

# THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America.

SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## Three Years of Soviet Russia.

No class-conscious worker in America can fail to thrill at the thought that November 7th, 1920, marks the third anniversary of the existence of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia. It seems more like a dream than a reality—yet it is undeniable true. The workers and peasants of Russia have accomplished the greatest feat in all history.

Despite the counter-revolutionary assaults of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Petlura, Pilsudsky and Wrangel—all of them agents of Allied Imperialism, financed and supplied by London, Paris and Wall Street; despite the starvation and hunger due to the economic blockade, which has cut off Russia from the rest of the world with a ring of steel; despite the breakdown of industry inherited from the Czarist regime and further disorganized by Kerensky; despite the plots and intrigues of its enemies from within—led by capitalists, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, "Socialists" and anarchists; despite the sabotage of the Russian intelligentsia,—the technical experts of all kinds; despite the antagonism of the bourgeoisie and the ignorance of the poorer peasants—who are slowly being won over; despite the active opposition of the petty-bourgeois classes—the small shopkeepers store-keepers and professional classes; despite the nobility and the bourgeoisie; despite the devastating results of a three years' war with Germany and three years fighting on thousands of miles of front against the mercenary White Guards of World Imperialism; **DESPITE ALL THIS—SOVIET RUSSIA—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS—STILL STANDS STRONGER THAN EVER—A FLAMING SWORD TO ITS ENEMIES, THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD—A BEACON OF LIGHT AND HOPE TO THE DOWN-TRODDEN AND OPPRESSED MASSES THE WORLD OVER!**

The onslaughts of England, France, Japan, America and Poland have strengthened Soviet Russia, instead of weakening it. With every fresh attack it has called up new reserves of strength, new reserves of faith, new reserves of energy—and the workers and peasants of Russia always responded with superhuman sacrifices that repelled the invader, and won the respect, affection and admiration of the workers of the entire world. Gradually the real meaning of Soviet Russia began to pervade the consciousness of the oppressed masses in the other countries in spite of the net of lies, slander and vituperation to which it was subjected by every prostitute agency of capitalism.

The workers in other lands began to think—to compare. In Europe and Asia they began to stir menacingly. They began to realize that they had been devilishly tricked and betrayed by their own capitalist governments. Whether they had fought on the side of the Allies "to make the world safe for democracy", or whether they had fought on the side of Germany in defense of the "fatherland"—the workers of Europe found themselves starving, suffering, dying of pestilence and disease, stripped of all they had won in the bitter strug-

gles with the master class in the period before the war, dragged down to the level of beasts—beasts of burden for the master class.

Slowly the masses lifted up their heads and looked across to Russia. There the workers and peasants, poor, ignorant, oppressed like themselves, had risen like a giant and smashed to pieces the chains of wage-slavery. There the workers and peasants owned and controlled their government and held the reigns of power. They took over the state and turned it against their former oppressors; they compelled the intellectuals to go to work for them—and the intellectuals went; they took over the industries and operated them through the government in the interest of their class; They took over the land and gave it to the peasants. They took over the banks and railroads and built up the machinery for real democracy in industry. They took over the homes and palaces of the rich and turned them into homes for workers, hospitals and schools and nurseries for the women and children of the working class. The workers and peasants government suppressed the capitalist papers which fed the working class on lies and gave the people working class papers which told them the truth.

Is it any wonder that the free workers and peasants of Russia gladly volunteered by the millions to fight the battles of Soviet Russia? The Red Army of Soviet Russia is the finest army in the world to-day. It is composed of free men who know what they are fighting for. They are fighting to retain the achievements of the Russian Revolution. They are in the first line trenches fighting the battles of the working class of the world. They are fighting for the destruction of capitalism and the inauguration of the Communist Society. Therefore they submit to the revolutionary discipline of the Red Army under Trotsky and go out on the battle-fields singing the "Internationale" and are able to defeat the best-trained troops of the Allied Imperialism.

The workers of Europe saw that the Bolsheviki (The Communist Party of Russia) were the real revolutionary leaders of the working class. They saw that the Bolsheviki knew how to lead the workers to victory over all their enemies. They saw the Social-Democratic parties of their own countries still playing the old game of compromise, treachery and betrayal. These so-called Socialist parties and their leaders did not know how or were unwilling to rouse the workers of their own countries to throw off the yoke of capitalism. These Socialist leaders even went so far as to attack and malign the Bolsheviki of Russia—thus playing the reactionary game of the capitalists whose willing tools they are. But all this did not help. The workers turned more and more to Russia and the despised Bolsheviki. They forgot their former inertia, stolidity and hopelessness fired by the vision of Soviet Russia. The Socialist parties of Europe collapsed. The Secod International—the Socialist international organization of treachery to the working class died a shameful and well-deserved death.

To-day, there is no government in Europe that dares openly to wage war on

Soviet Russia. If they did, they know they would have to face a revolution and civil war by their own working classes. **SOVIET RUSSIA HAS WON THE SYMPATHY AND AFFECTION OF THE MILLIONS OF TOILERS ALL OVER THE WORLD**

In Germany the workers are preparing to overthrow their traitorous "Socialist" Government led by Ebert, and to establish a Soviet Government in its place. In Italy the workers are recovering from the syndicalist fiasco which led them into a blind alley and are preparing to overthrow their Government and establish a Soviet Government. In Poland, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, France and England the workers are waking up and menacing their governments with the threat of revolution.

This is the greatest contribution which Soviet Russia has made to the workers of the world. **IT HAS INFUSED NEW HOPE, NEW COURAGE, NEW INSPIRATION, NEW DETERMINATION AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE WILL TO ABOLISH FOREVER THE EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION OF THE MASSES FROM THE YOKE OF CAPITALISM!**

Workers of America!

**HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO PERMIT REACTIONARY LABOR AND "SOCIALIST" LEADERS TO BETRAY AND FOOL YOU?**

**HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO STAND FOR UNEMPLOYMENT, LOCKOUTS, HUNGER AND WANT?**

**HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO PERMIT THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT TO BREAK YOUR STRIKES?**

**HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO STAND FOR THIS GOVERNMENT SENDING ARMS, AMMUNITION AND SUPPLIES TO THE ENEMIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA?**

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA CALLS UPON YOU, ON THIS THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA, TO REFUSE TO MANUFACTURE, TRANSPORT, LOAD OR SHIP ANY SUPPLIES OR AMMUNITION OR SOLDIERS TO FIGHT SOVIET RUSSIA!**

**THEIR HEROIC STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IS YOUR STRUGGLE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS TO OVERTHROW THEIR CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS AND ESTABLISH SOVIET REPUBLICS IS YOUR STRUGGLE!**

**YOU MUST REFUSE TO SUPPORT THIS REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN ANY ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS OF ANY COUNTRY AGAINST THEIR CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS!**

**SOON YOU WILL BE CALLED UPON TO FIGHT MEXICO OR SOME OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN OR SOUTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. REFUSE! PROTEST! STRIKE!**

**YOU MAY BE CALLED UPON TO FIGHT A NEW WAR AGAINST ONE OF THE PRESENT ALLIES! IT WILL BE THE SAME OLD STRUGGLE FOR TRADE AND MARKETS. REFUSE TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH**

(Continued on page 6)

# THE COMMUNIST

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## UNITY

By the decision of the Second Congress and the Executive Committee of the Communist International the whole vexing problem of unity, which has divided the Communist movement in this country ever since its inception, will be settled once and for all. Of course, the date set in the decision—October 10th—is inoperative because we only accidentally stumbled across this decision on October 13th and it was not acted upon by the C. E. C. until Oct. 19th. In this connection we may mention that the date has since been put forward to January 1st by the Executive Committee of the Communist International upon the appeal of our delegate, Comrade Andrew, who represented our party before that body in Moscow on September 22nd.

The basis for unity is that laid down for all Communist parties and groups in all other countries—the decisions of the Second Congress, the decisions of the Executive Committee, and the method of uniting is by joint convention, based upon proportional representation of membership in both parties.

We, for our part welcome this coming unity convention and the formation of one Communist Party in America. There never was any good reason for the existence of two parties except the inability of the minority of the organized Communist to abide by the decision of the majority of the membership. From the very beginning of the rift in the Left Wing, when the vast and overwhelming majority of the Left Wing membership had been expelled from the S. P. and had no other recourse but to call a convention for the organization of the Communist Party, this same minority attempted to override the majority and failing in that—split.

