole object to divide among themselves the whole world, ruling over it and exploiting it. Once more the international robbers are crying out for general disarmament, and alleging to have this aim in view, they are calling a conference. As a matter of fact, however, they are scheming and preparing for new adventures and robbery.

The terrible famine under which, owing to the disastrous drought, millions of Russian workmen and peasants are suffering has aroused among the working masses all over the world deepest sympathy and eagerness to help. The capitalist governments and bloodthirsty hyenas of the international counter-revolution were far-sighted enough not to counteract this spontaneous expression of solidarity with the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia on the part of the working masses of the world. Nay, they too profess to be ready to help the starving people. But it were naive to

believe in their sincerity and the honesty of their intentions. Predatory calculations are guiding their would-be "humanitarian" feelings, and there can be no doubt that the distress of the Russian peasants will be made use of by the capitalist sharks for new predatory attempts and adventures with a view to destroying the first Proletarian State.

Under the mask of official declarations and considerations alleged to have arisen from the question of the general disarmament, under the mask of official promises of the capitalist circles to help the famine-stricken Russian provinces, the imperialistic governments and their obedient tools are continuing to mobilise incessantly. Simultaneously universal preparations are busily being made for a new campaign against Soviet Russia.

The White Guards, defeated by the Red Army and scattered all over the world, are gathering anew and organising themselves with the aid of the capitalist governments and the international capitalist robbers. Under the pressure exercised by the great imperialistic Powers the border-states of Russia are forming groups and alliances with the obvious aim conjointly to attack Soviet Russia.

The Small Entente and the Baltic Alliance are nothing but weapons to be used by the international counter-revolution against the mighty and dangerous stronghold of the rising proletarian revolution. The Anglo-Japanese agreement gives the Japanese imperialists a free hand in the Far East. The munitions-works are getting busy again. Day by day whole ship-loads and trains with rifles, munitions and other war-supplies are secretly being sent from France to Poland, Roumania and other countries. Large masses of munitions are being stored near the frontier of Soviet Russia.

And the day that the imperialists will finally decide to attack Soviet Russia they will no longer have to fear any resistance the revolutionary proletariat of Europe might have offered against the transit of munitions to be used against the Red Army.

Under the false pretext of danger threatening them from Soviet Russia, Poland, Roumania, Finland, and other countries are hastily mobilising for a conjoint attack upon the Republic of Soviets. The ruling classes of those countries that have been ruined by the imperialistic war and are economically dependent upon the great capitalist countries cannot keep up their rule without the support of their protecting lords. Therefore they obediently carry out the latter's commands and trade with the blood of the working masses of their own countries. As to the resistance offered by the proletariat and destitute peasantry of those countries, the capitalists and great landowners, incited by the Governments of the Entente, completely rely upon the white terror by means of which they are trying to crush any and all revolutionary movement and Communist organisation.

The proletariat of all countries has to be warned of the diabolic schemes of international counter-revolution. It is mobilising more energetically than ever, and only waits for the opportune moment to rush upon Soviet Russia. Anticipating an early and easy triumph over its deadly foe it chuckles joyfully at the terrible distress of the Russian people. But the ruin of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic would lead not only to the restoration of the power of the capitalists and big landowners in Russia and to the subjection of the Russian working masses by international capital; it would also carry in its train intensified reaction all over the world and, most likely, would crush international revolution for many years to come. The cause of the Russian workers and peasants is also the cause of the working masses all over the world.

The Socialist Republic established by the Russian workers and peasants is a valuable acquisition of the revolutionary proletariat of all

countries. In defending this acquisition with many sacrifices and great suffering through four long years, the Russian workers and peasants defended not only their own interests, but also the interests of the exploited and oppressed of all countries. The workers of the whole world who defend it against the onslaught of capital with all their might and render the Russian workers and peasants universal and speedy assistance defend not only the interests of the Russian working people, but also their own vital interests.

Never before had international solidarity such an opportunity for effective demonstration, never before was its duty to demonstrate so great as now, and, while the common enemy is threatening, the oppressed and exploited of all countries in a spontaneous outburst hasten to the assistance of the heroic workers and peasants of Russia.

The enemy is united. Though the capitalist forces are scrambling among themselves over business, yet their governments are unanimously ready to rush upon revolutionary Russia and the international proletarian Revolution as soon as the occasion presents itself.

Unfortunately the proletariat is split, owing to the treacherous policy of the social patriots. However, the healthy class instinct of the working masses is getting the better of the disintegrating influence of reformism, and they are uniting in view of the common danger.

The danger is near, it is a serious one. The Roumanian oligarchy is actively mobilising. Every hour large quantities of war-supplies are arriving and being transported to the Ukrainian frontier. The officers of the reserve are being called in. The sanitary service is being mobilised and is getting ready for war. Great manoeuvres are to be held in Bessarabia this autumn, large masses of troops participating. Moreover, Russian white guard detachments are concentrated in those regions. This is a sure sign of the belligerent intentions of Roumania, it is a sure proof of the Allies preparing for a new military attack upon Soviet Russia, of their profiting of the distress

of many Russian provinces for their own ends.

These facts have to alarm the workers all over the world. Once more Russia is in danger, once more the international revolution is threatened. First and foremost energetic and speedy aid to the starving masses is imperative, and no one but the working masses themselves can render it. The military preparations of the capitalist world aiming at an attack upon Soviet Russia have to be fought against energetically and relentlessly, and this too can be done only by the working masses themselves.

Workers! Onward to struggle and energetic work!

Prevent the military preparations and mobilisations of the capitalist governments, prevent the new bloody crimes that your masters are scheming, prevent them by means of your courageous and determined fight! Self-sacrificing share your last, much needed piece of bread with your poor Russian comrades.

Away with those criminal hands that are again reaching out against the Russian revolution.

No transport of munitions or troops to be used against Soviet Russia!

Bread and speedy assistance to the Russian workers and peasants!

Long live the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic!

Long live the world revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President: *G. Zinoviev.*

France: *Souvarine.* Italy: *Gennari.*
Russia: *Bukharin, Lenin, Radek, Trotsky.*
Czecho-Slovakia: *Hampel.* Ukraina: *Rakovsky.* Poland: *Prukhnjak.* Bulgaria: *Popov.* Yugo-Slavia: *Markovicz.* America: *Baldwin.* Spain: *Merino Gracia, Gonzales.* Finland: *Sirola.* Holland: *Jansen.* Sweden: *Linderuth.* Lettland: *Stuchka.* Switzerland: *Humbert-Droz.* Austria: *Korichoner.* Hungary: *Bela Kun.*

Red International of Trade Unions:
Losovsky, Tom Mann, Nine.

Communist International of Youth:
Voyovich, Unger.

International Women's Secretariat:
A. Kollontai.

To the Communist Party of Hungary.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has occupied itself with the question of the conflict that has arisen in the Communist Party of Hungary. After considering the views of the former leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party and the representatives of all fractions, the Executive Committee has laid down its view in the following theses:

1. The Executive has the pleasure to say that for the past few months the Hungarian working class movement has shown indications of recuperation from the blows which have been dealt it since the fall of the dictatorship. The revival of the working class movement is taking place thanks to the

internal struggles in the camp of the counter-revolution, which facilitates the re-appearance of the proletariat on the political arena. The situation imposes new and important demands on the Hungarian Communist Party.

2. The external conditions, under which the Communist Party of Hungary has to work, are as follows:

a) Its complete illegality under the regime of White Terror,

b) Limited freedom of movement of the Trade Unions, which embrace the great masses of workers, even under the Horthy Regime.

So far as the work among the masses is concerned, the Trade Unions form the most qualified basis for po-

litical and organisational activity of the Communist Party of Hungary. The Hungarian Trade Unions, however, not only find themselves under the leadership of the Social Democrats, but are the latter's organisational stronghold. Every member of the Trade Unions pays his union dues as well as contributing the same to the Party, and is thereby considered a member of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. The Communists must not consider this state of affairs a reason for leaving the Trade Unions. It is also to no purpose to commence the struggle against the Social Democratic Party with the Trade Union as a basis, the slogan "Refuse to pay dues to the Social Democratic Party". This would facilitate the expulsion of the Communists by the Social Democrats, before the former have made their influence felt. The Communists have to consider the payment of dues to the Social Democratic Party as a tribute which they pay to Horthy for the right of working in the Trade Unions, just as the pledge of loyalty to the king was a tribute which the Social Democratic representatives (Liebknecht and the Bolsheviks in the Duma as well) paid to the monarchistic countries for right of acting as representatives of the workers in parliament. The fact that Communists are thus compelled to pay dues, can be discussed only when the struggle against the Social Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy has developed to a greater extent, at a time when there will no longer be any danger of isolating and expelling a communist minority. Return of Communist emigrants in large numbers to Hungary is impossible under the present conditions.

3. The Communists have not only to fight the Social Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy in the Trade Unions, and spurn its dictates, but they have also to play the role of representing the Social Democratic Party in the Hungary of Horthy, and at the same time to denounce this Party before the masses as the midwife of White Hungary, as well as to unmask its pseudo-opposition. The propaganda for the rupture with Social Democracy, the revolutionary

role of the Trade Unions in the struggle against the White Regime and for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, paves the way for the liberation of the Trade Unions from the influence of the Trade Union bureaucracy. The Trade Unions do not include such as the agricultural workers and the small farmers. The organisation of the Party should not limit itself only to the formation of nuclei in various Trade Unions. It must also:

a. Concentrate the Trade Unions nuclei into a Trade Union organisation, which will be in a position to take up the struggle in the Trade Unions from a political, as well as from an organisational point of view.

b. Learn to incorporate those working nuclei in the Trade Unions into the system of its illegal local and factory organisations.

The illegal organisations must leave nothing undone to utilise every possibility for open propaganda of Communism, even though it be not under the Communist Banner. The Communist Party of Hungary must make every endeavour to form a centralised illegal organisation, just as the Bolshevik Party of Russia did before the Revolution, or the Spartakus Bund during the war in Germany. That does not prevent most careful consideration of the danger which menaces the organisation on the part of the Horthy Government. But without centralised, illegal organisations, there can be no possibility of the Hungarian Communist Party being more than a loose organisation of Communist propaganda circles. The centre of gravity of the work of the Communist Party of Hungary must, of course, fall on Hungary itself. Although the Hungarian emigrants have no extensive revolutionary experience, their work is nevertheless of great importance. It is the problem of the Hungarian Communist Party to gather its best elements, to organise, to enlighten and to discipline them, and thus to form a reservoir of agitational forces for the future Hungarian Communist movement, as well as an organisational basis and an apparatus for the publication of literature.

c. Though the Hungarian Communist Party must make the starting point for its agitation the every-day life problem of the masses, it should nevertheless in its agitation and propaganda always point to the glorious past of the Hungarian Soviet Dictatorship and all its experiences and constantly compare it with the experiences of the White Dictatorship. It is the duty of the Party to do its work genuinely and under an unfolded banner as a Communist Party. Only in this way can it by its concrete actions acquire trust as a leader of the fighting masses, without which it cannot play a leading role in the future Hungarian revolution. In order to fulfil these political instructions, the Executive Committee is appointing a provisional Central Committee, until such time as

a regular Party Conference will be able to elect a Central Committee.

These theses have been accepted by the representatives of both fractions as a binding guiding policy for the future political and organisational activity. The glorious revolutionary past of the Hungarian proletariat obligates every Hungarian Communist to cooperate in realising from an organisational point of view, the political instructions for completing the preparatory work of the Hungarian Revolution, in order that the foundation for the emancipation of the suffering and struggling Hungarian proletariat, due to the Horthy Terror, may be on a sound basis.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Washington Conference.

I. The Washington Conference.

The Washington Conference, called by the American Government for the settlement of Far-Eastern problems, and the limitation of armaments, is the next of a series of vain attempts made by capitalist society to find a way out of the inextricable contradictions which the imperialist world war so strikingly revealed and so deplorably failed to solve. The conception of a *Central Europe*, the illusion of a League of Nations, have both successively failed. German capitalism, as well as English capitalism, have successively proved incapable of so organising the capitalist world, as to perpetuate the exploitation of one nation by another, and still simultaneously abolish armaments and dispell the danger of war. At this moment, three years after the close of the war, and two years after the conclusion of peace, Europe presents the picture of a cage, in which beasts contend for the possession of a fleshless bone, under the

supervision of trainers of animals, who at times throw them a new one, and at other times assail them with the whip. Now that victorious capitalism has so splendidly proved its ability as the organiser of the world, the United States of America, which participated in the attempt to establish a League of Nations at Versailles, and subsequently refused to join that very League of Nations, their own handiwork, are now once more taking the initiative to attain a settlement of the problems of the Pacific Ocean so intensely important to them, namely, the settlement of the conflicts in Eastern Asia. Proceeding from the shores of the Pacific Ocean, they desire to grapple with the problem of the limitation of armaments as a general international question. All this is to be achieved at the Washington Conference. This attempt will *fail*, just as all the preceding ones have failed. At best it can only result in a revised grouping of the nations, and further intensification of the prevailing

contradictions. This is proved by the identity of the impelling forces in the United States, England, and Japan, as well as by a concrete circumscription of their conflicts.

II. The Return of the United States of America to Europe.

The United States of America withdrew from the League of Nations, first, because England, possessing six votes, had made itself dominant in it; secondly, because the American capitalists did not desire to assume any responsibility for the territorial boundaries of the world as patched up at Versailles; thirdly, because the republican capitalist coterie wished to utilise the disgust for intervention in European affairs felt by the petty bourgeois masses, in order to drive the democratic capitalist clique from the government trough. And yet the United States of America were unable to retreat from the sphere of world politics. The capitalists of Europe and the Allies are indebted to them to the extent of twenty billions of dollars. The development of the European conflicts was decisive, not only as to the possibility of the debtors being able to settle their debts, but also as to the ability of the United States to maintain the industries that arose during the war. Although a part of American capitalism presumed in 1919 that its prosperity was not at all dependent upon the economic development of Europe, the crisis that raged during 1920 and 1921 impressed upon the consciousness of even the American farmers, that America cannot export its products to Europe, in case European industry continues to deteriorate and decay. It is for this reason that the United States participated in the settlement of the question of the German reparations, that they are taking a hand in solving the Upper Silesian problem, the problem of the famine in Russia. In short, the United States of America have returned to the Council of the Allies, that real representation of victorious world capital which has reduced the Council of the League of Nations to a mere dummy. The United

States of America are now attempting to obtain control in the Allied Council, and to that end are taking advantage of the difficult position of their English competitor.

III. The Position of England.

To secure victory, English imperialism enlisted its colonies in the war, and the latter were greatly strengthened industrially by the war. In 1917 it granted them the privilege of a voice in the determination of the foreign policy of the British Empire. Now, it must really allow them this right of co-determination, because it is unable *alone* to meet the expenses of the maritime armaments it deems necessary to maintain its position as against the United States of America and its own Allies, Japan and France, and because it is compelled to reckon with them as powerful factors. Great Britain has made way for the *Federation of Great Britain* with the self-governing capitalist English colonies whose foreign interests do not coincide with those of their mother country. Whereas English imperialism desires to maintain the alliance with Japan, in order to have an ally in case of a conflict with the United States of America, and in order to be able to play the role of intermediary between American and Japanese imperialism after having added fuel to the American-Japanese contradictions, young Canadian capitalism, on the other hand, growing ever more dependent upon the United States of America, by virtue of its adjacent position, is unable to bear any injury to its relations towards its powerful neighbour. At the Imperial Conference Canada declared itself against the renewal of the Alliance with Japan, and refused to consider itself bound in case of such an eventual renewal. To Australia, Japan represents the only possible opponent, and America an ally in case of a conflict with Japan. The South African farmers will have nothing to do with international political conflicts. Owing to these facts English imperialism has *lost its freedom of movement as against the United States of America.*

Increasing economic competition between Great Britain and the United States confronts both with the problem of whether such competition in the unwholesome atmosphere of unsolved international political conflicts, will not lead to an increase of armaments, and subsequently to a new world war. In such a world war the position of Great Britain will be far more dangerous than it was in the world war of 1914 to 1918. On the one hand she would be unable to rely completely on her colonies; and on the other hand she would probably find an enemy in France, whose attempt to dominate entire continental Europe by a system of vassal states such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania, as well as her Oriental policy, engender increasing conflicts with Great Britain. English imperialism aided in crushing not only the maritime, but also the military power of German capitalism. The disarmament of German capitalism promoted French militarism to the position of a decisive factor on the continent; and this decisive factor will, in view of the development of distance guns, aeronautics and submarines, be able, in alliance with the United States, not only completely to blockade England, but even venture landing in England. In the face of these circumstances, the English government feels compelled to attempt arriving at a conciliation with the American Government. The object of such an agreement is the formation of an *Anglo-Saxon capitalist trust whose centre of gravity is to be located in America. And Japan is expected to pay the price of this trustification.*

IV. The Isolation of Japan.

During the late war, Japanese imperialism succeeded in extremely enriching itself, at slight cost, as a furnisher of war materials to the Allies, and by taking advantage of the fact that the war prevented England from adequately supplying industrial products to its colonies. After diplomatically preventing China's participation in the war in the beginning, Japan wrested Kiou-Chau and the province of Shantung

from German imperialism, and occupied that territory. She fanned the flames of internal strife in China, availing herself of the opportunity to assume the position of an organiser, but in reality of a ruler of that great Empire which is gradually emerging from feudal dissension into unity, under the leadership of the bourgeois South. The results of the world war make the permanent possession of these fruits of Japanese victory rather questionable. The defeat of Germany, the elimination of Russia, as an imperialist factor, capable of allying itself with Japan for common predatory expeditions, make Japan completely dependent upon England's aid as against the United States of America.

V. American Plans in Eastern Asia.

The economic expansion plans of the U. S. A. in China and Russia (primarily in Siberia), find their explanation in the need of important markets for American capital. The U. S. A. being the world creditor and able to compete not only with Japanese but even with British industries in the world market, are opponents of all imperialist privileges which the older imperialist States, such as Great Britain, France, and Japan have hitherto obtained in China, and might in future obtain in Siberia. America is endeavouring to push Japan out of China under the slogan of "the open door", a policy already adopted in 1900 by State Secretary John Hay. Moreover America's attitude towards the question of the Chinese Radio Stations on the Isle of Yap, is a sign that the U. S. A. mean to take up the fight along the whole line. This policy of the U. S. A. is a menace to British interests, although in a lesser degree than those of Japan, not only because Great Britain's capitalist development is more advanced and better able to compete with American than that of Japan, but also because the question of the Pacific Coast is a life question for Japan, whereas it is only one of the very important world questions for Great Britain. Japan can therefore expect only limited support from Great

Britain. Should Great Britain be given the choice between the U. S. A. and Japan, she would certainly decide in favour of the former. For this reason the Washington Conference may safely be interpreted as an American attempt to rob Japan, by diplomatic means, of the fruits of victory.

VI. Prospects of the Washington Conference.

Any limitation of warlike preparations in the Pacific or any delimitation of the seas in which some Powers have obtained a predominant position depend entirely on the result of the negotiations on the Pacific controversy. Great Britain will side with Japan, endeavouring to bring about a compromise between the U. S. A. and Japan, which will enable her to maintain her alliance with Japan by making America a party to the contract. The alliance with Japan is of considerable military value in the event of a war with the U. S. A., and of no mean diplomatic importance in the event of dispute with the U. S. A. This might be engineered either by compensations to Japan in Siberia or by concessions to the U. S. A. in China and the admittance of the U. S. A. to the exploitation of the oil-wells in Mesopotamia, etc. Should the U. S. A. succeed in this plan, they will endeavour to maintain close relations with Japan within the limits of the Anglo-Japanese-American Alliance, and come to an understanding as to the degree of armament permissible to the respective partners in the alliance. In the event of the failure of such an adjustment of the controversy, the economic struggle, as well as unlimited armament, will take their due course. Thus we have on the one hand the Anglo-American Trust, and the curtailment of Japanese war gains in favour of the U. S. A., and at the cost of China and perhaps even of Soviet Russia, this pact leading to new diplomatic groupings and new political complications; just as 1894, when Russia, Germany, and France endeavoured to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory over China by means of the

Chimonoseki Peace Treaty. On the other hand, the differences between these States will reach an acute state much sooner. But on no account will they disappear; as the economic differences between Great Britain and America are bound to remain a dominant world question. The same may be said of the Anglo-Japanese and the Franco-English difference; and behind these differences which divide the world of the capitalist victors, are the differences with the beaten capitalist countries, such as Germany, with the colonial countries, and finally with Soviet Russia, a State which forms a breach in the capitalist State system.

VII. The Washington Conference and the Communist International.

The attempt to introduce limitation of armaments in Europe is doomed to failure. Even if France renounced her preparedness plans in view of the complete disarmament of Germany, she will not give up her ambition of being the foremost military power in Europe, for domination of the European continent is the policy of French imperialism. Moreover there are the vassal States of France which have all been provided with territories by the Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties. There are large masses of Ukrainians, Little-Russians, and Germans in Poland. Czecho-Slovakia, like the former dual monarchy, contains, in addition to the Czecho-Slovakian a large German, Czechish and Hungarian populations. Hungarians and Bessarabians are groaning under the Roumanian yoke. Large sections of the Bulgarian population have been allotted to Roumania and Yugo-Slavia. The entire status of Central, South and Eastern Europe stands or falls by force majeure. In the Near East, France, from her vantage points in Africa and Syria, is endeavouring to outflank Great Britain in her most vulnerable spot—the Suez Canal. She is attempting to hamper Great Britain's policy which rests on the establishment of a connection between India and Egypt through the territory of a large Arabian State subject to British imperialism. In order

to make France renounce her preparedness plans under the existing conditions, Great Britain would have to come to an understanding with her on all the world questions.

That the capitalist Powers are rather sceptical on the question of disarmament, is shown by the fact that the British Government, while welcoming Harding's proposal to discuss disarmament in Washington in November, is voting 30 millions sterling to new warships, on the excuse that Japan is constructing eight dreadnoughts which are to be completed in 1925, while credits have already been voted for eight more, and that U. S. A. will have completed the construction of 12 super-dreadnoughts in 1925.

The Executive of the Communist International exposes the true character of the Washington Conference which can lead neither to disarmament nor to peace for the masses, but is only an attempt to harmonise the interests of the bigger Anglo-Saxon imperialist robbers, at the expense of the weaker Japanese despoilers of China and Soviet Russia. The true nature of the Washington Conference is emphasised by the fact that Soviet Russia has not been invited to participate in it, so that she might be prevented from exposing the abominable game which is to be played with the destinies of nations in Washington.

The Executive of the Communist International warns the working masses

and the subject colonial peoples against setting their hopes on the Washington Conference as a means of freeing them from the menace of a capitalist world which is armed to the teeth, and from exploitation by the capitalist States. The Executive of the Communist International calls upon all the Communist Parties and upon all Trade Unions affiliated with the Red Trade Union International to increase the agitation and the struggle against the imperialist Governments, the conflicting interests of which will lead to a new world conflagration, unless the proletarian revolution wrenches the arms from the hands of the capitalist class, and forms a basis for a real League of Working Peoples.

The Executive of the Communist International draws the attention of the working class of the entire world to the intrigues which are being hatched out in Washington against Soviet Russia. It enjoins the Chinese and Korean masses, as well as the population of Eastern Siberia to unite more closely with Soviet Russia, the only State which is willing to put the relations with the Eastern peoples which are menaced by world imperialism, on the basis of community of rights and brotherly aid.

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

Moscow, August 15th, 1921.

To the Workers of Great Britain.

Fellow Workers,

The Trade Union Congress meets at Cardiff on the 5th of September. Never before has a labour gathering been confronted with so grave and serious a situation as to-day. The working class of Great Britain is in a position bordering on despair. Divided into a multitude of unions, federations, loose alliances, committees, councils, parties, and devoid of unified and militant leadership, the labour movement of to-day is a vast confusion

and chaos. Eight million organised workers, a mighty army indeed, cannot point out a single victory won by labour in recent years. The history of the labour movement, especially since the outbreak of the war and after the armistice, has been a record of blunders and defeats. Separate groups of workers, unaided and unsupported by the rest of the working class, have time and again put up the most stubborn and the most heroic fights, but the working class as a

whole has repeatedly suffered itself to be tricked and fooled by the bourgeoisie and labour politicians,—has meekly and obediently accepted broken promises and downright betrayals,—and submitted to threats and intimidations.

And what is the result? Millions of unemployed, hundreds of thousands of workers on short-time, a general insecurity of work, a continuous decline and fall in the standard of living. Instead of the promised millenium; instead of a "place fit for heroes to live in", the life of the worker has become a hunt for a living wage. Verily it may be said, it takes a hero to withstand all the misery and privation brought upon us by capitalism. Nor does this wave of unemployment show the least sign of abatement. Every day it engulfs new thousands of workers, throwing them out on the streets to swell the ranks of the already unemployed millions. Thus the general mass of misery and privation is continually intensified. On the other hand, the spectre of unemployment is haunting those still on the job, and they do not know what to-morrow will bring, while among those in employment, hundreds of thousands are working only part-time,—simply hanging on to their jobs by the skin of their teeth.

The capitalist system which is responsible for the present crisis and all its attendant evils of unemployment, misery and privations is unable to extricate itself from the economic chaos of its own creation. It is not only unable to solve the unemployment problem, but to ensure its own continued existence, it is compelled to degrade the working class and reduce it still further to servitude.

The universal economic chaos, to which imperialist capitalism has brought the world, threatens profits, and the bourgeoisie wishes to recoup itself at the expense of the meagre wages of the workers. Thus, the present crisis is being utilised by the capitalist class in a ruthless and ferocious attack on the standard of living of the proletariat. *To maintain the profits of capitalism, the workers must starve.*

To-day, after so many years of struggle, the British proletariat finds

itself in constant dread of losing that little which is doled out to it in the form of wages by the employing class.

The British working class, the largest and the strongest of all, the source and foundation of all the wealth and prosperity that the country possesses to-day, lies prostrate and helpless, a prey to the capitalist exploiters and an object of intimidation by a capitalist class government. How is it that the British proletariat suffers itself to be thus cowed and beaten into submission without putting up a united and determined fight to a finish?

This is the foremost question which the workers must raise before the Trade Union congress and give a satisfactory answer. We, on our part, have this to say: The workers of Great Britain are organised in trade unions but not organised as a class. *They possess no class organisations capable of leading the whole of the working class to victory.*

The trade unions form federations and alliances, or belong to the Trade Union Congress or Labour Party, but in spite of this multitude of organisations, the proletariat is not organised as a class. The bourgeoisie looks to the British Federation of Industries for aid and action. When in need, it has Parliament to fall back upon, and a National Government is always at its disposal. The bourgeoisie is indeed organised as a class, but the workers alone are split and torn asunder into a multitude of petty unions, federations, alliances, with high-sounding and imposing names, but none of them representing the working class as a whole and with neither authority nor power to act. To those who are accustomed to talk in terms of the labour movement, it will sound paradoxical that there is no labour movement in Great Britain. There are movements of Labour,—of miners, of railwaymen, of dockers, engineers, and so on, but there is no concerted movement of the whole of the working class. Separate groups of the British proletariat have in the past engaged in some splendid skirmishes. They have scored notable victories on isolated fronts, but never have they yet matched

the whole strength of Labour in a general battle with the bourgeoisie. Labour as a whole has never as yet presented an organised, united front against Capital. It is high time for Labour to recognise the painful truth that it is divided against itself, no matter how much it may profess class solidarity, and in spite of its deep conviction that "an injury to one is an injury to all". Class solidarity, to be effective, must find its expression through class organisations, and so long as labour remains disunited, it will be beaten.

The capitalist class and the Government know well that so long as they can keep Labour in the present state of disorganisation and chaos, their rule is unassailable and unshakable.

As to the revolt of separate groups of Labor—as in the case of the miners, there is nothing much for the bourgeoisie to fear. These can be crushed with comparative ease, and what is more, crushed by the aid of other groups of the working class which, while the struggle goes on, supply the enemy with the sinews of war to be used against their fellow workers. For, and let us not deceive ourselves on that score, when a million miners are engaged in a deadly grip with the employers, and the rest of the workers stand at their benches, drive engines and load cars, they help the enemy to beat the miners. There is no getting away from this truth by hiding behind the beautiful phrases of class solidarity and "an injury to one is an injury to all". Throughout the year of 1919, there was plenty of talk of class solidarity, yet the railwaymen and the miners were beaten. So was it in 1920. And on top of all comes the great debacle at the beginning of the present year, when even J. H. Thomas hardly delivered a speech or made a statement without repeatedly using the phrase of class solidarity. But what was the result? *Black Friday!* "Class solidarity" must cease to be a phrase used only in newspapers, books and on the platform. It must cease to be a cloak donned on special occasions and for brightly-lighted lecture halls. And above all, the workers must not per-

mit it to be used as an instrument whereby traitors may pull the wool over the eyes of Labour. Class solidarity must become a living reality, and this can be achieved only by the creation of a class organisation beginning with the United Workers Committees and culminating in the General Staff of Labour.

The Trade Union Congress.

The Trade Union Congress, loose and involuntary as it has been till now, is not the organisation capable of leading the working class to victory over the bourgeoisie, or even to defend the workers from capitalist aggression. The annual meetings of the Trade Union Congress only afford an additional platform to a few labour leaders to give vent to their eloquence before a labour audience. Its practical work results in a multitude of resolutions and recommendations, and that is all.

The leaders of the Trade Union Congress readily turned into diplomats of the working class and concluded peace with the bourgeoisie and the Government by voluntarily resigning to them the rights of Labour on empty promises for the future, but did nothing to compel the Government and the bourgeoisie to fulfil them. When the industries and the soldiers were demobilised, and hundreds of thousands of men and women were thrown out of work to become a public charge; when every promise made to the workers during the war was broken soon after, what did the Trade Union Congress do to show to the capitalists and the Government that Labour cannot and will not be trifled with? It did nothing, except silently witness the dignity of Labour being gradually degraded and dragged into the mire. Was the Trade Union Congress of any assistance to the workers in 1919? Did it bring active pressure of the whole working class to bear upon the Government to yield to the railway men? No, it did not. Did the Trade Union Congress help the miners to secure nationalisation at a time when the position of Labour was most unfavourable? No,

it did not. Its threat of direct action remained on paper, notwithstanding the fact that over four million workers voted for direct action. Was the Trade Union Congress of any practical use in the Labour disputes of 1920? No, it was not. When the bravest of British Labour, the miners, were so hard-pressed by the combined strength of the bourgeoisie, Parliament and the Government, and sorely in need of the combined strength of the working class, where was the Trade Union Congress then? As usual, it was hibernating, only to awaken in Cardiff on September 5th to talk for a few days, and again to fall into its winter's sleep until the next Congress.

