

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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**MOSCOW
KREML.**



**PETROGRAD
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16-17

The Constitution of the Communist International.

In the year 1864 the first International Workingmen's Association - the First International - was formed in London. In the Constitution of this International Workingmen's Association it was stated:

„That the liberation of the workers must be the business of the workers themselves; that in struggling for their liberation the workers must strive not to create new privileges or monopolies, but to establish equal rights and liabilities for all and to suppress all class supremacy;

that the economic subordination of the worker to the monopolist owner of the means of production, that is to say, all the sources of life, is the chief cause of his enslavement in all its forms, of all social evil, the moral degeneration and political subordination of the working class;

that the economic liberation of the working class is the greatest object to which all political movements as a means must be subordinated;

that all attempts to attain this end have so far remained unsuccessful because of the lack of solidarity between the workers of the different industries in each separate country, and the absence of brotherly union between the workers of different countries;

that the liberation of Labour being neither a local, nor national, but an international task, touches the interests of all countries in which the modern social order exists and for its accomplishment, demands a theoretical and practical mutual action of the more advanced countries;

that the actual simultaneous revival of the labour movement in the industrial countries of Europe is on the one hand exciting new hopes and on the other hand seriously warning against the repetition of former mistakes and demanding an immediate uniting of the movements which up to now have been disunited

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

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

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

„Remember the imperialist war!“ These are the first words that the Communist International addresses to each worker, wherever he may live, whatever language he may speak. „Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalistic order, a small group of capitalists was able during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each others

throats! Remember that the bourgeoisie war has cast Europe and the whole world into terrible famine and poverty! Remember that without the overthrow of capitalism the repetition of such wars for plunder is not only possible, but even inevitable.“

The goal of the Communist International is a struggle by all means, even with force of arms for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet Republic as a transitional stage to the complete suppression of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of delivering humanity from the horrors of capitalism. And the Communist International considers the Soviet power the historically-brought forth form of such dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International for which practically only the white race existed. The Communist International's aim is the liberation of the workers of the whole world. In the ranks of the Communist International are united as brothers the white, yellow and black races, the workers of the whole world.

The Communist International supports fully and unswervingly the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious Socialist revolution in the history of the world, and calls upon the proletarians of the whole world to follow its steps. The Communist International undertakes to support by all the means in its power every Soviet Republic, wherever it may be created.

The Communist International knows that in order to achieve victory sooner, the International Workingmen's Association, struggling for the suppression of capitalism and the establishment of Communism must have a regular centralized organisation. As a matter of fact the Communist International must effectively and practically be a single World Communist Party, whose branches are the Communist Parties working in each country. The organising apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee to the workers of each country the possibility at any given moment of receiving the maximum of assistance from the organised proletarians of the other countries.

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

Art. 1. The new International Workmen's Association is formed for the organisation of joint action by the proletarians of various countries, who are struggling for the same aims: the overthrow of capitalism, the creation of a dictatorship of the proletariat and an international Soviet Republic for the complete abolition of the classes and the realisation of Socialism, the first step towards a Communist society.



THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

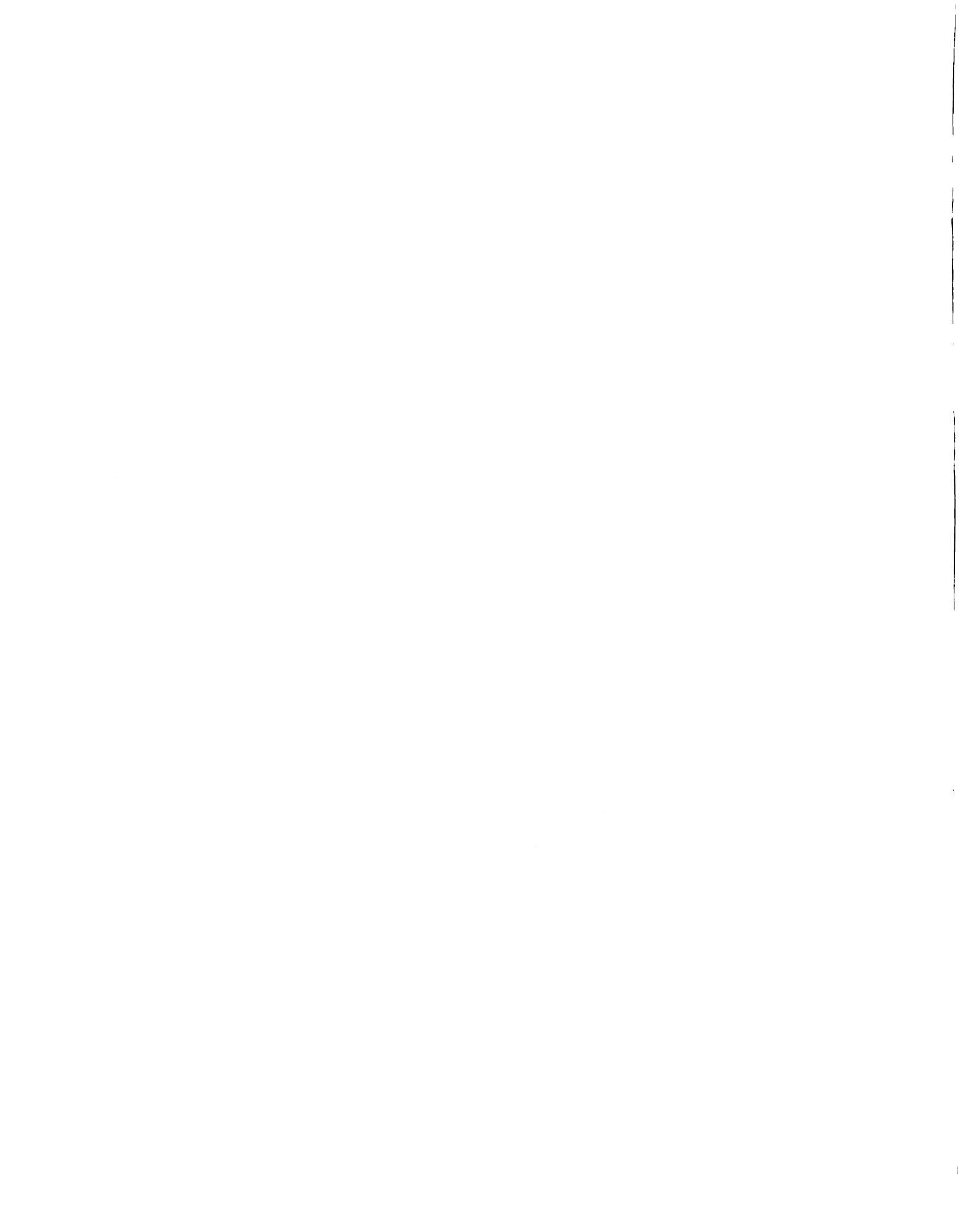
APPEARS SIMULTANEOUSLY IN ENGLISH
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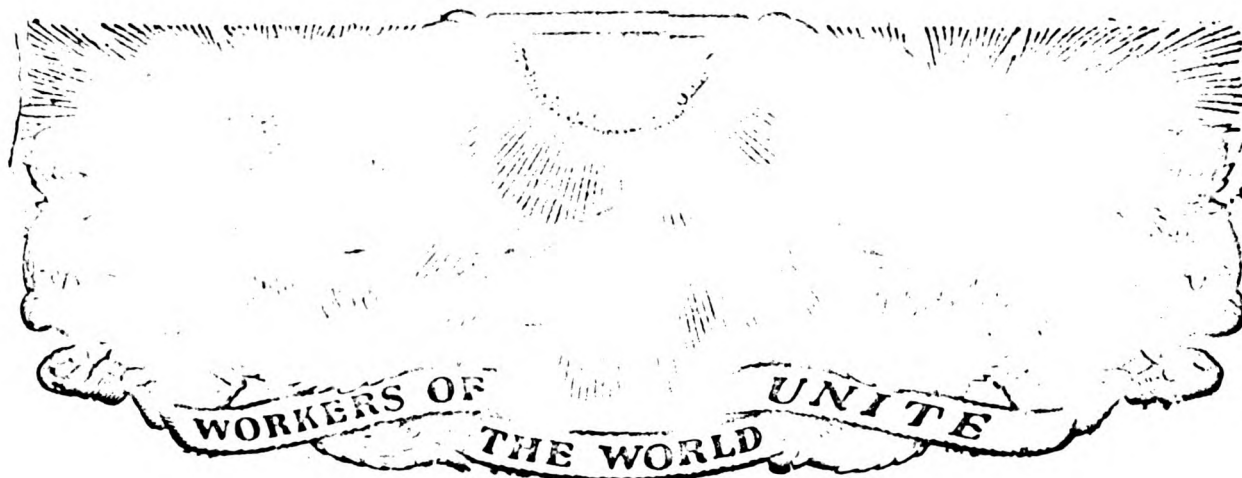
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Greetings to the delegates of the III World Congress of the Communist International!

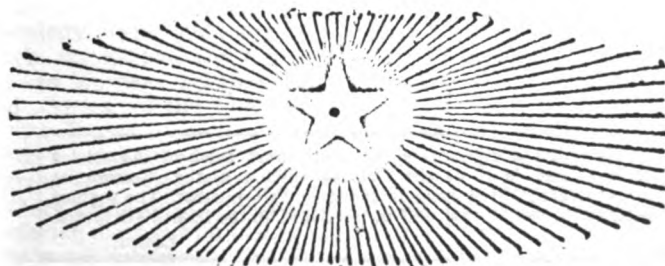
The Third Congress of the Communist International will finally organize the proletarian army of the World revolution.

Great battles are ahead of us, but the victory of the World proletariat is inevitable.

Workers of all countries unite!

Long Live the Communist International!

Long Live the World Revolution!



In view of the urgency of the work only some of the articles of № 16 and № 17 of the Russian edition of the „Communist International“ have been included in this number. The regular editions of the journal will be published in the immediate future.

Editor.



The Third Congress of the Communist International.

By A. ROSSMER.