The C. L. P. became the party of this minority after various excursions in and out of the S. P. convention a year ago last August. Where are the Left Wing delegates to-day who organized the C. L. P. in opposition to the Communist Party?

Out of some seventy odd delegates (many of whom had no mandate from any membership) only a very few are left in the Communist movement. A number of them since openly repudiated the Communist movement and the Third International. Some of them are back in the S. P. Others have disappeared altogether.

Only a handful are left reinforced by our own former "minority" leaders who have united with them to organize the U. C. P. in opposition to the Communist Party.

From the very beginning this stubborn Centrist group plotted and intrigued, planned and executed, a series of moves to abolish and destroy the Communist Party. In the Left Wing, in the C. L. P., in the U. C. P., the record of these Centrists and irreconcilables is one that should have led to their expulsion from the Communist International were that body in possession of all the facts. But they have succeeded in hoodwinking the Communist International just as they succeeded in hoodwinking some of our own membership—by lies and misrepresentation of the vilest sort.

We need not go into this record at this time. It is too well-known to our membership. We shall only take up the latest phase of their rascality. Immediately after the recent split and the coalition of the C. L. P. and the "minority" into the U. C. P.—the leaders immediately sent out the information to Moscow that they had succeeded in uniting the majority of the organized Communists in this country into the U. C. P.. Only a few depleted language federations were left, mostly foreigners, who had no conception of the needs of the Communist movement, and would soon be compelled to join the U. C. P. as the Communist Party was no longer in existence. They sent their delegates to the Second Congress in Moscow to protest against the seating of any delegates from the "defunct" Communist Party and demanded the full

ten votes allotted to America in the Congress. Fraina and Stocklitsky were not even in a position to deny the truth of their contention, as they had left this country long before the split. It remained for Comrade Radek to rise and protest the U. C. P. claim on the ground that "they had only heard one side of the case". Pending more definite knowledge, the U. C. P. were given six votes to our four, and were recognized as the major party.

This brazen U. C. P. lie is on a par with the chauvinist lie of the C. L. P. to the Communist International that they were the party of the American or English-speaking elements while the Communist Party were composed only of "foreigners". The point is that they succeeded in hoodwinking the Communist International, simply because they had superior channels of communication—which is no mystery to any comrade acquainted with the controversies in the Left Wing and Communist movements.

But now, by the decision of the Communist International compelling unity by January 1st, the U. C. P. are hoist by their own petard **THEY ARE NOW COMPELLED TO PROVE THAT THEY ARE THE MAJOR PARTY IN AMERICA.** They will have to prove that their membership is ten thousand as they claimed in Moscow and in their official organs.

A unity convention, if it is to be a true expression of the rank and file of both parties, can only be accomplished on the basis of membership figures—dues-paying, good standing membership. Any other way of arriving at the number of delegates each party is entitled to would not be a true index of the rank and file, who in the last analysis, elect and control the officials and lay down the policies by which they are to be governed. This is the method laid down by the Communist International for unity of all Communist parties where more than one exists in any country.

Is the U. C. P. ready to accept the joint convention and proportional representation based upon membership as the ONLY method of accomplishing organic Communist unity? Frankly we are skeptical. Although we have received no official reply to our propositions (printed elsewhere in this issue) they have given our unity committee an unofficial, verbal reply which indicates that they realize that they have been placed in the very unenviable position of acknowledging that they LIED to the Communist International by claiming to be the major party in this country.

They have put forward the tentative claim that they are entitled to a majority of the delegates at the joint convention **BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AS THE MAJOR PARTY. THEY HAVE PUT FORWARD A TENTATIVE DEMAND FOR AN APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES BASED UPON THE REPRESENTATION ACCORDED THEM IN THE SECOND CONGRESS—THAT IS, SIX TO FOUR.** In plain language they want a majority of the delegates on the basis of the very lie that gave them the six votes in the Second Congress.

For unmitigated gall this beats anything they have ever perpetrated. Just think! **THEY ARE AFRAID TO SUBMIT PROOF THAT THEY ARE THE MAJOR PARTY AS THEY CLAIMED BUT NEVERTHELESS THEY WANT US TO SWALLOW THAT LIE WITHOUT PROOF AND GRANT THEM THE MAJORITY OF THE DELEGATES AT THE JOINT CONVENTION.**

We do not know if they will persist in this demand but the very idea they put forth should convince any unprejudiced member of either Communist Party that these leaders are now trying to "get away with the goods". The Communist Party, we are certain will not consent to enter into deals, or compromises or "secret understandings" with these leaders of the U. C. P., in order to help them save their faces therefore the Comm. Party will not consent to any apportionment of delegates, to the joint convention that is not based upon membership figures that can be substantially proven. Certainly the Communist Party will not consent to any ARBITRARY apportionment of delegates.

The decision of the Communist International is clear. It calls for complete unity by January 1st. This means organic Communist unity. The Communist International has laid down the basis of accomplishing unity—only through a joint convention based upon proportional representation. This was clearly stated in the

belated appeal for unity between the former C. L. P. This is the method which the Executive Committee of the Communist International has ordered for England and any other country where two parties exist.

We are certain that the Communist Party will not retreat from this position, sanctioned and endorsed by the Communist International.

It remains to be seen whether the U. C. P. leaders are prepared to disobey the mandate of the Communist International.

## JOHN REED

A few days before the third anniversary of the Soviet Republic comes the news that John Reed died of typhus in Moscow. The death of John Reed removes one of the most picturesque characters in the American Communist movement. A journalist, a poet, a revolutionist, Reed had the wonderful opportunity of gazing upon and participating in birth-pangs of Soviet Russia in those memorable days which he so ably described in his "TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD". What he witnessed there and then gave a new impulse to his wandering, restless spirit. It gave a new direction to those remarkable talents of his, which were to be dedicated hereafter in the cause of the emancipation of the working class of the entire world.

We do not have to pen extravagant and hypocritical eulogies over John Reed, now that he is dead. We leave that to the bourgeois liberals and the petty-bourgeois "Socialists" who are vying with each other in lauding him as a martyr and a patriot. It is the way of petty souls to defame and besmirch a man during life and then to lavish fulsome praise when he is gone. This is not the way of Communists who measure all men by their devotion or antagonism to the cause of the world proletarian revolution.

John Reed was a young man. He came into the Communist movement by a circuitous path. He was only just beginning to find his bearings in the Communist movement. His previous flirtations with the radical and labor movements were of a somewhat dilettante character. He worshipped at the shrine of Art, and adventure—and was attracted to the radical movement because he found there new art values, new art concepts and a kindred spirit of adventure—primarily because the movement itself or contact with it filled the needs of his soul and his spiritual aspirations. He lacked the basic Marxian knowledge and the plodding industry of a Marxian Socialist. But he had something which made up amply for this lack. He had vision and courage and daring and the tradition of a revolutionary spirit that smoldered within him until he came in contact with a new world in the making and then those latent qualities burst forth in a splendor and profusion that transformed the erstwhile "art rebels" into the most austere, self-sacrificing Communist.

John Reed was destined for great things in the future. But Fate cut him off almost at the beginning of his career. His skill as a writer, his wanderings and adventure, his knowledge of human nature, and his mastery of the revolutionary art-forms were only a period of novitiate for John Reed. All these would have been cast into the melting pot of revolutionary struggle and heroic self-sacrifice had he lived. He had his part yet to play. No one acquainted with him and understanding the transformation that the Russian Bolshevik Revolution had wrought in him doubts but that his part would have been in the forefront with the choice and noble spirits who have dedicated their lives and talents to the Communist reconstruction of society the world over.

We mourn the loss of John Reed. We mourn the loss of a faithful comrade and a sincere Communist. We mourn the loss to the Communist International and to the American Communist movement in which he was fast becoming an indispensable and indefatigable worker in the common cause. John Reed is dead but his memory will live as a flaming inspiration to those he left behind in the movement for which he gave his life.

## Soviet Russia and the World Revolution.

A little more than six years ago the great guns of the German imperialists were booming against the granite walls of Liege. Germany had invaded Belgium; the world war was on, and capitalism had signed its own death warrant and sealed it in the blood and tears of thirteen million of its slaves. The world had grown too small for two imperialisms to batten upon. The German and Anglo-French capitalist-imperialists were locked in a bloody death grip which was to embrace every exploiting capitalist nation in the world on either side. They fondly imagine that this war was to determine the financial supremacy of the earth, the redistribution of the colonies, the suppression of the small nationalities, the conquest of territory and world trade on the one hand, and to save the already tottering capitalist regime by dividing and deceiving the workers in the various countries, and by drowning their protests in their own blood.