To-day, when Labour is being ferociously attacked by the combined forces of the capitalist class, aided by the Government; when millions of unemployed or partly employed roam the streets and the countryside in search of a livelihood, when the whole working class more than ever before stands in need of convinced and determined leadership, what is the Trade Union Congress doing? Nothing. Is it not then correct, fellow workers, to say that Labour has not found in the Trade Union Congress the class organisation it needs, and is it not high time that every worker realises this before the capitalist class has got you securely by the throat?

The Triple Alliance.

The Triple Alliance has come in for a great deal of criticism, especially since its failure to act on behalf of the miners. Far be it from us to hasten to defend the Triple Alliance from the wrath and indignation of the workers. It has got what it deserved, the contempt of the masses. The secret negotiations which its leaders carried on with the enemy behind the backs of the workers; their constant wire-pulling, their endeavours to hold the ring while the Government made every preparation to crush the labour movement: their fears to bring into action large masses of workers, all their deeds, or rather misdeeds, will be

inscribed upon the blackest page of the history of the class struggle. But criticism and indignation alone are not enough to build up the labour movement. The bitter lessons which the treacherous leaders have taught you must not be wasted for nothing, such lessons must not be consumed in the momentary flames of your indignation on the morrow of your betrayal, and the same bitter experiences gone through again.

What did the Triple Alliance teach us on the 15th of April? That there is no class solidarity of British Labour, but a combination of leaders *only*, especially leaders of the type of Thomas; that there is not a close union of the rank and file, is not a class organisation centralised and efficient, to take the field at short notice and thus beat back the enemy decisively and irrevocably. When the Transport Workers and the Railwaymen failed to act side by side with the Miners, was it due to the lack of class solidarity on their part, or because they lacked the feeling and conviction that "an injury to one is an injury to all"? No, fellow workers, it was due to the fact that the three bodies of Labour were never properly united. The Miners, the Transport Workers, the Railwaymen had not created a common organisation. A real alliance of Labour does not mean a combination of J. H. Thomas, Gosling, Hodges, etc. etc. The three great labour bodies had never had common conferences called directly from the rank and file; had never discussed in common the problems affecting them all. They were never organised all along the line for concerted and efficient action. If the Miners, the Railwaymen and Transport Workers had been closely united and organised all along the front, locally and nationally, would it have been possible for the leaders such as Thomas & Co to tear this gigantic body of Labour asunder at the most critical moment when one of its members was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the common enemy? Most certainly not. If, from the first to the fifteenth of April there had sat in Unity House on Russel Square an authoritative conference elected by the

rank and file of the three Federations, supervising the work of a common executive, with the executives of the several federations involved subservient to it, and if similar conferences had sat throughout the length and breadth of the country, would so shameful a breach of class solidarity ever have taken place? Those who claim that it would have made no difference, are maliciously slandering the workers of Britain.

* * *

And so, fellow workers, the Trade Union Congress and the Triple Alliance in the form in which they existed heretofore and under their present leadership, have not and could not have been the class organisation which Labour stood so much in need of in the past, and now needs more than ever before. The Trade Union Congress, to become an organisation capable of leading the working class in its struggle against Capitalism, must be reorganised. It must be not only a Trade Union Congress, but chiefly a Labour Congress. It must derive its authority directly from the rank and file and so possess the power to elect the General Staff of Labour, to manoeuvre for position against the bourgeoisie and the government, to move the army of Labour whenever and wherever necessary.

The present position of British Labour is such that we are quite justified in pointing out to every worker the immediate need for a centralised, efficient and militant class organisation. In fact the workers themselves realise that the present state of affairs in the Labour movement is intolerable, and that drastic changes are needed immediately to avoid further and more crushing defeat.

Lately the leaders themselves have begun to talk of the need for a General Staff of Labour. It only shows that they have become aware of the very strong current that is running through the masses of the workers in favour of the unification of the Labour movement. They fear the outbreak of the storm against them, and they hasten to avert

the danger by diverting the current into quiet channels of opportunism and make-believe. When the leaders talk of a General Staff they merely wish to create the illusion in the masses that something new has been suggested by them to cope with the desperate position of Labour. In reality, they will not go further than a new alliance of old leaders who have already shown how incapable they are of really leading the workers against the bastilles of Capitalism. They will leave the old sectionalism of labour distinct, and this means the same old chaos and confusion hidden under a new and high-sounding name of the General Staff of Labour.

We must never for a moment forget that the leaders, such as Thomas and his like, do not want a real union of Labour, for that means that the large masses of the workers will be involved into a direct struggle with the capitalist class. This is precisely what the leaders do not want. Did not Thomas state during the lockout of the miners that nobody could foretell the consequences of a combined strike of the Triple Alliance and other bodies of Labour, and did he not say that whichever side would win, the nation would lose? That means that even if the workers won, the Nation would lose. And so Thomas is against common action by the workers, because the Nation, that is to say the capitalist class, would lose.

The leaders of the petty unions too will be against the close union of the working class, against the General Staff of Labour, for this would mean that they would have to recognise an authority greater than themselves, that they would have to part with some of their prerogatives, of which they are so desirous. They hang on to their petty authority with all their might and main, even though the interests of the working class as a whole demand that they become subservient to a higher authority, to the sovereign will of the working class.

Both the petty leaders and the leaders of national fame, those who represent Labour in the bourgeois newspapers, in the Trade Union Con-

gress and in Parliament, those who are hailed as the leaders of the future Labour Government will, with a few exceptions, oppose a centralised and disciplined organisation of the whole of the working class, because such an organisation would destroy their power of aiding the bourgeoisie and the Government to play off one group of workers against the other; would eliminate that chaos in the Labour movement which heretofore afforded to them the very excellent opportunity of keeping Labour under their domination, and thus preventing every attempt on the part of the workers to revolt against the capitalist system. Their object is, as Thomas has more than once declared, to "keep the ring" in the big battles of Labour and Capital. Their object can be best attained by holding the working class disunited, disorganised and decentralised.

To insure ourselves against the tricks and machinations of the leaders who will make every attempt to reduce the whole question of the unification of the Labour Movement to a mere change in the names of the old organisation (for instance, instead of the Parliamentary Committee — a General Council), leaving everything else as it existed heretofore, the workers must take the work of unification into their own hands and see to it that first of all the shops and the works are united, along the lines of industry. The Workers' Committee is the foundation of working class unity. The Workers' Committee and the Trade Unions must form the Local Trades and Labour Councils with authority to act as the General Staff of Labour for the given locality. Finally, the Trades and Labour Congress must be representatives of the whole of the working class and responsible only to the working class. Unity in the pit, and so on, unity on the point of production, unity in the locality, working class unity in the whole country. It unites all the workers at the point of production irrespective of grade, craft, colour or sex.

The creation of directing staffs in the English Labour movement is only

one part of the problem. What will the executive organs, invested with authority, do? Will they, *like the general staffs of the Trade Union movement in other countries, look for salvation in collaboration with the bourgeoisie, or will they carry on a revolutionary struggle against it?* Will the new staff spend the revolutionary energy of the working class in bartering, or will it, clearly understanding the contradictions which tear apart the existing capitalist society, struggle with all its organised power for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the power of the toilers? Here are the questions that are of the most interest to every proletarian, to every worker of Great Britain. You have witnessed the great struggles and social conflicts of the last years. The workers were being vanquished not only because they were poorly organised, but also because they were striving for sectional aims. The bourgeoisie had triumphed over you only because it understands its class interests better than the working class. It never pursues merely economic problems. It always regards its problems as class problems, and all its activities are permeated with the spirit of its class. Being numerically smaller than the working class, it succeeds by the strength of its organisation and class consciousness.

If the General Staff of the British Labour movement will be permeated with the spirit of hatred against the dominating class, if each little conflict, each skirmish, will serve for the education of the masses, for the single aim of the overthrow of the bourgeois domination, your staff will be worthy of the confidence of the English Labour movement, and will be worthy of its great mission. The victory in the social struggle belongs to the class which is not only better organised, but which is more conscious, to the class which can marshal all the might of its organisation and all its experience for the accomplishment of its class task.

Fellow workers! Forward to unity, to class solidarity and discipline, to the creation of a single revolutionary and anti-capitalist front.

Forward to victory over the bourgeoisie and the whole capitalist system!

The Small Bureau of the Executive of the Communist International.

President: *G. Zinoviev.*

Russia: *Bukharin, Radek.* France: *Souvarine.* Germany: *Heckert.* Italy: *Gennari.* Hungary: *Bela Kun.*

The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions:

General Secretary: *A. Losovski.*

Russia: *Nogin.* England: *Tom Mann.* Germany: *Meyer.* Spain: *Orlandis.* America: *Andreychin.*

A Resolution on the White Russian Question.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is hereby taking note of the heartrending protest of the White Russian organisation, that martyred body of the people in the part of White Russia annexed to Poland, in the following resolution:

The Polish hyenas and capitalists and their governments are systematically carrying on a system of social and national oppression in White Russia that is equal to the old Prussian method of extermination of a foreign nationality. They are depriving the White Russian peasant of his land and are establishing military colonies on the same, thereby giving up the population to plunder and arbitrary rule of armed hands of gendarmes; are suppressing the cooperative associations, schools, libraries and relief societies and are arresting their leaders, teachers and collaborators. They are sending punitive expeditions to the villages, which have dared to demand that instruction should be carried on in the White Russian language (for example Berestovichi in the Prov. of Grodna). The entire country is subject to a regime of espionage, violence and inhumanity, so much so that the population is compelled to appeal for help to Soviet White Russia.

The Polish master class is thus logically completing the war which it was waging against Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine under the hypocritical slogan of the defence of Poland's independence and the liberation of the oppressed frontier nationalities.

The oppressed masses of White Russia can expect their liberation from the yoke of the capitalists and gendarmes not through the League of Nations which the social patriots of

White Russia are appealing to, an institution which is nothing more than an imperialist robber band, nor from the robber governments of Poland and Lithuania, to which part of the nationalists of White Russia are turning for protection, but can gain their emancipation only by their own struggle, hand in hand with the Polish masses, against the policy of oppression perpetrated by the Polish government in the conquered provinces. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is calling upon the workers and peasants of all nationalities of White Russia to unite with their struggling Polish brothers under the banner of the Communist Party and to bring the struggle against the capitalist rule to a successful end. This victory will spell for the people of White Russia not only the liberation from social, but from all national oppression as well.

Long live the joint revolutionary struggle of all the enslaved!

Long live the White Russian, Polish and Russian Soviet Republic!

Germany: *Heckert, Froelich.* France: *Souvarine.* Czecho-Slovakia: *Burian, Kreibich.* Italy: *Terracini, Gennari.* Russia: *Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.* Ukraine: *Shumsky.* Poland: *Glinsky.* Bulgaria: *Popov.* Yugo-Slavia: *Marovicz.* Norway: *Shefflo.* England: *Bell.* America: *Baldwin.* Spain: *Merino Gracia.* Finland: *Sirola.* Holland: *Jansen.* Belgium: *Van Overstraaten.* Sweden: *Kilbom.* Latvia: *Stuchka.* Switzerland: *Arnold.* Austria: *Korichoner.* Hungary: *Bela Kun.*

Executive Committee of the International of Youth: Muenzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17th, 1921.

An Agreement between the Communist Party of Ukraina and the Communist Labour Party of Poland.

Between the Communist Party of Ukraina represented by comrades F. Kon, D. Manuisky and A. Shumsky, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraina, and the Communist Labour Party of Poland, represented by comrades Czerniakovsky, Glin-sky, Valetsky and Brand, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Labour Party of Poland—the following agreement has been concluded on the question of regulating the Communist work in East Galicia.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International the conditions of the revolutionary struggle are demanding the amalgamation of the whole revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of each country into one centralised Communist militant body. Consequently, it is necessary that, so long as East Galicia forms a component part of the Polish state, the Communist Party of East Galicia should form also part of the Communist Labour Party of Poland. With a view to carry out this resolution the Communist Party of Ukraina and the Communist Labour Party of Poland have adopted the following decisions:

1. The Communist Party of East Galicia is to be considered as a local territorial organisation of the Communist Labour Party of Poland.

2. The Communist Party of East Galicia shall take part in all the party conventions and conferences of the Communist Labour Party of Poland on the general basis of the party constitution, and it shall submit to its resolutions. The party and organisations leadership shall belong to the Central Committee of the Communist Labour Party of Poland. The Communist Party of East Galicia shall convene its own regional conferences for the discussion of all political and organisational questions within the limits of the constitution and resolutions of the Communist Labour Party of Poland. These conferences shall

elect a regional committee that shall be named: "Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Galicia".

3. The chief political slogan of the Communist Party of East Galicia shall be: Long live Soviet Poland in fraternal union with Soviet Ukraina and Soviet Russia.

4. A representative of the Communist Party of East Galicia shall be included among the delegates of the Communist Labour Party of Poland to the Congresses of the Communist International.

5. All the Communists working in East Galicia must be members both of the Communist Party of East Galicia and of the Communist Labour Party of Poland.

6. Any assistance to the Communist work in East Galicia (workers, literature, technical means, transport) shall be rendered on the part of the Communist Party of Ukraina only on a definite demand of the Communist Labour Party of Poland or its empowered organ (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Galicia, the representatives of the Communist International, etc.).

7. Any foreign groups recognised by the Communist Party of Ukraina shall be entitled to work in or for East Galicia only provided they shall be empowered thereto by the Communist Labour Party of Poland. All foreign auxiliary groups for East Galicia (Vienna and others) shall exist only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Communist Labour Party of Poland, and they shall be subordinated in all respects to its direction and control.

8. The budget of the Communist Party of East Galicia shall be confirmed by the Central Committee of the Communist Labour Party of Poland, which will determine the requisite sums and control all the rights and expenditure of the Communist Party of East Galicia.

9. This agreement which is to take effect immediately, renders null and void all other regulations on Communist work in East Galicia that have existed up to now.

Moscow, July 9th, 1921.

F. Kon, D. Manuilsky, A. Shumsky, Czerniakovsky, P. Glinsky, Ch. Valetsky, S. Brand.

The above agreement is hereby confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and recognised as the regulation on the organisational question in East Galicia.

Moscow, July 20th, 1921.

For the Executive Committee: *Bela Kun, Fritz Heckert.*

AN EXPLANATION.

In addition to the above agreement the representatives of the Communist Labour Party of Poland (C. L. P. P.) are giving the following explanation in the name of their party:

As a party working in an imperialist state that embraces a number of forcibly annexed national minorities, the C. L. P. P. of Poland considers the struggle against the oppression of these national minorities by the Polish bourgeois government to be one of its most pressing political tasks.

A most decisive resistance to Polish nationalism in all its manifestations is the special duty of the Polish Communists, as belonging to the ruling nationality; by their whole activity they must persuade the peoples of the oppressed nations that the final aim of the Communists, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will simultaneously overthrow both the political oppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie and the oppression of the enslaved peoples by the bourgeoisie of the ruling nationality.

With regard to East Galicia annexed to bourgeois Poland by force of arms, the C. L. P. P. most decidedly stands up for the national rights of the Ukrainian population which is the predominating one in that country. The C. L. P. P. is struggling for the rights of the Ukrainian peasants to the land, as against the colonisation policy of the bourgeoisie which is ever seeking to rob the peasants of all nationalities both of their nationality as well as of their land.

In advancing the slogan of amalgamation of Soviet Poland and Soviet Ukraine, the C. L. P. P. thereby points out the fact that the question of frontiers, so important a one for the bourgeois imperialist governments, will lose its

acute character under the soviet regime and be replaced by the fraternal agreement and collaboration of the liberated peoples.

Already in 1918--1919 the C. L. P. P. had protested against the campaign against Lemberg that was being undertaken by the imperialists for the crushing of the uprising of the Ukrainian peasants, and it will struggle also in the future against all attempts to crush by armed force and governmental violence any Ukrainian movement directed against the Polish State, or tending to separate from it.

One of the main tasks of the Communist Party of East Galicia, occupying the same platform as the C. L. P. P. and constituting a component part of the same, and especially one of the chief tasks of the Ukrainian Communists of East Galicia is to struggle against the Ukrainian nationalist tendencies in the party, which are exploiting the national and social enslavement of the Ukrainian population of East Galicia, fooling it by means of nationalist phraseology, keeping it from the revolutionary class struggle, instigating it against the workers of other countries, thus driving it under the yoke of its own bourgeoisie and making it an object of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary intrigues and adventures of different capitalist governments.

The amalgamation of the proletariat of all nationalities into one military party which is being carried out in an atmosphere of national baiting and excited national passions, is the indispensable and best weapon for the struggle against nationalism, the greatest enemy of the revolution.

Czerniakovsky, Glinsky, Valetsky, Brand,

A Pretended Attempt against the Lives of the Ministers of Lithuania.

The Lithuanian paper "Echo" is reporting that the Executive Committee of the Communist International has passed a resolution that an attempt should be made on the lives of the ministers of Lithuania. This report is supposed to have aroused great anxiety in Kovno. The Secretariat of the Communist International is unable personally to reassure these gentlemen, because their names are absolutely unknown to it. It declares only that neither the Executive Committee, nor any other organs rela-

ted to it have ever intended to make any attempts against any ministers, and particularly those of Lithuania, as representing no essential hindrance to the social revolution.

It is a pity that the funds of the Lithuanian people should be expended on such foolish and provocative sallies.

Secretariat of the Communist International.

Moscow, August 25th, 1921.

To all Communist Parties, all Red Trade Unions, all Workers' Committees for the Relief of the Famishing in Russia.

The Executive of the Communist International requests you to send in reports on the progress of the campaign for the relief of the famishing in Russia at least once every week. The Russian workers are watching this campaign with greatest attention, they are eagerly catching up every word that tells them how the workers of Western Europe and America are organising relief to the starving provinces of Soviet Russia not merely by word of mouth, but by means of action. The Executive Committee of the Communist International attaches the greatest importance to this work. By the results attained by each Communist organisation, by the extent of the relief work done, the whole Communist International will judge of the degree of influence that these labour organisations enjoy. The Executive Committee of the Communist International will publish with full particulars all the data on the sums collected among the workers in favour of the famishing provinces of Soviet Russia. It is therefore imperative that

you use all the means at your disposal to let us have most detailed data, enumerating the works and workshops that took part in the collection, stating the full number of workers who participated in it, giving the names of the labour groups and trade unions etc., etc. We further request you to send us all the bulletins, appeals and special editions published in connection with this question.

The Executive Committee once more draws your attention to the fact that it considers the best form of relief to the famishing to be a donation of one day's pay by the workers.

*The Executive Committee once more proposes in all countries to strive after forming **general** relief committees consisting of representatives of **all** labour parties and all trade unions.*

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

G. Zinoviev.

≡ BULLETIN ≡

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 3

Petrograd

October 21-st, 1921.

CONTENTS: N. Lenin. Letter to the German Communists.—Appeals of the Executive of the Comintern: The Two-and-a-Half International in the Role of Police Agent. — The independent Aid of the Workers to Soviet Russia. — To the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party (S. P. I.), for Transmission to the Committee of the Faction of Maximalists-Unitarians. — To the Workers of the Socialist Party of Switzerland. — World Capital is preparing a Polish-Roumanian Campaign against famine-stricken Soviet Russia. — To the Proletariat of Burgenland. — To the British Working Class. — To the Workers of Austria.—Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the new Evolution of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. — Resolutions on Famine Relief passed by the Bureau of the E. C. C. I. — Addendum.

Letter to the German Communists.

I had intended to write a detailed article giving my views on the lessons to be learned from the Third Congress of the Communist International. Unfortunately I have been prevented by illness from doing it. The Congress of your party having been fixed for the 23rd of August, I have to hurry with this letter and finish it in several hours, so as not to be late in dispatching it to Germany.

As far as I can judge, the position of the Communist Party in Germany is a very difficult one. This may be easily understood.

First and above all, the international position of Germany since the close of the year 1918 has suddenly and acutely sharpened the revolutionary crisis in the country, pushing the vanguard of the proletariat towards the immediate seizure of power. At the same time the German as well as the whole international bourgeoisie, excellently armed and organised, taught by the "Russian experiment", fell upon the revolutionary proletariat of Germany with vicious hatred. Tens of thousands of Germany's best men, of her revolutionary workers, have been murdered and tortured by the bourgeoisie, by its heroes—Noske and Co., its direct servants, the Scheidemanns etc., its indirect and "refined"—and

therefore all the more valuable—help-mates, the heroes of the "Two-and-a-half International" with their disgusting want of backbone, their hesitation, pedantry and petty bourgeois souls. The armed bourgeoisie set traps to the defenceless workers, murdered them in masses, killed their leaders, systematically waylaying them one after the other and making excellent use of the hue and cry raised by the social democrats of both shades—the Scheidemanns as well as the Kautskys. But during the crisis the German workers were left without a truly revolutionary party, owing to the belated split and to the influence of the accursed tradition of "unity" with the gang of flunkeys of capital, of whom some are mercenaries (the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Davids & Co.) and the others unprincipled (the Kautskys, Hilferdings & Co). Every honest and conscious worker who accepted the Basel manifesto of 1912 on its face value and not for what it really was—a mere shift on the part of the rascals of the "Second" and "Two-and-a-half" sort loathed the opportunism of the old German social democrats. This loathing—the most honourable and highest feeling of the best of the oppressed and exploited masses—blinded the people. It kept them from thinking the thing out coolly and

from working out their own correct strategy in answer to the first-rate strategy of the armed and organised Entente capitalists who have learned their lesson from the "Russian experiment" and are supported by France, Britain and America. It was this loathing that pushed the workers to premature risings.

This is why the development of the revolutionary workers' movement in Germany took such an extremely hard and painful course, especially after the close of the year 1918. Yet it went on and is still going on unswervingly. It is an undeniable fact that the working masses, the actual majority of the toilers and the exploited in Germany are gradually moving to the left. This applies to the workers belonging to the old menshevist trade unions (i. e. the unions which serve the bourgeoisie), as well as to the unorganised or practically unorganised workers. What has to be done, and what will be done by the German proletariat, what will guarantee freedom to it, is to keep cool-headed and steady; systematically to correct past mistakes; with set purpose to win a majority among the working masses inside and outside the trade unions; patiently to build up a strong and clever Communist party which would really be able to lead the masses in any and all emergencies; to work out a strategy that would come up to the standard of the best international strategy of the most "enlightened" (by centuries of experience in general, by the "Russian experiment" in particular) and progressive bourgeoisie.

On the other hand the difficulties of the German Communist Party are now enhanced by the secession of the inferior Communists of the Left (the "Communist Labour Party of Germany", K. A. P. D.) and of the Right (Paul Levy with his worthless magazine—*Our Path*—or *The Soviet*).

We have given the "left" elements or the "K. A. P.-ists" plenty of warning on the international arena, since the time of the Second Congress of the Comintern. As long as sufficiently strong and experienced Communist parties have not yet grown up, if only

in the chief countries, we have to suffer the semi-anarchistic elements at our international meetings. To a certain extent their presence is even useful. It is useful in so far as these elements serve as a practical warning for the inexperienced Communists, as a sort of example "ab contrario", and also in so far as they themselves are still able to learn something. All the world over anarchism has split into two different tendencies. This phenomenon is not of recent occurrence, but dates back to the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914—1918. One of these tendencies is pro-Sovietist, the other anti-Sovietist, the one is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the other against it. We must let this process of disintegration in anarchism grow and mature. Scarcely anybody in Western Europe has been through a revolution of more or less importance. The lessons of the great revolutions have practically been forgotten there. As to passing from the mere desire to be revolutionary, from mere talk (and resolutions) about the revolution to real revolutionary work, it is a very difficult, slow and painful process.

Of course, we may and must suffer the semi-anarchistic elements only to a certain extent. In Germany we have put up with them for a very long time. The Third Congress of the Communist International has put them an ultimatum with a fixed term. If they have now left the Communist International of their own accord, so much the better. Firstly, they have saved us the trouble of expelling them. Secondly, all the wavering workers, all those who were leaning towards anarchism out of disgust with the opportunism of the old social democrats have now been shown most circumstantially and clearly and have had all the proofs laid down before them, corroborated by accurate facts, that the Communist International has been patient, that it did not turn out the anarchists immediately and unconditionally, but listened attentively to what they had to say, and helped them to learn.

The less attention is now being paid to the K. A. P.-ists, the better. We merely advertise them by carrying on

a controversy with them. They are too far from being clever. To take them seriously would be wrong; to be angry with them is not worth while. They neither have nor will have influence with the masses, if we ourselves forbear from mistakes. Let us leave this paltry tendency to die a natural death. The workers will realise its worthlessness by themselves. Let us more thoroughly make propaganda for and apply in practice the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern as to organisation and tactics, and less ardently advertise the K. A. P.-ists through our polemics with them. The infantile sickness of "left" communism is passing and will pass as the movement grows.

It is equally wrong to help Paul Levy—as we are doing now—and to advertise him by carrying on a controversy with him. All he wants is that we should argue with him. We must forget him now that the Third Congress of the Comintern has come to a decision on the matter. We must concentrate all our attention and all our efforts on peaceful work (without frictions, without polemics, without thinking of yesterday's scuffles), on businesslike and positive work in the spirit of the decisions of our Third Congress. To my opinion Com. K. Radek's article "The Third World Congress on the March Action, and Future Tactics" (see the *Rote Fahne*, the central organ of the United Communist Party of Germany, July 14th and 15th 1921) sins considerably against this general and unanimous decision of the Third Congress. This article, which has been forwarded to me by a comrade belonging to Polish Communist circles, is—without any necessity whatsoever and much to the detriment of the cause—aimed not only at Paul Levy (this would not have mattered in the least), but also at Clara Zetkin. Yet Clara Zetkin herself, when in Moscow, during the Third Congress, concluded a "peace treaty" with the C. C. (the "Zentrale") of the United Communist Party of Germany, agreeing to work together on friendly lines, without sectarian spirit. This treaty has been approved by all of us. Carried

away by this ill-timed controversy, Com. Radek has come to make altogether false statements. Thus he says that Clara Zetkin is "putting off" (verlegt) "all general action of the party" (jede allgemeine Aktion der Partei) "until the day when the large masses will rise" (auf den Tag, wo die grossen Massen aufstehen werden). By using such methods Com. Radek is rendering Paul Levy the best service he could have dreamt of. All that Paul Levy wishes is that the issue be discussed endlessly, that as many people as possible be drawn into it and that efforts be made to frighten Clara Zetkin off from the Party by means of polemic breach of the "peace treaty" concluded by her and sanctioned by the whole Communist International. By his article Com. K. Radek has given a splendid example of the way in which Paul Levy is being helped from the "left".

I must now explain to the German comrades why I kept on defending Paul Levy for a considerable time at the Third Congress. I did it in the first place because I had made Levy's acquaintance through Radek in Switzerland in 1915 or 1916. Levy was already a Bolshevik then. And I cannot help somewhat mistrusting those who declared themselves in favour of Bolshevism *only after* its victory in Russia and a number of victories on the international field. This is, of course, rather an unimportant reason, since I know Paul Levy very little personally. Of much greater importance is the second reason, namely, that Levy is *essentially in the right* in much of his criticism of the March rising of 1921 in Germany (but, of course, not when he calls this rising a "Putch". This assertion of Paul Levy's is nonsense.)

It is true, Levy has done all that was possible and much of what was impossible to weaken and spoil his criticism and obscure to himself and others the essence of the question, by adding so many details in which he was obviously wrong. He has clad his criticism in an inadmissible and harmful shape. While preaching a careful and well weighed strategy to others, Levy has done more foolish a thing than

any boy would have done, by flinging himself headlong into the fight so prematurely and without any preparation, so stupidly and so much against all reason that he was bound to lose the "battle" (and has for many years to come spoiled and hampered his own work), although he might and should have won it. Levy has behaved like an "intellectual anarchist" (if I am not mistaken, they call it "Edelanarchist" in German), instead of acting like one of the organised members of the proletarian Communist International. Levy has thus committed a breach of discipline.

By this series of unspeakably foolish mistakes Levy has made it difficult to concentrate one's attention on the essence of the thing. Yet the essence of the thing, i. e. the estimate and the correction of the numerous mistakes made by the United Communist Party of Germany during the March action of 1921 was and is of enormous importance. To point out and correct these mistakes (which some have extolled as a pearl of Marxist tactics) one *had to* stand on the *right* wing at the Third Congress of the Comintern. Otherwise all the *line of conduct* of the Communist International would have been *wrong*.

I defended and had to defend Levy in so far as I saw before me such adversaries of his who were simply crying out against "Menshevism" and "Centrism", without any desire to see the mistakes of the March rising and the necessity of pointing them out and correcting them. Such people were turning revolutionary Marxism into a caricature, and the struggle against "Centrism" into merry sport. There was danger of these people doing the greatest possible harm to the whole cause, for "no one on earth is able to compromise the revolutionary Marxists, — provided they won't do it themselves".

I said to those people: Supposing Levy has become a menshevik. Knowing him very little myself, I'll not gainsay it, if I have proofs of it. But it has not been proven yet. So far all that has been proven is that he has lost his head. To declare a man a menshevik on account of that only, is both

childish and silly. It is slow and tedious work to train experienced and influential party leaders. Yet without it the dictatorship of the proletariat, its "unity of will" will necessarily remain a mere phrase. In Russia the training of a group of leaders lasted fifteen years (1903—1917), fifteen years of struggle against menshevism, fifteen years of persecution by tzarism, fifteen years among which were the years of the first revolution (of 1905),—which was a great and powerful revolution. And yet with us too there have been sad cases of even the very best comrades "losing their heads". If the West-European comrades imagine that they are safe from such "sad cases", it is childishness on their part which we cannot help fighting against.

Levy had to be expelled for breach of discipline. The tactics had to be fixed *on the basis* of pointing out and correcting the mistakes of the March action of 1921 with greatest possible details. If *after* this Levy should go on behaving as he did he will confirm that we were right in expelling him, and it will be proven to the hesitating or wavering workers with still greater force, still more convincingly that the decisions of the Third Congress with regard to Paul Levy were correct.