WHEN the Second Congress met a year ago it had among other tasks before it to determine and define precisely the conditions for the affiliation to the Communist International. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Communist International which had only existed one year was threatened by an invasion of undesirable elements: centrists, reformists, both open and secret, equilibrists, etc. At the moment of its creation it was welcomed most sarcastically by the majority of the leaders of the Socialist parties; they pretended that it would never be a real International, it was a simple demonstration of no importance and with no future before it. But the working masses proved to be of a different opinion. They were disgusted with the old parties and the Second International which had collapsed so miserably August 2nd 1914. In the same way as they had greeted enthusiastically the Russian revolution, they now welcomed the Communist International. The movement was an irresistible one and the centrists were compelled to follow it. They tried to manoeuvre and while attesting publicly and formally their intention and wish to go to Moscow, they organised conferences among themselves in order to prepare a joint plan of action; they were willing to go to Moscow provided however that under the pretext of the autonomy of the sections they might continue each of them the policy of inactivity that they had been following hitherto, and which consisted in admiring Soviet Russia from a distance, in talking from time to time of the Revolution, in acting as reformists and in systematically dissuading the masses from all revolutionary action.

These artless tactics the malice of which was only too evident failed most pitifully. It is not only the formal conditions for affiliation which have closed the doors of the Communist International to the centrists; it is the aggregate of the theses voted by the Congress which determine the doctrine and the methods of action of the Communist International. The reformists who had been hiding behind the revolutionary phraseology were suddenly compelled to lay aside their masks and these ardent partisans of the journey to Moscow became transformed into embittered critics of the Communist International and of Soviet Russia.

The national congresses established by the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International resulted everywhere in the unavoidable split: on the one hand the proletarian masses who had never thought of discussing their affiliation to the Communist International, on the other, mostly delega-

tes, lawyers, intellectuals, labour union leaders and such of the workers who are still their dupes. The first of these congresses of liquidation, that of Halle, in splitting the party of the Independents of Germany into a right and left wing, established a precedent which was followed everywhere. Centrism, a temporary and unstable grouping, is now completely dislocated; its left faction is joining Communism, the rest will sooner or later join the right wing. In France the operation has already been accomplished: the rupture between the two groups lasted only during the space of one morning. The Two and a Half International that the centrist elements have endeavoured to create is trying vainly to live; it has just met for the first time at Amsterdam with the Second International and the International of Labour Unions. The union did not take place officially, although it had been established that the ideas of these three organisations were almost identical: the union will take place the next time, and the situation will thus be made perfectly clear. On this point one of the tasks of the Congress has been accomplished and the Third Congress will be composed of Communist parties cleared and freed from the dead weight of the reformists who under the pretext of unity wished at whatever cost to be affiliated to them. It will have first of all to examine the appeal addressed to the Central Committee by the Communist Party of Germany against the admission of the Communist Labour Party of Germany as a sympathising party, and by the "unitary Communists" of Italy against the decision of the Executive Committee to recognise only the new Communist Party formed after Livorno, as a section of the Third International.

It is probable that these two resolutions which have been passed unanimously by the Executive Committee will be approved without much discussion by the Congress. The fact that the Constitution admits of the affiliation of sympathising parties shows that the ease of the adhesion of parties consisting of bona fide revolutionary and proletarian elements but not accepting all the theses of the Communist International has been foreseen. Such is the case of the C. I. P. G. The Congress will probably demand that the latter should work in complete unity with the C. P. G. which will be the best preparation for their ultimate fusion.

In Italy the situation is quite simple; an extremely significant fact predominates over all the rest: Serrati and his partisans who call themselves "unitary Communists" have refused to sever with Turati, Modigliani and their adherents and at the

same time they agreed to separate from all the bona fide communist elements of the party. Turatti who is not in the least Communist, he says and writes so, is in reality the predominating personage of this party of "unitary Communists" and at the moment when the unitary Communists did not wish to break with him he had taken under his protection the book of the deputies Nofri and Pozzoni, entitled: "The Hell of Soviets", the chapters of which bear the titles of: "A ferocious dictatorship. The triumph of bribery. The social agony of a people", etc.

When the above two points will be decided the Congress will be able to pass over to the order to business and first of all to the principal question: the world economic crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International.

This crisis which has today attained its full development did not break out immediately after the conclusion of the imperialist war. On the next day after the signing of the armistice and during a comparatively long time the great victorious Powers passed through a kind of industrial Renaissance which helped to create illusions for some time.

But the catastrophe was bound to take place. The factory owners discovered suddenly that they could not find purchasers; they had been producing commodities in great quantities, profiting by the technical improvements in the machinery and the organisation of labour brought in during the war and their stocks of goods were accumulating without finding a sale. Thus, in Europe, impoverished and ruined by the war, half the population of which was suffering from lack of food, clothes and even dwellings in some parts, the manufactured articles were clogging the market and the workers could not find employment. The economic consequences of the war were fully revealed. There was a moment of panic, of shock among the industrial and commercial circles; the most solid firms were shaken, bankruptcy stared them in the face. Lloyd George gave the following explanation of the crisis to the manufacturers who appealed to him: "Our stores are filled to overflowing with merchandise, our consumers are in rags, but they have no money".

In England the crisis was felt immediately with great intensity. In November the number of unemployed amounted to about 500,000 and besides in many of the factories the workers were only working half time. On the other hand the cost of living is constantly increasing. The number of unemployed also augmented regularly and soon attained one million. The awakening was cruel. It was especially so in England, as immediately after the war she had enjoyed a privileged position. Mistress of the coal market she had had the possibility of crushing and oppressing her allies, France and Italy, selling them for a very high price the coal that they needed and could not obtain anywhere else, while supplying it to her own factory owners at a much lower rate, thus enabling them to produce their goods at a lower price than their competitors on the continent. The British plutocracy was beginning to think that in spite of what the prophets of evil had been saying the war was "paying"; the balances over the budgetary estimates constituted quite appreciable surplus profits and

the optimists were already talking of the amortisation of the debt. But this Golden Age did not last long. In the same way as England could not find purchasers for her manufactured goods, she could not find any for her coal; France was receiving from Germany more than she could consume and the export of the United States developed rapidly. At the same time the conflicts between the employers and the workers were becoming more frequent and acquiring a very serious character. Strikes of railway men, strikes of miners were breaking out; the false prosperity was disappearing giving up its place to the threat of a collapse of the whole regime.

In France although the crisis presents identical features in general, matters developed more slowly and in a totally different fashion. Unemployment also began to be felt from the month of October and increased progressively while the stocks of goods continued to accumulate. The banks reduced the credits, the enterprises, even some of the oldest, were threatened with the necessity of liquidation from day to day. The Stock Exchange passed through serious panics, the financial situation of the country grew very grave; Ribot, a former Minister of Finance, declared: "I do not think that any country at any time has found itself in a more difficult position than we are at present since our victory". France had reckoned on a victory and on one that should pay. All her policy was based on this expectation. And today the only formula is: Germany must pay.

A crisis of this nature had necessarily to extend rapidly over the whole world and this is what really happened. All the countries, neutral as well as the combattant ones, both European and those beyond the seas, have seen their factories cease working, their commercial turnover stop.

Will capitalism succeed in overcoming this crisis and come out of the difficult situation untouched? Certain socialists centrists, particularly the Independents of Germany, pretend that it has never been so powerful as today; that during the war and the period immediately following it, capitalism has strengthened its organisation. It is true, that in some countries at least the large trusts have extended their power and their operations. But it is no less true that they are working at present in a world which has not regained its equilibrium and that the latter can again be completely upset at any moment. The capitalists who see brilliant prospects for themselves and the socialists who deem that their power has been strengthened reason as though the world had found peace whereas the war is still continuing; a strong militarist party in France is demanding more insistently every day that the army should march to Berlin—even though it should have to go alone—and menace is planing all around.

Frightened at the extent of this crisis and the constant danger that it presents, the bourgeoisie has tried to utilise it by declaring a general offensive against all the workers. The bourgeois economists and journalists discovered simultaneously that the cause of the crisis lies in the high wages received by the workers and the eight hours' day. The occasion was a favourable one. The slackening

of the work permitted the employers to make a selection among their men, to get rid of the "leaders" and especially to revise and reduce the wage scale. The workers were told: Work may be resumed provided you will agree to a diminishment of the pay. And at this moment of great unemployment the ten hours day was reestablished. The bourgeois economists are never at a loss: for them all crises must be solved at the expense of the workers; the eight hour day, they say, is the cause of the high cost of living and the high cost of living is the cause of the economic crisis. The workers thus find themselves frustrated of a reform which had been consented to by the capitalists only because they were afraid of the Bolshevik infection and now after the great war for the rights of peoples and justice, those who have escaped the imperialist slaughter find themselves in a worse situation than they were before 1914.

What have the labour organisations done to resist this capitalist offensive? Never has international action been more necessary. New means of struggle must correspond to new situations; it is necessary chiefly to study and determine jointly the tactics which would be most adaptable to the actual revolutionary situation. It is necessary to see how the joint action should be regulated in respect to the local and special demands which must not be neglected and for the preparation of the revolutionary assault which is to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

The International of labour unions which had collapsed August 2nd 1914 as ignominiously as the Second International, has been reconstructed with the authorisation of the governments; its principal task had been to defend the workers from the international capitalist rapacity but it has not done anything to assist the workers in their struggle. It has on the contrary tried to render all the questions more obscure and to weaken the resistance of the proletariat because its policy had been in all cases not the policy of struggle, but of the collaboration of classes. The employers are organising everywhere; they are redoubling the number of the white guards; it is they who always assume the offensive. The labour union leaders of the International of labour unions are disarming the workers and preaching conciliation.

That is why the Communist International has denounced the Amsterdam International of labour unions as a yellow one, as an appendix of the International Bureau of Labour in the League of Nations. That is why the Communist International has started a relentless struggle against it and is preparing the formation of an International of Red Labour Unions which will unite together all the revolutionary elements of the labour organisations of all countries.

The struggle against the reformist leaders of the labour unions is at the present moment most urgent and necessary. During the war the labour unions of all the larger countries have become simple appendices of their governments owing to the treacherous conduct of their leaders. A tacit agreement was formed between the governments and the leaders of the labour organisations: the labour leaders would not be sent into the trenches provided

they could ensure tranquillity at the base and allow the authorities to use the workers and peasants as cannon fodder as long as they liked. Some of them became Ministers. After the war the leaders of the labour unions found themselves together with the employers and representatives of the government at the peace conference and after that in Washington where they created their International Bureau of Labour, of which one of the most reactionary of French reviews was able to say that if it disappeared "the employers would lose infinitely more than the workers". These are the same men who are now at the head of the yellow Amsterdam International of Labour unions.