In this deception these bloody imperialists were aided by all the Eberts, Scheidemanns and Legiens in Germany, the Hendersons in England, the Renaudels, Guesdes and Johaux in France, the Bissolatis, Vanderveldes, Brantings Plekhanovs, Hillquits, Gompers, and other leaders of the majority socialist parties connected with the Second International. These social-patriots and traitors to the working class, many of whom accepted ministerial posts, deserted to the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the imperialistic war. They denounced the Basle Manifesto which declare that "such a war could not be justified on the ground of national defense" while singing the praises of their own bourgeoisie, deceived and disunited the working class of the various countries. It was under these circumstances that the second international broke down and the workers, deserted by their leaders, were driven to war against each other, until after four years of continuous warfare the world became one bloody congealed mass.

The history of the world is a history of class struggles and the world war, while temporarily repressing the class conflict, but served to sharpen and intensify the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and transform it into a civil war between two irreconcilable and hostile classes.

This struggle, which prior to 1914 and under the leadership of the second international, was of a defensive nature and concerned itself chiefly with measures of political reform and economic amelioration, must henceforth take on the character of offensive class warfare, mass action culminating in armed insurrection and civil war for the overthrow of the Capitalist State and the conquest of political power by the working class.

The bourgeoisie could not long delay the coming of a revolutionary crisis produced by the war. And it was natural that this crisis should first occur in Russia. A whole series of serious military defeats inflicted upon the Russian armies disorganized the mechanism of its antiquated government. By 1917 the incompetence and corruption of the Czarist regime, together with the court scandals associated with the name of Rasputin opened the eyes of the Russian masses as to the true nature of the autocracy.

As early as November 1914, the Bolsheviks (now the Communist Party of Russia) had issued a declaration urging "the conversion of the imperialistic war into a civil war against the oppressors and for socialism". On March 12, 1917 the masses in Petrograd poured into the streets and smashed the powers that had ruled Russia for centuries—the assassins who bathed Russia in the blood of the Jews, the workers, and revolutionists. These workers had behind them the lessons and experiences of the revolutionary period 1905-07—three years of revolutionary struggle which called millions of Russian workers and peasants to political life and revealed all the classes, and the parties which represent them, in their true character, exposing their immediate interests and ultimate objects. For twenty years the Bolsheviks had carried on

an unceasing propaganda expressing their devotion to the revolution and the working class, not only in words, but in deeds. For twenty years the Bolsheviks had been perfecting and building a highly centralized, disciplined, under ground political organization—the revolutionary vanguard of class conscious workers. This organization, now the Communist Party of Russia, developed the incomparable leadership of Lenin, Kamenev, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bucharin, and others whose names were hardly known outside of Russia before 1917.

The revolution once started in Russia swept on with irresistible power. Upon the overthrow of the Czar, the imperialistic bourgeoisie led by Milyukov, Guchkov, Rodzianko and Lvov, and backed by Anglo-French finance-capital, sought to use the revolution for their own predatory purposes but the workers under the influence of the Bolsheviks swept them from power. Meanwhile, as in 1905, the Soviets were rising everywhere in Russia, in every city and province the Bolsheviks were organizing the Councils of Workers', Soldiers and Peasants Delegates, in the Army and throughout the country. The capitalists of Russia threw themselves into the arms of the Mensheviks, the social-patriots, and yellow "Socialist" traitors of Russia, who, with Kerensky at their head formed a Coalition Government, into which the yellow "Socialists" Tscheidsi, Skobeleff, Tsretelli, and others joined with the Cadets to betray the Russian Revolution.

There can be no coalition between the working class and the capitalists' class. Lenin immediately raised the slogan of, "All power to the Soviets". The Bolsheviks demanded immediate peace, the publication of the secret treaties concluded between the Czar and the Entente, and the immediate seizure of the land by the poorer peasants through the Soviets, etc. Kerensky conspired with General Korniloff to overthrow the Soviets. Korniloff marched on Petrograd and the Red Guards defeated the first attempt at armed counter-revolution.

The effect of the Korniloff rebellion was electric. The Bolsheviks won the ascendancy in the soviets everywhere. The Petrograd Soviet called for the convening of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Counter-revolutionary plots were being hatched. It was a contest between the old outworn form of the bourgeois class and its hypocritical pretense of democracy, and the new form of working class political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the form of soviet power. On October 27, Kerensky ordered the entire Petrograd garrison to the front. These soldiers were Bolsheviks to the last man. They refused to obey and instead organized the famous Military Revolutionary Committee. Lenin demanded the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government by the armed insurrection of the masses, arguing that procrastination would be equivalent to death. On November 6-7 the revolutionary masses rose led by the Bolsheviks and the compromising Provisional Government fell like a house of cards.

This proletarian revolution annihilated the fake bourgeois "Socialist" republic, was not an arbitrary seizure of power. It was the outcome of an historical development. It was the successful carrying out of the historic mission of the working class. It was the first act of the world-wide proletarian revolution which will sweep into oblivion the whole capitalist system of exploitation and class rule, which will destroy the capitalist state, and under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat based upon Soviet Power, will crush out the last vestiges of wage slavery and private property, and usher in the Communist Society—the free association of workers carrying on production for the common good of all mankind.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a detailed account of the glorious achievements of the Russian Revolutionary Proletariat. Betrayed by the German "socialists" of the Scheidemann type and forced to sign the Brest Litovsk Treaty—the peace of Tilsit inheriting an economic system

wrecked by four years of continual war, sabotaged by the bourgeoisie and "chinovniks", forced to immediately organize a new working class red army to meet the simultaneous attacks of the Checko-Slovak troops marching upon them from Siberia, the Americans and English along the Murmansk coast, the Japanese in Vladivostok the French in the Crimea and the Don, blockaded and hemmed in on all sides, the glorious Red Armies of Soviet Russia, have met and successively defeated the counter-revolutionary troops of Kaledine, Kolchak, Semenov, Denikine, Yudenitch, one after the other, notwithstanding the fact that every one of these Czarist Generals were supplied and equipped with tons of war materials, by England, France, and the United States. Soviet Russia has been forced to defend itself against the attacks of all its neighbors, who are spurred on and support by Anglo-French-American Imperialism;—Finland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Ukraina, Roumania, and latterly Poland. The indomitable Red Proletarian Armies of Soviet Russia has met all, defeated them, and forced them to sign treaties of peace.

Soviet Russia, under the guidance and control of the Communist Party of Russia, and the genius of its incomparable leaders, Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Chicherin, Radek, Bukharin, Kamenev, and hundreds of others, has spread its liberating propaganda to every country in the world, in all the languages of all the races and nations of mankind. It has awakened and quickened into life the age-old dreams of brotherhood in the hearts of the peoples of the Orient; the Chinese, the Koreans, the Persians. It has inspired the Hindoos, the Turks, the Georgians, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Afganistans, to shake off the chains riveted upon their necks by English and French Imperialism. Soviet Russia has set the East in flames,—flames drawn from the holy fires of proletarian freedom.

And in the West, the workingmen and women of Germany, France, England, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Serbia, Holland, Scandinavia, Belgium, Spain, Ireland, in fact all the countries of Europe, enabled and enlightened by the heroic sacrifices and solidarity of their Russian brothers, have refused to fight Soviet Russia, have refused to support their capitalist governments in their attempts to destroy Soviet Russia, so that to-day no government in Europe dares to declare open war on Russia, but are compelled to carry out their black conspiracies in the dark and under cover.

In far off Australia and South Africa the influence of the Russian workers is having its affect, and the workers of those countries are responding to the call for world wide proletarian revolution.

In Mexico and South America the Bolsheviks are considered the liberators of the proletariat of those exploited countries, who are far along the road to working class emancipation, waiting for their brothers in the North to join them.

Even in the reactionary United States and Canada, the very name of the Bolsheviks throws the American Capitalists into a frenzy of fear. The American working class is being rudely awakened from its dream of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democratic government of Capitalist America. Already the Red Dawn in Russia is throwing its rays across the black night of reaction in the United States, illuminating the almost hopeless slavery of the American masses.