And the more careful I was at the Congress in weighing Levy's mistakes, the greater the certainty with which I can say that Levy has hastened to confirm our worst suppositions. I have seen his paltry review, *Our Path*. (№ 6, July 15th, 1921). As can be seen by the statement published by the editor at the very head of the journal, the decisions of the Third Congress are known to Levy. And what is his reply to them? Menshevik stock-phrases about "the great ban" (grosser Bann), about "canonic law" (kanonisches Recht) and about his going to "weigh" these decisions "in full freedom" (in vollständiger Freiheit). Well, can there be any greater freedom than that enjoyed by a man who has been relieved of the burthen of being a member of the Party and of the Communist International! And, mark ye, party members will contribute to his review anonymously!

To begin with—a dirty trick against the party, an attack from behind the corner, a spoiling of the work of the party.

Thereupon—a weighing and a substantial discussion of the decisions of the Congress.

This is splendid.

But it is just through this that Levy is digging his own grave.

Paul Levy wishes to continue the brawl.

It would be the greatest strategic error to comply with his desire. I should like to advise the German comrades to prohibit all controversy with Levy and his paltry paper on the pages of the daily press of the party. Do not advertise him. Do not let him divert the attention of the fighting party from the important things to the unimportant. In case of urgent need, carry on your controversy in weeklies and monthlies, or in pamphlets. If possible, do not give the K. A. P.-ists and Paul Levy the pleasure of calling them by their names, and speak of them merely as of "some critics somewhat wanting in brains who insist upon considering themselves Communists".

I am told that at the last session of the enlarged Central Committee (Ausschluss) even Friesland, of the left wing, was obliged to speak out sharply against Maslov who is playing at radicalism and wishes to practise the sport of "banning the centrists". We have had samples of Maslov's unwise behaviour (we are putting it mildly) here in Moscow. Really, the German party ought to send this Maslov and two or three of his adherents and fellow-combatants who obviously do not wish to keep to the "peace treaty" and show more ardour than is reasonable, to Soviet Russia, say for two years. We should find useful work for them to do. We should mould them all over again. The international and German movement would undoubtedly vastly profit by it.

The German Communists must stop the internal strife at all costs, cut off the quarrelsome elements from both sides, forget about Paul Levy and the K. A. P.-ists and betake themselves to real work.

And, to be sure, there is plenty of work to be done.

The resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist International on tactics and organisation mark a great progress of the movement. We have to put forth all our strength to carry these resolutions into being. The task is difficult, but it can and must be done.

First of all the Communists have had to declare their principles all over the world. This was done at the First Congress. That was the first step.

The second consisted in shaping the organisation of the Communist International and working out the conditions for the admission to it,—the conditions for the actual separation from the centrists, from the direct and indirect agents of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement. This was done at the Second Congress.

At the Third Congress businesslike, positive work had to be started; we had to lay down concretely—bearing in mind the practical experience of the Communist struggle—*how* the work was to be carried on in future as regards tactics and organisation. We have made this third step. We have an army of Communists all the world over. As yet it is badly trained and organised. It would do the cause the greatest possible harm to forget this truth, or to be afraid to acknowledge it. Carefully and rigorously testing oneself, studying the experience of one's own movement and learning from it how to teach and organise, we will put this army to the test in a businesslike way in all kinds of manoeuvres, in operations involving attack and retreat. Unless this long and hard training be gone through we cannot win.

The "key" of the situation of the international Communist movement in summer 1921 was that some of the best and most influential parts of the Comintern did not interpret this task quite correctly. They were *just a little overdoing* this "fight against centrism", were *ever so little overstepping* the line beyond which this fight turns into sport, and revolutionary Marxism begins to be compromised.

This was the "key" note of the Third Congress.

The thing itself was not much overdone. But the danger it entailed was enormous. It was difficult to fight it, as those who overdid it were really the best and most devoted elements without whom there would possibly have been no Comintern at all. In the amendments to the theses on tactics, reprinted in the *Moscow* in German, French and English and signed by the German, Hungarian and Italian delegations, this exaggeration becomes quite evident,—the more evident that the amendments were brought in already after the resolution had been finally drafted (after long preparatory work and careful weighing from every point of view). Those amendments were rejected, and thanks to this decision the line of the Comintern was *straightened out*, and that meant victory over the danger of exaggeration.

Yet exaggeration, if it is not corrected, would undoubtedly ruin the Comintern. For "no one on earth will be able to compromise the revolutionary Marxists, provided they will not do it themselves". No one on earth will be able to prevent the victory of the Communists over the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals and, as applied to the West of Europe and to America of the twentieth century, after the first imperialistic war, this means that no one will be able to prevent their victory over the bourgeoisie—provided the Communists themselves will not hamper it.

Yet to overdo the thing, if ever so little, is equivalent to impeding victory.

To overdo the fight against centrism is to *save* centrism, to *strengthen* its position and its control of the workers.

In the period between the Second and Third Congress we have learned to fight centrism victoriously on an international scale. This is proved by facts. And we will continue this fight, (as shown by the expulsion of Levy and of Serrati's party) to the finish.

But we have *not yet* learned on an international scale to fight exaggeration

in the struggle against centrism. However, as the work and results of the Third Congress show, we have realised this defect of ours. And just because we have realised our deficiency *we shall get rid of it*.

Once we have done it we shall be invincible, for the bourgeoisie *cannot* keep its power in Western Europe and America without being supported from within the proletariat (through the bourgeois agents of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals).

A more careful and thorough preparation for new, ever more decisive battles, offensive as well as defensive ones—that is the most essential and important part of all the decisions of the Third Congress.

"...Communism will become a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbroken, unbent front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school. But at the same time it must succeed in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counter-revolutionary fascisti, in consolidating their movements, in converting their spontaneous actions into carefully planned struggles..."

"...The United Communist Party of Germany will the more successfully be able to lead the mass movements, the better it will in future adapt its fighting watchwords to the actual situation, studying this situation most carefully, and carrying through the actions with complete unity and discipline..."

These are the most essential parts of the resolution on tactics as adopted by the Third Congress.

"The important task of the present" (see Paragraph 3 of the resolution on tactics) is to win over the majority of the proletariat to our side.

Of course, we do not interpret this winning over formally, as the heroes of the petty bourgeois "democracy" of the Two-and-a-half International are doing. When in July 1921, in Rome, the whole proletariat, the reformist members of the trade unions as well as the centrist proletariat from the Serratian party sided with the Communists against the fascisti, this was

a *winning over of the majority* of the working class to our side.

It was far from being a decisive victory, it was only a partial, momentary and local one. Yet by it we had then won the majority. Such a conquest is possible even when the majority of the proletariat follows the bourgeois leaders or those who are carrying through the bourgeois policy (as the leaders of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals are doing), or when the majority of the proletariat is hesitating. This process of winning over is in constant progress everywhere and in every possible way. Let us prepare us thoroughly and carefully, without missing a single serious opportunity given by the bourgeois forcing the proletariat to rise for the struggle, let us correctly estimate the moments when the *masses* of the proletariat *cannot fail* to rise together with us.

Thus victory will be guaranteed to us, however severe the partial defeats, however difficult the different moves in our great campaign.

Internationally our tactical and strategic methods are still behind the excellent strategy of the bourgeoisie which, taught as it is by the Russian example, will not be "caught napping". Yet our reserves are infinitely greater than theirs. As to strategy, we are learning our lesson, we have marked progress in this "science" by turning to account the mistakes of the March rising of 1921. We shall master this "science" completely.

In a great many countries our parties are as yet very far from being

what real Communist parties ought to be—true vanguards of the only really revolutionary class, with all the party members participating in the struggle, the movement and the every-day life of the masses. But we are aware of this deficiency of ours, we have shown it up clearly in the resolution on party work as adopted by the Third Congress. We shall do away also with this defect.

Comrades, German Communists! Allow me to finish my letter with the wish that your Party Conference, which is meeting on the 22nd of August, may with a firm hand do away once for ever with the paltry struggle against the elements that have seceded and gone to the left and to the right. We have had enough of internal party strife. Down with all who should still wish to continue it directly or indirectly! Our tasks are much clearer, much more concrete and obvious to us now than they were yesterday. We are not afraid openly to point out our mistakes, in order to correct them. We will now devote all the strength of the party to perfecting its organisation, raising the quality and improving the essential part of its work, establishing closer contact with the masses and working out ever more correctly and accurately the tactics and strategy of the working class.

With Communist greetings

N. LENIN.

August 14th, 1921.

The Two-and-a-Half International in the Role of Police Agent.

The Communist International has frequently had occasion to stigmatise the shameful actions of the adherents of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals. It has repeatedly been convinced that in all countries the parties of the Second and the Two-

and-a-half Internationals pass over to the counter-revolution at the decisive moment of the revolutionary class struggle. But what is now being done in Yugo-Slavia by the heroes of the Two-and-a-half International goes by its baseness beyond all the cases

of betrayal of Socialism which have occurred up to now. The Communist International therefore considers it its duty to draw the attention of the world proletariat to the shameful work of the social traitors in Yugo-Slavia. The Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia which had been formed on the basis of the old Serbian Socialist Party became the only proletarian mass party in that country. The organisation of the entire trade union movement, embracing about 300,000 workers, was most closely connected with the vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia, numbering 70,000 members. Outside of this movement there remained only unimportant groups of trade unions of various shades of yellow. At the municipal elections the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia obtained the majority in all the larger towns; at the last elections to the Constituent Assembly, at the end of November 1920, it polled 200,000 votes (59 seats). The Social Democratic Party with Korac, Buksheg and Kristan at the head, affiliated as it is to the Second International, retained a small number of mostly petty bourgeois votes only in the former Austro-Hungarian provinces—Slavonia and Hertzegovina, where the reformist traditions of the Austrian and Hungarian social democratic parties have not yet quite disappeared. The centrists, —the heroes of the Two - and - a - half International — appeared on the surface only after the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia which met in Vukovar in June 1920. At this historical Congress of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia all the decisions relating to the most important questions of tactics, organisation and party policy were carried in the spirit of the Communist International by an overwhelming majority of votes. Part of the militant party workers in Croatia, led by Radoshevicz, declined to submit to the resolutions of the Congress and immediately after its closure opened a barefaced provocative campaign against the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia and against the Communist International. The Servian group

of centrists, headed by Lapczevicz and Topalovicz and consisting of a small number of the former party militants, lacked the courage after this complete defeat at the Congress to join openly the Croatian centrists. But their members watched with undisguised joy the desperate attempts of the Croatian traitors to split the Party. The centrists, who had been expelled from the Party, tried for all they were worth to wrench the trade unions in Croatia, whose bureaucracy was mostly on their side, from under the influence of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia. Not being sure of the confidence of the masses *they concluded an alliance with the police.* Without any hopes of being able to create a party of their own, the centrists intended to use the trade unions as a base for their treacherous struggle against the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia: their utmost desire was by all means to call forth a split between the Party and the trade unions. With this end in view *they laid down the theory of complete political neutrality for the trade unions. With openly provocative intentions they pointed out the political activities of the trade unions, their role in political strikes, when they were led by the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia and the illegality of such proceedings.* But nothing could save the centrists. They were soon expelled by the Communist masses from all the official posts in the trade unions. Besides, the centrists tried with their usual shamelessness to distort the resolutions of the Vukovar Congress. *They clamoured that the victory achieved by the Communist orientation was nothing else than a declaration of open civil war and an armed uprising with the object of an immediate revolution, provocatively bringing as proofs expressly selected quotations from the program of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia and the Communist International.*

The first result of this provocative campaign of the centrist traitors was the idea of a law against Communists, which arose in parliament already in June 1920. A bill was even introduced into parliament, but it was soon taken

back under the pressure of mass demonstrations and strikes. *The revolutionary proletariat of Yugo-Slavia repulsed the first joint assault of the traitors to Socialism and the agents of the police.*

But the allies did not desist from a further struggle. They soon managed to strengthen their front on being reinforced by the Serbian group of centrists, headed by Lapczewicz and Topalovicz. This group joined them openly, having been expelled from the party after the publication of a provocative manifesto,—one of the basest pamphlets against the Communist International.

The moment came when a new attack might be attempted with fresh forces. The decisive hour was approaching. The brilliant victory of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia and other opposition parties at the elections greatly confused the ruling clique in Yugo-Slavia. In spite of its defeat in the elections the government of Yugo-Slavia did not intend to go. It chose another way. It resorted to forcible measures in order to keep its tottering dictatorial power. The first blow was dealt at the principal enemy: by the end of December 1920 the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia was dispersed, all the trade unions were dissolved, the workers' homes, printing offices and book stores were closed and the premises occupied by armed force. All this was accompanied by mass arrests and numerous bloody collisions with the police. All Communist propaganda was prohibited. *Making use of the whole apparatus of the state power, with the active concurrence of the centrists, the bourgeoisie hoped to wrest the masses from under the control of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia.* But it soon became clear that it had been mistaken in its calculations. In spite of the unheard of terror the working class of Yugo-Slavia remained true to the Communist ideals. This added to the desperation of both the police and the centrists. And yet they did

not desist from their plans. The centrists continued their provocative campaign relentlessly; profiting by a monopoly of the press, they piled up lie upon lie against the Communist International and thus prepared a *very good ground for moving the new bill against the Communists introduced in 1921.* The centrists ensured the necessary moral support to the ruling bourgeoisie for the passing of this barbarous law. *They did not remain unrewarded: on the day when this most cruel of all the emergency laws was enacted, and when thousands of the best proletarians were cast into prisons, beaten and subjected to unspeakable tortures,—at this very moment the Yugo-Slavian centrists, Lapczewicz and Co., who had proved to be ordinary rascals and swindlers, received from the police the Communist book-selling trade and their printing works, the workers homes, and all the property of the trade unions.* In this way the Yugo-Slavian heroes of the Two-and-a-half International undoubtedly beat all the international record.

The Communist International considers it its duty to draw the attention of the world proletariat to this base work of the Yugo-Slavian centrists and to stigmatise it. The Two-and-a-half International, which had taken up—in words only—a resolute attitude in the *Vienna Workers Gazette* against the white terror in Yugo-Slavia, passed over in silence the base role which is played by its adherents and the delegates to the Vienna Conference in the reign of this terror. *The workers of the whole world will thus receive a clear impression of what the Two-and-a-half International is in words, and what it is in practice.*

Down with the masks! Down with the base betrayers of Socialism! Down with the police agents from the Two-and-a-half International.

Long live the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia!

G. ZINOVIEV.

Moscow, September 6th, 1921.

The Independent Aid of the Workers to Soviet Russia.

TO ALL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Every new day we witness how those gentlemen—whether they belong to the Russian or to some other nation—who speculate on the famine gradually lose their mask of humanity. The face of imperialist counter-revolution, marred by lurid passions, appears from behind this mask; they are only waiting for the first opportunity that will allow them to profit by the calamities of the Russian workers and peasants and make of Russia one of their colonies by actively supporting the Russian capitalists, land owners and tzarist generals. These gentlemen desire to exploit the hunger of the Russian workers and peasants in order to bleed them anew under the pretence of proffering them aid. **Workers of the World! Oppose the class solidarity of the workers to the perfidious counter-revolution!**

The Russian workers have never had any illusions about the relief promised them by the bourgeois hunger-profters. *During three long and hard years they have shed their life-blood in the civil war, waged against them by this "humane" bourgeoisie, with the aid of tzarist generals, supplied by the English, French and American governments with artillery, machine-guns and every other sort of munitions.*

The imperialists surrounded Soviet Russia during long years with barbed wire entanglements in order to cut it off from the rest of the world, until the moment came at last when the world proletariat by one common effort made a breach in the iron ring of the blockade.

Workers of the World! You have forced this blockade! You must now unite in order to prevent the offensive of the bourgeoisie, reckoned on our state of hunger.

Act rapidly! Act independently! Do not wait till the bourgeois governments and Red Cross Societies begin to

sabotage this true act of salvage, leaving no stone unturned to attain their ends! *Arrange independent collections through the Workers' Relief Committees and send your donations immediately and independently, as a proof of the workers' solidarity, to the famished workers and peasants.*

He who gives quickly gives twofold. Rapidly forthcoming aid to the hunger-stricken masses of Soviet Russia from the workers themselves will be a hundred times more valuable than any aid from another quarter.

The Government of the Russian workers and peasants was forced to dissolve the Moscow Committee, in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie, not desiring to submit to the loss of their power, endeavoured to feather a nest for their counter-revolutionary policy. All the counter-revolutionary papers of the world have raised a hue and cry on the matter. In answer to them, you must pass resolutions in every mill and factory, in all the places where the workers meet, in favour of deducing one day's pay in wages to aid those whose misery they are about to exploit and lay anew on them the fetters of the slavery of the tzarist absolutism, under the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

Organise everywhere a day of aid for the famine-stricken people, following the directions of an independent proletarian Relief Committee, with no party differences, but conscious of class-unity and class-independence, as opposed to the bourgeoisie. Let special Committees make collections in every enterprise, every factory, every colliery and every place of work; those committees must immediately hand the sums over to the proletarian National Relief Committees; these must take on themselves the care of seeing to it that these workers' donations—which are the proof of the solidarity of the

workers—should reach the suffering proletarians independently of any bourgeois relief committees, any governmental bodies or of the Red Cross.

Workers of Great Britain! The aristocratic officers talk in the comfortable London clubs about how to utilise this relief movement for the support of the counter-revolutionary organisations of the Russian bourgeoisie.

Workers of France! Your bourgeoisie has entrusted M. Noulens with the organising of a speculation on hunger; we have documentary proof that he intended to blow up the bridges during the first year of revolution in order to stop the food supplies from reaching the workers of Petrograd.

Workers of Germany, Italy and the Balkan Countries! The intentions of your bourgeoisie are no better than those of the imperialist counter-revolutionaries of Britain, America and France, who are hastening to organise an attack with the help of the famine.

World Proletarians! Act promptly, send your donations immediately.

Only an immediate action of the working class can warrant a firm belief that everything which is collected in Europe and America in the name of class solidarity and humanity, will actually reach the hungry, and that

the international bourgeoisie will not be able to utilise the relief work for the ends of an economic and political enslavement of the needy.

Let the proletariat aid be quickly forthcoming and independent of all the governments and of the Red Cross!

Send on one day's pay for the hunger-stricken in Soviet Russia!

Oppose the offensive which is based on hunger and capitalist speculation on famine and directed against Soviet Russia!

Proffer independent and rapid aid to Soviet Russia!

Long live the solidary and independent action of the proletariat which strives to relieve Soviet Russia and which is directed against the World imperialism!

Long live Soviet Russia!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The General Secretariat of the Red International of the Trade Unions.

The Executive Committee of the International of Youth.

The Women's International Secretariat.

Sept 1st, 1921.

To the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party (S. P. I.), for Transmission to the Committee of the Faction of Maximalists-Unitarians.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is aware of the false interpretations of its position, which are being attempted over and over again. It hopes to be able once more to express in detail, in the presence of the Italian comrades at the Congress itself of the Italian Socialist Party in Milan, its views on the conditions obtaining within the Italian Socialist Party. Nevertheless, the Executive Committee deems necessary immediately to declare the following.

It is altogether untrue that the Third World Congress of the Communist International or the new Executive Committee have shown or are showing any sort of unfriendliness to the delegates of the Italian Socialist Party, comrades Lazzari, Riboldi and Maffi. On the contrary, the Executive Committee of the Communist International is satisfied that those comrades will loyally support and substantiate the declarations made by them in Moscow. The Executive Committee of the

Communist International further declares that if the Congress of Milan will accept and fulfil the 21 conditions—which means that a start must be made by excluding the faction of reformists, organised in Reggio Emilia, the Executive Committee of the Communist International will consider as non-existent the obstacles to the admission of the Socialist Party of Italy to the Communist International. In other words, the Executive Committee of the Communist International again declares that the Communist International insists on the unconditional exclusion only of the adherents of the program of Reggio Emilia and of the present "concentration" policy.

Serrati, the editor of the *Avanti*, has long passed all possible limits in his struggle against the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

It is therefore easy to be understood why the Executive Committee of the Communist International should have sharply attacked Serrati in defending the Communist International. But these polemics should in no way lead to the conclusion that the Executive Committee of the Communist International wishes to make it difficult for the supporters of the maximalist program to join the Communist International after they will have definitely broken with the reformists. We read in the *Avanti* of August 23rd, 1921, a resolution proposed by comrade Riboldi and accepted by the Vimercate and other

branches. This resolution embodies a straightforward declaration of the complete readiness to abide by the decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International. If all the statements of the maximalists will be equally unequivocal, the conflict will be easily liquidated.

The fate of the Italian labour movement will doubtlessly be decided for many years to come at the forthcoming Congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Milan. The Italian reformists, headed by Turati, have openly degenerated into a group of Millerandists. There is no doubt whatever that there exists but a simple division of labour between Bonomy's and Turatti's groups. Obviously, reformism has become a gangrene on the body of the Italian Socialist Party. Only the blind won't see that.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International firmly hopes that the Italian workers will soon put an end to Millerandism on Italian soil, that they will clear the Party from Turatti's adherents and will form—conjointly with the Italian Communist Party, which already rallies in its ranks the best of the Italian proletariat—a mighty and united Communist Party of Italy.

With Communist greetings

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

President G. ZINOVIEV.

Sept. 3., 1921.

To the Members of the Socialist Party of Switzerland.

The majority voted, at the Congress of Bern, when the question of the affiliation of the Swiss Socialist Party to the Communist International was discussed,—for the resolution of the Central Committee, which approved the affiliation to the Third International provided the 21 conditions were revised. The Vienna Conference was looked upon by the Party leaders as

an attempt to find an agreement with the Communist International.

Already at the Congress the speakers of the Communist minority—referring to the discussions at the preliminary conference held in Bern—had pointed out the ambiguity of that resolution which was nothing but a manoeuvre intended to conceal from the rank and file of the workers the

refusal to affiliate to the Communist International. They argued that the Vienna Conference was in no way bent on an agreement with the Third International and was merely an attempt to create a new International, opposed to the Communist International and closely connected with the Second International whose counter-revolutionary activities it would be ready to support.

Notwithstanding this warning, many workers had faith in the sincerity of the Grimms, Grobers, Hobbses, and Co.—in believing that their leaders would at least endeavour to realise the resolution passed at the Congress and insist on the revision of the 21 conditions.

The statements of our Communist comrades have been entirely confirmed by facts. The Vienna Conference did not touch the question of the revision of the 21 conditions; it did not enter upon any debate with us; it simply created a new International, where inveterate social patriots such as Albert Thomas, Renaudel, Gruhlbach, Mothot, Renner and many others have taken refuge, though they made no pretence of repudiating their record during the war and their imperialist policy; on the contrary, they continue that treacherous imperialist policy and are ready again to serve the cause of warfare. This new International is closely connected with the Second; MacDonald, who is one of its most esteemed members, is Secretary to the Second International, thus helping to tighten the official bonds between the two; and at the same time the Amsterdam International affords large opportunities as a field for practical and close counter-revolutionary cooperation. The Swiss workers could see for themselves, by the perusal of their own Socialist press, that the Second-and-a-half International had adopted the counter-revolutionary policy of the Russian mensheviks and that in many cases the Socialist press attacked the Russian proletarian revolution with still greater ferocity than did even the bourgeois press. They had expected quite a different result when they voted in Bern for the resolution of the Central Committee. And

when the Vienna Conference frankly avowed that it had not the slightest intention to fulfil the will of the Congress of Bern—the Central Committee did not move a finger in order to substantiate their resolution.

And now, consummating their deceitful action, which began in Bern, the Central Committee calls upon the Congress of Lucerne to approve the affiliation to the Vienna International, the alliance with the Russian counter-revolutionaries and with the Renners, the Renaudels and the Thomases. Notwithstanding the fact that the Communists had left the Party after the Bern comedy, there had still remained in it a sufficient number of revolutionary and simply honest workers, in whom this proposition has raised a feeling of disgust and protest: a feeling that was naturally engendered in honest folk by a frankly roguish trick, a feeling of indignation, inspired in revolutionaries by the treacherous and equivocal policy of the Two-and-a-half International.

It was with the greatest satisfaction that we learned the decision of the Boinville branch as well as the resolution of the Geneva branch against affiliation, and we hope that their voice will not remain solitary in the Swiss Socialist Party and that, in spite of the policy of the leaders, there are hundreds of workers whose sympathies go to the Third International and who, in the face of all the calumnies of Martov, admire the Russian revolution and its conquests. But this opposition within the Party itself is insufficient. It is now quite apparent that, disdained by its Communist wing, the Socialist Party is rapidly inclining towards the right.

The marks of confidence so often expressed in your Party in the Bureau of Labour of the rapacious and militarist League of Nations on the eve of the Congress of Lucerne, are one more evidence of this fact. There can be no place for revolutionary workers in a party standing on the cross way between opportunism and counter-revolution.

On the other hand, the Third Communist International has proved by its

theses that the will of the Communists is directed not towards the creation of sections, but of mass parties able to draw the majority of the working class into the struggle. The split which most of you have feared is already a fact in Switzerland. The young Party of the Communists has proved, by its efforts to create a united front, its desire to enter into contact with the working masses and to struggle shoulder to shoulder with them against the inertness of the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Trade Unions.

The calling of an extraordinary trade union congress constitutes the first success of the Party and of the revolutionary workers who have begun a struggle against their bureaucracised "leaders".

Comrades! It is no longer enough to play the role of the opposition within the Socialist Party. If you are revolutionaries in practice, you cannot possibly cooperate with the social traitors of the Two-and-a-half Inter-

national; if you are true friends of the Russian revolution, you cannot join its abusers and enemies. You must fill the numerous and mighty ranks of the Communist International, you must affiliate to our Swiss Section, to the Communist Party and do all you can to strengthen and consolidate it.

This is the only practical means you have of protesting against the lies and trickery of the Bern resolution—the sole expedient way of testifying to your revolutionary will and taking an active part in the great cause of the world revolution in the ranks of whose army Soviet Russia is but the first vanguard.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Swiss Communist Party!

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

September 6th, 1921.

World Capital is preparing a Polish-Romanian Campaign against famine-stricken Soviet Russia.

To the workers of all countries.

Working men and working women! In our first manifesto on the famine in Russia we had already warned you not to trust to the humanitarian phrases and declarations of the capitalist governments about their would-be readiness to help Soviet Russia. We told you that now as before the capitalists look upon Russia as the hearthstone of the world revolution and that they will attempt to profit by the famine—which was brought about by the drought and aggravated by the results of the Allied intervention—and plan a new onslaught on Soviet Russia. Our prophecies have already been fulfilled. At a moment when there can only be talk of giving real help to the suffering population in the most insignificant proportions; at a time when

France, in most provocational derision of the sufferings of the Russian people, has placed the relief work in the hands of Noulens, the well-known organiser of the Russian counter-revolution; at a time when the Commission set up by the Allies under the presidency of that same Noulens is endeavouring to turn *the organisation of relief into an organisation of espionage* in Russia—at this very moment behind the screen of diplomatic transactions, the French Government is *making preparations for the organisation of a war against Soviet Russia.*

On the 3rd of September they requested the Polish Government to send an ultimatum to Soviet Russia, in which the immediate payment of the sums stipulated by the Treaty of Riga was demanded from her; in case of non-payment the Poles threatened to

break all diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. As the latter had discontinued the fulfilment of her pecuniary liabilities because Poland had been expending the money in arming Savinkov's white guard bands, which raided Russia, setting on fire stocks of grain and destroying railways, it was clear that Russia could not comply with the demands of the Polish Government. France promised Poland military help on her own part and support on the part of Roumania. *The Polish Government that rejected these proposals was overthrown. At the present moment the power is in the hands of Marshall Pilsudsky, the organiser of last year's attack on Soviet Russia, and the new Polish Government has sent Russia an ultimatum, dictated by France. The Polish Government went even further than the French demands, making a number of stipulations which it well knew could not be fulfilled. At the same time the Polish Government began to organise frontier conflicts in order to create the necessary atmosphere in Poland. In a country where the bourgeois regime is nearing its fall owing to its incapacity, where one wave of strikes is following another,—the Government is endeavouring again to obtain possession of the masses by rousing their nationalistic passions and subduing all revolutionary ferment of the proletariat by military dictatorship. France hopes that after overthrowing the Soviet Government, either by means of war, or with the help of diplomatic threats, she will be able at one blow to extort the payment of the old czarist debts from a country in which the economic crisis has been produced by the intervention of France herself.*

It looked at first as if France was acting separately in this question, but these last days have proved this not to be the case. On September 7th, that is four days after the French notifications in Warsaw, the British Government, pretending not to know anything about it, demanded from the Soviet Government that the latter should cease all revolutionary propaganda in the East. It handed over to the Soviet Government a note con-

taining accusations which—as has been proved by the Executive of the Communist International,—are founded on *forged documents furnished by an abject spying organisation* consisting of the residues of Ludendorff's police with the addition of a whole gang of international adventurers. England's move shows that *the band rallying around Winston Churchill, the British Secretary for War, have not for a moment discontinued their intrigues against Soviet Russia and are preparing to lead Britain's peaceful policy into the course of the French policy of war.* As a matter of fact it is quite unimportant whether the British Government with its threats and insinuations does, perhaps, really only wish to tie Soviet Russia's hands in the East and to paralyse her actions. Lloyd George's capitulation to Churchill, the leader of the military party, encourages France and supports her in her criminal game. In the event of Poland launching a war against Soviet Russia with the support of France, Churchill will not find it difficult to induce England to join the war.

Working men and working women! After carefully discussing the situation together with the representation of the International of the Red Trade Unions, the Executive Committee of the Communist International deems necessary to declare, that *the international situation is most critical.* Even if the timely disclosure of the secret steps taken by France in Poland and of the impudent insinuations of Lord Curzon may for the time being crush the interventionist tendencies, the French instigations and the British fraudulent acts prove that *serious forces are working at the preparation of a new intervention.*

Arms and ammunition are again being sent to Poland and Roumania with the support and on the provocation of the French bourgeoisie. And Central Europe has once more become the supplier of arms and the accomplice of the imperialist clique, which is openly preparing a campaign against Soviet Russia.

The Executive Committees of the Communist International and the Red

International of Trade Unions are calling upon *the working men and working women of all countries, without distinction of parties*, on all the workers who consider it a crime to offer bullets instead of bread to millions of hunger-stricken people—to start an energetic struggle against those stragtagems of the imperialist bands.