Under the convenient formula of: "No politics in the labour unions" these leaders have been able to pursue a policy of social peace and collaboration of classes. Although the majority have become discredited in the eyes of the more class conscious workers, they still manage to dupo the masses who enter the labour unions hoping to find there protection and defense of their interests. Gradually however under the pressure of the revolution they are compelled to resign their places. Thus, last November the following communiqué appeared in the English papers: "The Minister of the Mines with the approval of the Minister of Commerce has nominated William Bruce as Chief Councillor of Labour. The position that Mr. Bruce has accepted is a permanent post to which he will have to give up all his time and it implies the renunciation of his seat in the House of Commons and his function as Chairman of the Mining Federation of Wales and of the Executive Commission of the Miners Federation of Great Britain. His appointments will be 2,250 pounds (about 135,000 francs at the present rate)".

Mr. Bruce had felt that the miners were wanting to get rid of him and he had been before them in seeking a more definite post. The governments who find that the workers are earning too high salaries are quite ready to welcome and pay generously those who betray their class.

Jack Jones, a Socialist deputy, who is not a Bolshevik, but who sometimes calls things by their names has been able to qualify such labour union leaders before the whole Chamber of Commons as "political prostitutes of labour" and to say that when the government finds itself in a fix, it can always count on them to help it out. (The debate was on the subject of Ireland and the "political prostitutes" in question were the Kolchakist "Colonel" John Ward, secretary of the Labourers Union, and J. A. Seddon secretary of the employees union).

In spite of all, the revolutionary propaganda which has to be carried on in the labour unions is not the same as the one which is developing within the political parties. It had been quite easy for the Communist International to break up the old Socialist parties. It will be a more difficult task to unmask and drive away the leaders of the labour unions, traitors of the working class. The discredited leaders of the old socialist parties had understood this and they had sought a refuge in the labour organisations. A typical case is that of Albert Thomas, formerly Minister of Munitions, who during the war demanded from the workers socialists that th-

should be the first to allow themselves to be killed for the glory of the Allied imperialism and from the working women to work till they were completely exhausted. Now he is the inspirer of the General Confederation of Labour and a leader of the International Bureau of Labour.

However the events which are developing at present will end by showing up all men in their true colours and it is possible to hope that the ignominious breakdown of the British Labour Triple Alliance, which we have just witnessed will help largely to make the workers of all countries understand that so long as the labour unions will remain in the hands of the old leaders, so long will the best means for the struggle, the surest combinations be sabotaged at the decisive moment.

The British miners started a struggle against the employers' offensive for a reduction of pay. The transport workers and the railwaymen with whom they form a triple alliance promised to support them. They voted a general strike for a fixed date. Suddenly, a surprise, there was to be no general strike, the miners would have to continue the struggle themselves. How could such treachery happen at the very last hour? It could happen because J. H. Thomas is the general secretary of the railway union, because although the strike of solidarity had been voted, he did not wish it to take place, because he had manoeuvred, solicited and provoked hostile demonstrations against the strike in certain railway centres and because he had finally declared that the Miners Federation being under the influence of the extremists, the railwaymen refused to participate in the strike.

This J. H. Thomas is the Chairman of the yellow Amsterdam International. A worthy Chairman of such an International, one could not find a more symbolic one.

Such a lesson, so dearly paid for, must bring some good. It is sad to think that J. H. Thomas is not a novice, that he has already shown several times that he is capable of any treachery and that in spite of all he is still continuing to exercise his malevolence.

During a preceding strike of the miners last October the question of the strike of the railwaymen as a sign of solidarity had been raised. A national assembly of miners' delegates had pronounced itself in favour of the strike. What did J. H. Thomas do? He charged the "Press Association" agency to declare that he disapproved of the resolution passed by the assembly! Naturally J. H. Thomas is a democrat, a dire enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But he went so far this time that a moderate magazine the "New Statesman" which defends the ideas of the Webbs, writes:

"This question of the relations between a leader and those who elect him was raised in its most acute form last week after the action of J. H. Thomas in regard to the decision of the railwaymen delegated in favour of the strike. There is no doubt that the act of Mr. Thomas after the decision had been passed was of a nature to make of the whole strike not only a partial strike which would inevitably have ended in a defeat if it had broken out, but it was in reality an invitation to the labour unions not to obey the order for the

strike... One may pretend that the decision was neither wise nor necessary, but this opinion does not in any way affect the question raised by the act of Mr. Thomas as the general secretary of the railway union. If he differed in the matter from his union, he had honestly either to obey the instructions as a servant of the union, or to tender his resignation. But to keep his post while he openly acted against instructions is a proceeding which in our opinion cannot be defended, whatever idea one may have of the functions of a secretary of a union".

In spite of the habitual moderation of the "New Statesman" this estimation of the rôle of J. H. Thomas is such that we have nothing to add to it.

In fact this clique of higher functionaries of the labour unions, always ready to fulminate against the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes its own dictatorship on the proletariat. These great democrats accept the law of the majority so long as the majority is in their favour but they do not hesitate to act as autocrats when the majority in the labour unions ventures to differ from them.

Nominated for long periods, entrenched behind a powerful bureaucracy, surrounded by creatures who are devoted to them, they constitute the worst of oligarchies. Considering their rôle in ordinary times as the brokers of the workers dealing in compromises and agreements with the employers they pass over quite naturally to treachery in serious cases.

The Third Congress will have to look upon its task of struggling against the yellow Amsterdam International, this refuge of all the traitors to socialism and the labour unions, as one of the greatest importance. The bourgeoisie frightened by the disconcerting and bewildering resistance of Soviet Russia and the unceasing and rapid progress of Communism understood very well that the labour unions might serve as organs for the preservation of the social order. It hastened to set the unions against the parties. The bourgeois Capus, the royalist Maurras and the low politician Barthou have met in "touching accord" to celebrate the "wisdom" and the "realism" of the labour unions which are resisting the "Soviet myth" and the "Communist disorganisers". It is necessary to show them that the revolutionary spirit which is bona fide realism, can also animate the labour unions.

The Third Congress will also have to determine the position of the Communist International in regard to the International of Red Labour Unions which will be definitely constituted after the special Congress which will meet on July 1st.

The call sent out by the Consul of the International of Red Unions has received the approval of all the revolutionary labour organisations which are not affiliated to Amsterdam and the minorities of the central organisations adhering to Amsterdam. Some of the delegates who will meet in Moscow to establish the basis of the new organisation and work out joint tactics will be Communists, and some of them will be representatives of other revolutionary labour organisations. Amongst the former some will be members of the Communist parties, others will be greatly prejudiced against all political parties and do not belong to any party at all, and all their revolutio-

ary activity is carried out on the lines of the labour unions. These prejudices against political parties are justified by the practices of the old socialist parties which were almost all of their parties of reform, not of revolution; we see them dwindling away as soon as a real Communist party appears and acts. This is what is going on in France where the revolutionary minority of the General Confederation of Labour said, in its resolution submitted to the last Congress of the Confederation after a formal declaration of adhesion to the International of Red Labour Unions, that it was ready to collaborate with such political party which would act as a revolutionist.

It is the duty of the Communist International to favour these elements of different origin, and the prejudices will disappear definitely during the course of the revolutionary struggle in common.

The field of operations of the Communist International extends practically over the whole world and the echo that it found in the peoples of the East is one of the phenomena which are most pregnant with consequences at the present moment. These peoples which before the war had been kept in a state of slavery by the British or the Czarist imperialism, or by both together when they agreed, were profoundly agitated by the Russian revolution. Two powerful motives attracted them to Soviet Russia: the fact that henceforth far from oppressing them and hampering their free development their powerful neighbour would be their sure support in their work of liberation, and further, the idea of the soviet power. All these people do not possess an equal degree of development. When one reads the history of the strike in Bombay and the incidents that it provoked, it is quite clear that Communism must find a favourable soil in these countries. In other regions, almost exclusively agricultural ones, the process of liberation must necessarily be different. The Second Congress has for the first time put these questions in a new light and submitted them to the study and discus-

sion of all the Communist parties. The Third Congress will have the results of these studies, of these discussions, and the information furnished by the representatives of the peoples of the East; it will be able to complete the theoretical work by the elaboration of a plan for definite action.

The Communist International has shown itself as an international of action. All its methods and its structure itself bear witness to this fact. By this it differs essentially from the Second International which was radically incapable of action. It was incapable because not one of the parties composing it felt itself really bound by the decisions of the congresses. It was clearly shown by the now famous resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of 1914. The Communist International does not wish to experience the same failure. It is following actively the life and actions of the parties composing it, it gives its support and assistance to all the great movements which they become engaged in, it does not hesitate to intervene and sharply denounce, if necessary, any weaknesses which may show themselves.

In creating the international organisation which the proletariat lacked the First Congress provided a rallying point for all the revolutionary and Communist groups and parties. Its call was heard everywhere and obtained a rapid success.

In giving to the Communist International a solid basis and in imposing clearness and sincerity the Second Congress provoked a great agitation among all the proletariat. It has upset and dislocated the old parties.

The Third Congress will not meet with a less hearty response: it will extend the activities of the Communist International to the labour organisations, determine and coordinate them and give to the workers the means of struggle which will be the most suitable to the great problems of the actual moment.

May 10th 1921.





Role and Significance of the Third Congress.

By J. Frils.

THE Second Congress of the Communist International will be remembered in history for its now world famous „Moscow theses“. Never has a political organisation made its entrance upon the battle field of the class war with such a flaunting and eye-attracting banner. Like a herald of truth storming forward blowing his clarion blast against the phalanx of bourgeois lies, the Second Congress of the Communist International called the workers to rally under the banner of the Moscow theses. The effect was an instant and far-reaching one. The masses of the workers, formerly bewildered and confused by the social traitors in their various countries, soon began to take their places in the fighting line in orderly rows and cadres, inspired by the sound of the clarion call which they at once recognized as their own. And enemies, the capitalist and bourgeois class, could not help showing that they also understood that a new force had been raised against them. From the capital of the Workers Republic, which in vain they had tried to crush, they heard the battle-cry of a mighty enemy, the world proletariat, and like a raging mob of hooligans they raised their arms and shouted their brutal threatenings against Soviet Russia and its world army, the Communist International. While the hired armies of Poland and Wrangel made a last desperate attack on the Soviet Republic the bourgeois papers all over the world day after day made their desperate attacks on the Moscow theses. But both attacks failed. The red soldiers stood firm, and the „theses“ showed the same stubbornness.