Lenin, the Russian Bolshevik, once said to the English Premier, Lloyd George, "I Command more men in England than you do", and he could truthfully say, as the foremost theoretician of the Third Communist International, and the respected revolutionary leader of the world's proletariat, that he commands more men than all the kings, crowned and uncrowned, potentates, presidents and capitalist politicians put together.

Soviet Russia in the three years of its existence has torn the mask from the face of every yellow "socialist" traitor and left them naked to the gaze of their deluded followers. Soviet Russia has been the acid test for all petty bourgeois reformers,

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# The Communist Party and the Social Revolution.

This is the third anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic—the first proletarian state that has successfully repulsed all the attacks of international imperialism and laid the foundation for a Communist Commonwealth in Russia.

If we inquire into the secret of the success and durability of the Russian Soviets we come upon one and only explanation—the Communist Party of Russia. This party was not only the initiator of the November Revolution that brought the Russian proletariat into power, but also its leader and defender through the entire period of the existence of the Russian Soviet Republic. It is only stating an historical fact to say, that were it not for the Communist Party of Russia, neither the November Revolution nor its successful course inside and outside of Russia since then, would have been possible.

## The Seizure of Power.

It is a well-known fact that the party that seized the power of state, November 7th, 1917 was the Communist Party. But it is not as well-known that this same party has been for years educating and preparing its own ranks and the broad working masses of Russia just for this supreme and decisive act. Ever since the first abortive revolution of 1905 when it became clear that the only social forces capable of overthrowing the rule of the Czar and nobility, were the workers and poorer peasants, the Bolshevik faction of the former Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia has been working on the theory that a successful political revolution in Russia must necessarily open the way for the ripening social revolution in Europe, and that in this final struggle of the oppressed against the capitalist oppressors the working masses of Russia will take the leading part. That a successful political revolution in Russia may, under certain international conditions, assume the character of a social revolution, was clearly foreseen by the Bolsheviks as early as 1906-1907 and because of this, they were the first to perceive the immense possibilities contained in the Workers' Soviets that first sprung up in 1905 as organs of future revolutionary struggles and also proletarian domination.

While the Mensheviks were shedding tears of despair over the failure of the revolution of 1905, burying together with their forlorn hopes even the memory of the first Workers' Soviets, the Bolsheviks were reaching out after new political orientations in which the social revolution and Workers' Soviets were occupying a central and dominating position.

In looking over the Bolshevik literature since 1906 we are struck by the fact that not for one moment did they lose sight of the international character of the proletarian struggle. They always thought and spoke in terms of world revolution and when in August 1914, the war broke out, they were the only solidly-organized working class party that had a clear vision of its revolutionary duty to make that war the last capitalist war by transforming it into the first international civil war of Communism against Capitalism. They, the Bolsheviks, not only had the vision but also the will and the daring and the courage to challenge the further misrule of imperialist banditry and planted with both their feet upon the solid foundation of Marxian economics, trained in years for open struggle against the most unscrupulous tyrannies the world has ever known and determined upon doing their duty towards the oppressed and suffering masses of the world, the Bolsheviks, who are now known as the Communist Party of Russia, were bending their whole line of conduct towards the liberation of the working class from the horrors of capitalism. Hence their glorious act of November 7th, 1917.

## Defending the Power of the Workers.

The state power of Russia seized on November 1917 was successfully held and defended against the aggressions of world imperialism for three long years. By whom? By the working masses of course, the Red Army on the field of battle and their comrades at home in the shops and factories, have been bending their backs, sweating their nerves, and sacrificing their lives to sustain the existence of

the proletarian state. But who supplied the leadership, the organizing abilities, the dynamic energy for this superhuman task? The answer is,—the Communist Party of Russia. It was this party and this party alone that first realized the supreme necessity for the building up of the Workers' and Peasants' Army for the defense of the revolution. Now this was not to be an easy task under any circumstances, particularly so in the midst of civil war and under the terrific pressure of external aggression. But the Army has been created and has on many difficult and trying occasions given an excellent account of itself.

What made this miracle possible? At the recruiting stage of the process we find the local organizations and groups of the Communist Party of Russia carrying an intensive and extensive campaign among the workers and poorer peasants for enlistment into the Red Army. It was a campaign of revolutionary and Communist education the likes of which the world has never seen before. Every particle of energy and ability was put to work and the result was, a constant stream of thousands upon thousands into the ranks of the new Workers' Army.

But there was another problem which I consider the most difficult of all, this was the getting of military leadership. In the old army the responsible positions of field generalship and military staff work were held by reactionary noblemen and favorites of the Czar. Even the lower positions of the army command with very few exceptions were in the hands of corrupt servants of the ruling class. Consequently, an entirely new staff of military leaders and commanders had to be created. And all this—almost at a moment's notice. But this problem was solved and as we now know, treated successfully. Now where did this new staff come from? It came from the ranks of the Communist Party of Russia. It was the membership of this party that supplied the material for the front ranks of the battling battalions of the revolutionary army. Hundreds upon hundreds of active and trusted Communists were, after a short and intensive training in the military art, sent to the most dangerous and responsible positions at the front.

Nor is this all that the Communist Party of Russia did for the creation and successful functioning of the most potent instrument of the proletarian dictatorship—the Red Army. We have heard a great deal about the political commissars—the eyes and ears of the revolution as they are called,—that are attached to the military command of the army. These commissars are charged primarily with the duty of looking after the morale and physical well-being of the Red soldiers. But they also keep an eye upon the doings of the military command. And who are these commissars? They are active, trusted, and devoted members of the Communist Party of Russia. It is they who educate and encourage and enthuse the battling forces of the revolution. It is they who guard the proletarian dictatorship against possible treachery. Thus has many and many a Communist laid down his life on the field of battle for the liberation of the workers of Russia as well as the oppressed and down-trodden world over.

## Economic Reconstruction.

As to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of economic life of Russia the Communist Party of that country is clearly the only practically organized group that had had, even previous to the November Revolution, a definite conception of what is to be done to repair the damage wrought upon Russia's economic life by the strangulating rule of Czarism and the effects of the Imperialist war. None of the opponents of the Communist Party of Russia have as yet produced any plan of economic reconstruction that would on the face of it, even promise—let alone secure—a bearable existence for the tens of millions of Russia's toilers. We hear of course a great deal of criticism directed against the economic plans and activities of the Russian Communists. They tell us, these smart critics, that the economic policies lead to inefficiency, wastefulness, too much centralization, etc. etc. But we only smile. For we know full well that none of them have anything better to propose unless it be "efficiency"

and "personal freedom" of Wrangel, Morgan, Gary and the whole damnable industrial capitalism of modern finance-imperialism.

Coming back again to the actual facts of Russia's economic life for the last three years, what do we find? A land problem—agrarian problem successfully solved up to the point of introducing the Socialist mode of production into the domain of agriculture. True, this last part of the problem is as yet very far from having been solved in practice, and nobody realizes this better than the Russian Communist themselves. But—and these are the main points—feudalism in the land relations of Russia has been totally destroyed, rent and landlordism as an economic factor simply does not exist in Russia and the major part of Russia's peasantry has been completely won over to the revolution. Consequently, any further development of Russia's agricultural life, provided the proletariat continues to hold the power of state, must proceed in the direction of Socialism and eventually, Communism.

Large-scale industry and commerce have been socialized. Russia's industrial organism is functioning as a consciously-regulated and organized system of production and distribution for the benefit of all who work. The workers are being trained and educated for the performance of their duties as free and equal members of a Communist Commonwealth, and for this gigantic task the Communist Party of Russia is supplying, not only the general plans, but the actual leadership, education and organization as well.

Think of a political party—and the Communist Party of Russia is a political party—sitting in convention assembled and discussing planning and providing for every phase of Russia's economic life! The resolutions of the Ninth Convention deal almost exclusively with economic problems. This last convention was, by the nature of its work, a gathering of economists, bankers and industrialists all in one. And as the deliberations were complete and decisions adopted, the whole Communist press and every single party group went ahead educating and preparing the working masses of Russia for new policies and actions. Thus is the working class being trained for the assumption of control over its own life. But for the present, when the broad masses are still inexperienced, it is the class-conscious and the revolutionary part of the working class—the Communist Party of Russia—that is supplying the brains, foresight, and energy for the proletarian state and its institutions.