Working men and working women!

Organise meetings and demonstrations in all countries under the slogan of: Help Soviet Russia! Down with the criminals who are preparing an attack on Soviet Russia!

Do not allow, the transport of arms to Poland, Roumania, Estonia, Latvia or Finland!

Strengthen and develop in all count-

ries relations with the soldiers, so that they should not allow themselves to be used as cannon fodder by international capitalism against Soviet Russia.

Prove to your Governments that you are ready with all the means at your disposal to prevent any harm being done or any pressure exercised against Soviet Russia.

Bread and peace for the hungry Russian people!

Relentless struggle against all menaces to Soviet Russia!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Trade Unions.

September 24th, 1921.

To the Proletariat of Burgenland (Western Hungary).

TO THE WORKERS AND POOR PEASANTS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICTS.

By the peace treaties of St. Germain and Trianon the West-Hungarian districts (Comitates) were adjudged to Austria. The Austrian bourgeois republic undertook to annex this territory when it was a question of fighting the Hungarian Soviet Republic in the interests of world capital. Now Austria is herself threatened by white guards of her own class and is obliged to fight against Horthy's advancing bands.

The workers of German West-Hungary were quite right in protesting against their annexation by Austria—as long as there was a German Soviet there to do the will of the toiling masses. After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic, which succumbed to the threats from abroad and the sabotage within the country itself, the workers had to rise against the bloody rule of Horthy and Lehar.

The proletarians of the Western districts who during the Soviet rule had fought loyally and with splendid self-denial for the power of the working class, were jailed, tortured and killed in thousands. Whereas under the Soviet rule the bourgeoisie of Burgenland was enthusiastically pro-

Austrian and carried on pan-German propaganda, it has now, under Horthy's rule, embraced a Magyar policy. The bourgeoisie of the Western countries is the most reliable buttress of the unspeakable terror against the working class.

While the proletarians were being tortured to death in the concentration camps at Hajmasker and Zalaegerszeg, the Turners and Bleyers were wiring their messages of greetings to the henchmen of the German legion which was a part of the proletarian army.

While the working class leaders were being murdered under unheard of tortures, the bourgeoisie was rejoicing and extolling those who had "been aroused from sleep" and were "liberating it from the yoke of Bolshevism". The land-owners who had been turned out took hold again of their land and began to oppress the peasants who once more were to become slaves.

Nor will bourgeois social democratic Austria bring you deliverance. Workers of West-Hungary! Do not forget that it was the Otto Bauers, the Julius Deutsches, the Renners and

the Seitzes—now the prop of the police chancellor—who either actively or passively supported the Hungarian counter-revolution in the days of proletarian dictatorship. Thanks to Otto Bauer's protection Count Rethlen could open his recruiting offices; thanks to the benevolent neutrality of the Government he could transport his white legions to Szegedin. With the aid of these troops the land was "returned" to the big land-owners and the factories to the manufacturers. And whether your present saviors be democrats, or the gendarmes of the Austrian Republic take the place of Hejjas' Hungarian gangs, you will still remain outlaws and still be exploited.

Proletarians of West-Hungary! Remember the days when the sword was in your hand and the works under your control, when you had become free and were rallying to the banner of the Third International and the vanguard of the working class.

Proletarians of West-Hungary! Think of the days when, trusting treacherous leaders, you surrendered your arms and, defenceless as you were, were delivered up to the hangmen. The respite that the change of power could have granted you—if Horthy had given way to the threats of the Allies—is very doubtful now that Horthy's gangs are renewing their attack.

Neither a referendum nor any phrases on self-determination can save you from oppression and humiliation. *With sword in hand* the workers of West-Hungary — Germans, Magyars and Wends—must join the fighting troops of the Austrian working class. *It is in the ranks of the Communist Party of Austria that the revolutionary workers of West-Hungary must fight for their joint emancipation.*

If we now advocate the incorporation of German West-Hungary into

Austria it is by no means because we have confidence in the present system of government in Austria. We know very well that the Austrian bourgeois Government is also thoroughly counter-revolutionary in spirit and that its policy differs from Horthy's brutal policy of violence only by being milder in form.

Your task now is to provide for the proletariat of Western Hungary the same fighting possibilities which the Austrian working class has won for itself by hard struggle.

Not by confederating with your class enemies, the Christian Socialists and nationalistic agents of Horthy, not by coalescing with Wahlheim and Beer can you serve the true interests of the working class, but only by restoring the fighting solidarity of the proletariat and by re-establishing the Workers' Council.

Do not believe all those Kunfis, Boehms and Col! Do not trust the Leesers and their kind! They now preach of the blessings of democracy after they have—by their criminal policy of sabotage—contributed to the overthrow of Soviet Hungary and to the establishment of Lehar's and Ostenburg's white guardist rule.

Without wishing to breed any illusions among you as to the blessings of the Austrian bourgeois democracy, we call upon you to line up on the side of your Austrian brethren for the fight against Horthy's bloody tyranny and for the liberation of the working class.

Join the fighting ranks of the Communist Party of Austria, the ranks of the fighting proletariat!

Long live the Third International!
Long live the World Revolution!

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

Sept. 24th, 1921.

TO THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS.

To the Communist Party of Britain.

The British Government has recently flooded the entire capitalist press with so-called "revelations" of "criminal"

activities of the Communist International. Various clumsily forged "documents" signed by non-existing persons are published, full of idiotic statements and intended to prove what

a dangerous lot of criminals we are. (See the Appeal of the Communist International of September 25th to the proletariat of all countries).

Of course, the Communist International has not the mission of doing things pleasant to the British Imperialist Government. Just the reverse. What the Communist International really does or will do will never earn the applause of the British, the German, the French or any other government, but will earn the applause of the working class of the whole world. To be able to give expression to their anger, it is entirely sufficient for the British or any other capitalist government to quote our *real* utterances.

Why, then, throw away good money in purchasing idiotic, forged documents?

We request our English brother-Party at its convenience to inform the British Government that we are ready with pleasure to supply free of charge to the British Government and high Parliament all our appeals and even some of our circulars, with the sole condition that these documents be published by our new subscribers. We do not insist upon reciprocity.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President G. ZINOVIEV.

Moscow, Sept. 28th, 1921.

TO THE WORKERS OF AUSTRIA.

Workers of Austria!

The imperialistic financial capital has mobilised Poland and Roumania, its vassal states, against Soviet Russia. Munitions are being transported through your country, workers of Austria; contrary to the stipulations of the Copenhagen agreement huge quantities of war materials are being sent from your factories to Poland. It is the duty of all the workers of Austria with all their might, with all the means at their disposal to prevent the criminal venture of arming the Polish white guards for the murder of the workers.

Not less serious a symptom of the new growth of reaction is Horthy's attack. Whether the henchmen of the Hungarian working class will remain masters of Western Hungary or whether they will have to give up part of it, in both cases the Magyar gentry, now ruling the country, will be obliged—in order to maintain their power—to renew their attack on what seems to be the line of least resistance. Horthy's rule with all machinery of his power rests on the petty nobility which has been reduced to the state of "Lumpenproletariat". Robbed of their revenues by the Trianon Peace Treaty, their goal is the restoration of the Hungarian Kingdom in its former boundaries, and they believe that the only way to

safeguard their existence is an armed fight against their neighbours. The Austrian bourgeoisie remains perfectly passive in the face of imminent danger. Some of their elements undoubtedly hope that Horthy's successes will result in the restoration of the Habsburgs and—what is still more important to them—in the restoration of the unlimited power and the wholly uncontrolled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The battle of Kirchschatz, the advance of the Hungarian troops on Austrian territory—all this was more than a mere episode. It was a serious reconnoitring operation on the part of the white terror. Danger is threatening not only from Horthy. The bands of Lehar and Hejjas are not the sole enemy threatening the positions won by the Austrian workers in their hard struggle for power. Homegrown reaction is lying in ambush for them. Rintelen's civic legions, the bourgeois guards in the small market towns, the officers' units and the unions of active service men recruited from the reactionary heroes of the rear—those are the elements that threaten the Austrian proletariat most. Whereas ever larger masses of the population begin to realise the seriousness of the situation, the Austrian social democratic leaders try to safeguard the future of the working class by faint-heartedly retreating before

the dictates of the Entente capitalists and of their class enemies at home. While the bosses are taking the offensive in the economic field, reaction is getting ready for armed attack in the political field. While the social democratic leaders point to the necessity of capitalistic restoration and continue to nip in the bud the struggle of the pauperised Austrian workers for higher wages, while the social democratic trade union bureaucracy have dared to throttle the spontaneous movement of the railway men—the danger is every day getting nearer and nearer.

Workers, do not hesitate any longer!

The concentric attack of the foreign and home grown reaction can be repulsed only by the same means as are used by our enemies themselves. Only by force of arms will the workers of Austria be victorious in the defensive struggle that has been forced upon them. The Workers' Council as the organ of the working class entitled thereto must adopt all the necessary measures. Workers of Austria! Do not wait until the murderous troops of Kecskemet and the Austrian officers-

bandits from Csot and Zalaegerszeg begin to threaten Wiener Neustadt and the Styrian militia gangs hurry to join them. Do not wait until Peinlich's gendarmes and Steidle's peasant guards attack you. You must begin to defend yourselves before the reaction feel ready to give the signal for the attack.

Workers, arm yourselves! Resolutions and processions imploring help from the representatives of the Entente capitalists do not avail against the armed enemy.

If you want successfully to beat off all the onslaughts of the enemy, if you do not wish to be defenceless and at his mercy, if you want to win new and strong positions—you must organise your armament in such a way as to be ready at any moment to meet the adversary sword in hand. The slogan of all the revolutionary workers must therefore be:

Arm yourselves! Be ready for the fight at any moment.

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

October 3rd, 1921.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the new Evolution of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.).

After the close of the Third World Congress of the Communist International the Communist Labour Party of Germany published a number of pamphlets by Hermann Gorter and others. Moreover, in its organ *Die Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung* there appeared a series of official articles which compel the Executive of the Comintern to supplement the decision of the Third World Congress.

In their literary productions the leaders of the Communist Labour Party of Germany take up a position that is clearly counter-revolutionary and not only approaches the position held by Messrs. Laufenberg, Otto Ruehle and others, whom the C. L. P. G.

had formerly itself expelled from its ranks, but is even more reactionary than their platform. Those writings border on the libellous productions of Dittmann.

The Third World Congress had put it as an ultimatum that the C. L. P. G. affiliate with the United Communist Party of Germany and submit to international discipline. Now, in view of these new facts, the Executive of the Comintern is obliged to supplement this demand. The Executive of the Comintern breaks off all connection with Gorter, Schroeder & Co., the present leaders of the C. L. P. G.; it refuses to delegate its representatives to the Congress called by this group

for September 12-th. Nor can it see its way clear to enter any negotiations whatsoever with the C. L. P. G. until this Party publicly denounces the counter-revolutionary ideas contained in the above mentioned pamphlets and newspaper articles.

The Executive of the Comintern does not doubt that the recent behaviour of the leaders of the C. L. P. G.

will open the eyes of all the truly revolutionary workers who are still within the ranks of the party and will make them break away from the actual traitors of the international proletarian revolution.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

September 6th, 1921.

Resolution on Famine Relief passed by the Bureau of the Executive of the Comintern on September 19th and 23-rd 1921.

In order to stimulate the work of the Famine Relief Committee, the Bureau of the Executive of the Comintern authorises it to co-optate one member from each Communist Party and Red Trade Union of France, Britain, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. The Committee must keep in close contact with the comrades nominated by the above organisations. These comrades will continue to work in their own organisations.

A special committee is to be appointed to deal with the question of a workers' loan.

The Famine Relief Committee of the Executive of the Communist International is instructed to supply the bulletins published abroad with material twice a week.

A deduction of a one day's pay is to be made on an international scale on November 7-th, the anniversary of

the October Revolution, and an appeal to this effect is to be issued to all the workers of the world.

After renewed discussions of the question of a "united front" in the famine relief campaign, the Bureau instructs the Committee to continue to insist upon a united front, provided, however, that in those countries where special conditions are against the formation of such a front, the corresponding organisations be granted more initiative and freedom of action. In such cases steps must be taken to show up systematically those adherents of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals who refuse to act with solidarity in this matter.

A special committee is to be entrusted to establish a closer contact between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.

A D D E N D U M.

At the end of the letter on "The character of our papers", published in No. 1 of our Bulletin (Page 29), the following 2nd Post-Scriptum was dropped through a printer's mistake:

P. S. It is quite obvious that all that has been said above must not serve for a stale pattern. The require-

ments of the readers of papers in France may differ from those in Germany; those of the German readers—from what the readers require in Bulgaria, etc. Our parties must learn in such an adequate way to individualise the Executive's instructions as to attain results suited to the different conditions of any given country.

≡ BULLETIN ≡

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 4

Petrograd

December 23, 1921.

CONTENTS: G. Zinoviev. The principal stages in the development of the Communist International. — N. Bukharin. The economic basis of the proletarian revolution. — V. Kuusinen. Ordeal by fire. — Bela Kun. The enemies of the Communist International. — A. Kollontai. The Third International and the working woman. — Tax questions in the periods of the development and the decline of capitalism (Theses adopted by the E. C. C. I.). — Appeals of the E. C. C. I. To the workers of the world (Help the workers of Spain and Yugo-Slavia!) — To the Spanish proletariat. — To the workers of Germany and other countries. — To the workers of the whole world.

The Principal Stages in the Development of the Communist International.

By G. ZINOVIEV.

We consider that there are approximately four stages in the development of the Communist International. The *first* period — approximately from Zimmerwald to the beginning of the Russian revolution. The *second* — from the end of 1917 to the well-known appeal of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (end of 1918) and up to the First Congress of the Communist International (beginning of 1919). The *third* period — from the First to the Second Congress, and the *fourth*, — from the Second to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The first period — *from Zimmerwald to the Russian revolution* — is, so to say, the incubation period of the Communist International. The chief problem at that time was the new doctrinary orientation. The attempts at organisation in those days were of a very timid nature.

At first our Party (the Russian Bolsheviks) was almost completely isolated, when in the well-known manifesto of its Central Committee, published in № 33 of our central organ, a few weeks after the outbreak of the imperialist war, it produced the slogan of: "The Third International".

"The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International, cleared not only of "deserters" but of opportunism as well". Thus wrote comrade Lenin at the end of October 1914 in his article entitled: "The position and tasks of the Socialist International" (see the almanach "Against the Stream")

And he continues:

"The Second International has accomplished its share of the useful preparatory work for the preliminary organisation of the proletarian masses during the long "peaceful" epoch of the cruellest capitalist slavery and the most rapid progress of capitalism in the last three decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The Third International is faced by the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onset on the capitalist governments and for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for the seizure of political power and the victory of socialism".

This is how comrade Lenin formulated the task in 1914.

"In the present epoch of imperialist wars the slogan cannot be other than

the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war".

We must raise the banner of *civil war*. An International really deserving its name will either be regenerated under this slogan, or it will be doomed to simple vegetation. Our task is to prepare for the approaching battles, to train ourselves and the whole labour movement in the idea that we must either die, or conquer under the banner of civil war". I wrote this end of November 1914, in an article published in our then central organ (see "Against the Stream").

"When opportunism and chauvinism triumphed for a time in the principal European parties the Second International ceased to exist. It will be replaced by a new International". This is what Lenin asserted in the article on "the International" and "the defense of the fatherland" in the beginning of December 1914.

In remembering the past we cannot conceal from ourselves that at that time very few shared these views with us. The group of the "Zimmerwald left wing" which had formed itself at the Zimmerwald Conference put forward in its resolution the following demands: "Voting against war credits, against the withdrawal of the socialist ministers from the bourgeois governments, the denunciation from the parliamentary tribune in the legalised and—where necessary—the illegal press, of the capitalist and anti-socialist nature of the war, organisation of street demonstrations against the governments, propaganda in the trenches in favour of international solidarity, assistance in the economic strikes and efforts to turn them into political actions under favourable conditions, civil war instead of civil (bourgeois) peace".

The Zimmerwald Conference rejected our propositions. Its official organ declared that "even the idea should in no wise be suggested that the Zimmerwald Conference wished to cause a split and create a new International". At the Conference itself some of the left-wingers protested vigorously against the idea of creating a Third International. They had not assembled in

order to "give the formula of a Third International". This was announced by the Zimmerwald majority. It was no easy task at the time to struggle in favour of a split in the old official social democratic parties. Let the reader bear in mind that even Karl Liebknecht belonged officially at that time to the old "United" German social democracy.

"The weak attempts to restore the international ties, which had been made up to then, had pursued this dangerous course of mutual "amnesty". The very first conference in Lugano decided that no one was to be "condemned". As if one could fight unprecedented monstrous treachery, without condemning it, without calling it by its proper name! The Copenhagen Conference was turned into a simple comedy; it was afraid to make one single definite utterance. The London Conference did all that was required by the English and French bourgeoisie, but was careful not to cut off all roads leading to mutual amnesty. The Women's International Conference at Berne held the same petty bourgeois views, that no one was to be "condemned". Its resolutions were completely adapted to the idea of "amnesty".

This is how the author of these lines characterised the situation in his article—"On the "Amnesty" and its Prophets" (*ibidem*).

However, the work of the Zimmerwald left wing had not been done in vain. The seed, that had been sown, began to crop up. At the Kienthal Conference our ideas wielded a greater influence than at Zimmerwald. The Zimmerwald left wing began to be more closely welded in respect to organisation. The conference we held just before our departure for Russia, after the February revolution, with the comrades of the left wing of the French, German, Swiss and Swedish labour movement was practically the first preparatory conference for the Third International.

Since the spring of 1917 the slogan: "For the Third International" continued to acquire an ever greater popularity. From the very first day of its existence, the Third International united its fate

with that of the proletarian revolution in Russia. By degrees, as this revolution was winning its way, the slogan: "*For the Third International*" began to acquire flesh and blood. And by degrees, as the proletarian revolution was gaining strength in Russia, the position of the Communist International grew ever more solid throughout the whole world.

* * *

By the end of 1918 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, which was assuming ever more the practical role of organiser of the future Third International, published an open letter to the German Spartakists and the Austrian Communists. It was called forth by the fact of an international conference being fixed in Lausanne for January 6th 1919 by the British Labour Party. The Central Committee of the R. C. P. announced its refusal (just like in 1917 we had refused to attend the much talked of Stockholm conference) to take part in a conference which was to be attended by social patriots, and called upon its partisans to back this refusal. The Central Committee enumerated all the organisations which were at one with it, namely: the Communist Parties of Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, White Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and Holland. It mentioned also such groups of the Swedish, Swiss and Italian socialists which had expressed solidarity with it as well as the partisans of Mc Lean in England, Debbs in America and Lorient in France. This is all that we had on our side then.

On January 24th 1919 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party published a direct invitation to the Communists of the whole world, to take part in the First Congress of the Communist International. This invitation was signed by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of Poland, the F. B. of the C. P. of Hungary and the F. B. of the Austro-German Communists, the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lettish Party, the Central

Committee of the C. P. of Finland, the Executive Committee of the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation and the Socialist Labour Party of America. As the reader may see, the initiators were not very numerous even then.

But the slogan "*For the Third International*" was becoming more attractive day by day. At that time the first glorious fights of the Spartakists against the bourgeoisie and the social democrats were drawing nigh in Germany. In Germany and Austria the imperial thrones had just been overthrown. A revolutionary whirlwind was beginning to rage in Europe.

It seemed at the time that the commencing hurricane would easily and promptly blow away the old social democratic parties, like a house of cards. It was impossible to foresee then, for instance, that the German social democracy would become such a powerful counter-revolutionary factor. The German bourgeois professor Richard Foerster says in his book entitled "*The International in 1914-1919*": "It is true that the German social democracy did not succeed in preventing the German revolution, but it has managed nevertheless to stem its course and to organise a resistance against Bolshevism". (The above mentioned pamphlet, page 29). These words were written after the first defeat of the Spartakists in Berlin. But in the honeymoon of the German revolution only a very few could think that the German social democracy would become the chief and almost only support of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The delegates who attended the First Congress of the Communist International were not numerous, and the content of the work was chiefly declarative. In the above mentioned invitation to the Congress the "aims and tactics" of the Third International were laid down in the form of twelve theses. On the whole the work of the First Congress remained within the limits of those 12 theses.

Be that as it may, it was an accomplished fact, the Third International had come into being as an organisation.

* * *

The years 1919—1920, that is to say, the period stretching between the First and Second Congress, was a time of the most rapid growth of the Communist International. A vehement mass labour movement was raging throughout Europe, and in the first period after the end of the imperialist war it was getting more and more stormy. The Communist International won gradually the sympathy of large masses of the proletariat. A wave of sympathy with the Communist International penetrated into the ranks of the old socialist parties. This led to a turn of feelings in its favour even among a number of the old leaders of the "centre". In the Spring and Summer of 1920, as Martov has admitted recently, many of the centrist leaders, acting under the pressure of the surrounding circumstances, entertained the idea of a *block between the "centre" and the left wing*. This explains the appearance at the Second Congress of the Communist International of such leaders of the "centre" as Crispian and Dittmann, as the delegates of the American Socialist Party, headed by Hillquith, etc. The Communist International was in danger of being flooded by these centrist elements. At that time it was becoming, so to say, "fashionable". The blockade had cut off Soviet Russia and the leading centre of the Communist International for many a long month. Its real views were but little known abroad, and many of the representatives of the centre began to cherish serious hopes that it would be easy to transform the Third International into an organisation that would practically be very similar to the Second International. This frame of mind was eloquently expressed by Modigliani, leader of the Italian centre, in the Spring of 1920, when he gave the following motive for his advocacy of the affiliation to the Third International: „Why should one not join the Third International? This does not impose any specially heavy duties. It is hardly a difficult task to send a picture post-card once in three months to the Executive organ of the Communist International“...

In view of this danger the Communist International had to take the necessary measures for its own protection. Hence the celebrated 21 conditions, around which such a passionate struggle has been raging since.

Having made itself safe from the right wing elements, the Second Congress of the Communist International drew the line between itself and the so-called left tendencies. At that time already it protested most decisively against the ideology of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. It repulsed the pseudo-"left" tendency, which was pronouncing itself against the Communists who took part in the labour unions. It did all it could to win the sympathy of the best part of the revolutionary syndicates, of the "Industrial Workers of the World" and other similar elements. It did not cede an inch of its doctrinary positions to them.

* * *

During the period between the Second and Third Congress of the Communist International, i. e. in 1920—1921, the mass labour movement in Europe, which had spread so strongly immediately after the close of the imperialist war, calmed down considerably, and the Third Congress met in a period of comparative calm. The bourgeoisie had become stronger and so had its lackeys—the social democrats. The bourgeoisie was at first inclined to ridicule the Berne Conference—the first after-war conference, which had restored the "Second International". The above mentioned professor Foerster wrote: "The only positive result of the Berne Conference was the agreement on the question of international labour legislation" (page 30 of the above mentioned pamphlet). But now the bourgeoisie sees that the partisans of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals have been very useful to it. The adversaries of the Communist International: Amsterdam, the London Second and the Vienna Two-and-a-Half Internationals are now trying to unite.

The Third Congress has had to reckon with a slower pace of the

international proletarian revolution than had been estimated by the First Congress. The period of comparatively easy victories is now followed by one, in which we have to fight for each inch of the way, for each step forward, when only by an obdurate struggle we shall be able to win over one position after another from the bourgeoisie and its flunkeys—the followers of Amsterdam.

The program and tactics of the Communist International have now been delineated with sufficient clearness and precision. The Communist International has now entered upon *the period of its organisation*. During the year which has elapsed between the Second and Third Congresses the parties affiliated to the Communist International have grown everywhere. There is almost no country in the world in which the Communist International does not possess a solid base.

The Communist International cannot refuse to take part in any minor everyday work. Our parties are bound to and they do participate also in the election struggles. The French Party is acting correctly when it gives sufficient attention to the comparatively minor question of the tactics of Communists, say, during by-elections in one or other of the separate districts. The German Communist Party is also quite right when it recommends to its representatives not to occupy an all-round boycotting position in Thuringia or Saxony, where the existence of the so-called "Socialist" Government is dependent on the votes of the Communists. Our parties are right also when they resort to the method of a lasting siege in their struggle with such Amsterdam strongholds as are not liable to be taken yet. But pressing past all difficulties and pushing their way through the barbed wires set up by the bourgeoisie and the heroes of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, the parties of the Communist International do not for a single moment forget the great tasks which face them.

The principal slogan of the Third Congress was: "*To the masses!*"

The earlier stages in the develop-

ment of the Communist International were characterised by the fact that the working masses looked on it almost religiously. But at the same time those earlier developments were also characterised by the extraordinarily *weak organisation* of the separate Communist parties and the Communist International in general. Communism at the time was a sort of bodyless, although very attractive idea for the masses. The present period is quite different. Not only Communism "in general", but also the Communist *organisation*, must penetrate into the very depth of the masses. In the countries of the old European labour movement we have to do not only with the bourgeoisie, which has again armed itself to the teeth, but also with the old social democratic parties and labour unions, which have for years been creating their organisations and are now systematically carrying on the struggle against the proletarian revolution. Enthusiasm alone is not sufficient to overcome the bourgeoisie and the heroes of Amsterdam and the Two-and-a-Half International. We must set up against them a state of organisation three times as strong as their own. It is in this sense that the Third Congress understands the slogan: "To the masses!" Only after conquering the sectarian "left" tendencies will it be possible for us to deal a mortal blow to the heart of opportunism. Some people consider as a waning of our influence the regular siege of the bourgeois and social democratic strongholds, which has just begun but as yet is going on slowly, as well as the minute and seemingly not very showy preparatory work of the Communist International in the field of organisation, which is now setting in. Not only Martov speaks of the "crepuscule" of the Communist International, or the weak-willed Levy laments over the pseudo-decline of the Communist influence, making it a point of honour to prove that the German Communist Party has perished, but also some younger and more impatient Communists blindly believe the prophecies of our enemies. As a matter of fact there are no grounds for pessimism. The

first year of the Communist International's existence seemed "easier" simply because it was passing through its period of rosy and happy dreams of youth. The Communist International is now an adult, it is entering on a more difficult, but also a more decisive period of its work.

The Communist International was born under the slogan of civil war. This war will inevitably pass through a number of good and evil chances, at times waxing stronger and reaching the boiling point, at times seeming to grow weaker and recoiling upon itself. The latter case may be noticed in some places even at present. At any rate, long past are the times which the little French socialist soldiers' song speaks of:

Une guerre plus légitime—
C'est la guerre à qui vous opprime,
La seule que nous ne faisons pas.

(A more rightful war—that is the war against our oppressors, the only one we are not waging).

Well, the only lawful war is going on now throughout the whole world. The civil war will continue; this is as inevitable as the advent of spring after winter.

The Russian Communist Party may take pride in what it has already been able to do for the Communist International. It will continue its work to the end.

"The development of events has created of Russia a country of Soviets, of Moscow—the capital of the International, of the Russian moujik—the ordainer of the destiny of the world culture". This was written by one of the most prominent representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie in the much-talked of almanach: "Changed landmarks". A group of collaborators of this magazine belonging to the Russian bourgeois intellectuals, who have finally recognised the Soviet Power out of a national patriotic feeling, are looking upon the mutual relations be-

tween the Soviet Government and the Communist International from their own and very simplified point of view. They "defend" the Soviet Government against the Russian counter-revolution: "What are you crying out against the anti-patriotism and treachery of the Soviet Government, because of its being on friendly terms with the Third International? Is it wrong for the Kremlin to make use of the Third International in its policy as a great Power?"

"By a fatal irony of destiny, or perhaps by impartial and faultless verdict of history, the Russian national work can be carried on at present not in the broken down Russia of the "Third Rome" but in the Russia of the "Third International". These are the words of J. N. Potekhin, one of the above mentioned group of followers of Ustrialov, a former member of the Kolchak cabinet. ("Changed landmarks", page 83.)

These proselytes have really come to believe that the Soviet Government are looking upon the Communist International as an auxiliary weapon for their foreign policy. Even the most enlightened and the "most far-seeing" bourgeois are incapable of understanding what the International Workers' Association really is for the first Government of callous hands in the world. It is not the case of the Communist International being for the Kremlin, gentlemen, but all of us we exist for the victory of the world proletarian revolution, whose organiser the Communist International is. You will understand this *post-factum*, gentlemen, because you are crude empirics, you only believe what you can see and feel. Give us time, gentlemen! When the world revolution will move forward a step or more, when the Soviet power will be established in two or three more countries, then may be you will understand the really international, really universal importance of the Communist International.

The Economic Basis of the Proletarian Revolution.

(On the Revolutionary Prospects).

By N. BUKHARIN.

The crisis through which the international labour movement is now passing and the manifest and ever growing insolence of the military clique, the Stock Exchange sharks and the branded "captains of industry", their pressure on the working class and the simultaneous "submissiveness" of the latter—are permitting the real bourgeoisie and the social democratic swindlers in equal degree to expect a new advent of capitalist prosperity. Capitalism, which, it seemed, was already breaking down under the pressure of internal inconsistencies and the stormily onrushing tide of the labour movement, appears to them to be recovering, and they are seriously dreaming of a new millennium of capitalism. However, these dreams are but an illusion of the least realistic and most light-minded among capitalist optimists. On the contrary, the more seriously thinking ideologists of the bourgeoisie have a presentiment of its inevitable ruin, which seems to them to be the ruin of all culture. This is the cause of the deep despair and sadness that is prevalent in the "philosophising" minds of the bourgeoisie. Hence, (in Germany) the turn from the slogan of economic capacity ("Tüchtigkeit") to mysticism, Buddhism and the extolment of the ancient Hindoo philosophy. Despairing of the earth, the bourgeois ideologists are raising their eyes "heavenwards" in the hope of finding there consolation for the future. Meanwhile the active "practicians" and jingoes are trying to bridle the working class and to find an issue out of the deadlock. Such is the picture of the "capitalist world" anno Domini 1921.

We shall try to give a few examples, which will illustrate the situation.

Naturally the final decision lies in the department of public economy. And whatever superficial occurrences may be noticed in the other spheres of life, it is only in this domain that the answers to the question on the "fate of international capitalism" may be found. From this point of view it is especially interesting to study some of the results for the current year, that is to say, the year which is characterised, on the one hand, by the growing insolence of the bourgeoisie and, on the other, by the crisis of the labour movement.