The value of the debates about the theses within the labour organisations cannot be overestimated. As a historical document, only the Communist Manifesto can be compared with the theses. The existing historical circumstances make perhaps the „theses“ still more important than the famous manifesto, in so far as the theses have shed light upon and created order in the labour chaos and forced the different organs of the labour movement into spiritual co-operation. For the first time in the history of the movement political questions have been placed before the masses within the trade unions so clearly and insistently that they could not be pushed aside. Whereas formerly the political organisations and the economic organisations worked side by side, often in jealousy, often even in antagonism against each other, they were now forced to take up their internal relationship for discussion

and to find a common platform. In my country, i. e. Norway,—and I believe it has been the case in almost all other countries — there has never before been a similar political interest within the trade unions as in the year which has just passed. At hundreds of meetings have the theses been discussed. Instead of being sectarian and, often narrow-minded economic organisations the trade unions at the present moment are becoming real fighting mass organisations embracing the whole field of the class struggle. The truth of the principal propositions of the theses have been experienced by the workers themselves in every day life. I shall only mention one example. In the autumn we had in Norway a railway strike. Within two days the strike, which began as a pure economic fight, became the most important political question of the day and the workers got a vivid illustration of that passage in the theses which says that „in the days of the decay of capitalism an economic fight must sooner become a political fight than in the classic times of capitalism *). In effect no strike is any longer a purely economic fight. More or less it is a political fight. More or less, therefore, a trade union is also a political union. The Second Congress of the Communist International forced the economic mass organisations into political day light.

What will then be the rôle and significance of the Third Congress?

To take the questions treated above first, the Third Congress will have to summarise and draw the lessons out of the experiences made since the last Congress with regard to the relations between the economic and the political organisations, i. e. between the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International. The Congress will have to discuss these questions most earnestly. I think that the statutes constituting a complete subordination of the economic organisations under the political ones will have to be temporarily modified. The Trade Union International must, as a separate organisation, be given some degree of independence. At the present time it will not be politically possible and convenient to insist upon the subordination of the Trade Union International. Of course it must be firmly laid down that all party members within the Trade Union are

*) Resolution of the Second Congress about trade union movement; paragraph 7.

subordinated to party discipline. But the trade unions themselves are mass organisations and as such must be given some freedom of action. The economic development will force them in time to recognise the leadership of the Communist Party. Being convinced of that there is no danger in trying to find some accommodations for the present period. It is not probable that the Congress will come to any final solution of this delicate question. But I am sure that the discussion from both sides will be led by the earnest wish to serve the common revolutionary goal. The object of the theses and statutes of the Second Congress was not in any way to force the development artificially forward. In as far as the experience of the past year has shown that the theses in some points were more of a propaganda value than of a definite character there is no reason why these points should not be temporarily altered.

The basis for the discussions of the Congress in these questions as in all questions will be the view taken on the present world situation. Comrade Varga has had the kindness to let me read in manuscript the pamphlet he has prepared for the Congress on the economic situation. It is a masterpiece of scientific concentration. With this little book in their hands the delegates to the Congress will be able to make up their opinions in all questions on the agenda from the clear outlook of Marxist science. How is the present tempo of the revolutionary development? When will the crisis be acute in the different countries? Comrade Varga gives us the necessary material to answer these questions in so far as it is possible on scientific ground. He quotes a bourgeois economist, who admits, that „the end of the present crisis must be the dissolution of the capitalist society“. It depends only on the different development of the crisis in the different countries and the different temperament of the masses how soon the dissolution will come.

It is on the second of these two factors, „the different temperament of the masses“, that it is open to the Communist Parties to accelerate the revolution. And there we come to the different questions of Party tactics which probably will take up most of the time of the Congress and bring the debates to the highest pitch. In the Italian question it is to be hoped that the Serrati group will submit to the demand of the Executive Committee and go together with the recognised Communist Party. The German question will be more difficult to solve I have no fear that anybody will try to defend the obvious act of treason which Levi has been guilty of in publishing his pamphlet against the German workers while they stood in defence of their most vital rights. But the tactical faults of the March action will have to be openly admitted and the necessary lessons be drawn from them. Personally I hope however that the Congress will not be too anxious in looking for the faults of the German workers whose spontaneous rising all Communists must sympathise with, whatever be their opinions about the tactics of the action. I hope further that the deliberations will end in an appeal to the French and British workers who did not in this case as in so many other cases show

that solidarity with the German workers, which could have been expected of them. If they had shown more active sympathy with the workers of Middle-Germany, who could then doubt that the rebellion against Hürsing and Severing would have driven the masses all over Germany to respond to the strike-call of the Communist party? There is a lack of international spirit between the British and the French and the German workers. The atmosphere of the war is still prevailing in spite of the big revolutionary advances made also in the so called „victorious“ states. There is an urgent need for greater international co-ordination. On this field the Congress can do a very great service. And by looking on the March action in Germany not only from a German but from a European point of view unnecessary personal conflicts can be avoided.

With regard to organisation, the Communist International is still very imperfect. The Third Congress will have an important task to fulfil. A more intimate cooperation between the Executive Committee and the different parties must first of all be effectuated. The E. C. must become a more authoritative and more continuously working body. The bourgeois papers accuse the E. C. of being behind every political or economic movement in any country. Although this is far from being true, the real situation is that in effect the E. C. is not in that continuous intercourse with the movement in the different countries as it ought to be. Instead of fearing to lose their „Autonomy“ or suffering from any interference from the side of „Moscow“, all the communist parties feel the necessity of being in much closer contact with the E. C. than has been the case up till now. And especially there are two sub-sections of the movement which the Third Congress will have to organise so to say on a wholly new basis: the Communist Women's movement and the Young Communists movement. These questions were on the agenda of the Second Congress but did not get discussed. At this Congress they must not suffer the same fate. The International Congress of Communist Women will probably take place before the big Congress; proposals will be made by the women's congress and they must be carefully considered. Within the young communist movement there are some inner conflicts at the present moment, which will come before the Congress and be solved there. It is very important that the young communist movement be put on a sure basis within the International. Of course there can be no question of giving any independence to this movement. The young communists must nationally and internationally be under party discipline and leadership. The leading principles of the movement must be drawn up by the congress in separate theses. Within the limits of these theses, the movement will get all possible freedom of action.

These are the principal questions which the Third Congress will come to deal with. They are very urgent and very important questions. But they are all more of an organisational than of a propaganda character. Probably therefore the third congress will not play that prominent historical rôle as the Second Congress did. But on the other side it depends upon the satisfactory solution of

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The questions before this Congress, how strong the Communist International will stand in the decisive fights which we see are coming in the nearest future. The accelerating stupidity of the bourgeois governments in all countries makes it necessary for the communist parties to be prepared for the revolution at any moment. The economic development after the war has been so feverishly quick that the world is in reality already now standing immediately before the danger of a world war. Instead of helping capitalist Europe to recover, imperialist America throws all the milliards of dollars it has earned from the European war into armaments against Europe. Within some few years the fleet of U. S. A. will be more than a half bigger than that of Great Britain. All the scientific genius and laboratories which U. S. A. disposes of are put in the service of finding ever new and more refined murdering inventions. The jingo press is working with thousands and thousands of rotary machines to drive up a new war spirit among the masses of the American people. In reality the world situation now is very much like the situation in 1914. But there is one great difference. In 1914 the workers of the world were internationally organized only apparently, but in reality they had no trustworthy International. The Second International

was an International of words and phrases. When the war came it was revealed to be a purely bureaucratic apparatus without force, without spirit, without leadership. Apparently the masses of the workers stood behind it. But these masses were not knitted together by any efficient organisation. The Second International was a big register of paper members, it had no fighting army. The Third International is a fighting army. The masses behind it are revolutionary active masses. Its leadership is a revolutionary staff of generals who have proved their leading abilities in a hard and victorious war against world capitalism. The leaders of the victorious Soviet Russia are the leaders of the Third International. The spirit which has inspired the Russian labour masses in their revolution and from which the toiling masses of the world have been encouraged to stand firm against the attacks of their own bourgeoisies, is the spirit of the Communist International. The Third Congress will show the capitalist world that this spirit is not declining but getting stronger from week to week. The building of the capitalist society is decaying from top to bottom. The Communist International is the leading architect of the new society which shall be built on the ruins of capitalism.

Moscow, May 1921.





The World Congress of the Communist International.

A circular addressed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to all the proletarian organizations affiliated or who desire to belong to the Communist International.

On the 1st. of June, 1921, the Third World Congress of the Communist International will open in Moscow. We are convening the Congress two months before the time fixed by the constitution. We are convinced, however, that all affiliated Parties will agree that the best interest of the cause imperatively demand an earlier date for the Congress.

During the nine months that have elapsed since the Second Congress of the Communist International a number of Parties have carried on an extensive discussion upon various questions which the Second Congress formulated. In a number of countries the differentiation has gone so far as to create an open rupture between the Communists and the adherents of the "centre". In Germany, France, England, Sweden, Norway, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Greece, Switzerland, Belgium and other countries the split between the Communists and the adherents of the intermediary 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "International" is an accomplished fact. In other countries, such as Czecho-Slovakia, a split is a matter of the near future. In Italy the Communists have organized their own Party. Of the present "socialist" party, which unites avowed Reformists and vacillating revolutionaries, all the healthy elements will gradually split away and join the Communist International. In America the amalgamation of all Communist sections is about to be accomplished.