## The World Revolution.

Very little need be said about the part played by the Communist Party of Russia in the international revolutionary movement. If it is true that the mother of the Third, Communist International was the social revolution, then the Communist Party was its father. It is this last circumstance that has given rise to the ridiculous idea spread by the social-patriots and weak-hearted Centrists, that the Russian Communists want to dictate and lord over the revolutionary movement of the world. That the Communists of Russia have been the initiators and creators of the Third, Communist International, there can be no doubt. That they are at present, the strongest and most influential factor in this general staff of the world revolution is equally true. But it is also an undeniable fact that the international policies of the Communist Party of Russia were prompted by one single desire—to revolutionize the proletarian movement of Europe and America and to surrender the leadership of the international revolution to the workers of these countries as soon as they are able and willing to take it. There is not another party in the whole world that is as truly and consistently international in its outlook, policies and dealings as the Communist Party of Russia. And to accuse this party of dictatorial designs upon the workers of other countries is to play directly into the hands of world-imperialism, which is seeking to destroy the Third, Communist International, its only effective and dangerous opponent. Never will the class-conscious workers of the world forget the debt that they owe to the Communist Party of Russia for its great and courageous pioneering in the cause of international Communism.

(Continue on page 5)

## Resolution on Unity

ADOPTED BY THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Since the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International demanding immediate unity between the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party, was received after the date set in the resolution for the final completion of said unity; and

Recognizing that the idea and the intent of the resolution must be carried out, and to the best of our ability and circumstances without further delay;

We decided to take immediate steps for calling a joint convention with the United Communist Party, within two months, the representation to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties, and

To notify the Executive Committee of the Communist International of our acknowledgment of their authority in the question, and of the steps we have taken to comply with their decision as soon as it has reached us.

October 19, 1920.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Dear Comrades:-

In the "Izvestia", official organ of the Soviet Republic, issue of September 14th—which accidentally came into our possession on October 13th and therefore could not be acted upon before the date of this letter—we came across the following decision enacted by your committee relative to the American Communist movement:

"Both Communist parties,—the United Communist Party and the Communist Party, are obligated to unite into one party on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This unity must be finally accomplished not later than in two months; that is, by the 10th of October 1920. Those who do not subject themselves to this decision shall be expelled from the Third, Communist, International"

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, at its special meeting on October 19th, took up this question and adopted the enclosed resolution. Your decision was immediately complied with not only because we recognize your full and complete authority but also because we agree with your fundamental plan of creating one Communist Party in each country.

However, we wish to impress upon your committee that the Communist Party has done all in its power, consistent with Communist principles and tactics, to unite all Communist elements within one party, ever since the breach created by the split in the Left Wing Conference which eventually resulted in the formation of two Communist parties.

We have already enumerated in detail the outstanding facts pertaining to this question in the last statement to your committee on the occasion of our receipt of your appeal for unity between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, as printed in the No. 11 issue of the "Communist International".

THIS APPEAL ARRIVED SOME MONTHS AFTER THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR UNITY HAD BEEN SUDDENLY BROKEN OFF BY THE C. L. P., WHICH UNITED WITH THE SPLITTING-OFF MINORITY OF THE C. P. LED BY DAMON, CAXTON, FISHER & CO..

It is also important to bear in mind that the split was engineered just at the moment when unity through a joint convention was about to be consummated.

Your first appeal for unity could no longer be applied in the new situation because an entirely new set of factors had developed, which can be briefly enumerated as follows:

(1) The C. L. P. had broken off negotiations with the C. E. C. of the Communist Party.

(2) The C. L. P. and the "minority faction" which split away from the C. P., made a deal not to have anything to do with the C. E. C. of the C. P.—AS PRINTED IN THE MAY 15th ISSUE OF THE C. L. P. "COMMUNIST".

(3) The United Communist Party abolished and destroyed every vestige of subordinate language federations in their party.

(4) The United Communist Party took a wrong position on industrial unionism in its program and in its dealings with the I. W. W., entirely out of keeping with the position of the Third International.

(5) The Centrist leaders of the "minority"

(Damon, Caxton, Fisher & Co.), who had split away from the C. P. mainly on the questions of mass action, and language federations, after committing a grave breach of party discipline as well as absconding with the funds and records of the party, BECAME THE DOMINATING LEADERS OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

(6) The Centrist leaders of the U. C. P. openly condoned these actions and endorsed the stand of the Centrist "minority" leaders.

(7) From the very beginning The United Communist Party refused to acknowledge the existence of the Communist Party, as a regularly constituted party, despite the self-evident facts, . . . This new situation could not be dealt with in the manner prescribed in your appeal because the breach had been so widened that left no other course open for the Communist Party to pursue except to send a delegate to Russia to lay the facts before your committee and await your decision after the facts had been laid before you.

This course the Communist Party pursued. It sent a delegate to Russia to lay the facts before your committee and await his return with your decision before resuming any action towards uniting all Communist forces in this country into one party.

The decision of your committee on August 7th, prior to the arrival of our delegate, however, makes further delay impossible, irrespective of the outcome of our delegate's mission. We recognize your decision as final and have made preparations that will bring both parties into a unity convention based upon proportional representation of membership in both parties. The decision of the Second World Congress, the Conditions for Affiliation to the Communist International, and any action of your committee pertaining to the Communist movement in this country, shall be the basis of unity.

This does not mean that we have given up the fight with the Centrist leaders of the U. C. P.. By no means. This fight will now be carried on within the new, united party, just as uncompromisingly as before. These men have proven themselves utterly unfit for leadership in the Communist movement and have also proven that they do not understand the needs of a Communist Party at this stage of its existence in the peculiar conditions obtaining here.

We are confident that the position of the Communist Party will be vindicated after your committee has come into possession of all the facts. We believe that your committee has been fed with misrepresentations and lies due to the PECULIAR CONDITIONS which precluded the possibility of our side of the case coming before you.

With Communist greetings, we remain,  
Yours for the world proletarian revolution,  
The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America.

## Letter to the U. C. P. on Unity.

October 20 1920.

TO THE C. E. C. OF THE U. C. P.

Dear Comrades:-

Having on October 13th accidentally come across a decision in the Sept. 14th "Izvestia", official organ of the Soviet Republic, relative to the unity of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party, as follows:

"Both Communist Parties,—the United Communist Party and the Communist Party, are obligated to unite into one party on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This unity must be finally accomplished not later than in two months; that is, by the 10th of October, 1920. Those who do not subject themselves to this decision shall be expelled from the Third, Communist International".

In accordance with this decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has passed the following decision:

"Since the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, demanding immediate unity between the C. P. and the U. C. P., was received after the date set in the resolution for the final completion of unity; and

"Recognizing that the idea and the intent of the resolution must be carried out to the best of our ability and circumstances without

further delay;

"We decide to take immediate steps for calling a joint convention with the U. C. P. within two months, the representation to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties; and

"To notify the Executive Committee of the Communist International of our acknowledgment of their authority in the question, and of the steps we have taken to comply with their decision as soon as it reached us".

On the basis of this resolution the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has passed the following motions, in order to facilitate the process of uniting both parties at a joint convention;

1) A committee of three (Allen, Dobin and Leon) has been elected with power to make arrangements with a like committee representing your Central Executive Committee.

2) That in the event of agreement a call for a joint convention shall be issued by the respective C. E. C.'s of both parties.

3) The basis for the joint call shall be as follows: a) The decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International; b) The Conditions for Affiliation to the Communist International; c) Any decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International pertaining to the Communist Movement in this country.

4) The joint convention shall be called within two months.

5) The basis of election to joint convention shall be as follows: representation is to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties.

In view of the very limited time for the calling of the joint convention we expect a speedy reply.

Fraternally yours,  
C. Dobin, Exec. Sec.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

(Continued from page 4)

Conclusion.