The output of coal in Germany has been "developing" as follows: in 1920 (for the first six months, in million tons) we see:

for January — February	. 20.5
" March	10.15
" April — May	20.24
" June	11.0

In 1921 the corresponding figures are: 24.0 (+), 11.5 (+), 16.7 (—), 8.9 (—).

The output of coal in England:

January 1920	19.16
February "	19.44
March "	19.5

For the first months of 1921 the corresponding figures are 18.5 (—), 17.13 (—), 17.4 (—).

The production of pig iron in England:

The decrease, owing to the strikes, is catastrophical. For the first six months of 1920 we have: 0.67; 0.65; 0.70; 0.67; 0.74. For the first six months of 1921 we have simply impossible figures: 0.64 (—); 0.46 (—); 0.39 (—); 0.06 (—!); 0.014 (—!!); 0.014 (—!!!); 0.0008 (—!!!!).

The production of pig iron in America is also showing an incessant decrease: here the figures for the first three months and the fifth month of the first half of the year are as follows: in 1920—3.0; 3.0; 3.38; 2.99; In 1921—2.4 (—); 1.9 (—); 1.6 (—); 1.22 (—). (The index figures in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August). According to supplementary data we have the following figures: June 1.065 (—); July 0.865 (—); August and September show a small increase (0.954 and 0.98). (*New York Times*, October 6th).

In France, the greatest of the European plunderers, the output of coal shows no signs of improvement, namely: in January 1921—2,427,588 tons, in June 2,408,381 tons.

It would be possible to give a

number of examples from other branches of industry. Whatever one may say, there is no serious improvement anywhere, the basis of production is not developing. There is no "restoration of capitalism".

But perhaps international trade is increasing? May be, the world economy, torn to pieces during the war, is now rapidly restoring its economic external ties, on the basis of which one may expect in the immediate future an unprecedented expansion of industrial forces in the national capitalist economy? Perhaps, capitalism is thus accumulating colossal internal forces in order to make later on a decisive leap forward?

We shall see. Here are the figures for 1920 and 1921:

	January	February	March	April	May	June	January	February	March	April	May	June
AMERICA (in mill. dollars).												
Imports . .	209	215	252	255	208	198	474	468	524	496	431	553
Exports . .	655	489	354	340	330	340	722	615	820	684	746	631
Excess of exports over imports	446	274	132	85	122	142	248	177	296	188	315	78
ENGLAND (in mill. pound sterl.).												
Imports . .	117	96.9	93.7	89.9	86.2	88.2	183.3	170.4	176.6	167.1	166.4	170.5
Exports . .	102.7	76.2	75.7	68.4	50.3	38.2	131.3	108.6	130.7	126.7	139.6	136.5
Excess of imports over exports	14.1	20.7	18.0	21.6	36	50.0	51.9	61.9	45.8	40.5	26.8	24.0

What do these figures show? First of all they show the passive balance of the foreign trade of the European countries. Secondly, they refute the opinion regarding the growth of international commerce. Just the reverse. The international relations in 1921 have not been increasing, but decreasing, as may be seen clearly from the above figures, computed by the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (an authority, which cannot be charged with unloyalty). Hence it ensues that we have no symptoms even of an accumulation of forces which might be realised after a certain time. Statistics

of bankruptcies, which the *F. Z.* quotes as a token of the "general aggravation of the crisis in the world economy" are very characteristic. In *Germany* there were 347 cases during the first six months of 1920; and 1,573 cases during the same months in 1921,—in *Britain* the corresponding figures for the same months are 310 and 753; in *America* 2,927 and 9,010 and so forth.

We do not dispose of sufficient space to give the extraordinary figures on the growth of unemployment, which is an inevitable consequence of the existing conditions. By the way, these figures have repeatedly been published

in our press. Neither can we give here any of the most interesting data on the rates of exchange, prices, etc. But we think that the figures quoted are sufficient to enable us to state that the capitalist economy is *not on its way out of the deadlock*.

Meanwhile this is the fundamental reason that warrants the inevitability of the proletarian revolution. The crisis of the labour movement is not a consequence of the patching up of the capitalist holes and the improvement

of capitalist economy. It is the psychological reaction within the army, defeated in the first desperate fights. Therefore the weakening of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat can not last very long. "Defeated armies are good at learning". And this "learning", albeit imperceptible for a bystander, together with the deepening disintegration of capitalism, will lead to the one inevitable result: the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

Ordeal by fire.

By V. KUUSINEN

The wise prophets of the Western countries used to say about Russia before the October revolution: "Anarchy will soon triumph there". But the events took a different turn. It was order and organised workers' power that triumphed.

And, afterwards, how many times did Soviet Russia disappoint the prophets of the capitalist world whenever they tried to cut the Russian Gordian knot, whether with the sharp blade of some theory, or with the sword, like Alexander the Great. The same mistake always occurred to their calculations; each time they failed to reckon with one factor, namely: with *the Bolsheviks*. In all the rest their calculations were quite correct.

It was quite true that general Ludendorff might have taken Petersburg in 1918 but... the Bolsheviks signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. True that the foremost bands of general Krasnov or the Czecho-Slovak legions could already have taken Moscow, if the Bolsheviks had not organised the Red Army. According to the predictions of Karl Kautsky the peasant masses might have transformed the proletarian revolution into a chaos of peasant mutinies and, thus, have made of it merely one of the episodes of a bourgeois revolution, if the Bolsheviks had not organised the proletarian class struggle in the villages.

The Bolsheviks, with arms or tools in their hands—in their speeches and

articles in the press, in their diplomatic notes and commercial treaties, in the food tax and the clearing of the Party—in a word, always and everywhere—were at the right post and with a stroke upset the calculations of the prophets bought by capitalism, from Kautsky to the last menshevik, from Krasnov to Petlura and Pilsudsky.

First of all—it happened in October, four years ago.

It was said that their victory had been an easy one. True, but although easy, it was not achieved without a struggle.

It is true, that the conditions objectively necessary for a proletarian revolution in Russia were favourable.

It was indeed easy to foresee that Kerensky's soap bubble must soon burst, that, so far as the "Outchredilka" (the Constituent Assembly) was concerned—the Russian bourgeoisie could only boast of parliamentary talkers, but that it had no real force to bring it into being, and that the tsarist reaction had nothing at its disposal but some chieftains of bands of robbers of the Kornilov type.

Consequently, the victory of the proletarian revolution was *possible*. And yet it might very well not have followed. But for the Bolsheviks it would not have been achieved. Anarchy might have set in: either the dictatorship of the white-guardist generals, or new attempts at coalition with a

Constituent Assembly, or the break-up of the State into numerous mutually hostile republics and the degeneration of the proletarian class struggle into a chaos of separate collisions in town and country. Such results were as much possible, historically, as was the victory of the proletarian revolution.

At that critical moment the Bolsheviks decided the march of history. Although the struggle for the power had not become inevitable as yet, the Bolsheviks started the fight. By their struggle and their leadership they converted the possibility of victory into reality.

The example of Finland proves best of all that their decision was not one that had been arrived at as being absolutely natural.

Immediately after the October revolution the situation in Finland also became revolutionary. The general strike; the working masses tensely awaiting events; the training and demonstrations of the unarmed red guard; discussions during many nights in the leading organs of the Party and the trade unions; irresolution and vacillations which lasted many a day and night. Finally—the breakdown of the general strike.

The victory of the workers' revolution in Finland was possible in those days, but the struggle for it was not yet inevitable. And, as a matter of fact, the struggle never came; there were no Bolsheviks.

A few months later the position was reversed: the struggle had become inevitable, but then the victory was not yet possible.

* *

What were the Bolsheviks in October 1917?

They were an organisation. Naturally, it was not an organisation such as it is to-day. But at any rate, it was even then a strong proletarian organisation.

It was a Party organisation, whose nucleus consisted of tried revolutionists. These were revolutionists who had passed through many years of minute and tedious work within the factory nuclei; who had been hardened

and tempered in conspirative party work of all kinds; revolutionists schooled by long years of factional disputes, trained in the school of revolutionary class struggle, in centralisation which is necessary to a militant organisation, in strict party discipline and prompt execution, revolutionists inspired and taught by experience of mass actions (in 1905 and later on) and, finally, revolutionists who had successfully led the open party struggle in 1917 against the mensheviks and social revolutionaries—the struggle for the conquest of the majority within the workers' and soldiers' Soviets, and of the confidence of large working masses in the factories and in the army.

Thus, it was a model workers' revolutionary party, with good and experienced military preparation, with a capacity for inflicting hard blows, and possessing bending tactics. The leadership was purely Marxist with no pretensions to infallibility, but at the same time not afraid of making mistakes, and capable of learning by those they actually committed.

Such a party was capable of passing with honour through its ordeal by fire.

The transformation of a political party into the leader of an armed revolutionary struggle, this colossal change of functions in the October day—such was the "ordeal by fire".

In Russia this transformation was not a very difficult task for the Bolsheviks in October 1917. The situation did not demand any supreme efforts, at any rate it did not demand such efforts as those that are facing our comrades in the West-European countries. But then neither had the revolutionary militant preparation of the Bolsheviks in October reached the height which—as one may suppose—will be attained by our comrades in Western Europe by the decisive battles. It is quite possible that the measure of revolutionary preparation of the Bolsheviks four years ago will prove to be sufficient for any other capitalist country.

It had proved sufficient for Russia at the time. The Bolsheviks were a fit tool for history in October. They had

grown old enough for the achievement of their task. The proofs thereof they still hold in their hands.

* * *

The same critical moment is approaching in capitalist Europe.

The victory is becoming possible. Its premises are being formed and maturing. It is true, that the pace seems too slow for us. But, in reality, under the cover of the capitalist society, great events are taking place weekly.

Firstly—the activities of the governments, which have become coiners of base money.

Money is no longer money. The thousand years old traditions of the monetary economic system, which have grown inveterate in the minds of the worshippers of Mammon are now radically infringed. On the ruins of the larger centres of industry only speculation and swindery are celebrating their orgies.

In many branches of industry exploitation does no longer bring reliable profits to the manufacturer. The “super-profiters” are making attempts against his property.

This causes the fat capitalist to shiver in a feverish condition. The State is in want of money, industrial capital—in want of profits, the workers—in want of employment and bread—all are in a critical position.

The need of the capitalist state deprives it of its authority, demoralising the deeply rooted state instincts in the minds of its slaves. The latter are becoming ready for a struggle against the state. An alliance between the capitalists and the smaller working peasantry is becoming impossible owing to the increase of taxes and the hopeless condition of the capitalist economy. And the masters cannot fully trust their employees any longer.

The social traitors are the last props of the rule of capitalism. But a traitor cannot be a completely reliable support for his new master either. Moreover, the capitalistic states of Continental Europe have almost completely exhausted their social democratic reserves.

The very existence of Soviet Russia is rendering the situation of capitalist

Continental Europe still more hopeless. Without the import of grain and raw materials from Russia and without the possibility of selling goods to Russia the prospects of profits are very doubtful.

The revolutionary labour movement however is becoming the more inspired by the banner of Soviet Russia.

Decaying nationalism in Europe, partly supported by British imperialism, is compelled to defend itself against the centralist aspirations of the French bourgeoisie. The developing alliance of the extreme Right, with their clinking of arms all over the Continent, calls forth various coalitions of the bourgeois democracy — particularly among the enslaved nations. Thus, the rapacity of French capitalism is increasing the confusion in capitalist Europe. With such a state of affairs the devil himself is helpless.

The doomed capitalist countries of Europe are moving towards the historical revolution as surely as the earth revolves round its axis. And one day they shall reach the limit: the unstable moment shall come of the break-up of all social bonds. Then history shall say: “Thou canst conquer. All is ready. But art thou ready?”

Will our comrades be ready at their posts?

The hearts of the proletarian masses of all countries are beating for the revolution, for the social revolution, begun by the Russian proletariat. This may be felt best of all in the world movement of proletarian relief for famishing Russia.

The heart is ready. The forces are ready. October shall follow.

But will the Bolsheviks prove equal to their task?

Comrades of Germany, France, Britain, Poland, Austria, Italy and other countries, dear comrades, *are you at your posts?*

* * *

In what way must we prepare ourselves?

By following the example of the Bolsheviks: by every-day revolutionary work.

The chief task of all Communist parties in the capitalist countries is at present

the same that comrade Lenin pointed out twenty years ago for the conspirative organisation of the Russian comrades:

"The entire skill of a conspirative organisation must consist in utilising *everyone* and *everything*, in giving work to all and everyone, in preserving at the same time *the leadership* of the whole movement, preserving it naturally not only by sheer force of power, but by the force of authority, of energy, of a greater experience, a greater versatility and ability".

Two basic tendencies may be observed in the policy of the labour movement: one is towards *opportunism*, and the other—towards *anarchism*. The former is full of respect for the unstable capitalist reality, the second—bows down before revolutionary abstraction and dogma. The road from opportunism, as well as from anarchism, to conscious Communism seldom follows a straight line, but more often it deviates again to the opposite side.

Naturally, on the road of the Russian Communist Party, which is our international leader, such results of the dialectical process have also been met with. The Russian comrades have spoken of their mistakes with undaunted frankness. Partly these "mistakes" have undoubtedly been the inevitable result of the dialectical process. We shall have to pass through many such mistakes in the capitalist countries.

Certainly, we must learn by the mistakes of our Russian comrades. But it is not always possible to generalise such experiences. One must not forget that from the Russian Communist Party to the present Communist parties in the capitalist countries it is a long way and, probably, not a straight one.

The science of the class struggle, the art of Marxism,—there lies our difficulty. But we shall learn under the guidance of our leader.

It is a joy to struggle under the leadership of the Bolsheviks!

The Enemies of the Communist International.

By BELA KUN.

A conference of leaders of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals was held in the end of October, staged by the British "Labour" Party, which only people with a very easy going conscience can call a socialist party. The "Two-and-a-Halfists" were represented by Adler, Longuet and Ledebour, three worn out lions of the labour movement, whose toothless mouths are issuing husky revolutionary phrases only on rare holidays. The Second International was not represented on such a grand international scale; the representatives of the British Labour Party alone attended the Conference.

The London conference of the Two-and-a-Half International did not meet with the success desired by both sides. The alliance that both sides are so ardently striving for has not yet been

achieved, but it is only an adjournment and certainly not for long.

Amsterdam is dictating its will. Amsterdam—that International of the leaders of the opportunist labour movement—is interested that the Second and Two-and-a-Half "Internationals" be brought together. The old reformist politicians of the labour movement, who have passed through fire and water, never leave any movement in the depth of the working masses unanswered; it is true that their response is usually a reactionary one, but it is a response nevertheless; and it is generally expressed either by their simply and frankly stemming any militant movement on the part of the working class, or it takes a different form, namely: that of diverting the energy of the working class into some other channel.

The battles which have ended in defeat, the energetic organisation of the counter-revolution, the fierce forms and methods of settling matters with the working class, the bloodshed and the successful offensive of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for lower wages — all this has called forth an aspiration toward unity in the working class. The same elementary force which made the proletariat unite when it first appeared on the arena of history, is again setting up the slogan "Union is strength". This slogan is still being accepted by the majority of the working masses without criticism, so that the working masses are endeavouring to realise it without reckoning with the altered and revolutionary conditions created by the world crisis of imperialism. This irrepressible yearning towards unity, which can be realised successfully only by revolutionary means, is being utilised by the enemies of the Communist International against the interests of the working class. It is true that not all the enemies of the Communist International actually attended the London Conference as organisations, but none of them were completely absent from it. The spirit of the Amsterdam International hovered over the heads of Ledebour and his friends, like once upon a time, in the days of the creation of the world, God's spirit soared over Chaos. The Amsterdam International, a federation of reformist labour unions, is serving for a bridge between the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals. Once upon a time, when the creators of the Two-and-a-Half International were still vacillating between revolution and counter-revolution, they themselves desired to be a bridge between the Communist International and the Second International, which latter had grown old and grey in its numberless sins during the war and after it. However, not only their activity, but the very logic of the creation of their amorphous organisation rendered this role impossible for them. The completion of the process of their organisation and their transformation into an international body put an end to their vacillations and finally determined their place in the camp of

counter-revolution. Instead of serving as a bridge, they became a part of the same shore which is formed by the Second International and the still powerful Amsterdam International of reformist trade unions. For the moment they have rejected the call to unity, issued through the Labour Party. In their declaration they still talk of the necessity of inviting the Third International to the Conference, but there is not in all the declaration a single passage which might distinguish its authors from the other enemies of the Communist International, who openly call themselves reformists and do not even don any revolutionary colours.

II.

So long as they bore no number their discussional thesis against the Communist International was: "Dictatorship or Democracy"? They tried not to mix in tone with the hooligans who opposed Bolshevism. Their representatives, the heads of the "Austrian Marxist" school, on one day sided with the Russian Revolution, while on the other they proclaimed their solidarity with what was the product of Kautsky's labour. On receiving their number and becoming known as the "Two-and-Halfists" they immediately changed the main theme of their discussion. At present it is not "Democracy" and "Dictatorship" that are the poles between which they are vacillating or at least seem to vacillate. They are now pretending to hesitate in the question of joining in the coalition with the bourgeois parties for the formation of the governments in the bourgeois countries. In the classical mother-country of the Two-and-Halfists, in poor little Austria, they have already tried this measure, and their withdrawal from the government did not at all mean that they were and are not the real props of the Austrian bourgeois government. In Germany that is also the chief problem of the Independent Socialist Party, — the party of the Two-and-a-Half International. Martov and Kautsky are arranging amicable discussions, fighting

with cardboard swords, in order to decide theoretically—under what conditions the labour parties may take part in bourgeois governments. The “contention” is almost ended and, properly speaking, it is now only a question of whether a revolutionist must put on a frock coat and a white tie before taking a ministerial seat or whether he may do without them. It is true, the Italian Socialist Party does not belong officially to the Two-and-Halfists (however, it is characteristic of that Party that the British Labour Party deemed it worthy of being invited to the London conference), but its whole policy bears a clearly expressed resemblance with that of the Two-and-a-Half International. The chief problem of the Italian Socialist Party is likewise the question of co-operation with the bourgeois parties and of joining the bourgeois government. Here, this question has acquired the same form as once upon a time, long before the war, the question of Millerandism in France. In the Italian Socialist Party Serrati is not disputing with Turrati on the subject of “Democracy or Dictatorship”, but the point lies only in the time and the forms of the participation in the Government.

The third party to the London Conference—the Longuetists (the French Socialist Party) are also sailing in the direction of ministerialism and Millerandism. Lately some of its members-deputies have been trying to patch up the interrupted friendship with their old comrade, the Premier Briand, a former socialist. This party, whose Two-and-Halfist leaders, like Serrati, conceived the idea of unity of the labour movement as a union with the reformists, is now being compelled by the relentless logic of fate to tread the path of the German social democracy. The British Independent Labour Party is proving still clearer that there is no difference between the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals even in the methods of action. This party belongs even by its organisation partly to the Second and partly to the Two-and-a-Half Internationals.

The crisis and the slow development of the world revolution, however, are helping all that tendency. It is true, the vacillations of the Two-and-a-Halfists between dictatorship and democracy have already ceased, and their actions are no longer wavering between a proletarian revolution and a democratic counter-revolution; yet they are still more or less the heroes of revolutionary phrases. They have expropriated the inheritance of the old pre-war social democracy. Their plans for socialisation have collapsed, their “independence” has proved everywhere and internationally to be but cooperation with the bourgeoisie. There is already no more talk on their part, as of the main question, of overcoming capitalism: they are at every step avoiding even a struggle for the most pressing and insistent needs of the working class.

III.

They are thus linked with the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions and, consequently, with the parties of the Second International. This connection is at the same time a link with the counter-revolution and, in many places—as for instance in Yugo-Slavia,—with a raging counter-revolution, under its aspect of white terror. The Amsterdam International is undoubtedly the most powerful enemy of the Communist International. Not only because this last defence of the world bourgeoisie has managed to unite the centrists and reformists into one camp, but also because it has known perfectly well how to utilise the aspirations of the working class towards unity for its own counter-revolutionary ends. The Amsterdam International does not miss a single occasion of turning to its own account the mutual struggle between the parties of all three Internationals.

The activities of the Amsterdam International are not only an impediment on the road of the revolutionary movement of the working masses, but they are leading directly to the disorganisation of the working class. The political responsibility in the

present crisis of the labour movement and the actual temporary weakening of the militant will of the masses lies undoubtedly with the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals. However, this temporary weakening of the revolutionary will and political energy are not bound with such a disorganisation of the working class, as has already partly supervened in the industrial field, and is partly advancing on the entire International working class.

The fever of organisation which broke out after the war has driven great masses into the labour movement. These new masses turned to the trade unions with the liveliest hopes at a moment when part of the old organised workers were beginning to show a perfectly warranted distrust of all the activity of the trade union bureaucracy. The Amsterdam trade unions brought these fresh masses into the joint organisations of the employers and workers, instead of leading them to the class war. When international capitalism found the moment convenient for passing over to an offensive along the whole front, for increasing the working day and reducing the pay, the Amsterdam International either surrendered the positions, that the workers had conquered, without a struggle, or dealt a blow in the back to the workers who were carrying on the struggle. The result of this policy is the process of disorganisation, in consequence of which the membership of the trade unions is decreasing at present in all the European countries. The Italian trade unions, whose reformist leaders, after practically carrying on the Amsterdam policy, have exposed themselves in the end, and have lost almost half their members (1,260,000 instead of the former 2,260,000). A still greater decrease in the numerical strength is to be observed in the French trade unions, in which the partisans of Amsterdam have up to now managed by insignificant majority to prevent the French working class from joining the Red Trade Union International. Even in Germany and in England, where the trade unions have a great and rich past,

their memberships are now decreasing. This is not only the result of unemployment, but also that of the policy of Amsterdam. At a time when the memberships of the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are remaining on the same level, and in some places are even increasing in consequence of the addition of some of the government officials and other petty bourgeois strata, the numerical strength of the trade unions, which do not possess such reserves, is decreasing along the whole line.

The Communist International, like the Red International of Trade Unions, has pronounced itself against a split in the trade unions. The followers of Amsterdam—those champions of working class unity—tried to free the industrial organisations from Communists by expelling separate leaders or small groups. This policy was possible as long as the sympathy with the Red International of Trade Unions showed itself among the workers but in separate cases and in small proportions. At present, however, the Communist movement within the trade unions of all countries has grown so strong, the tactics of creating nuclei in the trade unions have brought such good results, that the partisans of Amsterdam do not venture to provoke the workers by the expulsion of Communists at a time when the working class is yearning to unite. There is nothing left to the trade unions, which call themselves non-partisan and independent, but to enter into an open alliance with the counter-revolutionary "labour" parties and such as have desisted from the revolution, and to subordinate the labour movement to the counter-revolutionary parties. This tendency has already manifested itself in Italy, and there is no doubt that it will become a fact in the immediate future.

The aspiration of the working class to unite must inevitably be directed towards revolutionary unity. Each one of the three enemies of the Communist International—the powerful Amsterdam organisation, the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals—is too weak

to prevent this revolutionary uniting movement by means of its own forces. Therefore they must set a block of leaders against the aspirations towards unification on the part of the working class, creating their external unity; this policy has already been started in Germany, and the same process has gone on in London on an international scale. Both the congress of the social democrats of the majority (the Scheidemannists) in Görlitz and the attitude of the Amsterdamists towards the International Bureau of Labour of the League of Nations proved with absolute clearness that the followers of Amsterdam, as well as the politicians of the Second International, are strongminded fellows with firm convictions and are quite consistent in their treacheries. They will not allow the Two-and-Halfists to carry out the unification under the cover of revolutionary phrases. Their aim is clear: they wish to compel the Two-and-Halfists to become open reformists. For the creation of unity among the leaders the Two-and-Halfists have to pay by their consent to share in the government and to coalesce not only with Amsterdam and the Second International, but with their bourgeois allies as well.

IV.

The block of Amsterdam, the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals represents the opposition to revolution from "the right". However, "on the left" a new enemy of the Communist international is making its appearance, in the form of the co-called. Fourth International: Just as its own mother, the Bolshevik Party, which has through its whole existence to fight against enemies on the right and on the left, the Communist International, having become an international organisation of the working class, is compelled to wage fights on two fronts.

Since the Third Congress the enemy on the left is acquiring definite outlines. The small sects, whose confusion and revolutionary phrases during the time of the first battles of the Commun-

ist International still warranted some hope that they would complete their evolution towards revolutionary Marxism, stand now — when the decisive moment has actually come — as the enemies of the revolution and as disorganising groups.

The infinitely small part of the German working class, which, under the influence of the sectarian leaders of the so-called "Dutch School", has now organised in the Communist Labour Party of Germany (the K. A. P. D.) had not the courage to refuse the "universal cures" proposed by that sect. The boycott of parliament, instead of revolutionary utilisation of the same, the boycott of trade unions, instead of the attempts at revolutionising them, the dissolution of the revolutionary labour party in a chaotic conception of class — such are the distinctive features of the above mentioned sect. This "party," on a typical sectarian model, never sought to get in touch with the masses revolutionarily, but had a natural inclination towards action that severed it from the masses and, consequently, from revolution; — and now has been rapidly and undeviatingly marching towards its fate ever since its withdrawal from the Communist International. The general doom of all sects has now befallen the K. A. P. D., it has become counter-revolutionary at a time when the revolutionary masses are continuing their struggle amidst unheard of difficulties. By isolating itself from the masses this sect, insignificant as it was, numerically, has now become a perfect nullity. The basis of its policy, the only aim of its existence at present is to deal a blow in the back to the Communist International, to Soviet Russia and all the Communist parties honestly striving to get into touch with the masses. After the Third Congress of the Communist International, the K. A. P. D. has fatally advanced towards counter-revolution, which has now completely swallowed it up. Feeling itself isolated from both the German working class and from the revolutionary facts, it had tried to organise itself internationally. At first it issued the slogan of national unity

of all sects sympathising with it and as completely ignorant as is the K. A. P. D. itself. They could not stop at this slogan, however, seeing that they received no response to their call for unification on a national scale. Consequently nothing remained to them but to call together internationally all those who did not accept their invitation in national limits. Such was the origin of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International differs, however, from the other international enemies of the Communist International in that, notwithstanding all the outcry against the "leaders", it is only a temporary federation of chiefs without armies. Owing to reasons inherent in the very substance of the sect, these leaders are totally incapable of uniting the masses. The same persons who struggled with all their might against the endeavours of the Communist International to create mass Communist parties and against the slogan: "Nearer to the masses" now, after a short period of time, are compelled to confer together on the subject of how to create a mass party and to approach the masses. The Fourth International is only the refuse of the revolutionary process, and it can in no wise reckon on a lasting existence. Its significance as an enemy of the Communist International is not identical with that of our enemies on the right. Its counter-revolution is a sectarian counter-revolution lacking all capacity for action. This enemy is only adding to the confusion in the minds, but it has no serious weight on the field of the revolutionary battle.

V.

This multitude and variety of enemies impeding the struggle against international capitalism sets the most difficult tasks before the Communist International. Before venturing on the fight it must secure each of its operations on all sides. It must bear in mind that the principal obstacle in the direct struggle for power does not lie outside the working class even if one does make a most "pessimistic" estimate of the undoubtedly tremendous forces of the world bourgeoisie. The struggle for power is hampered in its development if not solely, at any rate to a very great degree, by the fact that the majority of the working class is under the leadership of the enemies of the Communist International. The Third Congress pointed to this fact, which is at present the most essential part of our tactics. The struggle for the liberation of the majority of the working class from the control of our enemies and its subjection to that of the Communist parties is our task of the day. Only the achievement of this task will lead to the decisive fight.

The adaptation of the activities of the party to the every-day needs of the working masses, a deepening of the agitation and propaganda, the enlarging and strengthening of the party organisations—all this is a preliminary condition for the victory over all our enemies, *and above all over the strongest of them, i. e. over Amsterdam.* Only the removal of these enemies from our path can lead to a complete and decisive victory over the bourgeoisie.

The Third International and the Working Woman.

By A. KOLLONTAI.

At the moment of the formation of the Third International the women represented not only an active industrial factor in the world economy, but a political force as well, filling up the ranks of the political groupings accord-

ing to their more or less developed class consciousness.

In the interests of its objects the Third International was compelled to take up quite a new position already at its first Congress in Moscow in

1919 with regard to the question of attracting the women to the struggle for the dictatorship, and voiced distinctly its views in favour of the necessity of work among the wider masses of women. There is no guarantee of victory, no possibility of construction without the participation of the working women.

In 1920 the Communist International founded an International Women's Secretariat in the Executive Committee. This I. W. S. is not an independent organ, as it was in the Second International; it is simply one of the working apparatus of the Communist International, enlarging the activities of the Communist parties by yet another militant task—namely the task of the complete and all-sided liberation of the women.

In contradistinction to the Second International, the Third in planning out its political actions takes into consideration the forces, the degree of organisedness and the class consciousness of the working women. For the Third International the working youth and the women are special "cadres" of the proletariat, which must be utilised for the realisation of a single plan of action. The women have ceased to be only an auxiliary element; the world war and the thunder claps of the workers' revolution, which have found their expression in the development of the civil war in its different aspects, have made an active political force of the working women in the other countries also. The Communist woman-worker has taken up her historical place under the banner of the Communist International.

In the reiterated actions of the German proletariat during these last stormy years of the commencing social revolution; in the prolonged economic strikes of England; in the revolutionary fights of the Hungarian and Finnish proletarians for Soviet power; in the actions of the Italian workers and the heroic struggle of the working women and the peasants of Russia; in the United States; in the growing movement of the Japanese proletariat—everywhere the women of the proletariat are working, struggling and

generously sacrificing themselves, their families, their lives.

During the years of great struggles not only the mass worker himself but also his class mate—the working woman—have grown older, stronger and more class conscious. The material is at hand. It should be utilised. The work must be deployed in all its width and breadth. The first step has been taken already.