All these events must be properly appraised by the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International during this period has made some very important decisions. For these decisions it will give account before the entire Communist International. First of all the Third Congress must ascertain to what extent all the affiliated Parties have carried out the conditions which were formulated by the Second Congress. A complete period in the activities of the Communist International is being brought to a close. Prior to its First Congress the Communist International passed through its nebulous preparatory stage. Between the First and Second Congress the Communist International passed through its primary agitational period. The Communist International was not yet a well defined international organization. It was only a banner. The period between the Second and Third Congress is the period of intensive differentiation and the organization of real Communist Parties. The Third Congress will review the past work and impart to the Communist International a completeness of organization and the finishing touch to its tactics.

The provisional Agenda drafted by the Executive Committee has been published in the press. The first point is the Report of the Executive Committee. During the nine months that have elapsed since the Second Congress the Executive Committee has taken a very direct and active part in the struggle and splits which occurred in a number of Parties. In connection with this there were naturally some protests raised against the Executive Committee. Whether it has correctly carried out the line of action formulated by the Second Congress will be decided by the Third Congress. At any rate the Communist International must determine a clear-cut and definite order; the Executive Committee is wholly responsible to the regular World Congress. To it appeals can be made against this or that decision of the Executive Committee. But from Congress to Congress the entire control belongs to the Executive Committee. Its decisions must be carried out. Without this the existence of the Communist International as a centralized disciplined international organization is rendered impossible. If the Communist International is designated the International of action, it necessarily follows that this international fighting organization must have its chief headquarters, in respect to which discipline must be maintained not only in words, but in deeds.

The second point on the agenda is headed: "The World Economic Crisis and the New Problems of the Communist International". The "theoreticians" of the two and a half International: Otto Bauer, Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. assert that after the conclusion of the Imperialist war the bourgeoisie is succeeding in restoring a new economic equilibrium and that Europe is entering upon a new era of a continuous organic development on the basis of a peaceful "revival" of the capitalist system. Hence the leaders of the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ International, not to speak of the leaders of the openly treacherous Second International draw certain practical deductions. Hence the especially abominable transition of all these parties like the German Independents and the French Longuetists, into the camp of open counter-revolution. The Third Congress is confronted with the task of exposing, on the basis of a precise study of facts, after a searching analysis of the economic crisis with all its horrors of unparalleled unemployment and destitution of the masses, the utter folly of the reformist illusions, the stupidity of all those who believe in the future of a regenerated capitalism and preach to the working class the petty-bourgeois gospel of "peace and order".

The third and fourth points are: "The Tactics of the Comintern during Revolution" and "The Transitional Period". (Partial demands, partial clashes and the final revolutionary battle). In a transitional period like that through which we are now passing two

trends manifest themselves in the camp of the revolutionary movement. Some say: „Assuming that we are already on the eve of the revolution what is the use of putting forward partial demands?“ „If we emphasize our partial demands, why should we repeat every time the entire programme?“—say others. „We shall not expend our energies in partial clashes, we shall accumulate them for the last decisive battle“, say some. „We must utilize every occasion to provoke an open clash“, say others. The Third Congress will review the concrete experience of the Russian comrades on the eve of the revolution, as well as the experience of the German workers and the proletarians of all other countries. The Third Congress must draw the most definite tactical line for all Communist Parties. It should be equally averse to sectarianism and to the lure of momentary success. It should aim to bring the Communist Parties into the closest contact with the widest masses, but at the same time preserve their irreconcilability towards the bourgeois state and their unflinching fidelity to revolutionary Marxism.

The 5th and 6th points deal with the international labour movement, the struggle with the Amsterdam yellow Association of Trade Unions and the International Council of Red Trade Unions. This is one of the most important questions on the agenda of the Third Congress. The struggle within the labour movement is assuming an intense form. Upon this struggle depends the decision of the conflict between the Second and Third International i. e. between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At present the trade unions comprise tens of millions of workers.

To win over to our side the trade unions means to conquer the proletariat. The tactic of formation of Communist nuclei within the trade unions which was formulated by the Second Congress, has fully justified itself. It gave serious results in Germany, in France, in England and other countries. The Amsterdam Yellow organisation has sustained the first heavy blows. The Yellow Amsterdam leaders are dismayed. At one moment they are willing to make some concessions and at another they proceed to expel from the trade unions every adherent of the Communist International. This is a sure sign of the impending complete disruption. The Third Congress will summarize the results of the struggle against Amsterdam and outline a systematic plan of campaign for the future. Moreover the Third Congress must clearly define the inter relationship between the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International: whether we shall have two parallel international organizations with the Comintern as the leading organisation or whether we shall have only one Communist International composed not only of political parties but also of all proletarian organizations including the Red Trade Unions, which agrees in principle with the Communist International. In this latter event the Red Trade Union International would only be a section of the Communist International. We can put up many arguments for and against these decisions. A great deal will depend upon the decision of this problem in the development of the international workers

movement. All organizations belonging to the Communist International should consider this question very carefully from all angles and come to an accurate decision at the Third Congress.

The seventh and eighth points on the agenda deal with questions of organization: the construction of the communist parties, methods and character of their work; the construction of the Communist International and its relation to the parties which are its members. Here two groups of questions must be discussed. The first group: how each separate Communist Party should be constructed. In Western Europe, we notice even among the Communist Parties, that a permanent active party organization hardly exists. Only during elections or upon extraordinary occasions all members of the party become active. But there are no regular active communist groups in the mills, factories, mines and railroads, in villages and institutions, in the trade unions and cooperatives. Nor is there any method of iron discipline combining these groups with the party centre. We must put an end to this state of affairs. The Third Congress will take this up. The other group of organization questions which the Third Congress will take up, are the questions: how far does the autonomy of the separate parties go in relation to the Executive Committee of the Comintern? how a centralized international proletarian organization should be constructed, which will really be capable of leading the international struggle of the proletariat; what should be done in order to improve the international ties of the separate communist parties, between each other and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In other words—upon what basis of organization should the Communist International be constructed, in order that it may be capable of coping with the daily increasing problems with which it is entrusted.

The Eastern question is the ninth. The Communist International made its first successes in its work among the peoples of the East. The Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East was undoubtedly of a great historical importance. The coming Congress of the Peoples of the Far East will also play its part. The Third Congress will have to discuss the Eastern question not only theoretically as it did at the Second Congress, but also practically. The victory of the world proletarian revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia. Each proletarian communist must know this. Only then will the workers-communists be fully armed theoretically, against the „European“ opportunism of the Hilferdings and other heroes of the Two and a Half International who only have a hateful sneer towards the enslaved peoples of the East.

The tenth point on the agenda, about the Italian Socialist Party, will be of utmost importance. The Italian Socialist Party was a member of the Communist International. Owing to the influence of the „centrist“ agitation of Serrati, the Congress of this Party at Livorno, refused to put into action the conditions put by the Second Congress of the Communist International for all parties. The group of Serrati, having a majority at the Congress, wished the Communist International to accept such leading agents of capital, as the old and world

famous reformists: Turati, Modigliani, D'Aragona, Treves, and Co., that is, the Italian Dittmans, Bernsteins, and Longuets. For the sake of unity with these reformist who had 14,000 votes at the Congress at Livorno, the leaders of the Italian „Centre“ with Serrati at the head broke away from the 68,000 proletarians-communists. Serrati betrayed the decisions of the Second Congress. At Livorno the moral victors over the „center“ were practically the reformists with Turati at their head. The workers-communists formed an independent Communist Party. Under the circumstances the Executive Committee of the Communist International considered that it is its duty to recognize the young Communist Party of Italy as the only section of the Communist International, and to expel the party of Serrati which refused to abide by the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International. The Italian Socialist Party protested against this and appealed against decision of the Executive Committee to the next Congress of the Communist International. Every party has an undoubted right to such an appeal, and the Executive Committee is prepared to submit this dispute before the Third Congress for decision.

Knowing the customs and morals of the „centrist“ leaders, who like to dodge distinct replies to questions, the Executive Committee in a special letter to the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declared: We invite you to the Third Congress, but we demand that your delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International have the power to give final answers to the questions of the Third Congress. (2) We demand that you reply clearly and exactly, do you agree to the expulsion from the Communist International, of the Turati, Treves group, as this entire dispute consists only of this.

The Italian question has become of universal importance. In Germany the group of Levi, which has long since made an effort to form a sort of right wing in the Communist International, glad of the Italian argument, commenced to make assurances that the Executive Committee of the Communist International made tactical mistakes on this question, that the Executive Committee preaches „mechanical“ splits, etc.

The Third Congress will clarify this question absolutely, decide it in principle, clarify the argument of all the minor and casual points, and show to each and every one, that those who do not put the 21 conditions into action, cannot be members of the Third International. The March incident of the German Communists brought serious differences of opinion among the United Communist Party of Germany. Levi was expelled from the party and the Executive Committee of the Communist International agreed to this expulsion. The Third Congress will certainly have to discuss these tactical problems, raised in connection with the March incident.

The question of the relation of the Third Congress to the Communist Labour Party of Germany will also be on the agenda. This party will have to give its final answer, whether it agrees to universal

discipline or not. Furthermore, the woman question, the movement of the young people, etc., are also on the agenda of the Congress.

Finally, the Executive Committee of the Communist International decided to put on the agenda the very important question of the economic policy and the general situation of the first republic in which the proletariat has taken the power, Soviet Russia.

We ask all the parties, and unions belonging to and wishing to become members of the Communist International, to open a wide discussion immediately in the press and at the meetings on the question on the agenda of the Third Congress. We further ask that the question of elections to this Congress be discussed immediately. The Executive Committee of the Communist International unanimously decided to propose to all parties: 1) that delegations to the congress be as numerous as possible; 2) that delegations be composed of at least one third of the members of Executive Committees of the various Parties, and two thirds from amongst the membership of the larger local organisations, more connected with the labouring masses. We consider this last decision of extraordinary importance. We want the third Congress to be attended by as many workers as possible, by those directly reflecting the temper of the proletarian masses. The Executive Committee also asks that the delegations should consist partly of representatives of the Womens workers and Communist Youth.

The preparatory work of the Congress (the preliminary discussions, etc) are of no less importance than the Congress itself. The decisions of the Third Congress must be prepared and discussed by the workers at tens and hundreds of meetings in the different countries. There is very little time left. To work!

The Executive Committee asks all parties and unions to send through delegates their written detailed reports of the work done by these parties during the past year.

The Executive Committee further asks that all parties appoint speakers on the different points of the agenda of the Congress and propose resolutions on these questions.