This short review was not written for the mere glorification of the deeds of the Communist Party of Russia. Glory to be sure, there is more than enough in the revolutionary record of the Russian Communists for the last three years. But there is something else in it. Something that concerns us in America much more vitally. This is the revolutionary experience. Many a good revolutionary workers in America is still questioning the necessity of a Communist Party in America for the liberation of the working class. And under the tutelage of such educators and leaders as Sandgren of the "One Big Union Monthly", quite a number of the workers honestly devoted to the cause of their class, are acquiring the reactionary and harmful notion that a revolutionary working class political party, such as the Communist Party of America, is useless if not actually dangerous, to the proletarian cause. I do not care to argue, at present, with Sandgren, but I do care a great deal for the truly revolutionary workers of the I. W. W. and other organizations, who sincerely believe that "politics", all and every kind of political action, is injurious to the interests of the working class. To these workers I say, study the Russian revolution. Demand the facts. Ask to be shown what made the revolution in Russia possible. Why were the workers there able to seize the powers of state and successfully break the resistance of the capitalists landlords, and most important of all, what produced the wonderful team-work of all parts of the labor movement in the functioning of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia?

In my short review I have attempted to give you the facts. My study is far from being exhausted, still, the outstanding facts are there. And what do they teach us? That a Communist Party, that is a political organization of all the class-conscious and revolutionary workers trained in the art and science of large political and social affairs, is an indispensable condition for the success of the social revolution.

On the third anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic it behooves the class-conscious workers in America to take to heart this momentous lesson of the Russian revolution and dedicate themselves to the task of building up a strong and powerful Communist Party in America. Only thus shall we fulfill our duty towards the workers of America and the laboring masses the world over.

## Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Unions?

By N. Lenin.

(Concluded)

The struggle with the "labor aristocracy" we carry on in the name of the working masses and for the purpose of winning them over to our side. This struggle with the social-chauvinist and opportunist leaders must be carried on in order to attract the working class to us. It would be sheer folly to ignore this most elementary and self-evident truth. And it is precisely this folly that is being committed by the "left" German Communists, who, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the leaders of the trade unions, jump at conclusions and withdraw from the unions, refusing to work within them; evolving new and fantastic forms of labor organizations. In persisting in this unpardonable folly, the communists are rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie. For the Mensheviks, the social-chauvinist and Kautskian leaders of the trade unions are nothing less than agents of the capitalists within the working class movement, (just as we have always said of our own Mensheviks) or, in the beautiful and profoundly truthful expression used by DeLeon, in America, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class".

To refuse to take part in the reactionary trade unions means to abandon the undeveloped or backward masses to tender mercies of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, and to the "aristocrats of labor", the capitalist minded workers. (See a letter written by Engels to Marx in 1852, referring to the English workers).

The silly "theory" of non-participation in the reactionary trade unions discloses in a most striking manner the superficial attitude of the "left" communists toward the question of reaching and influencing the masses. Their ravings about the "masses" become abusive and worthless.

In order to be in a position to assist the masses, and win their sympathy, good-will, and active support, we must fear neither insults, hardships, or persecution at the hands of the reactionary leaders, who being social-patriots, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the capitalist government and the police powers of the state. IT IS INCUMBENT UPON US TO WORK WHERE THE MASSES ARE!

We must school ourselves to make any sacrifices, to be able to overcome the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on, systematically, and with indomitable determination, our propaganda and agitation in all these unions, societies, etc., even though they are the most frankly reactionary, provided always that they are composed of proletarian or semi-proletarian working masses. The trade unions and workers' co-operatives (the latter only to a certain extent) are just the kind of organizations which take in the working masses. According to data cited in a Swedish newspaper, of March 10, 1919, the membership of the British trade unions increased from 5.5 million in 1917, to 6.5 million in 1918, a 19 per cent increase. At the end of 1919 this figure jumped to 7.5 million. I do not happen to have at hand corresponding figures for France or Germany, but it is incontestable that the membership of the trade unions in these countries has also increased enormously.

These figures and facts bear out with the utmost clarity that which is being indicated by a thousand other manifestations, viz; the growth of consciousness and the intense desire for unity and organization among the proletarian masses and the most backward elements of the workers. For the first time millions of workers in England, France, and Germany, are passing from a condition under which there was an utter lack of organization of any kind, to the elementary (and for those who are still imbued with bourgeois-democratic prejudices), the most accessible, lowest, and simplest form of organization, namely; the trade unions. The revolutionary, but inconsistent, left communists stand alongside of this phenomenon shouting to the masses, at the same time refusing to work within the trade union, refusing under the pretence that these unions are reactionary; while at the same time organizing or inventing brand-new, simon-pure organizations, which, while free from bourgeois-democratic prejudices, are still burdened with the sins of trade and craft

exclusiveness. The Workers' Union will be broad(?) they say, and will admit everybody only upon ONE condition, i. e. the recognition of the Soviet System and the Dictatorship. Greater foolhardiness, greater detriment of the proletarian revolution, than this sort of activity on the part of the left communists of Germany is impossible to conceive. If we, in Russia, after two and one-half years of unparalleled victories over the Russian bourgeoisie and those of the Entente, should now stipulate as a condition for admission to the trade unions, the recognition of the Dictatorship, we would be committing a blunder and impair our influence with the masses and thereby play into the hands of the Mensheviks. For the real task of the Communists is to be able to convince the most backward masses, to work among them, and not to isolate ourselves from them by fanciful and childish "left" slogans.

Gompers, Henderson, Johaux, Legien, are without doubt, grateful to these left revolutionaries, who, like the German "opposition on principle" (save as from such principles!) or like some revolutionists in France, or the American Industrial Workers of the World, preach withdrawing from the reactionary trade unions, refusing to work within them.

There is no doubt but that the opportunist leaders of the unions will resort to all the dirty tricks of bourgeois diplomacy, invoking the help of the capitalist governments, priests, police, judges, etc., in order to prevent the communists from penetrating into the trade unions, to force them out of the unions, to make their work within the unions as dangerous as possible, aiding the police to persecute and run them down. But we must be able to withstand all that, to be ready for any and every sacrifice, and even if necessary, to practice trickery, to employ cunning, and to resort to illegal methods, to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth,—all for the sake of penetrating into the trade-unions, to stay there and by every and all means carry on the work of COMMUNISM

Under the Czars regime, prior to 1915, we had no legal status, but when Zubatov, of the Russian secret service police, undertook to organize the "Black Hundred Labor Assemblies" and Labor Societies for the purpose of trapping the revolutionists and combatting them, we dispatched to these meetings and organizations, some of our best men, who got in touch with the masses and contrived to carry on a campaign of agitation within these organizations, with the result that we succeeded in turning the masses away from the influences of the Zubatovists.

Gompers, Henderson, Joheux, Legien, and Co. are nothing but "Zubatovs" who are distinguished from the Russian Zubatov by their modish dress, their cultural polish, and by their more refined and democratically developed technique, in carrying out their infamous policy.

It is certainly much more difficult to accomplish the kind of work carried on in Russia, by the Communists, in the countries of Western Europe and America, because the workers are so thoroughly permeated with legalistic, constitutional, bourgeois-democratic prejudices. Nevertheless this kind of work not only can be done, but must be done, and done systematically.

The Executive Committee of the Third International, should, in my opinion, straightway condemn, and recommend that the Third International should issue a thesis exposing in detail the stupidity of such tactics, as being inimical to the best interests of the proletarian revolution, and particularly denounce the line of conduct followed by the Dutch "Tribunists" who directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, completely or partially, support this misguided policy.

The Third (Communist) International must repudiate the tactics of the Second International and settle burning questions, not in an ambiguous way but directly and clearly, hitting straight from the shoulder.

We told the German Independents (Independent Socialist Party) the whole truth, everything that we thought about them. We must tell the whole truth to the "left" Communists as well, and right to their faces.

THREE YEARS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

(Continued from Page 1)

SUCH A CAPITALIST WAR. IF THEY CONSCRIPT YOU LEARN HOW TO TURN YOUR GUNS AGAINST YOUR OPPRESSORS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY!

YOU WORKERS ARE THE BACKBONE OF SOCIETY. CIVILIZATION WOULD GO CRASHING TO DOOM WITHOUT YOUR NECESSARY LABOR WHICH FEEDS, CLOTHES AND SHELTERS THE WORLD. YOU ARE MANY, YOU HAVE THE POWER TO ABOLISH THIS DAMNABLE SYSTEM WHENEVER YOU ARE PREPARED AND ORGANIZED TO DO IT. YOUR ENEMIES—THE CAPITALISTS—ARE FEW, YET THEY KNOW HOW TO KEEP YOU IN SUBJECTION AND SLAVERY. THEY HAVE THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH GIVES THEM CONTROL OF THE ARMY, THE NAVY, THE POLICE, THE COURTS, THE PRESS, THE CHURCH, ETC. AND THUS THEY KEEP YOU IN IGNORANCE DIVIDED AGAINST YOURSELVES, INCAPABLE OF TAKING EFFECTIVE ACTION—AND WHENEVER NECESSARY THEY CALL OUT THE ARMED FORCES OF THE STATE TO HOLD YOU DOWN!