The Third Congress of the Communist International has pledged all the Communist parties of the world to form sections for propaganda work among the women in pursuance of the example of the Russian Communist Party, and to carry on the work among the women on the principles and methods established by the Second International Conference of Women Communists. At present in almost all the Communist parties of Europe Women's sections have not only been formed but, what is especially important, they are carrying on the work according to a uniform plan. By this means not only good practical results are attained, but this helps also to strengthen the spirit of internationalism, of cohesion, of a feeling of solidarity, which the Second International lacked so much. The principle of the necessity of attracting the women to the struggle for Communism is cropping up and is strengthened not only in the capitalistically developed West,—but also in the economically backward countries of the East. The Second International never attempted to spread its influence beyond the countries of Western culture. The East was a stranger to it. The International did not even try to set itself the task of attracting the women of the backward nations to the struggle for their liberation through Socialism. The International Women's Secretariat of the Communist International, on the contrary, gives special attention to the East, estimating correctly that the conquest of the East is the surest method of dealing world capitalism a blow in the back. In Korea the women's labour movement is most imposing in its proportions. The working women take part in the armed uprisings, they not

only express their will in the strikes, but they are trained to the use of arms. In Japan 58% of all the workers in the industry are women. The textile industry, which is so greatly developed in Japan, is carried on by the labour of women. In the plantations of India over 2 million women are working. In the home industries of the Near East women's labour plays an important role. The developing capitalist industry in China is supported by the labour of women and children. The yoke of capitalism is interwoven with religious traditions and the survivals of patriarchal customs, which are oppressing the women. There is only one issue—the struggle for Communism. Naturally, the very first attempts of the International Women's Secretariat to enter into contact with the advanced part of the women proletariat of the East meet with a live response. The East is waking up, the East is beginning to move. A centre for the work among the women is being created in the Near and in the Far East. On December 1st the I. W. S. has summoned a separate conference in the Near East for the women representatives of Turkey, Persia and the Caucasian Republics. By spring time the I. W. S. is planning a conference of Communists from the countries of the Far East. The work is progressing, the ties with the East are growing stronger, new forms of work and special tasks connected with the peculiar mode of life and special conditions of the women of the Eastern peoples are being planned out.

The I. W. S. is not only an organ of propaganda, but of action as well. The work of relief for the famishing workers of Soviet Russia has called forth the organisation of collections of donations on the part of German, Swedish, Czecho-Slovak, Bulgarian and other women Communists. The day of the great anniversary of the revolution—November 7th—has been fixed once and for all by the Communist women of Sweden, Germany and a number of other countries as a day of public demonstrations, meetings of working women, publication of leaflets, appeals, etc.

Each country has its own woman correspondent, connected with the I. W. S. The latter proposes to call a conference in February of all these correspondents in the countries of the East and West. By the efforts of the Communist International two international conferences of Communist women have already been carried out in 1920 and 1921, in connection with the Congresses of the Communist International. The I. W. S. has published six numbers of its international organ ("The Communist Women's International"; under the editorship of Klara Zetkin). The last number is devoted almost exclusively to the Second International Conference of Communist women. In summing up the results, achieved by the Communist International in the matter of attracting the working women's masses into the struggle for Communism, it is necessary to reckon not so much with the practical attainments of the movement, as with the tremendous heave which has been accomplished in the question of the attitude towards women on a world scale since the time of the October revolution and with the help of the Communist International.

Not so long ago the bourgeois world was faced by the question, as yet unsolved by capitalism, of the equality of rights and the all-sided liberation of women. The dictatorship of the working class in Russia has solved this outstanding problem also. The so-called "Question of Women's Rights" does not exist for Soviet Russia. The role of the women in the public economy, their passing over to productive labour instead of the unproductive slaving for their families—has wrought a radical change in the position of the women and the attitude of the toiling society towards them. The proletariat of the whole world has now a live example before its eyes as to how the fate of the entire proletariat, and in particular that of the working class women, has been modified with the victory of the aims to which the Third International is calling and striving. Great are the achievements of the working class during these four years of Revolution, great is the heave

accomplished in a whole number of social-political questions. But yet the greatest achievement of the Russian Revolution and the Third International in these four years lies in the solution of the problem of the liberation of the working women. The practical road to a radical solution of the question of

equal rights for the women has been found and pointed out. Through the dictatorship and world federation of the workers under the banners of the Communist International—we shall go to the building up of Communism, and, consequently, to the liberation of the women.

Tax Questions in the Periods of the Development and the Decline of Capitalism.

THESES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

I.

Before the war the objective importance of the question of taxes was much less than in the epoch of the decline of capitalism. This was due to the fact that the taxes had constituted but part of the total sum of the so-called national revenue: thus, for instance, in Germany where the national revenue amounted yearly to a sum of 35—40 milliard marks the expenses of the state constituted but 2 milliard marks, or 5⁰/₁₀₀. In England, with approximately 2,000 million pounds sterling the expenses were 135,000 mill., or about 6⁰/₁₀₀. In France the state taxes, by a total revenue of 35 milliard francs, constituted 3 milliards, or 8⁰/₁₀₀. This is quite in keeping with what Marx wrote:

«The conditions of distribution, based directly on the bourgeois system of production, the ratio of wages to profits, of profits to the interest on capital, of rents to profits, may suffer but unimportant modifications, owing to the taxes, but they can never undergo a fundamental change. All the researches, and discussions on the taxes have as their premise that these bourgeois relations will last for ever. Even the abolishment of taxes would only accelerate the development of bourgeois ownership and its inconsistencies».

(Marx, Posthumous Works, vol. III, written in 1850).

The struggle of the social democratic parties was directed first of all against duties and taxes imposed on the consumer (indirect taxes), which directly aggravated the conditions of the work-

ing class. As to the rest, social democratic parties took their stand from the point of view,—whether or not such tax or the other hampered the development of economic life. While submitting original propositions concerning taxes, which were calculated to be realised within the limits of the existing capitalist order, the social democrats had to consider whether their propositions would not be liable to prevent the accumulation of capital.

II.

In consequence of the extravagantly huge costs of the war, the ratio of the national revenue to the requirements of the state became reversed. Formerly it was 5—10⁰/₁₀₀, while at the present time it amounts to over one half of the entire revenue. In Germany the government estimates officially the national revenue of the State at 140 milliard marks in paper currency (Experts' Conference in Brussels). The expenses of the state—including also the payment of the costs of restoration, which are about 50 milliards for 1921—amount approximately to 150 milliards. Thus the sum total of the state expenditure exceeds the national income. Hence the necessity arises of spending part of the accumulated riches.

The most extensive application of the system of taxes is unable to furnish all the means that are necessary to a capitalist state. The idea of procuring these means by an unparalleled inten-

sification of the exploitation of the proletarian masses, which would lead to an increase of the revenue and enable the state to cover its deficit from this source, that is to say, the idea of quite an unlimited development of the direct taxes system — is an utopian idea. The position of the workers in the countries in which the financial difficulties are the greatest, have grown so much worse in comparison with their pre-war standard that any further aggravation of the same would spell danger for the development of productive labour. Moreover, owing to the depreciation of paper currency, any tax, no matter however high, will be inadequate within a few months. Money taxes, as well as money itself, become a fiction. Only real values can form a solid basis for taxes. All the belligerent countries have reached this deadlock and are compelled to raise the question of the nationalisation (state trustification) of industry with a view to removing the technically superannuated methods of production, reducing the costs of administration and introducing direct profit-sharing by the state. Thus, the Communist parties are everywhere closely approaching the question of state capitalism.

III.

The parties constituting the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, as well as the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, have taken up a definite position with regard to this question; they consider the trustification of industry, as controlled by the state which has a share in the profits, as a realisation of the socialist program and call it *socialisation*. The parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals and the International of Trade Unions as well, set this "socialisation" against the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. "By means of this socialisation it will be possible gradually to realise socialism in a peaceful democratic way"—they are saying. But their position is founded on juggling with facts and on cheating the workers. So long as the power will remain in the hands of the capitalist class it

will be impossible to wrest the means of production from the bourgeoisie. If a capitalist state seize even all "nationalised" means of production, this will only mean that the management of the public economy will be transferred from separate capitalists to the entire bourgeoisie as a class. This condition will still prevail and will not be removed in the event of the working class exercising a certain control over industry through the factory committees and by its participation in the management of industry.

It is therefore necessary to destroy the illusions created by the reformists with regard to socialisation, the more so that they are serving only one object, namely: to keep the working class from entering into a struggle against the bourgeoisie. But by our rejection alone of such counterfeit socialisation, we shall in no wise determine the positive attitude of the Communist parties towards state capitalism during the period of social revolution.

IV.

The attitude of the Communist parties towards state socialism is based on the premise that the process of the breakdown of capitalism and the accumulation of the world revolutionary forces is a gradual one and will demand a long period of struggle on a world scale, especially in the countries with strongly developed capitalism. During this period the policy of the Communist International must be such as to enable the latter to conduct the struggle for the satisfaction of immediate and pressing requirements of the working masses.

The Communist International is advancing demands which are directed to the removal or alleviation of the misery of the proletariat, without any regard to the interests of capitalism or the need of accumulation of capital. Capitalism has ceased to be the factor of economic progress it was formerly. The accumulation of capital is at present only a means for prolonging the painful period of the birth of a new social order. The Communist

International only considers the fact whether the given demands correspond to the interests of the proletariat and whether they are looked upon by proletarian masses as indispensable. At the same time the Communist International must not allow itself to be stopped by the fact that separate concrete demands may seem double-faced and partly bear a reformist character, if only the struggle for these demands will rally the widest masses of the proletariat and if in its further development it becomes a struggle for the power. True, the demands of state capitalism will, on the one hand, strengthen the bourgeoisie—if they be voluntarily met by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of stabilising capitalism,—but, on the other hand, they will help to give unity to the front of the class struggle and at the same time to create better conditions for organising the realisation of socialism after the victory of the working class.

When pseudo-Marxists of the Kunow and Renner type declare that the world development of Socialism must pass through a period of state capitalism, their assertion is schematic and proves only that these pseudo-Marxists would like to pass through a period of state capitalism at whatever cost, that is to say, they would like to avoid a proletarian revolution; but if during the period of social revolution there will be a possibility to realise state nationalisation of industry, every step in this direction will facilitate the work of proletarian dictatorship after the victory. The apprehension of many comrades that the state-capitalist organisations will strengthen the bourgeoisie and delay the advent of revolution, are totally unfounded. The world revolution is not a product of the defective organisation of capitalism; it is the result of the inconsistencies between the requirements of the proletariat and the incapacity of decaying capitalism to satisfy these requirements even partially. Therefore the transformation of private syndicates into state monopolies will in no wise be able to defer the crisis of world capitalism or hamper the development of the world

revolution. On the contrary, the struggle for the introduction of state monopolies or for "nationalisation"—as this measure usually is called in the Anglo-Saxon countries—may at present become a starting point for serious revolutionary battles. The bourgeoisie of all countries is struggling most energetically against all such demands; under the pressure of the proletariat, the state bureaucracy, having become possessed of the means of production, may be compelled gradually to confiscate the profits and enlarge the right of the workers' control over production.

Whenever the tax system leads to the question being put forth of state syndicates and profit-sharing by the state, the following situation is created, which is characterised by Marx's words:

«During revolution the colossally developing tax system may serve for an attack against private ownership, but even in that case it must lead to further revolutionary measures, or return in the end to the old bourgeois system».

V.

From this point of view, and before the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks, in his pamphlet on "The Threatening Catastrophe and the Methods of the Struggle Against it", written in September 1917, Lenin demanded from the coalition government of the mensheviks, the social revolutionists and cadets (i. e. the government of big business, of town petty bourgeoisie and well-to-do peasants): the carrying out of the following measures.

1. The amalgamation of all the banks into one single bank with State control over its operations, or the nationalisation of the banks.

2. The nationalisation of the trusts and syndicates, that is to say, of the most important monopolies of the capitalists (sugar, oil, coal, metal trusts, etc.).

3. The abolishment of the principle of commercial secrecy.

4. Compulsory organisation of the population in consumers' societies or the support by the state of such and control over them.

To summarise all this, one must say that, unlike the tax demands put forth by the pro-state-capitalism reformist parties, the tasks of the Communist parties consist in the following:

1. To warn the working masses against the illusion that these are measures which can put an end to the distress of the masses.

2. To prove to the masses that these are but transitory measures, which can temporarily alleviate the position of the working class only on condition that on the basis of state nationalisation the proletariat itself will manage to organise strong and militant organs of workers' control over industry.

3. To urge the necessity for the proletariat to unite into one single front, in order to force the government during the struggle with the bourgeoisie to carry out the radical measures called forth by the economic situation.

The task of the Communists consists not only in criticising the reformist illusions, but also in strengthening the struggle which, although starting from illusionary premises, will inevitably lead to revolutionary consequences. In carrying on the struggle for higher wages the working class is trying to increase its share of the "national revenue"; and in carrying on the struggle against the taxes it is trying to prevent that the higher pay be again confiscated by the capitalist state for the purpose of covering its deficit. The idea of improving the position of the proletariat by means of an increase of the wages is no less utopian, than the endeavour to improve it by means of the confiscation of part of the profits by state nationalisation of industry and state profit-sharing. In both cases the measures are but temporary ones, and their whole importance for us consists in the fact that they enlarge the struggle of the working class and render it more acute.

VI.

In supporting the state-capitalist tax demands and insisting that definite

proportions of profits and property be liable to taxation, we may penetrate large masses of the poorer petty bourgeoisie and smaller peasant holders, against whom not only the whole system of indirect taxes, but also the present system of direct taxes is directed; these latter represent an attempt against the incomes and property of the smaller owners in order to make good the extravagant budget-deficit. Of all questions, that of taxes is one which provokes the greatest conflicts between the interests of various groups of the propertied classes, especially between those of the larger bourgeoisie, which is trying to bring order into the state budget and stabilise the exchange, and the interests of the peasantry, which do not want to sacrifice anything to help in balancing the state budget. The tax policy of the Communist parties must therefore be carried on so as to enable the proletariat to act hand in hand with the wider masses of the smaller and middle peasant owners against the bourgeoisie and the big landowners; for this purpose a strict line must be drawn between incomes, derived from personal labour and from the appropriation of surplus value: between property which—as that of the smaller peasant owners—serves for a natural basis for a profitable utilisation of their own labour forces, and property which serves for the exploitation of the labour force of others. The Communist postulates in the field of tax policy must start from the following theses: the rejection of all indirect taxes, the rejection of all income tax on wages, the rejection of all taxes on consumption and circulation, the rejection of all taxes which may fall on incomes derived from personal toil.

Hence, the fundamental principles of the tax policy of the Communist party in the present period of development of capitalism may be summed up as follows:

1. A most decisive struggle for the complete exemption from all kinds of taxes on incomes, derived from work; a capitalist state may only be maintained at the expense of the ruling classes.

2. A complete ignoring of the possibility or impossibility of the accumulation of capital and of other interests of capitalist production—for, at the present state, the accumulation of capital has become a brake on the historical development. With the extraordinary growth of the state expenses the latter can be covered only from the surplus value. It is necessary to touch the capital itself, and this can only be done by levying money taxes. Meanwhile in the present conditions of unchecked depreciation of money, the ruling class is constantly finding ways and means of shifting a greater part of the burden on the shoulders of the proletariat. It is therefore necessary to demand from the state that it utilise capital in its natural form. The bourgeoisie is opposing this with all its forces as it does no longer put any trust in the state apparatus. If this opposition of the bourgeoisie will be broken and the means of produc-

tion expropriated, the first stage of the social revolution—that of state capitalism—will be reached. The resistance of the bourgeoisie can be broken only when the struggle against the taxes will be carried on simultaneously with the struggle for the control over production. In its struggle against the taxation of incomes derived from personal toil, the proletariat will find a natural ally in the masses of peasants and artisans, who live on their own labour and not by the exploitation of others. The Communist party is carrying on this struggle in the interests of all the workers, while it clearly understands that the complete fulfilment of these concrete demands under existing conditions and within the limits of the capitalist order is impossible, and that this struggle must inevitably pass beyond the limits of its direct aims and lead to the fall of capitalism,—to the victory of the proletariat.

To the Workers of the World.

HELP THE WORKERS OF SPAIN AND YUGO-SLAVIA!

Comrades!

Once again the victims of the bloody Spanish reaction appeal to the world proletariat to denounce the abominable crimes, perpetrated every day by the bloodthirsty pretorians of militarism in Spain against hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers, whose only guilt is that they strive to better their lot and to free themselves from the economic and political bondage to which they are condemned by the lords of the hour.

They appeal from the depths of the Spanish prisons, places of pain and torture, where the cruellest treatment is daily inflicted on the leaders of the working class and its best elements, added to the moral anguish engendered by the knowledge that their families are abandoned and equally victims

to the implacable persecutions of the lackeys of the government. They call to you, workers of the world, and ask for your help—you must help to get them out of the circle of iron, forged around them by the generals of the monarchy, which every day becomes tighter.

In order to realise their sinister intentions and smash the labour organisations, they will not stop before any crime. They resort to all the refinements of cruelty. Thus, the most prominent militant workers are murdered at the moment they leave their place of work or in their homes. Numerous prisoners have been killed by the police while being transferred from one prison to another. It sometimes happens that they are set free in the middle of the night in order that they may be killed at the doors of the

prison. Such was the case of our comrades *Evelio Boal*, secretary, and *Jeliu*, treasurer to the National Confederation of Labour. The tortures endured by these comrades, may be said to be unprecedented in history. They were brutally beaten in the Prefecture of the police in order to extort from them the names and addresses of the militants of the Central Committee. On their refusal, the tormentors, redoubling their cruelty, disfigured their victims, so as to make them unrecognisable and do away with them. They let them out of the police office, shooting them at a given signal a hundred yards further.

These cases are, unhappily, not the only ones; already prior to this comrades *Gomar*, *Peres*, *Villanuova*, *Sasera*, *Hernandez*, *Jil*, *Arlandis* and many others, have been murdered in the same way. Later on, two most active militants in Barcelona, *Arc* and *Vandelios* died under torture in the Prefecture of the Police; in order to hide their crime, the police placed the bodies on the railway track, but somebody took them away before the train passed, this crime thus adding some new names to the already long list of martyrs, who had suffered at the hands of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

The laurels of the Spanish hangmen give no rest to the governments of all the countries. The working class is the enemy, the bourgeois governments are saying, and one after the other they are treading the path indicated to them by their Spanish teacher: they are smashing the workers' organisations and murdering their leaders. The lords of the situation in Yugo-Slavia are now reaching the Spanish ideal. The Yugo-Slav bourgeoisie, which has profited by the war and the Treaty of Versailles, believes it necessary to govern autocratically in its own aims and to exploit the working masses. The workers do not even dare to think of resisting the bourgeois plans of exploitation, and the moment the workers' organisations started the struggle, white terror rose up against those who had suffered so much during the long years of the Balkan wars and the

famous war "for the liberty of nations." The workers' organisations have been destroyed, and their leaders murdered.

The workers of the world can not remain indifferent in the face of such monstrous crime. The cynic work of the bourgeoisie and its mercenaries and the systematic bloody terror demand quick and immediate aid on the part of the working class of all countries,—aid not in words, but in practice. It would be vain to appeal to the murderers, vain to remind them of their promises, vain to appeal to them to keep to their obligations, the constitution and the laws, created by themselves. The working class must show its strength. It must gag the ferocious reaction in these countries by acting organisedly.

The Executive Committees of the Red International of Trade Unions and of the Communist International call upon the proletarians and workers' organisations of all countries to start an international struggle against the governments of Spain and Yugo-Slavia. It is in the interests of the labour organisations of all political shades to put an end to these unheard of murders of the choice elements of the working class. We propose to the Amsterdam International to examine and discuss, conjointly with us, the methods and forms of the organisation of an international proletarian action. We believe that the best answer to the cynic murders and the smashing up of the organisations would be a blockade on the part of the proletariat and a boycott of these countries; these must be organised by all the workers' organisations without difference of tendencies. The labour unions, and especially the railwaymen's and sailors' unions, can save the working class of Spain and Yugo-Slavia. The whole of the Communist, Socialist and Trade Union press, the papers representing every tendency and current, whichever be the International they represent, must act on a united front in order to save their Spanish and Yugo-Slav brethren. There must be international action against the murderers of the working class and proletarian blockade and boycott against

the bourgeoisie, which has gone beyond any measure. Let no proletarian and no workers' organisations remain deaf to this call! Let us be one in organising the proletarian blockade!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Long live the oppressed and persecuted proletarians of Spain and Yugoslavial

Down with the cynic murderers of our class brethren!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the International of the Red Trade Unions.

October 19th, 1921.

To the Spanish Proletariat.

The descendants of the bloodthirsty robber-knights of the Middle Ages are straining all their efforts and shedding streams of blood to force the inhabitants of Morocco to obedience. It is already twelve years that they are hunting the natives, twelve years that the blood and labour of the Spanish proletariat are being wasted in this war of plunder.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is not mistaken in its calculations in not sparing either human lives, or gold, or munitions for the crushing of the revolted slaves. All of them—lives, blood and gold—everything that is necessary for the continuation of the war is being supplied by the Spanish proletariat: King Alophonso and his camarilla—whether headed by Desalasar or any other murderer of the workers, either in uniform or frock coat, Campo, Corello or Martinez-Adino—have obtained only profits from this war. They used up the last forces of the native population, shooting them down and, at the same time, profiting by the state of siege regulations to crush the heroic struggle of the workers by the most brutal methods of white terror and military dictatorship. As they have done with the natives, they murdered and cast into prison the best representatives of the Spanish working class, they silenced the labour press and dispersed the economic organisations of the workers.

The defeat inflicted on the stupid generals of King Alphonso by the rebels of Morocco means a new mo-

bilisation; it means that new contingents of those conscripts will be called and sent to the slaughter and that the working class is threatened with an increased oppression and slavery.

Spanish workers!

We are convinced that the Spanish proletariat will not permit the bloody reaction to be carried on with impunity and will not suffer a continuation of the war. The heroic strike in Bilbao has proved that the proletarian masses have matured for the struggle, that they are already sufficiently permeated with the spirit of self-sacrifice, which is necessary for the overthrow of the rule of militarism. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole of Europe is proud of its Spanish comrades Communists and Syndicalists who have united for the struggle against the war.

The old Socialist Party and the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour are limiting themselves to pitiable cowardly verbal protests and continuing to serve for a support to the bourgeoisie in spite of all their high-sounding phrases.

Spanish comrades! The Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions expect deeds from you, who have more than once proved your military valour, and not mere protests against the colonial war of plunder in Morocco and against the white terror. All the Spanish workers, Communists and Syndicalists, as well as those who up to now recognise the authority of the traitors, the so-

cial patriot leaders, must join in this struggle. At the present moment, in face of the onslaught of the unprincipled, brutal patriots, capitalists and the military camarilla, draw your ranks closer for the forthcoming cruel fights.

Comrades! At the present moment the general situation is the same throughout the whole world. The working class will the sooner seize the power into its own hands and establish its dictatorship, the closer it will be welded together, and the more solid will its organisation be both in each separate country and on an international scale. Join the unions of the Red International of Trade Unions! Work hand in hand with the

Communist Party! Then the power which is leading you to slaughter in Africa will be overthrown by the victorious proletarian revolution.

Down with the war of plunder in Morocco!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the revolutionary unity of the Spanish proletariat!

Down with the white terror!

Long live the social revolution!

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

Moscow, October 19th, 1921.

To the Workers of Germany and the Other Countries.

Workers, Comrades!

The German police, which has failed to track Kapp and Luettwitz as well as the murderers of Erzberger, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogiches and Sueli, has now arrested Luis Nicolas Forst and Lucia Jonkina Concepcion, the Spanish syndicalists who are supposed to have taken part in the murder of Dato, the Spanish Premier and henchman of the workers. The German reaction, yearning as it does for the million pesetas that Spain has promised as a reward, demands the extradition of these prisoners to the Spanish government of robbers.

The prospect of earning a large sum on the rate of exchange induces the reactionaries to commit the worst possible outrages. Even before the Spanish Government has had time to come forward with its proposal of extradition, all the proud republicans and democrats covering the range from the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" to the "Berliner Tageblatt" hastened to offer to it the heads of Forst and Concepcion for 23 millions, in the same way as they are ready to barter away the means of production of their own country, all its food supplies and the proletarians

into the bargain, provided they are offered a good price.

There is no doubt whatever that even if the two prisoners actually have done what is incriminated to them, they were guided solely by political motives.

The right of sanctuary is the common property of all the nations, it affords protection to political prisoners who have succeeded in escaping prosecution in their own country. Modern legislation in this case follows a tradition which dates a thousand years back. The Governments have always observed this right of sanctuary in so far as persons of their own class were concerned. But when it comes to their class enemies the bourgeoisie have the audacity to ignore this right as well as any other.

The German working class must see to it, that Forst and Concepcion be on no account delivered up to the Spanish henchmen. Exert all your influence with the masses to make them bring pressure to bear upon the Government, in order to prevent the extradition from taking place!

Stir up the working masses, organised in the Trade Unions and in the

Social Democratic Party, that they should induce their Party comrades in the Government not to allow the extradition!

Workers of all the other countries! Support this action of the German proletariat, directed against the extradition of these two avengers for the inhuman tortures and the oppression of the Spanish working class. The Spanish and the German counter-revolution avail themselves of the attempt against Dato in order to start a new campaign of cruel repression against the Spanish Communists and

Syndicalists. The whole proletariat must join forces so as to put an end to this campaign of the Spanish counter-revolution having for its aim the extermination of our comrades.

Workers, unite and organise a mighty general demonstration, to force the German Government to desist from the idea of delivering up these two comrades!

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

November 2nd, 1921.

To the Workers of the Whole World.

The Communist International appeals to the workers of the whole world to strain all their efforts in order to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the revolutionists and strike-leaders in U. S. A., from judicial murder. We draw the attention of the workers all the world over to the fact of a democratic country sentencing its revolutionary workers to death for their political opinions. The capitalist governments are in the habit of doing away with their class enemies by piling up against them accusations for all kinds of crimes. Sacco and Vanzetti have proved their guiltlessness. Sentimental appeals do not avail against the carefully planned perjury and the

intentional treachery of the judges. Only by a mass demonstration of wrath and indignation can the capitalist class be forced to withdraw its claws from these victims. The Communist International appeals to the workers of all the countries, be they Communists or Socialists, Anarchists-Syndicalists or the rank and file of the Trade Unions, to unite for mass demonstrations in order to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti.

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

The President G. Zinoviev.

November 22nd, 1921.

≡ BULLETIN ≡

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 5

Petrograd

July 7, 1922.

CONTENTS: A United Proletarian Front.—Theses on the United Front for Labour and the Attitude of the Comintern towards the Workers adhering to the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals as well as towards those who support the Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisations.—The E. C. of the Comintern and the so-called Communist Working Alliance in Germany.—The Norwegian Trade Unions and the Red Labour Unions International.—Resolution of the E. C. of the Communist International on the Questions of Reparations.—Be Warned! Capitalism is preparing new Wars.—Introduction of a Membership Fee for the Communist Parties.—Circular Letter to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties.

A United Proletarian Front.

Working men and women of all countries!

The Executives of the Communist International and of the Red Labour Unions International have, in three sessions, discussed the world situation and the position of the international proletariat and have come to the conclusion that all the forces of the international proletariat unite and a single front be formed by all the proletarian Parties, regardless of the differences of opinion that divide them, provided they are ready to fight together for the immediate demands of the proletariat. The Executive of the Communist International is calling an enlarged session for February 19th, 1922, and the Communist Parties are invited to send a double number of representatives to it. The Executive further calls upon the proletarians of all Parties to exercise all their influence with their respective Parties to ensure their readiness to joint action.

Working men and women!

Three years have passed since the close of the great imperialist war in which you sacrificed your lives for the sake of the interests of capital. These

three years international capital has had full opportunity to prove whether it is capable of introducing a social system worthy of humanity, a system which would secure to the large masses of the people a minimum of safety, a minimum standard of life.

The World Economic Chaos.

And what is the result?

Six millions unemployed in America, two millions in Britain; unemployment steadily on the increase in the victorious States as well as in the neutral ones that have battered on the war,—for these countries have no possibilities of export.

On the other hand, the ruined countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Balkan States and Turkey are in dire want. They require milliards worth of goods produced by the industrial countries in order to set their economic life going and to provide the industrial world with bread and raw materials. And—sandwiched in between East and West—we see Germany hard at work, throwing enormous quantities of goods on the world market and underselling the other countries. Germany knows no unemployment, yet the German workers are in

a worse position than the British unemployed. Against their will they have become the sweaters of the workers in the other countries. The housing problem is becoming more and more acute, the tax burden is growing ceaselessly. The bourgeoisie is unable to bring peace and quiet to the world rent and torn as it is, and the cry of "woe to the conquered!" which is ringing through it now will soon be replaced by a "woe to the conquerors!"

Germany's Reparations Duty is the Reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The ruins of Northern France, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Poland and Russia are not yet made good. Victorious capital is throwing the costs of reconstruction on a single country — Germany, and the inevitable result is that Germany herself will succumb under the burthen and become a heap of ruins. And wherever the bourgeois start upon reconstruction, they make it an object of speculation and of exploitation which must needs bring about new conflicts. Soviet Russia, the granary of Europe, notwithstanding her heroic defence, has been devastated by three years of imperialistic war, by three years of armed intervention of the Allies. This summer's drought which threatens twenty five million people with starvation makes Russia's reconstruction a matter of life and death to millions of Russian workers and peasants. And gradually even the most narrow-minded bourgeois come to realise that neither the economic world crisis nor the high tension in world politics can be relieved, albeit for a time, unless the invincible Soviet Government be recognised and Russia be reconstructed economically. *An irreparable gap will be opened up in the world economy unless Russia reappears again as a market for exported goods and a supplier of raw materials. And as long as Soviet Russia is not safe from new attacks, she will have to keep her Red Army ready, and there will be constant danger of a new world conflagration arising out of the adventures of the Polish white*

guards and the Roumanian boyars. Yet the world bourgeoisie refrains from giving relief to the starving millions of Russia's population, for it expects that starvation will make them more docile to the demands of world capital. What these demands amount to is that the Soviet Government, in return for its recognition, should sell Russia to an international financial consortium which would pillage Russia as it has pillaged Turkey and China. For four years the Russian people has defended itself with sword in hand against the setting up of the rule of world capital in Russia,—a rule which was to be erected under the mask of the dictatorship of the Russian whites. It goes without saying that the people of Russia will now desperately oppose this "peaceful" attempt at enslaving it. The question of Russia's participation in the world economy, the issue of general peace will form the objects of new bitter conflicts.

The Washington Conference.