With Communist greetings, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International: *G. Zinoviev.*

Members: Russia: *Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Radek.*
 France: *Rosmer.*
 England: *Quelch, Bell.*
 Austria: *Steinhardt.*
 Hungary: *Bela Kun, Rudniansky, Varga.*
 Bulgaria: *Dmitroff, Popov, Shablin.*
 Finland: *Kuusinen, Maner, Rachla.*
 Holland: *Yansen.*
 Poland: *Valetsky.*
 Latvia: *Stuchka.*
 Persia: *Sultan-Zade.*
 Norway: *Fries.*
 Switzerland: *Ichner.*
 Georgia: *Tzchakaya.*
 International Union of Youth: *Shatshin.*

A year of struggle.

By G. ZINOVIEV.

BETWEEN the Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International a whole year has elapsed, a year of struggle and hard trials for the advanced proletarians of all countries but at the same time a year of consolidation of our forces, of drawing together of our ranks, of a doctrinary self destination of a whole series of labour parties.

We will begin with Russia. The Communist part of the Russian proletariat is following with the greatest attention the development of the labour movement in the other countries and awaiting with a natural impatience the development of the world revolution. But at the same time the advanced Russian workers understood perfectly well, that Soviet Russia herself is a considerable part of this world revolution. They recognise the fact that the preservation of the Soviet power and the solidation of the workers dictatorship in Russia is a great victory of the world proletarian revolution. The Russian Communist Party has passed through a year which has been rich in the greatest of lessons. At the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International the troops of Soviet Russia were standing within a few dozen miles from Warsaw. Afterwards war luck turned its back upon us. In connection with our ill success at the Polish front Wrangel became stronger. The war with Wrangel cost us many thousand lives of the best active Communists of Russia.

The civil war came to an end, new difficulties arose in connection with the passage to peaceful construction. After four years of the imperialist war and three of civil war public economy in Russia was completely wrecked. Incredible difficulties arose in connection with the food question and transport. The struggle with these difficulties was not an easy one for the Russian Communist Party.

It is quite natural that under the conditions of this evolution matters could not go on without dissensions within the Russian Communist Party. A great controversy arose in the party on the subject of the rôle and tasks of the labour unions, during the actual transitional period. In connection with these questions the controversy in fact touched not only on the rôle of the labour unions, but also on the mutual relations between the party and the wide non-party masses, on the correlation of forces between the proletariat and the peasantry in the present revolution, on the methods of construction of the proletarian party during the time of the dictatorship, etc. These debates have stirred the whole Russian Communist Party to its very depths; but it has emerged from them, as it should have been expected still more strengthened and united.

The Soviet power has entered into a whole series of peace and trade agreements during the last year; these treaties are enabling it to proceed tranquilly to peaceful construction and to restore at least partially the international goods exchange. The Soviet power, inspired by the Communist Party, has again reviewed its relations towards the peasantry and under the form of the well-known decrees on the levy on natural products it has marked out a realistic line in the branch of the economic policy of Soviet Russia—a country in which the political power belongs to the proletariat, but in which the petty peasant economy predominates and which is surrounded by capitalist conditions. However much the heroes of the Second and the two and a half „Internationals“ may cry out that this change in the policy of the Soviet power signifies a desistance from Communism—every honest minded and class conscious worker of Europe and America understands well that in reality it is not a desistance from Communism, but the only practical and efficient way to a gradual, but inevitable consolidation of the Communist regime in Russia.

The Soviet power is proceeding to the demobilisation of the Red Army. The great moral victory of the Russian Communist Party consists therein, that it has managed not only to create a powerful proletarian army, but also to conquer its numerous enemies by means of this army and at present to attain the moment when this army may be demobilised. The fact of the successful demobilisation of the first proletarian red army in the world is worth more for the Communist International than any great victorious battle. Whatever may happen, whatever tremendous difficulties may still face the Russian Communist Party—and the Cronstadt events have proved that these difficulties are very great—we still have the undoubted right to say without any boasting that during the year which has elapsed between the Second and the Third Congresses of the Communist International, the Soviet power and with it the Russian Communist Party have grown stronger and struck deeper roots.

The Communist parties have developed, grown stronger and matured in a whole number of other countries. For a petty bourgeois, for a hero of the two and a half International all that has been going on during the last year in the ranks of the international labour movement has often seemed like complete chaos. Splits everywhere,—says such a petty bourgeois,—everywhere obdurate controversies, no order, no respect for the older people, the old leaders expelled, etc. As a matter of fact the elapsed year has been one of endless disputes, cleavages, internal struggles only in outward appearance.

In reality it was one in which the liberation of the proletariat from the old, deadening, counter-revolutionary social democratic ideology has progressed most successfully. The totals for the year show: the differentiation within the labour movement is drawing towards its end, the tares have become separated from the wheat, the rubbish has been swept away, the working class has become class conscious, the advanced workers of the whole world have acquired the requisite Communist bearings. They have freed themselves of the weights which hang on their feet, they have managed to create Communist parties, almost entirely freed from the ballast of the social democratic, pacifist and similar petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements.

In Germany the split occurred in an especially classical form. The Congress in Halle opened up a whole line of such Congresses at which the workers breaking with their adherents of the "Centre" created at the same time the basis for the formation of bona fide Communist party. The petty bourgeois of socialism have completely misunderstood the meaning of these splits. A few days ago we had occasion to read an article of Ledebor, in which he complains that in consequence of the split the party of Independents and of the United Communist Party of Germany, taken together, are now considerably weaker than the Independent Party alone was a year ago. Poor Ledebor! He has grown quite old and still he understands nothing of what is going on under his very nose. He cannot conceive that the United Communist Party of Germany alone is now practically a revolutionary factor ten times greater than was a year ago the "single" Independent Party in which the revolutionary forces were counter-weighted by the counter-revolutionary ones, though expressly in such proportion as to give as a result of the addition + a and — a make a complete zero.

The split has taken place also in France. The old united Socialist party of France has lost about fifty thousand of its members who have passed over to the right wing. The socialist pacifist Longuet has united with the social traitor Renaudel. But who does not see that owing to the open passage of the Longuetists and their allies into the camp of the bourgeoisie, the party of French Communist having become freed of this ballast has now grown stronger? The more far seeing of the French bourgeois understood this perfectly well. A fresh wind has sprung up in France. The workers are again acquiring confidence in the very idea of a political labour party and although the process of crystallisation of the Communist party of France is far from being completed, a gigantic step forward has been made.

And Italy! Here the split has occurred outwardly and in a form which is most disadvantageous for Communism. The majority of the Italian Socialist party has proved to be outside the Communist International. There were some shortsighted and nervous Communists who saw in this fact a defeat of the Communist International. We shall have some lively discussions yet on the subject of the Italian party at the forthcoming Third Congress of the Communist International, but already now

things are looking quite clear: only 2 or 3 months have passed and a deep process of fermentation is going in the ranks of the Italian Socialist party of Serrati. With every month new thousands and tens of thousands of workers will be passing over to the side of the Communist party of Italy. Only in this way was it possible to get rid of the grievous and shameful legacy of the peaceful period of the old social democracy when such agents of the bourgeoisie as Turatti, Daragona and Co. were suffered to remain in the ranks of the labour movement from the demoralising influence of such people as Serrati who had the shamelessness to persuade the workers in 1921 that they ought to suffer the Italian Mensheviks in their ranks and even to drag them into the ranks of the Third International.

The same deep process of differentiation was going on during the elapsed year in such countries, as Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, and Roumania, where we have now more or less strong Communist parties, whereas a year ago we had in the best of cases only small groups of ideological adherents of Communism.

In England we have succeeded in uniting all the formerly inimical separate English Communist parties and groups. The arrests and other reprisals with which the English bourgeoisie is now persecuting our English comrades prove that in England Communism is progressing. The uniting of all the Communist forces is going on in America. The Communist International will at whatever cost insist on the formation of a single Communist party in America.

Just before the Third Congress a single powerful Communist party of Czecho-Slovakia, numbering over 350,000 members, has been formed at the Congress in Prague. In Czecho-Slovakia the Communist International has had to deal with many supernumerary difficulties. It had been no easy task to overcome nationalism in this country. The more valuable is the great moral victory that the Communist International has won in Czecho-Slovakia.

Not quite a year has passed since the Second Congress took place and we may now say boldly: there is not a single corner of the earth, inhabited by workers, where there are no Communists. In Argentine and Brasil, in Japan and China, in Bukhara and the Turkestan, in Finland and Esthonia, in Poland and Roumania, in Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, everywhere and in every place we have at present organised Communist parties which are growing every month.

The Third World Congress is assembling at such a time when the reactionary storm clouds are besetting the whole European horizon. Along the whole front International capitalism is assuming the offensive against the workers. Millions of unemployed are furnishing, tens of thousands of Communists are languishing in prisons. Almost in every "advanced" capitalist country the bourgeoisie are forming bands of cutthroats—the fachists in Italy, the Orgesh in Germany, all kinds of bourgeois leagues in France, hired bands in America whose special object it is to kill as many worker Communists as they can. The general background of the picture is—the triumph of world reaction. And

already the Independents and other partisans of the two and a half „International“ are trembling in their shoes, and already all the „theorists“ of the Second and the two and a half International, Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer, Longuet, Martov and Co. are prophesying many years of life to the „peaceful renovation“ of capitalism, and the same gentlemen Independents who but a year ago had growled like lions that they are „also“ in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are now cringing before their governments.