THE CAPITALISTS HAVE BUILT UP A POWERFUL MACHINE—THE STATE—BY MEANS OF WHICH THEY ARE ABLE TO RETAIN THEIR GRIP AS THE RULING CLASS IN SPITE OF THEIR NUMERICAL INFERIORITY. DONT YOU SEE THAT THE DESTRUCTION OF THIS MACHINE AND ESTABLISHING YOUR OWN MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT THAT WILL BE ABLE TO EXPROPRIATE THE CAPITALIST CLASS, PUT DOWN COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND TURN THE INDUSTRIES OVER TO THE WORKERS. THAT IS WHAT THE THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA HAVE DONE. THIS WORKERS' STATE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT—IS NOT LIKE THE CAPITALIST STATE. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO REMAIN FOREVER. IT IS ONLY TEMPORARY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM. AFTER THE CAPITALISTS HAVE BEEN EXPROPRIATED, AFTER ALL CLASSES HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED, AFTER ALL PROPERTY HAS BECOME THE PROPERTY OF ALL THE WORKERS IN COMMON—THE WORKERS STATE WILL DISAPPEAR BECAUSE IT WILL HAVE NO COERCIVE FUNCTIONS TO PERFORM.

AND IN ITS PLACE WILL APPEAR THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY—THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF ALL MANKIND IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF SOVIET RUSSIA—OF THE FREE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC—TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA!

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL—THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN VANGUARD OF THE WORLD!

THEN RALLY ROUND THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA FOR THE COMING SOCIAL REVOLUTION FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA THAT WILL JOIN HANDS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD FROM WAGE-SLAVERY AND CAPITALISM!

HAIL TO SOVIET RUSSIA!  
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

# What The Communist International Has Been and What It Must Become.

THESES PRESENTED TO THE SECOND WORLD CONGRESS, OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

By G. ZENOVIEV.

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

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

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

The most important question is, what attitude is the Comm. International to adopt in regard to the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party of Switzerland and several other groups—in a word to the whole "centre"—which are now at the crossroads between the Second and Third Internationals. The rank and file members of these Parties, the workers, are pushing them into our ranks, and the leaders of the "centre" are now declaring their more or less final decision to join the Third International.

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

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

We have now become acquainted with the reply of "Freiheit", the central organ of the German Independent Party, to the well-known program-letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed to this Party. First of all we are surprised that the answer to our document is not signed by any one. Under the articles in "Freiheit" there is no signature of the Central Committee of the Independent Party. That means that this is not the official answer of the Central Committee of the Party. At the same time the articles are not signed by any individual writer. We have before us simply a series of anonymous articles. But that is not the only point. The chief thing is that in the whole seven articles the authors have managed to dwell all the time on minor details, and give no answer to the chief questions of principle proposed by the letter of the Executive Committee of the Comm. International. In these articles are minor "refutations" of facts of secondary importance, also long-winded lamentations of the effect that the Russian Communists, although well-informed on Russian matters, are much less informed as to German needs. There is a series of Jesuitic onslaughts in the Hilferding spirit and a heap of well-intentioned electric phrases after the manner of the watery "Socialism" of Crispian. But in the articles of the Independents you will not find a true, open-hearted, frank answer of revolutionists to the urgent questions asked so decisively. The fact is that the rank and file members of the German Independent Party, the workmen and workwomen, are pressing their leaders ever more and more, demanding an honest friendly declaration on their unconditional joining of the Communist International, whereas the right leaders of the Central Committee of the Party are delaying this unification and endeavoring one more to get off with empty phrases.

The situation in the leading circles of the French Socialist Party is no better. Marcel

Cachin and Frossard are making sweeping assertions in their declarations to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the same time the central organ of the French Socialist Party is still acting in the old spirit. In the numbers of "L'Humanite" just received (whose editor is known to be Marcel Cachin) we find, among other things, a leading article by the eminent Renaudel, in which this citizen asserts that he is willing to make Russia happy by going there if the Soviet Government will guarantee him the right of bringing with him any translators and collaborators that he wishes, and the right of moving about freely all over the country. The editor of "L'Humanite", knowing very well that Mr. Renaudel is only an agent of the League of Nations, inserts his article on the first page of the paper without a single word of objection. ("L'Humanite", June 10th, 1920). In another number of this paper (June 16th, 1920) we find nothing more nor less, than an article... by Mr. Ignatius Dassinsky. "Our Polish Comrade", as the editor of "L'Humanite" calls him, inserting the article with the polite reservation that it is the right hand and fellow-champion of Pilsudsky, the executioner of the Polish workers, the leader of the Polish White Guards fighting against Soviet Russia. "L'Humanite" desires to join the Third International, and at the same time counts among its "comrades" the counter-revolutionary bandit, a member of the Second International, Dashinsky! And in the same time number of the paper we read an article by Longuet, devoted to the "Task of the Cachin and Frossard Mission to the Soviet Republic" in each line of which the old-time "diplomacy" is evident and in which only one thing is worthy of attention, the information given by Longuet that the extreme left wing of the French Socialist Party (the Communists) resolutely declined the amiable proposal of the French Longuetists that they should take part in the delegation together with Cachin and Frossard.

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

They are "in principle" for joining the Third International, but "only" out of tactical considerations they wish to wait a bit, they desire, at any rate, to preserve their "autonomy" "To recognize in principle means to refute in practice—such is the principle of all serious diplomats". These words, if we are not mistaken, were said by Bismarck. The little Bismarcks in the ranks of the Independents and the Longuetists are acting on the same principle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Second International had its Interna-

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

That is not badly said. It is true, the International Socialist Review, which would not only keep us informed, but which could also discuss the most important questions, criticize, make proposals. What we need is to exercise a constant influence on the parliamentary activity, in the sense of a simultaneously putting forward of our revolutionary demands. The thing we need is the organization of an International Socialist Information Service". ("Berliner Tagwacht", Jan. 7th, 1920).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Communist International does not intend of course, to bring all the Parties to one level. The Comm. International has proved in deeds, not merely in words, that it takes into consideration the different conditions in which Parties exist and struggle. The Comm. International realizes very well that there is a sphere of purely local questions, where the decision must belong to the given party. But Treves of course does not mean this. He attempts to preserve for himself and his reformist wing such an "autonomy" as would in reality mean a complete freedom of action for the reformist. In the notice of the editor of "La Revue Communiste" to Treves' answer, it says: "Comrade Treves is one of the leading social-reformist of Italy. But what a difference between him and our Albert Thomas, Renaudel and others!" The respected editor of "La Revue Communiste" has too good an opinion of Treves' policy. Between Treves and Renaudel no doubt there is a difference, we do not deny that. But in reality this difference consists merely in the fact that Treves and his friends defend reformism more cleverly. Reformists, we repeat, feel themselves "at home" in the Italian Party. Of the active members of the Italian delegation who came to Russia, Comrade Pozzani declared in an interview with the not unknown Russian professor Tiander, published in the paper "Huvudstatsblad" for the 6th of June, 1920: "In telegrams which we get from our correspondents in Stockholm, the Italian delegation with Seratti at its head shows itself to be a Bolshevik one. And this opinion has spread in Finland". Pozzani protest against the false conclusion. The members of the delegation were astonished and indignant on hearing such an opinion. They all belong to the Social Democratic Party, which does not mean yet that they are Bolsheviks". And the same Pozzani declared further in its interview: "The considerable profits derived by Italy from the great war consist, in the acquisition of Trieste and Trent. Besides, Italy has occupied Bologna, with its mountains. Concerning Dalmatia and the rest of Albania these questions are still left open". When we pointed out not long ago to some eminent Italian comrades a similar interview given by Filippo Turatti in Italy, the comrades answered us good-naturedly ((too good-naturedly) that Turatti had said this in a private conversation (this was not announced in the press), and that his words were falsely interpreted. Can one show more good-nature toward reformists?