However, the relations of world capital to Germany and Soviet Russia are not the only sources of new great convulsions. The Washington Conference has failed to solve the Far Eastern problems. The great Chinese people counting 400 millions has remained an object of further bargaining and fighting. Since the Allied Powers neither can nor will give up plundering China and dividing it among themselves, they have concluded the Quadruple Alliance which merely proves one thing: that they realise the great danger of war and therefore try, by means of a cobweb agreement, to prevent one another from taking independent steps. Not even on paper did they dare to limit the land armaments; while the whole hue and cry raised about the naval armaments ended in their discarding some old ships and limiting the number of super-dreadnoughts in order to arm under sea and in the air. At the same time they are busy preparing new weapons which could wipe whole nations off the face of the earth.

The Offensive of Capital against the Working Class.

The capitalists all the world over are unable to unite for the reconstruction of the world, they are unable to give it peace and bread, and *thus they unite for a joint attack against the working class*. Everywhere they try to *cut the wages*, although these amount to less now than the workers received before the war to keep body and soul together. Notwithstanding the unemployment they try to *prolong the working day* everywhere. All over the world capital has taken the offensive against the workers. The war has piled up *pyramids of state debts*, and the imperialistic peace has increased them still more. The capitalist Governments do not dare to cancel these debts. Somebody must bear this burden, and since the capitalists, of course, do not want to do it, they try to shift them on the workers' shoulders. What are the state debts? They represent the right of capitalism to appropriate part of the product of labour without trouble, without in any way participating in production. *The offensive of capital has for its aim to force the workers to work harder, to produce more, in order that the war and peace profiteers should get an ever growing part of the product of proletarian labour*. During the war the workers, slaving in the factories and accommodating themselves to the demands of capital, enabled the latter to play havoc with the world, and now, in peace time, they do their strenuous work only to enable the hyenas of the battle fields to lead a life of joy and pleasure on these ruins.

The Results of the Reformist Policy.

For three years you hoped, in spite of all the war had taught you, that conditions would improve, that the capitalists would redeem their pledges given during the war, that they would give you democracy, the right of self-determination, bread and freedom. Alas, you hoped in vain. There is no nationalisation of the mines and, instead, the British miners must look on while

the coal kings cut their wages. The German workers had hoped, by submitting to the rule of the bourgeoisie, to bring about the socialisation of industry in a peaceful way, and now they must look on while the kings of German industry, the Stinnes and C^o, reach out for all the productive forces of the country, while they try to confiscate the railways and export the country's riches in order to hide away from the German people their foreign currency by depositing it in foreign banks. In France capital, united since the war, holds wider sway than ever before. In America *the rule of the Republican Party amounts to the plain and un concealed rule of the trusts*. Even the State bread subsidies have been abolished everywhere; he who cannot afford to pay the high price of bread may starve. Post-war democracy is nothing but a mask hiding the rule of the war profiteers; it is a screen behind which brainless diplomatists hatch plots against the nations. *White terror* is abroad in a number of capitalist countries; in India and Egypt this terror, which hitherto was directed against small groups, has been turned by the British world oligarchy against the masses. In *America, Poland, Roumania and Yugo-Slavia the militant leaders of the proletariat have been outlawed*. All the promises made by the *Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals* have come to nought. All these international organisations have proved incapable of leading you into the fight, if only for democracy and reforms. Their *coalition with the bourgeoisie* has reduced them to impotence, and whether they want or not, they help to strengthen the bourgeois rule.

The Necessity for a United Front.

Past events ought to have shown even to the blind that the Communist International was right in saying that the only means for the working class to attain liberty is to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, in close unity on an international scale to clear away the war ruins, and to begin the work of reconstruction. But we know that the fetters of the past still hold

the workers enchained, that the capitalist schools, press and church still exercise a great influence upon them. We know that great masses of the proletariat are still afraid and shrink from taking the power into their hands and shaping their own destinies. We know that wide proletarian masses are still afraid of such defeats as the Communist minorities have suffered in fighting to save the large masses from slavery. We know that the capitalist world press tries to discourage you by pointing to the wounds that the isolated Russian proletariat has received in its duel with the whole capitalist world. And therefore we say to you: *Well, you do not dare as yet to take up the struggle anew, you hesitate to rise with arms in hand to fight for power, for dictatorship. You do not dare as yet to begin the great offensive against the citadels of world reaction. Then at least unite in a common struggle for a bare existence, for bread and peace. Rally yourselves for this struggle in one united front, unite as a proletarian class against the class of world exploiters and traitors. Pull down the barriers that have been erected between you, link up into one united line, all of you, whether you are Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists or Syndicalists,—unite for the struggle against misery and want.*

The Communist Party always appealed to the workers who stood on the platform of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviets, to organise independent parties. The Communist Party does not withdraw a single word of what it has said in favour of the formation of independent Communist Parties. It is confident that day by day ever greater masses will come to realise that it was right in all it did and said. And yet, in spite of all that divides us, the Party says: *Workers of the world, unite for the common struggle, for the common aim.*

The workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists or even Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, *do not want to admit a further cutting of their wages.* They do not want to go on working while suffering starvation and exposure, and therefore *they*

must unite in a common front against the offensive of the employers.

The workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists, Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, do not want day after day to go begging for work from one factory gate to another. They all dread to be thrown into the street. Therefore they must rally *against everything that tends to increase unemployment.* And unemployment is sure to grow in all the industrial countries, if the German workers will have to go on working in the sweat of their brow as the slaves of the Entente and of German capital, as international sweaters, to enable the German capitalists to throw their goods on the world market at ruinous prices and thus to pay the Versailles contributions. Unemployment will grow, if the capitalist world puts Soviet Russia conditions that will enslave and oppress it and force the country to go on starving or to fight for life with arms in hand. *Therefore join to fight for the cancellation of the war debts, unite for the struggle against the throttling of Germany, and for the recognition of Soviet Russia and her reconstruction on conditions that correspond to the interests of the international proletariat.*

Not only does the proletariat suffer from unemployment; it is threatened by anarchy in production, it is threatened by the fact that the capitalists can produce and export whatever they like. The empoverished world demands a systematic distribution of the raw materials, their systematic utilisation, the control of the prices. Yet all this is impossible unless the working class gains control of production and unless the representative organs of the workers have the possibility to control the activities of the capitalistic disorganisers of industry. All the workers must unite in a common struggle for the control of production, for this is not only in the interests of the proletariat but also in the interests of the broadest strata of the petty bourgeoisie groaning under the bacchanalia of prices.

All the workers, be they Communists, Social Democrats, Syndicalists, Christian or liberal Trade Unionists, are

interested in preventing the capitalist diplomacy from bringing about a new world conflagration, they are interested in checking the doings of the capitalist diplomats. Therefore unite for the struggle against the capitalist armaments, against the capitalist intrigues!

Organise the United Front in the Workshops!

The Communist International calls upon all the Communists, all the honest workers, everywhere, in the whole world, in the workshops and in the meeting halls, to unite in a single family of workers supporting each other in all vicissitudes against the onslaught of capital. *Develop an iron will to achieve proletarian unity, a will which would crush every attempt at splitting the proletarian masses.* Only if you, proletarians, will thus unite in and outside the workshops, will all the Parties that look for support to the proletariat be obliged to unite for a joint defence against capital. This is the only way to force them to *break their alliance with the capitalist parties.*

Once the proletariat will be united, it will be able to utilise the scanty rights left to it by the capitalist sham democracy in order to fight for the improvement of the workers' conditions, for strengthening its positions. And thus we tell you: The giant Proletariat cannot stretch his limbs under the roof of the bourgeois hen-pen, he cannot rise to his full height. Once you begin to fight you will realise that you need *the sword of the dictatorship* in order to be victorious. Yet we know that this dictatorship *is possible only when the great majority of the proletariat will come to realise its necessity by their own experience.* And therefore the Communist Interna-

tional and the Communist Parties will patiently and in a brotherly spirit march together with the other proletarians, even if they stand on the platform of capitalist democracy. Once you join forces, once the whole proletariat stands in battle array, you will realise the tremendous power you represent. You will then see the *bourgeois who now, in a world of ruins, think themselves masters, become small and humble.* We are firmly convinced that you will follow the way that your best representatives have marked with their blood, the way for which hundreds of thousands of Russian workers have sacrificed their lives, the way for which Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogiches and hundreds of other fighters have died and for which tens of thousands are languishing in prison. We are firmly convinced that the fighting proletariat will be forced to enter upon the road of Communism and thus we call upon you, workers of the world, to unite.

Long live the united proletarian front directed against the bourgeoisie!

Onward, you workers, to the counter-attack against the offensive of capital!

Onward to the fight for the workers' control of industry!

Down with the capitalist armaments and plots!

Hands off Soviet Russia!

Bread and machines for the Russian workers!

Long live proletarian solidarity in every country and all over the world!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Labour Unions International.

Moscow, January 1st, 1922.

THESES

on the United Front for Labour and the Attitude of the Communist International towards the Workers adhering to the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals as well as towards those who support the Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisations.

(Unanimously adopted by the Executive of the Communist International on December 18th, 1921).

1. The special character of the transitional phase through which the international Labour movement is passing to-day places both the Communist International as a whole and its separate sections before new and important tactical problems.

The following are the distinctive features of the phases:

The economic crisis is growing more acute. Unemployment is increasing. In almost all the countries international capital has passed over to a systematic offensive against the workers, which finds its chief expression in the open attempts of the capitalists to reduce the wages and to aggravate the general conditions of the workers. The bankruptcy of the Peace of Versailles is becoming ever more evident to the wider working masses. The inevitability of a new imperialist war, or even many such wars is clear, unless the international proletariat will overthrow the bourgeois government; the Washington Conference has shown this quite distinctly.

2. The revival, under the influence of certain factors, of reformist illusions in the broader layers of the working class, which was noticeable before is now—under the blows of sheer reality—beginning to give way to a different frame of mind. The new “democratic” and reformist illusions of the workers of the better paid class, on the one hand, and of the more backward and politically unenlightened ones, on the other, arisen after the imperialist massacre are now fading away before they have had time to mature. The proceedings

and the results of the “work” of the Washington Conference will still more shatter these illusions. If, six months ago, it was possible to talk of a general drifting of the working masses of Europe and America towards the right, at present one may—on the contrary—establish the beginning of an undoubted leftward oscillation.

3. On the other hand, under the influence of the increasing attacks of capital a spontaneous and literally unrestrainable *offert at unity* is awakening among the workers; it is growing together with a gradual awakening of the confidence of the wider working masses in the Communists.

Ever wider circles of the working class are beginning only now to appreciate at its right value the courage of the Communist vanguard, which had rushed to the struggle for the interests of the working class, at a moment when the entire gigantic working mass was still utterly indifferent or even hostile to Communism. Ever broader circles of the working class are becoming convinced that the Communists alone have defended the economic and political interests of the working class under the most different conditions and, at times, with the greatest sacrifices. The respect for and confidence in the irreconcilable Communist vanguard of the working class are growing anew, because even the most backward strata of the working class perceive now and understand the futility of reformist hopes, and the fact that there is no other salvation from the attacks of the capitalists, than an open struggle.

4. The Communist Parties may and must reap the fruits of the struggle they have been carrying on under extremely unfavourable conditions among indifferent masses. And, whilst the working masses are becoming penetrated by an ever greater confidence in the Communists, these implacable and thirsting-for-combat elements of the working class,—they are showing, on the whole, an unprecedented yearning for unity. The new stratifications of politically inexperienced workers just awakening to active life are dreaming of a union of all the Labour Parties and even all Labour Organisations in general, and they are hoping to increase in this way their strength of resistance against the capitalists. New stratifications of workers which had formerly not taken any active part in the political struggle are now, on the basis of their own experience, proceeding to a trial of the practical plans of reformism. Like the latter, considerable stratifications of the workers belonging to the old Social Democratic Parties also disagree with the campaign of the Social Democrats and centrists against the Communist vanguard; they are beginning to insist on an understanding with the Communists. But at the same time they have not as yet overcome their faith in the reformists and considerable masses are still supporting the Parties of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. These working masses do not formulate their plans and tendencies clearly enough, but, in general and on the whole, this new tendency can be easily attributed to the desire of establishing a common front and to attempt to induce the Parties and Unions of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals to join the Communists in their struggle against the attacks of capitalism. This tendency is a progressive one so far. Practically all trust in reformism is dead and buried. Under the actual general conditions of the Labour movement any serious mass action, even though it should arise out of partial demands alone, will inevitably place on the order of the day more general and essential questions of the revolution. It will only

be to the advantage of the Communist vanguard, if new masses of workers will become convinced through their own experience of the illusiveness of reformism and compromising.

5. In the primary stage of the dawning of a conscious and organised protest against the treachery of the leaders of the Second International, the latter held in their hands the whole apparatus of the Labour organisations. They made use of the principle of unity and proletarian discipline to pitilessly stop the mouth of the revolutionary proletarian protest and to place unresistingly the whole power of the labour organisations at the service of national imperialism. Under these circumstances the revolutionary wing had to gain for itself by all means the liberty of agitation and propaganda, that is to say, the liberty of explaining to the workers the unprecedented historical treachery which the Parties created by the working masses themselves had committed and were still committing.

6. After having ensured for themselves the organisational liberty of *intellectual influence* over the working masses, the Communist Parties of all countries are now trying to attain in all cases a possibly extensive and perfect unity in the *practical action* of these masses. The heroes of the Amsterdam and the Second Internationals are preaching this unity in words, but in practice they are doing the opposite. Since the reformist compromisers of Amsterdam have not succeeded in suppressing the voice of protest and the revolutionary uprisings, they are now trying to find an issue out of the deadlock in which they have found themselves by their own fault, by calling forth a split, causing disorganisation and sabotaging the struggle of the working masses. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party is to disclose in the very fact these news forms of the old treachery.

7. Deep internal processes are compelling the diplomatists and leaders of the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals to place the question of unity in the foreground also on their own part. If

the slogan of a united front means really the sincerest desire of inexperienced workers' masses awakening to a new conscious life to rally the forces of the oppressed classes against the offensive of the capitalists, then the advancing of the unity slogan on the part of the leaders and diplomats of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Amsterdam Internationals is nothing but a new attempt to deceive the workers and to tempt them by a new method to enter the old path of class "co-operation". The impending danger of a new imperialist war (Washington), the growth of armaments, the new imperialist secret treaties, which are being concluded behind the scenes—all this induces the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals to be careful not to sound the alarm by chance, lest the international unity of the working class be realised not only in words, but in deeds as well. On the contrary, all this will inevitably call forth frictions and scissions within the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, of the same kind as those which are cropping up in the camp of the bourgeoisie. But this is quite inevitable because the solidarity of the reformist "Socialists" with the bourgeoisie of their "own" country is the corner-stone of reformism.

Such are the general conditions under which the Communist International on the whole and its separate sections have to formulate their attitude toward the slogan of the Socialist united front.

8. In view of the situation the Executive of the Communist International is of the opinion that the slogan of the Third World Congress of the Communist International: "To the Masses" and the general interests of the Communist movement demand from the Communist Parties and the Communist International on the whole, that they should support the slogan of a united front of the workers and take the initiative in this question. Naturally, in this case the tactics of the Communist Parties must be realised in connection with the conditions of each country.

9. In *Germany* the Communist Party has at its last General Conference supported the slogan of a united front of the workers and declared itself ready to support a united Labour Government that would be inclined seriously to undertake the struggle against the power of the capitalists. The Executive of the Communist International considers this resolution to be absolutely correct and it is satisfied that the K. P. D. will be able to penetrate into the wider Labour circles, whilst perserving its independent political attitude, and to strengthen the Communist influence over the masses. In Germany more than in any other country the wider masses will daily become more convinced how right the Communist vanguard was, when it would not lay down its arms in the most difficult times, but insisently pointed out the worthlessness of the proposed application of reformist remedies, because the crisis could be solved only by a proletarian revolution. In following these tactics the Party will rally in time all the revolutionary elements of Anarchism and Syndicalism which are at present standing aloof from the mass struggle.

10. In *France* the Communist Party holds the majority among the politically organised workers. Hence the question of a united front is different there from the other countries. In France too it is necessary that the entire responsibility for the split of the united workers' camp should fall on our enemy. The revolutionary part of the French Syndicalists is quite right in struggling against the splitting up of the Trade Unions and for the unity of the working class in the economic struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the struggle of the workers does not end in the industry. Unity is also necessary in view of the growth of reaction, the imperialist policy etc. The policy of the reformists and the centrists has led to a split in the Party and it is now threatening the unity of the Trade Union movement. This proves only that Jouhaux as well as Longuet are serving the cause of the bourgeoisie. The slogan of the unity of the proletariat in both the economic

and the political struggle against the bourgeoisie is the best means for upsetting these plans of a split.

Even if the reformist General Confederation of Labour, led by Jouhaux, Merrheim and Co., will betray the interests of the French working class—the French Communists and the revolutionary elements of the French working class in general must before the beginning of every strike, every revolutionary demonstration or any other revolutionary mass action, propose to the reformists to support such action and should they hesitate to give their support to the revolutionary struggle of the workers, they must be systematically denounced. This will be the easiest way to win over the non-party working masses. Naturally, this must by no means lead the Communist Party of France to limit its independence, as for instance, to make it support the “left block” during the elections or to show tolerance to the vacillating Communists who are still bewailing the separation from the social patriots.

11. In *England* the reformist Labour Party refused to accept the Communist Party together with the other Labour organisations. Under the growing influence of the above mentioned tendencies among the workers, the London Labour Party organisations have recently passed the resolution to include the Communist Party into the Labour Party.

Of course, England is an exception in this respect because, owing to special conditions, the Labour Party is a kind of general union of the workers of the entire country. It is the duty of the British Communists to start an energetic campaign in favour of their affiliation with the Labour Party. The recent treachery of the Trade Unions leaders during the miners' strike and in other occurrences, the systematic pressure of the capitalists on wages etc.,—have called forth a deep fermentation among the ever more revolutionary masses of the British proletariat. British Communists must strain every effort to penetrate at whatever cost into the very depths of the working masses under the slogan of a re-

volutionary united front against the capitalists.

12. In *Italy* the young Communist Party is beginning to carry out its agitation under the slogan of the proletarian united front against the capitalist offensive, although it was extremely irreconcilable in respect to the reformist Socialist Party of Italy and the social patriotic Confederation of Labour which have lately done their utmost in their open treachery against the proletarian revolution. The Executive of the Communist International approves this agitation wholeheartedly, but insists only that it should be further developed in the same direction. The Executive of the Communist International is persuaded that the Communist Party of Italy—guided by a sufficiently far-seeing policy of the whole International—will be able to become a model of militant Marxism, which will relentlessly denounce at every step the halfheartedness and treachery of the reformists and centrists concealed under the cloak of Communism, and at the same time carry out an untiring campaign, ever increasing, penetrating ever deeper into the wider masses, in favour of a united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie.

The Party must naturally do all in its power to attract all the revolutionary Anarchist and Syndicalist elements into the common struggle.

13. In *Czecho-Slovakia*, where the Communist Party has a considerable part of the politically organised workers behind it, the tasks lying before the Communists are in some respects analogous to those of the Communists in France. Whilst strengthening its independence and rejecting the last centrist traditions, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia will know how to popularise the slogan of a united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie, and thus finally unmask in the eyes of the most backward workers the leaders of the Social Democracy and the centrists who are practically the agents of capitalism. And, at the same time, the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia must proceed with redoubled energy to the winning over of the Trade Unions, which are

still, to a considerable extent, in the hands of yellow leaders.

14. In *Sweden*, after the last parliamentary elections, the situation is such that the small Communist faction may be able to play a great role. One of the most prominent leaders of the Second International, Mr. Branting, who is at the same time the Prime Minister of the Swedish bourgeoisie, is now occupying a position in which the attitude of the Communist faction is not a matter of indifference to him in regard to the formation of a parliamentary majority. The Executive of the Communist International considers that, under certain circumstances, the Communist faction of the Swedish Parliament must not refuse its support to Branting's Menshevik ministry, as the German Communists have quite rightly not refused theirs in some of the local Governments of Germany (Thuringen). This does not by any means signify that the Communists of Sweden must in any way limit their independence or renounce the work of showing up the nature of the Menshevik Governments. On the contrary, the more power will the Mensheviks possess, the more treacheries will they commit against the working class, the more strenuous must be the efforts applied by the Communists for unmasking them before the broadest working masses. The Communist Party must proceed still further on the path of attracting the Syndicalist workers to the common struggle against the bourgeoisie.

15. In *America* a uniting of all the left-wing elements of the Trade Union and political movement is beginning. This enables the Communists to penetrate into the wider masses of the American proletariat and take up the central position in this left wing federation. By the help of Communist federations wherever there are any Communists, the American Communists must head this movement and lead it toward a federation of all the revolutionary elements and insistently advance the slogan of a united front for Labour, as for instance, for the protection of the unemployed, etc. The chief complaint against Gompers'es

Trade Unions must be based on the fact that they do not wish to take part in the formation of a united front of the workers against the capitalists for the protection of the unemployed, etc. A special duty of the Communist Party is the attraction of the best elements of the I. W. W.

16. In *Switzerland* our Party can record some successes. Thanks to the agitation of the Communists in favour of a revolutionary united front it has been possible to compel the Trade Union bureaucracy to convene an extraordinary congress which is to take place soon and at which our comrades will know how to expose the lie of reformism before all the Swiss workers and to continue the work of the revolutionary uniting of the proletariat.

17. In a number of other countries this question stands differently owing to quite new local conditions. After having pointed out the general lines, the Executive of the Communist International is convinced that the separate Communist Parties will understand how to apply them according to the conditions of each country.

18. The Executive of the Communist International considers the absolute and complete independence of each Communist Party entering into any contact with the Parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals as the main condition, equally and unreservedly ultimative for the Communist Parties of all countries; and particularly their complete freedom in the expounding of their views and in their criticism of the adversaries of Communism. Whilst the Communists must submit to the principles of a *common action*, they must preserve the right and possibility to express their opinion on the policy of all the organisations of the working class without exception, not only *before* or *after* the action, but if necessary *even during the action*. Any desistance from this condition is not to be allowed under any circumstances whatever. While supporting the slogan of the greatest possible unity among the Labour organisations in all practical action against the capitalist front, the Communists must nevertheless never desist from the expounding of

their ideas, which, alone, are a true expression of the interests of the working class as a whole.

19. The Executive of the Communist International deems it necessary to remind all the brother-Parties of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks—the only Party as yet which has succeeded in winning the victory over the bourgeoisie and taking the power into its hands. During the fifteen years' period from the origin of Bolshevism till its victory over the bourgeoisie, (1903—1917), it has not ceased to conduct a relentless struggle against reformism or, — what is the same thing—against Menshevism. But at the same time, during those fifteen years the Bolsheviks have frequently entered into agreements with the Mensheviks. The formal split from the Mensheviks took place in 1905. Yet, under the influence of the stormy Labour movement, the Bolsheviks had already formed a united front with the Mensheviks by the end of 1905. The second formal separation from the Mensheviks took place finally in 1912. But between the years 1905 and 1912 there had been alternately splits and alliances and semi-alliances in 1906—1907 and also in 1910; these alliances and semi-alliances took place not only during the course of the faction struggle, but also under the direct pressure of the wider working masses, which had awakened to active political life and were demanding that possibility be given them to prove by their own experience whether the paths of Menshevism really diverged essentially from the course of the revolution. Before the new revolutionary movement, after the strikes in the Lena Gold Fields, shortly before the outbreak of the imperialist war, a strong tendency towards unity could be noticed among the working masses in Russia, and the leaders and diplomats of Russian Menshevism endeavoured to make use of it for their own purposes—much in the same way as the leaders of the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals are attempting to do now. The Russian Bolsheviks did not meet the aspirations towards unity of the workers by renouncing the idea of a united

front. Just the reverse. As a counterweight to the diplomatic game of the Menshevist leaders, they advanced the slogan of "Unity from below", that is to say unity of the working masses in the practical struggle for the revolutionary demands of the workers against the capitalists. Practice has shown that this was the only correct answer. And the result of such tactics, modified as they were according to the surrounding circumstances, the time and the place, was the winning over of a greater part of the best Menshevist workers to the cause of Communism.

20. Whilst the Communist International is advancing the slogan of the united front of the workers and allowing agreements to be entered into between the separate sections of the Communist International and the Parties and Unions of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, it certainly cannot desist now from entering into similar agreements on an international scale. The Executive of the Communist International has made a proposition to the Amsterdam International in connection with the relief work for the famishing population of Russia. It has repeated this proposition in connection with the white terror and the persecutions of the workers in Spain and in Yugo-Slavia. The Executive of the Communist International is now making a new proposition to the Amsterdam, the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals in connection with the first period of the Washington Conference, which has proved that the international working class is threatened with a new imperialist slaughter. The leaders of the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals have shown by their behaviour up to now that they renounce their unity slogan as soon as it actually becomes a question of *practical action*. In all such cases it will be the duty of the Communist International in general and each of its sections in particular, to explain to the widest circles of the working masses the hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals, who are preferring unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the

revolutionary workers. (An instance thereof is the fact that they are remaining in the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and constituting a component part of the imperialist Washington Conference, instead of organising the struggle against imperialist Washington). But a rejection of such or other practical propositions of the Communist International by the leaders of the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals will not induce us to renounce the tactics which have become deeply enrooted in the masses and which we are bound to develop systematically and undeviatingly. In the cases when the proposition to join the common struggle will be rejected by our adversaries, it is necessary that the masses should be made acquainted with this, so that they could see who is the real destroyer of the United Labour front. In cases where the proposition will be accepted, all our efforts must tend towards gradually carrying the struggle deeper and intensifying it to the highest degree. In both cases the attention of the wider working masses should be drawn to the negotiations between the Communists and the other organisations, because it is necessary to interest the working masses in all the ups and downs of the struggle for the revolutionary united front of the workers.

21. In expounding the above stated plan the Executive of the Communist International points out at the same time to the fraternal Parties the possible dangers incurred under certain conditions. Not all the Communist Parties are sufficiently well instructed and solid; they have not all broken off completely with the centrist and semi-centrist ideology. Cases of overstepping the limits are possible, and of tendencies that would practically mean the dissolution of the Communist Parties and groups in a united formless block. In order to carry out the new tactics with success for the cause of Communism, it is necessary that the Communist Parties carrying out the same should be welded together firmly and solidly, and that their leadership should be distinguished by an ideal clearness.

22. In the groupings within the Communist International itself which are more or less correctly considered to be right-wing or even semi-centrist, there are undoubtedly tendencies of a twofold nature. Some of the elements have not really broken off with the ideology and methods of the Second International; they have not become quite free from their reverence for the former organisational power of the latter and they are unconsciously or half-consciously searching for ways and means for a doctrinary understanding with the Second International and, consequently, with the bourgeois society. Other elements fighting against formal radicalism and against mistakes of the so-called "left-wingers" are endeavouring to bring more elasticity and manoeuvring ability into the tactics of the young Communist Party, in order to enable them to penetrate more rapidly into the very depths of the working masses.

The rapid development of the Communist Parties has sometimes externally brought these two tendencies into the same camp, or in a certain way, into the same grouping. The application of the above stated methods, whose object it is to support the Communist agitation in the united mass actions of the proletariat, shows up quite clearly the really reformist tendencies within the Communist Party, and, with a proper adaptation of the tactics, concurs in the internal consolidation of the Communist Parties, both in the education of the impatient or sectarian elements by way of experience, and in clearing the Party from all reformist ballast.

23. The united front of the workers means the unity of all those workers who desire to fight against capitalism; hence, also the workers who are following the Anarchists, Syndicalists etc. In some countries such workers can help in the revolutionary struggle. Since the first days of its existence the Communist International had adopted a friendly attitude towards such workers' elements that are gradually overcoming their prejudices and turning to Communism. The Communists must pay still more attention to them at

the present moment when the united front of the workers against the capitalists is being realised.

24. For the final determination of the future work in the above described direction, the Executive of the Communist International has decided to convene in the immediate future a general meeting of the Executive

with a double number of representatives from the Communist Parties.

25. The Executive of the Communist International will follow carefully every practical step on the subject in question, and it requests all the Parties to inform it of every attempt and every success, together with mention of all the practical details.

The Executive of the Comintern and the so-called Communist Working Alliance in Germany.

The Executive of the Communist International identifies the so-called Communist Working Alliance in Germany as an attempt at forming a new party undertaken by elements who have been expelled from the Communist International and from the German Communist Party. This attempt goes contrary to the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern and of the Jena Congress of the German Communist Party. The Working Alliance has a parliamentary group consisting of individual deputies of the G. C. P. who sympathise with it and who, under the auspices of the bourgeois Reichstag and contrary to the obligations they have undertaken, regard their mandates as their personal property. While on the one hand trying to form independent organisations in Germany, the Working Alliance is, on the other hand, organising corroding nuclei in the Party itself. The Executive of the Comintern herewith declares that these desorganising elements have nothing in common with the Comintern, and that their work, aiming as it does at disintegrating the Communist movement, merely serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats.

The difference of opinion in the G. C. P., which before and after the March action led to the foundation of factions, have been thoroughly discussed by the Third Congress of the

Comintern. The Congress was attended by representatives of the opposition in the United Communist Party of Germany, and they had full opportunity of voicing the views of the opposition in the Committees as well as at the plenary sessions. All the points of difference were settled by the Congress, and the representatives of the opposition pledged themselves on the basis of the Congress resolutions to work hand in hand with the Party for the unification of all the Party forces for the forthcoming great fights. The Jena Congress fully endorsed the decisions of the Third World Congress, and by electing into the Central Committee one of the most prominent leaders of the former opposition gave proof of its earnest desire loyally to carry out the instructions of the International Congress. Comrade Clara Zetkin on her part has set the opposition an example of honest proletarian discipline. The elements who, in defiance of the decisions of the International Congress and of the Congress of the German Communist Party try to form a new Party, base their doings on accusations, which they themselves know perfectly well to be unfounded. They charge the G. C. P. with sectarianism and with inability to get into touch with the working masses. But such an accusation is ridiculous coming as it does from people who have proved unable to

approach if only the German Communist masses and who set their differences with these workers above everything that links them to the Communists. In charging the Party with Anarchism they only echo the Social Democrats who denounce as Anarchism the revolutionary will to struggle. It sounds like mockery if they, who will not subordinate themselves to their own Party, assert that the Working Alliance aims at uniting the working masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The Working Alliance is an omnium-gatherum of former Party and Trade Union leaders who have been driven into the camp of Communism by the wave of the revolution, and are unequal to the task of taking their share in the difficult work of uniting and training the German Communists for the forthcoming fights. It is a gathering of elements who, disillusioned as they are with the slow progress of the revolution, have given up the revolutionary aims of the Party and their revolutionary independence, and under the slogan „Unity with the masses“ try to instil the workers with the ideology of the Social Democratic leaders; thus e. g. in the Trade Union issue, in the question of tax reform, of the organisation of the International, etc. The Working Alliance is the crystallisation centre of a new Centrist group which in no way differs from the United Social Democratic Party of Germany and is sure to end by seeking shelter in that Party.