The Communist International knows full well that the capitalists offensive will be repulsed. Capitalism must and will perish. The bourgeoisie cannot restore any lasting equilibrium. The world proletarian revolution is advancing and it will arrive. This is inevitable, this is unavoidable, this is the basis of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

„But during the whole of last year you have been suffering defeat after defeat!“—the petty bourgeois of all countries are crying to us. „In Czecho-Slovakia during the general strike you were defeated, in Yugo-Slavia you experienced a defeat and for a time you were driven to work underground, in Italy the seizure of the works and factories ended in nothing, in England the strike of the coal miners was not supported, in Germany, you organised a „Putsch“ outbreak and you were also defeated!“ This is what the Menshevik gentlemen are saying to us. We shall discuss the March demonstration of the Communist Party of Germany separately at the Congress. Here we shall only remark that Mr. Martov was perfectly right when in an article of the 1st of May in Hilferding's paper he wrote in complete solidarity with Paul Levi that the March movement in Germany was only a part of the movements which the Communist International has passed through during the last year in the above mentioned countries. Yes, gentlemen petty bourgeois! Neither in Yugo-Slavia nor in Czecho-Slovakia, nor in Italy, nor in England, or Germany has our movement met with success as yet. Not once, and not twice shall we have to bear partial defeats in one or another country. But nevertheless, the struggle is going on, it is bursting into flames and burning ever brighter every day. In looking back over the road that all our parties have traversed during the year we have every reason to be proud of our successes. The whole bourgeois world is up in arms against us. Not only the social democratic but also the so-called independent parties have gone over to the side of bourgeois reaction in full array. And nevertheless the Communist International is growing ever stronger and preparing to deal the bourgeois world a blow from which capitalism will never recover.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International we had to reckon with two oppositions: from the right and from the left. The opposition from the right was represented chiefly by the delegates of the, at the time, single Independent party of Germany. In those remote, most remote times—a whole year has elapsed and in our time a year counts at least as much as a decade—the German Independents, the French Longuetists, the Swiss social democrats, the Italian reformists and

semi-reformists and similar gentlemen hoped find a place for themselves in the Communist International. Now all these „also“ Socialists have been able to see that they will have to go somewhere else. The Italian reformist, the sharp Modigliani, was quite right when at the Congress in Reggio Emilio he let fall the following words: „The fetish of the Third International must be discussed. The Bologna Congress joined the Third International such as it was then. But that International was not the same as the one of today“.

That's just it, gentlemen reformists!

Yes, Messrs. Modigliani of all countries, the Third International of the present day is not the institution that you wished to make it. Now you have all become convinced that to enter the Third International is quite another thing than to stay at a comfortable hotel for a couple of days and then to go away and stay at any other hotel quite as comfortable. From all the parties which a year ago had come streaming into the Communist International we have succeeded in selecting the most healthy really revolutionary proletarian elements. The rest we have expelled, or they have rushed away themselves. A year ago the desire to join the Communist International had almost been the fashion among the reformists and semi-reformists, whereas now these same element consider the fashion to repudiate and to gnarl at the Third International. If we are to choose between these two fashions we must confess that we prefer the latter.

By the end of this last year the attempts of certain vacillating adherents of the Communist International to form a right wing within the latter were showing themselves ever clearer. It is sufficient to mention such names as Serrati (Italy), Robert Williams (England), Paul Levi (Germany), Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), Strasser (Austria). They are people with different traditions, with different methods of doing business, but with a certain something which unites them all. The Third Congress will know how to liquidate the attempt to form a Right wing at the very beginning of this painful process.

The so-called „left“ opposition of the Second Congress of the Communist International was represented by the Dutch Marxists, the group of Sylvia Pankhurst, partly by the representatives of the Shop Stewards Committee of England and America, several syndicalist groups and the group of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. The Second Congress carefully approached this left opposition; it managed to explain patiently all the errors of these left comrades and succeeded in entering into revolutionary collaboration with many of these groups. A year has passed by. A very considerable part of these left elements have become completely assimilated with the Communist International. The tactical method of forming Communist nuclei within the labour unions has been completely justified and it has brought excellent results in France; in Germany and in England. The best part of the French syndicalists have sincerely passed over to the side of the Communist International. The same is to be noticed in the case of the Italian and Spanish syndicalists. The partisans of the Shop Stewards Committees in England and Sylvia Pankhurst's group

have joined the single Communist party of Great Britain. The Communist International is preparing to enter into a friendly collaboration with the best part of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.). Our left wing English comrades were bound to acknowledge and we are sure, they have already acknowledged, that we were perfectly right in the question as to whether they were to take part in the British Labour Party or not. The social traitor leaders of this party have themselves begun to drive out our comrades from the ranks of the Labour Party and proved by this better than by any other way the correctness of our point of view.

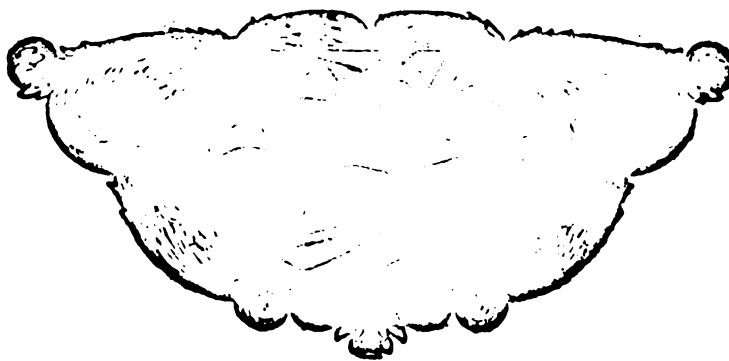
Nevertheless, at the Third Congress of the Communist International we shall again have to collide with this so-called left opposition, or more rightly with its remnants. We have before us a pamphlet entitled "Der Weg Dr. Paul Levi's—der Weg der V. K. P. D." This pamphlet was published by the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.) after the March days of 1921. It was undoubtedly written by Herman Gorter and shows that among the adherents of the Communist Labour party of Germany there are some incorrigible prattlers with whom it is impossible for the Communist International to work hand in hand. Quite seriously Gorter and his friends from the K. A. P. D. assert that any party "so long as it is a mass party, can never be a revolutionary party." With quite as serious an air this merry Andrew is reproaching the Communist International that in Halle, at Tours, and even in Florence, it went too far rightwards in "its hunting for the working masses." If one listened to Gorter one might believe that in the whole of the Third International there is no party which is a bona fide communist one—"with one exception only (literally!)." Gorter does not say which party

he considers to be this happy exception. Is it the Communist Party of Holland which has been able to enlist so many as 2,000 members during 20 years or is it the Communist Labour Party of Germany numbering at present only a little more.

If the comrades from the K. A. P. D. will seriously begin to insist on these "ideas" then they will be hopelessly compromised and they will make it impossible for them to be in the Communist International.

A year of struggle lies behind us. A great doctrinary work is nearing its completion. The doctrinary analysis of the political differentiation is being ended. Our task now is to consolidate the accomplished work organisedly. Between the First and the Second Congress, the Communist International was only an association of propaganda. At the Second Congress the basis of the tactics of Communism were laid. Between the Second and Third Congresses an ardent struggle went on throughout the whole world labour movement to defend these tactical foundations. The Third Congress will consolidate all that has been achieved and give the finished organisedly formed construction of the Communist International. After the Third Congress of the Communist International every delegate and with him every class conscious worker Communist will say: the tactical bases are marked and confirmed, the programme is worked out, Communist parties have been created throughout the whole world, the organisational bases for the existence of the Communist International are laid. Now, to work! If the Communist International will continue to grow no less rapidly than it has been growing up to now, the respite which remains for the bourgeoisie, is really not so very great. The victory will be ours and much sooner than many of us expect.

24/v. 1921.





The downfall of Levi.

Epilogue to the pamphlet: „Tactical Dissensions in the V. K. P. D

By KÁRL RADEK.

L

WHEN I ended this pamphlet in April and sent it to Germany I knew nothing of Paul Levi's confession on the subject of his downfall or of his pamphlet „Unser Weg (Our Way) to which the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany (V. K. P. D.) was compelled to reply by an immediate exclusion of Levi from the party. Therefore I was able still to treat Levi as a representative of the right wing tendency of the party. The readers of this pamphlet will have felt in reading the last chapter that I had already had a presentiment that Levi was on the point of breaking with the party. This impression of mine was founded on his letter to comrade Lenin, a copy of which he sent me, as well as on the stenogram of his speech at the meeting of the Berlin representatives April 7th. But I must confess here that even although I had considered Paul Levi's withdrawal from the party as probable, I never for a moment thought that he could leave it as a renegade, who would help the class adversary in a difficult moment of the party, who would consciously help the executioner by his arguments, who would repeat the most lying calumnies of Scheidemann and Dittmann against the Communist International. Hard as it may be to avow that one could have considered as one's companion in arms a man capable of such faithlessness, I believe, that Levi's fall will do much towards the clearing of the atmosphere of the Communist Party of Germany.

In my pamphlet I have demonstrated the development and the substance of the right wing of the party on the basis of quotations from Paul Levi's article. But naturally it would be a mistake to imagine that the right wing of the party consists of Levi alone. Behind Levi there stand not only a part of the organisers, who are accepting the principles of Communism in words, but who are practically too much under the influence of the old routine to be able to really carry on the revolutionary struggle, but also good reliable comrades who in their careful estimation of the correlation of forces see the danger of a defeat, but do not see that the party is threatened by still greater dangers if it is inactive, and, while engaged in agitation and propaganda work it does not awaken the confidence of the suffering working masses in their own forces, which only action, only a struggle can awaken.