The most experienced diplomat of Italian reformism, the deputy Modigliani, who plays a big part in the parliamentary fraction of the Italian Socialist Party, has lately visited Paris. In a conversation with Longuet, Modigliani persuaded the leader of the French Independents to enter the Third International in the following fashion. He said to him: "My friend Longuet, why should we not, after all, enter the Communist International? What does it oblige us to do? In reality to nothing more than sending

about once in a fortnight some nice picture post-cards to the Communist International". A part of his pleasant dialogue between the friends was reported officially at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International. This conversation was quoted by Comrade Serrati in his official speech in the Executive Committee. Who knows the activity of the deputy Modigliani differs from the Italian reformists, in that in him a certain Italian sentimentality is wonderfully mixed with an incredible coarse, political lynxism. The reformist Modigliani in his short but meaning sentence has expressed the holy of the holies of "left" reformism. Yet, all these gentlemen suppose that to join the Communist International does not obligate them to anything except sending pretty post-cards. On the other hand there is a distinct profit for them in entering the Third International; in the eyes of the common workmen they will shine with the glory of the Third International. The workmen will have more confidence in them, and in any case, will cease to whistle at them at the meetings. The Modiglianis do not act as brutally as the Noskes. The lesson of Kerensky and Seretelli has been of some use to them. They do not enter a bourgeois government where they would be willingly accepted.

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

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

ii.

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

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

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

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

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

The adherents of the mentioned movements have been used to consider the two—"politics" and "policy" as equal. They were used to see only unprincipled parties, only the ones guided by parliamentary career makers and demoralized by opportunism. To convince these People, to heal these organizations of inimical feeling against the Party in general, one must show them other parties as an example—sincere Communist Parties with a clear program, revolutionary tactics and iron discipline, parties knowing how to imbibe all that there is best in the working class, parties knowing how to lead the proletariat to the siege of the fortresses of capital. Here what is most needed is the propaganda of action. "You do not believe that really proletarian Communist Parties are possible? You think that all parliamentarism is opportunism? You think that all parties only

busy themselves with political diplomacy Look: here is the Russian Communist Party, who has managed to place itself at the head of all the working class of its country and appropriate the bourgeoisie.—Look! Here is the German Communist Party, which knows in spite of every thing how to reunite all the power of the working class in its ranks. Look! In Italy, Bulgaria, France, England, America such parties are being formed. Look and learn,

## The Debate on Trade Unions.

From Stenographic Report of the proceedings of the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International for August 5, 1920.

Comrade Radek reported for the Committee on Trade Unions and Shop Committees. In the course of his remarks he said that the American comrades under the pretence of submitting an amendment to the thesis now before the Congress, wanted to impose principles which are not in keeping with the ideas presented in the committee's thesis on participation in the activities of the trade unions. Radek said, "In words they have recognized the thesis but in fact they have repudiated it by bringing in their amendment. This amendment, introduced by the American Delegation, provides that they can withdraw from participation in the old trade unions when ever they see fit. As a matter of fact they advocate the idea of boycotting the old trade unions.

Quoting the decisions of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY of America, Radek said, "The gist of these decision in reference to the trade unions, put forward the idea of splitting the American Federation of Labor. They urge their members to work within the trade unions, not for the purpose of improving them, but in order to destroy them. The Congress must take steps to enforce its decisions on this question. Our attitude on this question will not decide the fate of the A. F. of L., but the whole future of the Communist movement in America depends upon it. No compromise can be tolerated on this question.

Comrade Radek then discussed in detail, the various amendments submitted and adopted by the Executive Committee of the Third International, analysing the addenda made to the theses defining the role and the problems of the trade unions, after the conquest of power by the proletariat. These additions to the theses were made to counter act syndicalist ideas which teach that the federations of autonomous trade unions after the revolution will administer and direct the economic process with out the control of the Proletarian State.

Continuing, Radek said, "This matter will be kept under consideration by the Third International, because of the fact that the progressive development of the labor movement brings about new forms of organization which must be studied from day to day. It is the intention of the Congress to take into consideration and to answer only those questions which arise from immediate problems as they develop from events and within organizations of the labor movement. The Third International was formed in a period of intense struggle, during which the forms of organization in the labor movement under went rapid changes, and we cannot tell at this time, what the future of such movements as the Shop Stewards in England, the Shop Committees of Germany, etc., will be. One thing can be stated emphatically at this time, and that is, that we must not permit the destruction of the old trade unions, which unite large masses of the workers. Within these mass organizations we should conduct Communist propaganda, but we must not create dual organizations. The activity and the role of the opportunist leaders in the old trade unions is effective only while the masses are passive. Concluding Radek said, "We observe with a robust optimism the progress of the labor movement, and only by active participation in the trade unions will we be able to conquer these powerful organizations of the working class".

Comrade Reed of the United States, then took the floor, and said, "I emphatically protest against the insinuation of Comrade Radek, that the American comrades intend to sabotage the Thesis. The Amendment submitted by the American Delegation was conceived not in the spirit of sabotage, but because of the differences existing on this question between the majority delegates in the Congress and the Anglo-American delegates. On this question the same confusion and contradictions obtain which we see in the theses of the Third International". Comrade Reed then proposed that paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7 be stricken out as confusing, indefinite, and unsatisfactory.

Comrade Zinoviev, taking the floor, remarked right at the start, that no compromise with the American comrades will be tolerated on this question. He said, "They consider the fight within the unions to be impossible, arguing that the leaders and the laws of these unions are reactionary. But what of the bourgeois State, which they intend to conquer? Its constitution and laws are still more reactionary. Generally speaking the American and English comrades imagine that the trade union bureaucracy is a very large and ferocious beast, the reason for this attitude is that

and you will soon understand that to reject the Communist Party is the same as rejecting your right hand". So must we speak to the proletariat in the above-mentioned organizations. And they will see then that the Communist International is in the right. And then they will immediately create a strong proletarian basis for our Communist Parties exact'y in the countries where this basis is still absent.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

they themselves are very small and weak. Our cry must be; always with the masses; always leading the masses; always showing them the road—but never isolating ourselves from them. You say that the masses belonging to the trade unions are conservative and against you; but while these millions, these working masses are against you, with whom do you expect to make the revolution? If you follow the advice of the Anglo-American delegation and leave the trade unions you will only play into the hands of, and please the Legiens, Gompers, and other traitors. We do not wish to repeat the experience of the Paris Commune which succeeded only in perishing heroically. We want to be victorious, and, and this is only possible by leading the organized masses of the proletariat".

Comrade Louis C. Fraina spoke. He said, in part, "The question is not whether we should leave or stay in the trade unions, for no one has expressed the opinion that we should leave them. The question is what shall we do in these trade unions? Even if the communists should succeed in replacing one set of leaders by another, the spirit of the trade unions would remain the same. We are in favor of forming communist nuclei, as well as other independent organizations, to work within the trade unions and while they are in the American Federation of Labor, they must impart the militant spirit, push the unions into revolutionary activity, and through this method, split them".

After the debate was closed on this question a vote was taken. The Thesis on participation in the trade unions was carried by 57 for the thesis, and 8 against.

### Resolution on the Unity of American Communist Parties.

..Adopted by the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International, July 24, 1920.

The Chairman, Comrade Serrati, read the following resolution, which was introduced by the whole American Delegation:

Whereas, the complete unity of the American Communist movement is dictated by iron necessity, we the delegates of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY of America, and the COMMUNIST PARTY of America, RESOLVE:—1) To act in this Congress as one united group; 2) To appeal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International to compel all the communist elements to unite on the basis of the principle and tactics of the Third International, decision of the Executive Committee shall and that whoever will not submit to the be disciplined, and 3) That we accept all the decisions that will be made by the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International.

### SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

(Continued from Page 3)

they who seek to ride to power upon the backs of the working class. Not one of these can face the bright light of the Russian Revolution without blinking.

Soviet Russia! in the third year of your immortal trial and triumph we, the Communists of America, greet you. In the darkest period of black imperialist reaction, you raised the red banner of proletarian revolt. Through three long years of disease, hunger and cold, you held aloft the oriflamme of working class emancipation. Through the mists of calumny and treacherous lies, the workers are beginning to hear the message you have brought them. Capitalist Paris, London, and Washington no longer command the attention of the working masses. The eyes of the proletariat of the world are turned toward Communist Moscow. The cohorts of the workers are beginning to move. The iron battalions of the proletariat will soon be marching on to the conquest of the earth beneath the blood red banner of Communism under the leadership of Soviet Russia.