The Executive of the Communist International considers it the duty of the German Communist Party to start an energetic struggle against the disintegrating and corroding elements of

the Communist workers, the struggle to be carried on within the limits of the general war as waged on an international scale by the Communist Parties against Centristism. The Executive welcomes the G. C. P. giving the comrades whose ideas on some of the tactical problems diverge from those of the Party majority, the possibility to have their views voiced. An open discussion, if carried on on the basis of Communist principles and reckoning with the interests of the Party, will give the Party the best opportunity to establish unanimity in all questions. The Executive welcomes the Party giving the comrades, albeit they are not at one with it on all the issues, the possibility to occupy any post for which they are well qualified. By this means the danger is averted of every difference of opinion leading to splits, and the object is secured of all the Communists regarding the Party as the only field in which they must settle their differences in a friendly way, for the welfare of the Party as a whole. However, this necessary toleration towards all the elements who have the interests of the whole Communist movement at heart must not degenerate into the toleration of groups of leaders acting anarchistically who try to press their opportunist policy on the Party and, having failed in it, endeavour to split and disintegrate the Party. The Executive is confident that in view of the necessity of rallying all the Communist workers for the forthcoming fights, the Party will unanimously repel any and all attempts at cleavage and disintegration.

Moscow,
November 2, 1921.

The Norwegian Trade Unions and the Red Labour Unions International.

The relation of the Norwegian Trade Union movement to the Red Labour Unions International was discussed in the middle of November by a delegation of the Norwegian Labour Party and the Executive of the Red Labour Unions International. The following appeal was then unanimously decided upon at a sitting of the E. C. of the Comintern, in the presence of the Norwegian delegation.

To all the Organisations of the Norwegian Labour Party and the National Trade Union Organisation of Norway.

Dear Comrades,

From the capital of the Russian proletariat we send you our greetings. The brilliant victory of your Party at the elections has given proof of the strength of your class front. Neither the campaign against your wages that the capitalist exploiters started last summer, nor the joint attack of the bourgeois Parties and the right wing Socialists—the reserve forces of the bourgeois State—during the recent elections could break the united force of your ranks.

Your task now, comrades, is to maintain the unity and strength of your battle front.

Rapacity is loosened all over the capitalist world. Usury and fraud are rampant. Wages are being cut in a most unscrupulous fashion. The exploiters blindly resist every and all the just demands of Labour.

We are witnessing great and bitter class fights. The ruling class keeps its armies ready to crush the Labour movement so as to gain unlimited freedom of exploitation. It is therefore of vital importance that the working class should closely join its militant ranks and continue in unimpaired unity.

Yet in spite of the trying times unscrupulous right wing Socialists in Norway are endeavouring to split and break up the Labour movement. They

have formed a new Party and are trying to lure into it members of the Norwegian Labour Party. In the Trade Union movement too the right elements will doubtlessly continue their pernicious work, and by splitting the Labour movement they will help the capitalist class to enslave the workers.

You, the class-conscious and organised workers of Norway, must prevent that! You must close your ranks and strengthen the fighting force of your organisations more than ever. Not, as the right wing Socialists wish it, by way of co-operation with the capitalist management boards and organisations, nor according to the methods of the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. This is not the way to preserve the unity of the proletarian front. Any negotiations about co-operation with the class enemy of the proletariat would only lead to the splitting of the workers' organisations.

As you know, comrades, the overwhelming majority of the organised workers of Norway have already expressed their firm will to fight hand in hand with us in the ranks of the world-wide political and Trade Union organisation of the revolutionary proletariat. The Norwegian Labour Party has long ago parted company with the petty-bourgeois, State-supporting Second International, and has joined the ranks of the Communist International. The National Trade Union Organisation of Norway has taken effective steps towards establishing closer connection with the Red Labour Unions

International. At its Congress last year the National Organisation voted in principle for the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet system and sent its delegates to our Second World Congress. At the First Congress of the Red Labour Unions International in Moscow last summer your Trade Union delegation participated in full solidarity in all the conferences and decisions. Much to our joy we have just learned from your representatives that your local Trade Union "Cartels" (Samorganisations) at their recent conference unanimously voted for the affiliation to the Red Labour Unions International, and that the secretariat of your National Organisation has now decided to submit this question to all the organisations affiliated with it.

We are firmly convinced, comrades, that this way will ensure you victory in your class struggle. Your ranks can be strong only if they are a part of the world front formed by the fighting proletariat. Ally yourselves still closer with the Russian Trade Unions. Unite closely with all the Unions of the Red Labour Unions International. But, at the same time, do not break the old relations existing between the individual Norwegian Unions and those of Sweden, Denmark or any other country. After the withdrawal of your National Organisation from the Amsterdam International you must continue and develop these relations. Do not give the right-wing leaders the slightest pretext to spoil or if only temporarily to break these relations. There can be no doubt that the majority of the rank and file of the Swedish and Danish Unions wish to continue on friendly terms with you. Should some of the right-wing Socialist officials nevertheless dare to interfere, appeal to the will for unity manifested by the members of the foreign Unions. Even should the Amsterdamists succeed temporarily to come between you and the foreign Unions, we are confident that friendly relations will soon be reestablished again by the joint efforts of your Unions and the rank and file of the foreign organisations.

It is with great satisfaction that the Executive of the Communist Interna-

tional has learned from the report presented by your Delegation that in the highly important issue of Moscow versus Amsterdam the Norwegian Party has taken a definite stand in favour of Moscow.

Make all your Trade Union Organisations also come to points on this issue. Bring its importance home to all those comrades who do not yet realise it. Bring about certainty by the unanimous decision of your organisations.

Your alliance with the fighting proletariat of the Red Labour Unions International will give you strength for the forthcoming fights and victories.

With fraternal greetings

The Executive Committee of the Communist International:

G. Zinoviev, H. Brandler.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Labour Unions International:

A. Losovsky

A session of the Delegation of the Norwegian Labour Party was held on the same day, shortly before the sitting of the Executive of the Comintern. The session was attended by all the members of the Delegation, viz: Olaf Schefflo, Halvard Olsen, Martin Tranmael and Ole Lian; Secretary—Trygve Lie. Comrade Olaf Schefflo was elected chairman of the Delegation. The minutes of the meeting read as follows:

The draft of an appeal drawn up by a Committee of the Presidium of the Executive was read. The appeal was addressed to the Norwegian Labour organisations and called upon them to leave the Amsterdam International and affiliate with the Red Labour Unions International. The appeal was unanimously approved by the Delegation, and the Chairman was asked to sign it together with the Executive Committees of the Third International and of the Red Labour Unions International. It is supposed that the issue will come up in Norway at an early date, before all the organisations.

Signed: Olaf Schefflo, Halvard Olsen, Ole O. Lian, Martin Tranmael, Trygve Lie.

Moscow, November 21st, 1921.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Question of Reparation.

I.

The result of the world war was to bind closely the destinies of two nations, France and Germany, to a degree yet unprecedented in history. The foreign and the home policy of one and the other are wholly dependent on one another. All political orientations, all economic measures of the capitalist Governments and organs of power are carried out under the working of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. Hence the fate of the working class of both countries is closely bound with one another and consequently the class struggle which is being waged here and there is wielding the strongest mutual influence over both countries. And such are the tendencies of the imperialist, capitalist world war and its peace that the burden of the peace treaty of plunder has now been laid on the back of the proletarian masses of both countries, over and above the crimes and sufferings of the war. All this interdependence of the policy and public economy of both nations and the mutual dependence of the working class in France and Germany are necessarily creating a community of interests of the French and German proletariat.

Therefore the Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes the decision of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of France and the Communist Party of Germany to convene a joint conference for the discussion of the reparations problem.

II.

The Communist International and its sections have always upheld their point of view that the world war with all its crimes was the work of the depredatory imperialism of all the capitalist countries

and Governments. In no country is the working class guilty of the devastations wrought by the world war; it has everywhere been the victim of this crime of the capitalists. It is not the capitalist States or nations and the capitalist Governments, the abettors of the incredible ruin and devastation of the provinces over which the hurricane of the war has passed, that will be able to repair these devastations. The mutual rivalry of the capitalist cliques prevents them from uniting all the productive forces for a joint work of restoration. All liabilities are laid upon the vanquished country, which must inevitably break down under their burden, while in the victorious country the bourgeoisie is growing ever richer. War profiteering is replaced by speculation on restoration, at a time when the popular masses of the countries to be restored are perishing from want. The practical activity of the capitalists during the last three years in the sphere of restoration has vividly confirmed our point of view.

The attempts of the opportunist proletarian mass organisations, as represented by the Amsterdam Trade Union International, to take the work of restoration into their own hands while the power of capitalism still exists have proved to be abortive. Thus the only inference to be drawn is that the working class and the proletarian power alone are able to restore all that has been destroyed by the world war and to efface its crimes.

III.

But this point of view which the Communists have always professed and will profess is not a sufficient condition to find an issue out of the given

situation which is characteristic of the actual transitional moment: neither in France, nor in Germany are any decisive battles for the power to be foreseen, as a result of which the question of restoration would pass over into the hands of the proletariat. At the same time the crisis of the reparations problem is growing ever more acute for one or the other of the bourgeois Governments and it is demanding from both Communist Parties an immediate intervention, immediate pressure and the use of all their influence.

IV.

The development of events in Germany may be described as follows. The sums already paid to the Entente, and also the internal state economic management in Germany have led to the complete bankruptcy of the German finances. The German Government has already advised the Reparations Commission that it is not able to effect the payments due in January and February. Should even the January and February instalments be paid under threat of violence this would prove to be the last payment for a very long time to come. *Thus a revision of the Peace Treaty of Versailles has practically begun already.* And it has begun not as a result of the foresight and sound commonsense of the bourgeois Governments, but because it has become practically evident that Germany is unable to bear any longer the economic burden of the Peace of Versailles. And the revision will continue and serve as the beginning of violent commotions,—which events demand the greatest vigilance on the part of the German, French and international proletariat.

V.

Black clouds are already beginning to float over Germany: the incredible fall of the currency, the bankruptcy of the whole financial system, the terribly high prices and the lowering of the standard of life of the working class, the growing

enslavement and increasing exploitation of the workers with ever increasing unemployment, hunger riots, chaotic uprisings—such are the results of such an evolution.

The latter is demanding from the working class first of all a struggle for its very existence, and, with a gradual understanding of the causes of the world crisis, a struggle for the political power also. This struggle will be carried on in the beginning under the conditions of a democratic state.

The forms and slogans of the struggle are becoming crystallised in Germany. The form is a united front of the proletariat of all Party shades, a unity towards which the first steps have already been made under the pressure of the high level of prices and penury, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the Socialist Parties and Amsterdam. In the slogans and demands of this struggle there can be no talk of the tasks of the present and of the future until the former historical mistakes of the proletariat will be rectified. Therefore it is quite natural that the proletarian masses of all Party tendencies have advanced as the aim of the united front struggle the demand for the liberation of all the class fighters who had been cast into prison after the March action. But the struggle thus aroused has also immediately put forth the following political demands for the purpose of satisfying the insistent needs of the German proletariat, namely: the taxation of the gold currency and material values, the transfer of the State and communal taxes on the propertied classes; the control over a trustified industry instead of the "Stinnesation" of the German State and communal enterprises; a partial confiscation of large property instead of unrestricted exploitation; the control over the production on the part of organs of the working class instead of unlimited speculation; a proletarian united front instead of the Stinnes-Scheidemann coalition; a Workers' Government instead of the Government of Stinnes. Such is, in rough outlines, the fighting line that the German proletariat is beginning to take up. All these slogans

do not mean immediate victory over capitalism, nor the rule of the proletariat, but they mark some progress towards the final goal as attained by revolutionary means. The bourgeoisie will put up a decisive resistance to all attempts to transfer the burdens on its shoulders and in this way the struggle for half-measures will be transformed into a struggle for everthing, into a struggle for the power.

VI.

Therefore the Communists should not take up a negative or hostile attitude towards this struggle arising quite involuntarily in the masses, but support it with all the means in their power and move it forward. The Communist workers must come to the fore. In this open struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie the half-heartedness and cowardice of the Social Democracy will become ever more evident to each worker, and this will considerably contribute to revolutionise the German working class.

The question as to whether the Communists in Germany should join the Workers' Government is not a question of principle, it is a question of expedience. Its solution depends on how strong the power of the working class will be at the moment when it will have passed into its hands or what possibilities there might be for an immediate development of its power.

As the struggle by means of a united proletarian front will be conducted without distinction of Parties, that is to say, including also the workers belonging to the Christian workers' associations, it is possible that the Communists will be their representatives in the Workers' Government.

VII.

The Workers' Government in Germany will have to express its readiness to carry out the Peace Treaty of Versailles in respect to the Entente, in so far as it is realisable in general and in as much as the French proletariat is as yet too weak to compel the bour-

geoisie of its country to modify its position, or so long as the world political situation will not compel the French Government and the Entente by the force of circumstances to renounce the Peace of Versailles.

The readiness to pay the reparations debts within the limits of possibility must serve as a starting point for the Communist Party of Germany, if it wishes to support and advance the idea of a Workers' Government, as according to the development of events. Such support will be in no wise inconsistent with the point of view expressed in paragraph II. The principle of the situation depends on the force or the revolutionary will of the proletariat in the countries of the Entente and of the whole world. Only when the working class of all countries will take the power into its own hands will a basis be created for the practical realisation of a principled view on the reparations question. Because only after the acquisition of the power will the international proletariat have the requisite means at its disposal. But as the situation is developing by stages, one cannot delay with the first stage and wait until the necessary conditions and possibilities for the second one will be created. One should strive bravely and consistently to attain the first stage in order to create the conditions needed by the second. The Communist Party of Germany will therefore—while insisting on its principled position—support the formation of a Workers' Government even on the understanding that such a Government will have to reckon with the interests of the capitalist countries of the Entente. After acquiring the power the German working class might find itself in the same position as the Russian working class in Brest-Litovsk, where it had been compelled to make concessions to German imperialism in order to obtain a breathing space for the struggle against its own bourgeoisie.

VIII.

It is quite clear that the capitalist Governments of the countries of the Entente would regard such a change

in Germany with the greatest distrust even though the German working class might present more reliable guarantees in respect to the execution of the Peace Treaty of Versailles than the German capitalist class or the German bourgeois Government. A great danger lies in the fact that the French chauvinists and militarists will attempt to arouse a warlike frame of mind among the wider popular masses by representing the formation of a Workers' Government in Germany as a latent attempt at evading the liabilities of the Treaty of Versailles. This makes it the duty of the French Communist Party to cut the ground from under the feet of the chauvinists by means of propaganda. In this respect the duty of the French Communist Party is the same as that of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany had been in the face of the shameful Peace of Brest. The greater the concessions that the German proletariat will be compelled to make to the bourgeoisie of the Entente, the more relentless and resolute must the struggle of the French revolutionary workers be against the exploitation and the slave-owning policy of the French Government. This struggle must be conducted not only in the sphere of foreign policy of the French bourgeoisie, but in the domain of the internal and chiefly financial policy. Like the awakening German proletariat, the French proletariat must also be roused and led on to fight against French capitalism, against the speculators in war and peace. It is necessary for the French Communist Party to make skilful use of the successes of the German proletariat for inspiring the French proletariat and strengthening its fighting capacity. At the same time the duty of the French proletariat is to proceed to the liquidation of the national liabilities called forth by the war. Above all the French Communist Party must insist on:

1. The annulment of all internal military debts, sparing exclusively only the petty bourgeois circles.

2. The suppression of all military missions that France is maintaining abroad.

3. The suspension of all subsidies to the Eastern vassal states.

4. The demobilisation of the colonial troops.

5. The disarmament of all the land, naval and air forces.

6. The removal of all troops from the occupied German provinces.

7. The modification or the annulment of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

8. The French Communist Party and the German Communist Party must mutually strive:

a. To establish a close contact between both Central Committees by means of a constant exchange of ideas on all the political questions of the day.

b. To carry out such exchange of ideas in writing and verbally through messengers and representatives, as well as by joint conferences to be convened whenever necessary.

c. To carry on a mass propaganda by means of joint appeals and publications to be spread among the wider circles of the working masses.

d. To conduct an intense propaganda at meetings in the more important industrial and political centres of both countries with a mutual exchange of speakers.

9. It is necessary by all means to instill and strengthen a feeling of solidarity in the working masses of France and Germany in order to create a basis for joint demonstrations in both countries. The forthcoming conference of the Central Committees of both Parties will be the first step on the way to the above mentioned great tasks of the Communist Parties of France and Germany, and we are convinced that both Parties would thus render an invaluable service to the cause of the World Revolution.

BE WARNED!

Capitalism is preparing New Wars.

To the working men and the working women of all countries!

After the pathetic peace speeches of the first days, after the bombastic program for the limitation of armaments, the Washington Conference has slunk out of sight into the dark chambers of Secret Commissions. It is haggling and bargaining behind the scenes for armaments, territories and capitalist privileges. From time to time the public hears of what is going on behind the scenes, whenever one of the plunderers, whom the others are trying to deprive of part of the booty, appeals to publicity and attempts to defend his doubtful rights after the manner of a haggling market woman.

Although thousands of newspapers have proclaimed that armaments will be limited in Washington, not a single share or bond of a concern owning factories of murderous weapons has fallen in price. The sharks of world capitalism, the manufacturers of guns and warships have not been scared by the peace braggars. They knew but too well the democratic and civilised Governments to believe for a single moment that Messrs. Harding, Lloyd George, Briand and Kato will ever reduce the profits of the ammunition capitalists. They knew that the republican Government of America, the Government of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Government of Lloyd George, a friend of the war speculator Basil Sacharov, would never start a war against Vickers and Armstrong; they knew that Briands' Government is dependent on the nationalist block, which is a captive of Schneider-Creuzot. But even if the rulers of France, England, America and Japan had not been so closely connected with the armament capitalists, how can they give up all armament when they are totally unable to make their capitalist interests accord with one

another, when, lashed by the greed of gain, they are watching each other with the deepest mistrust and, like dogs over a bone, are ever ready to spring at each other's throat.

Any limitation in the armaments—not to speak of their entire suppression—would only then be possible when the capitalist Governments would come to such general agreement over the distribution of their power, or the territories under their dominion, that it would be able to bring some order with it, were it even on a capitalist basis.

The victors in the world war have imposed such indemnities on Germany, that the country is breaking down under the burden. In order to press this tribute out of the almost bankrupt country, France is keeping a standing army of 880,000 men, which needs five milliards for its maintenance, while the same France does not spend more than half a million for her social legislature. France is ruling Europe by means of this army and those of her vassals Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, which she has also armed. But her chief rival in Europe, British Imperialism, holds her at bay with a fleet that is keeping all the approaches to the European states under the threat of its guns. England is trying to strengthen her position in respect to France by inciting Italy to armament, in order that the Italian fleet should prevent France from becoming dangerous to the British fleet in the Mediterranean, where lie the most important lines of communication between England and her Asiatic colonies. Besides having the strongest army, France claims the right to possess a fleet second in force, and provided with submarines, in order to be able to stop the transport of provisions in the Atlantic in the event of a war with England. This situation on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, as well as the position on the European continent make it possible to

diminish the burden of the armaments-costs by an agreement on the armaments in the Pacific. The situation in this Ocean is by itself greatly complicated. Japan, the new young plunderer of the Far East, has not only become enriched during the war at the expense of her allies, but, in addition to the already stolen Mandjuria, she has robbed unarmed China of the rich Shantung Province and pressed out of her a number of concessions for coal and iron. The United States of America, which have been still more enriched in the world war than Japan and are now bursting with gold, are endeavouring to deprive Japan of her booty. To this end they demand from England the abrogation of the latter's alliance with Japan and try to forbid the Japanese to keep a fleet larger than 60% of the American navy. But the Japanese robbers are not the only ones who protest against such demands. In spite of all the honeyed speeches on the solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon nations, England is trying to save her relations with Japan under one form or another, because the United States of America are her greatest rival in the world market. Should England really cancel her agreement with Japan and pledge herself not to keep a fleet larger than the American, the position of English imperialism would be greatly shaken in the council of capitalist Powers with regard to the distribution of the world booty.

All these conflicting interests in Europe and in Asia, all the struggles for Germany, Turkey and China have produced a tangled skein which the victors of Versailles are unable to disentangle. The Washington Conference will end in a fiasco, even if the capitalist Great Powers will sign an agreement that will express the wish and proclaim the right of all nations and states to lighten the burdens of war under which the nations are now groaning.

The ammunition factories and the warship wharves will not stop their work. Capitalist diplomacy will not cease to forge new alliances, which will each be a conspiracy against peace. All the capitalist Governments are in

great fear of new wars. They are all afraid that the working masses will not allow themselves to be driven a second time into a world war for the interests of capitalism. This fear will constantly induce the capitalist Governments to new attempts at compromise, but each of them will end in increasing the acuteness of the international situation. Capitalism means international competition and the latter signifies new wars. If the international working class will not immediately unite for a sturdy resistance, if it will not take the relations between the nations into its own hands, then it will find itself placed before the fact of a new world conflagration. The struggle against the capitalist exploitation - and war policy must not be put off till the moment when the phantom of a world war will grow into a living vampire, stretching its tentacles toward the proletariat for the purpose of strangling it. It must be started at once with the utmost energy in all countries against the danger of new war adventures, new acts of violence. In two places of the world there is the threat of new complications in the immediate future. In the winter and spring months of 1922 Germany, exhausted as she is, will yet have to make new payments to the Allies. A country where food prices have been doubled within the last few months, where not only the workers, but also the petty bourgeois never see a morsel of meat, has again to pay milliards to the Allies and to ruin its industry still more. French imperialism knows that this is impossible, it understands that Germany has gone beyond the length of her tether. But the French capitalist Government, while spending more than half of the revenue for the payment of the interests to the war profiteers do not venture to levy taxes on the wealthy classes. They do not think of diminishing the costs of armament, which constitute 42% of the total expenditure. They are resolved to cover the ever growing deficit in their budget by forcing Germany to pay at the point of bayonets. The world proletariat has no sympathy for the German bourgeoisie, one of

the chief culprits in the war,—the bourgeoisie which has built up its present ruling position on the bones of the 20,000 proletarians slaughtered during the revolution and cemented it with the blood of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The proletariat is aware of the need and penury of the villages and cities of Northern France which have been burnt down and ruined. But the international proletariat and, above all, the French working class must understand that it is not out of the German bourgeoisie, but out of the German proletariat that the payments will be pressed; that they are condemning the German proletariat to the life of a coolie, whose cheap labour, competing with the workers of France, England and America, will aggravate their conditions of life. And so we say to the international proletariat, and especially to the French workers: Raise already now your warning voice against the preparations made for an invasion of the Ruhr Province. Prepare yourselves for the struggle against the criminal policy of the French Government.

In Poland the bourgeoisie is proving itself ever more incapable of stemming the terrible destruction of the economic life and finances wrought by the military adventure against Soviet Russia. The increasing economic crisis is producing an ever stronger revolutionary fermentation and the influence of the Communist Party is growing daily in spite of furious persecutions. At the same time the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie are growing ever more acute, because the rule of the military clique of Pilsudsky does not seem to the wealthy classes to be a sufficient guarantee of the preservation of the capitalist regime. Pressed by the onswEEPing revolutionary wave, as well as by the frightened bourgeoisie, trembling for its power, the military oligarchy of Poland is preparing the proclamation of its dictatorship, the bloody suppression of the proletarian movement and, at the same time, if possible, war against Soviet Russia. It is speculating on the famine in Soviet Russia which should make

the latter an easy prey for the Polish bandits. It is speculating on the fact that when the situation will have grown sufficiently acute, the French Government will throw more milliards into the jaws of Polish militarism in addition to the two milliards that they have already given it, in order to refund themselves for the sacrifices which they have borne up to now and to establish a white guard government in Russia, that would immediately begin to squeeze the tsarist debts out of the Russian people. The Polish Government have ensured for themselves the support of the Roumanian boyars in this war by an agreement with them and, lately, they have entered into an agreement with Czecho-Slovakia by which they have obtained the right of transit for their war munitions. It is necessary to resist these criminal plans with the greatest energy. The workers of all countries, especially of those lying nearest to Poland, must do all in their power not to allow a single railway car, a single ship with war munitions for Poland to enter their country during the winter and spring.

Working men and working women!

Only when you will rise decisively against world capitalism, when, in your parliaments, your press and your meetings, you will explain the dangers threatening the working masses of all countries, when you will incite them to the struggle against new wars—will you be able to develop and muster the forces which are necessary to put a check on the policy of armaments and preparations for a new world war. All programs of disarmament, all demands for the limitation of war preparations, all cries for the reduction of the tax burdens will be only a waste of words, if the workers of all countries will not rally their forces in a united front against the bourgeoisie and its policy. Only when the workers of each country will unite for the joint struggle against the bourgeoisie, will they be able to lay the costs of the last war on its shoulders and stop the armaments; only then will they find ways and means to come to an international understanding, to a joint reconstruction not

only of the devastated North of France and Belgium, but of ruined Serbia, devastated Poland and Russia as well. Only when they will turn the war front against the bourgeoisie of their own country, will they be able to form an international front of the struggling proletariat and rally the productive forces of the world in order to clear all the wreckage of the world war and start the new construction. So long as the workers of all countries do not understand this, the crisis of the world economy will doom them to unemployment, the world will continue to be transformed into a desert, and the workers will be the prey of the hyenas and jackals of world capitalism.

Down with the Washington comedy of peace!

Down with new armaments!

— War upon the preparations for an attack against Germany on the part of French imperialism!

War upon the adventure of the Polish military league!

Long live the united front of all proletarians against the capitalist world reaction!

Long live the Communist International, the advanced guard of the international struggle of all proletarians!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Introduction of a Membership Fee for the Communist Parties.

In its session of December 4th, 1921, the Executive Committee of the Communist International unanimously adopted the following scheme for the introduction of a membership fee in favour of the Communist International.

1. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided that all its members have to pay a membership fee.

2. The members' yearly contributions in each of the sections affiliated to the Communist International amount to the average monthly fees imposed in the respective section.

3. The international membership fee shall be paid every three months in four equal instalments and its receipt acknowledged by means of a special international stamp. These stamps must be prepared by each section according to a special form determined by the Executive of the Communist International and provided with the visum of the given country.

4. The fee stamps shall be pasted in the members' register. In the event of a member moving to the territory of any other section the rights which

he may enjoy according to the Constitution of the Communist International shall be recognised to him only on the condition of his having paid the international membership fee.

5. The international membership fees shall be handed over to the Executive of the Communist International by the central organisations of the Communist Parties. Every three months, at the latest before the end of the next quarter of the year, all sections are bound to hand in their accounts. Neither groups nor sections are entitled to place any expenses which may have been incurred for or in the name of the Communist International to the account of the international membership fee. The international fee must be handed over by the sections unconditionally and directly to the Communist International.

6. The Executive of the Communist International is bound to submit to the Congress an account of all the sums paid in, after their preliminary verification by the Central Commission.

7. The object of the resolution is a triple one: The international mem-

bership fees are intended to cover the daily increasing costs and expenses of the central apparatus of the Communist International.

8. The payment of the hereby established international membership fee will enable sections which are better off materially to render support and assistance to the weaker ones. This concerns especially cases of important political and economic action.

9. The payment of the international Party contributions must also help to establish closer relations between the Communist International and the separate sections.

10. The Communist International is not a loose agglomeration of sections affiliated to it, but it is the united Party of the Communist workers of the whole world. Naturally, in the first place, this unity must show itself in politics and in the co-ordi-

nation of all proletarian actions. But it must also find its expression in the fact that materially each individual Communist will be united with the international Party by means of the individual duty of paying the fee. Therefore this resolution is not only an organisational, but a political measure as well.

This resolution must be published in all the Party press and made known to all the organisations.

We ask you to acknowledge the receipt of the circular and to communicate to the Secretariat of the Communist International an estimate for the expected fee payments. The new measure enters in force as from January 1st, 1922.

With Communist greetings

**The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

Circular letter to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties.

Dear comrades,

Following upon the proposition of the International Women's Secretariat, the Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses the wish that you should carry out the following measures for the furtherance of the interests of the Secretariat:

1. To organise the most precise and punctual transmission of all materials, information, reports, all literature on the propaganda among women, letters, circulars, etc. which are sent to the women's organisations of your Party by the International Women's Secretariat through your intermediary.

Likewise, to organise the transmission of all materials sent by your women's organisations to the International Women's Secretariat.

2. In accordance with the theses adopted by the Congress of the Communist International, a member of the Central

Committee of your Party must be entrusted with the direction of the work among the women; in case it should be impossible to appoint such a comrade, then a woman-representative from the central women's organisation of your country must become a member of your central committee with a consultative vote.

3. A special page must be left in your periodical press (newspapers, pamphlets, bulletins) for articles and material regarding the work among the women.

Likewise, measures must be indicated for the publishing of pamphlets and books on the women's Labour movement.

4. In order to establish more active relations between different countries and the International Women's Secretariat, it is necessary to utilise the Party apparatus—messengers, delegates, agents, etc., as well as the persons

entrusted by the women's organisations with the execution of special and important commissions of the International Women's Secretariat.

5. Congresses and conferences of members working among the women, as well as meetings of women-Communists and non-party women in your country, must be convened in accordance with the resolutions of the Third Congress.

6. In the Party schools the education of the persons entrusted with the work among the women must be carried on in the way which such

work demands. The education must be carried on either in special sections or by the introduction of corresponding lectures into the general course. According to the resolutions of the Third Congress women must constitute not less than 10% of the students of such courses.

With Communist greetings

**The Secretariat of the
Executive Committee of
the Communist Interna-
tional.**

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