In our pamphlet we tried to show these comrades in respect to all contestable points that the matter

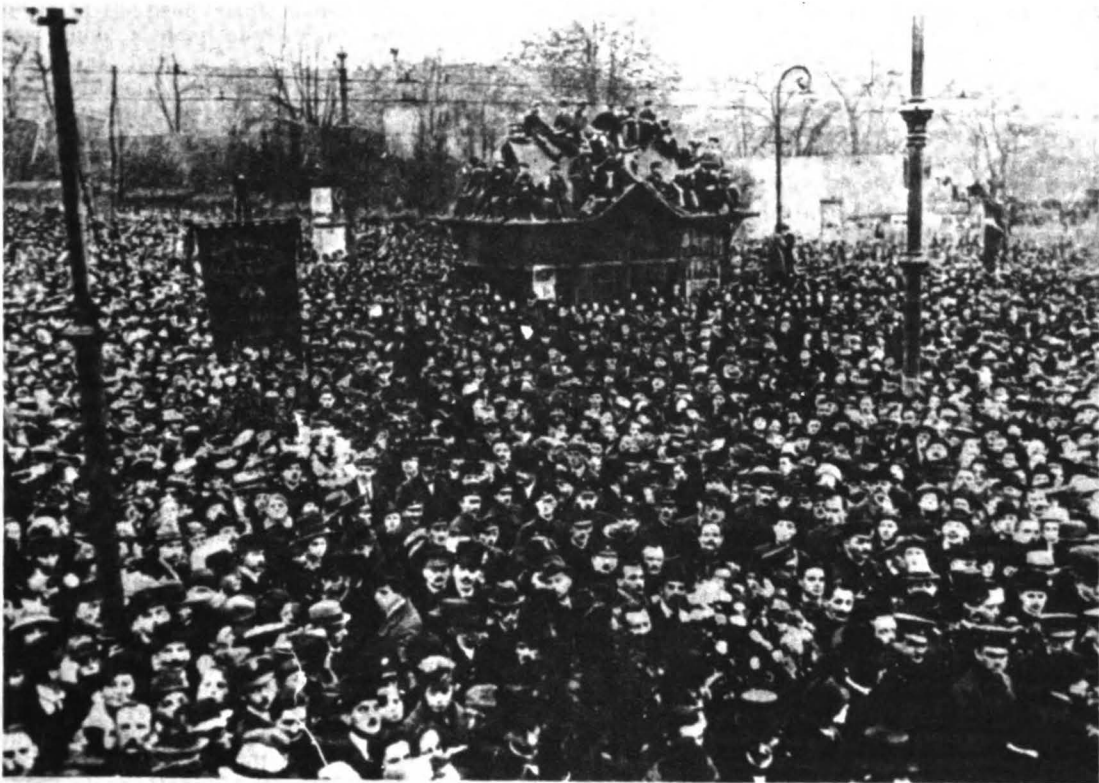
does not lie in casual differences with Levi, but in his consecutive opportunist policy, whose connection with the centre these comrades did not clearly perceive. But even before the pamphlet reached the hands of these comrades Levi confirmed this point of view of ours, in a way that not one of us could have thought possible. He put himself on a line with Hilferding, Dittmann and Crispian, whom he had treated as swindlers in his letter to comrade Lenin. He joined their ranks and is now yelling against adventurous tactics and provocations of the Central Committee, against the adventurous tactics of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. There is not a single argument that he is using against the party, whose Chairman he had been hitherto, which has not been forged by the Scheidemanns and Hilferdings. Levi had fought against these arguments with the greatest energy, with the deep voice of absolute conviction but today he is using the same arguments as independent productions of his own brain. By this means he has proved better than by any theoretical demonstration, how right we were when we strove to prove in the present pamphlet that the controversy with Levi was only a repetition of our dispute with Hilferding.

We could end this epilogue by crossing out Levi's name as a comrade's from our memory and only ask the comrades who stood behind him to think over our statements in the light of the downfall of their leader. But as much as we had tried not to bring Levi's name into our pamphlet so as not to embitter the controversy we now consider it to be our political and personal duty to examine and explain the history of this renegade.

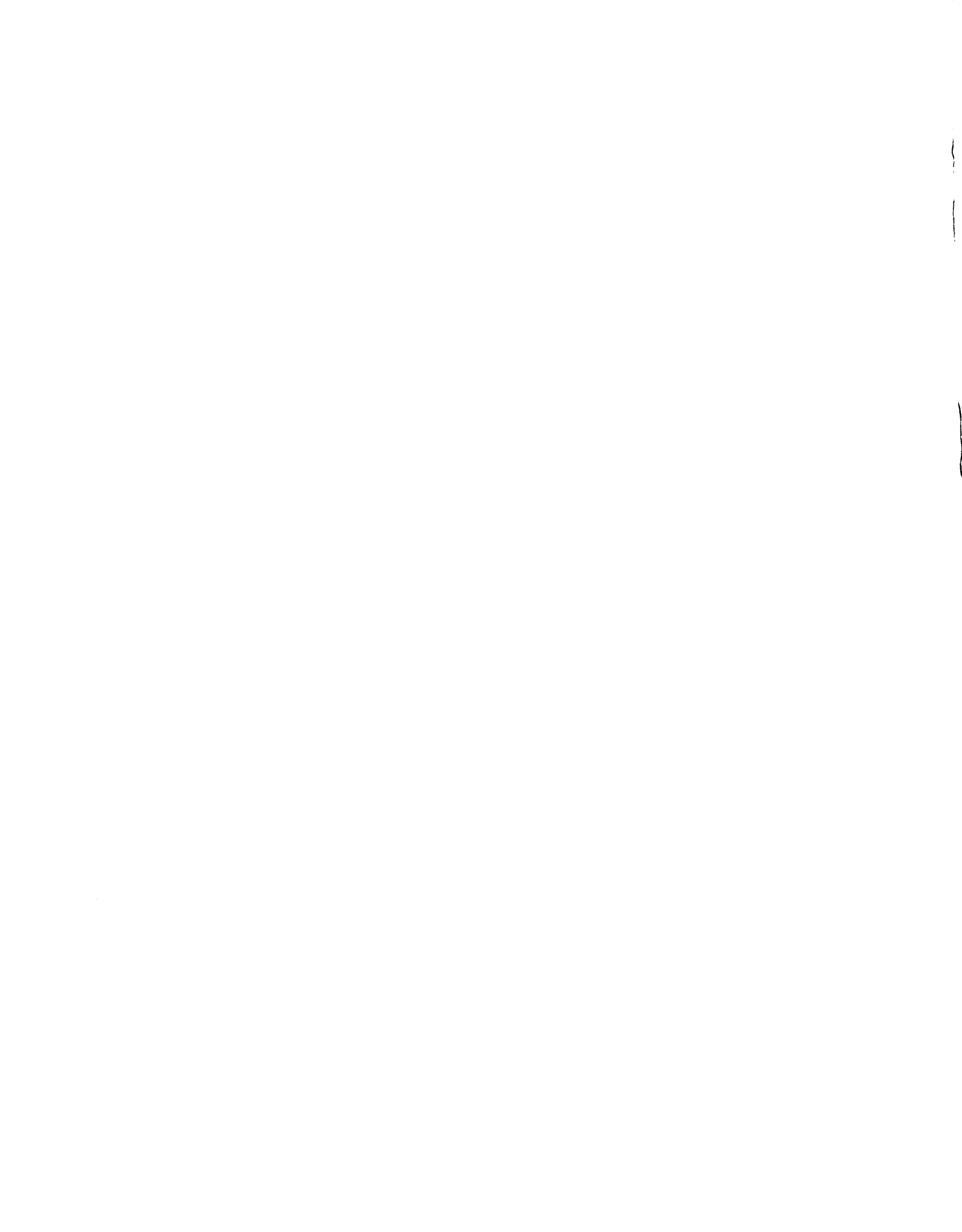
Paul Levi was not much known in the Communist Party of Germany at the moment when the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg left the party without leaders. Levi is not the man to inspire the masses of workers. Neither is he the man to know when he is taking the first step what his next step will be. When the controversy arose in the party in regard to the attitude towards the labour unions, towards parliamentarism and the rôle of the party, and Levi had made a mark in it owing to his oratorical and literary talents, I supported him both theoretically and practically and frequently also personally when he wished to throw up the struggle and retire into private life. Many of my nearest political friends mistrusted Levi, and saw in him only a political raisonneur, not a revolutionary fighter. I have had many a quarrel with them over Levi and now I am



FUNERAL OF COMRADE SIELT.



FUNERAL OF COMRADE SIELT.



responsible before my comrades for this man whose political corpse now lies before us. But even more important than this personal duty, it is a political necessity to explain why and how a man so gifted as Paul Levi could have become a direct traitor to the cause of the working class, a direct assistant of the white guard justice.

The German workers have been accustomed to much in the matter of treachery on the part of their proletarian leaders. They have seen how one group of leaders after another sank into the political grave, and passed over to the bourgeois camp. They have seen how the Chairman of the German party Ebert, became the Imperial Chancellor of State, how the worker Noske became the Gallifet of the German counter revolution; how Haase and Dittmann helped the bourgeoisie to swing itself into the saddle again, how after revolutionary phrases and gestures, after recognising the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of soviets Dittmann and Crupien became the assistants of Scheidemann and Ebert, whom they had cursed a thousand times. They saw how the organiser of the opposition in the labour unions Dismann has become Lenin's successor and as a man of influence is now preparing the expulsion of all the revolutionary workers from the labour unions, in order that they might be punished by the employers by means of the scorpions of unemployment. They see how Lauffenberg and Wolfheim personally honest-minded and self sacrificing revolutionists are now rolling in all the gutters of the counter revolution. And in spite of all this, each new instance of treachery is a blow of the dagger in the heart of the proletariat, which cannot understand how such a deep abyss can yawn between word and deed, how it can be possible that one man after another whose name had stood so high in the ranks of the workers, becomes transformed into a traitor of the working class in the most literal sense of the word. The downfall of Paul Levi is not the last and therefore it is necessary to examine in his case the special grounds for his desistance from the leadership of the party and for all the downfalls of the leaders which mark every forward step of the German proletariat.

II.

Much has been written about the causes why the leaders of the labour movement in a great majority have betrayed the cause during the war and after the war. The former leaders both from working class and from the bourgeoisie had been brought up in times of peace when they agitated, demonstrated, held speeches in Parliament, wrote in the papers, treated with the employers, but had no revolutionary struggles to conduct. The mind and the soul of the leaders were intent on a peaceful course of affairs. Some of them remembered heroic times in which they had had to suffer want and persecutions, but they remembered them with a feeling of relief, in that they were over and done with and that conditions are much better now, when even the ministers have to be friendly with the leaders of the working class. Many of the leaders had grown fat and comfortable. Incapable of self sacrifice

incapable of struggle when it was a question of risking all, they sat waiting that the proletariat should pass over to socialism slowly and in a peaceful way and that they themselves should end their days in peace and honour as veterans of the labour movement. The younger generation knew of the bitter days of the labour movement only from hearsay. It had grown up watching the growth of the labour organisation day by day and seeing in it the apple of its eye. Already before the war, when the rising cost of living nullified all the results that the labour unions succeeded in attaining, when the armaments engulfed all the means of the state and made any progress in social reform impossible, when the syndicalisation of the industry only strengthened the power of the bourgeoisie and imperialism called forth the development of the reaction, when everything was calling to the fight, then these leaders looked with anxiety at the "unruly spirits" who tried to drive the working masses into the struggle in which they feared the bourgeoisie might destroy the whole organisation. The fear for the organisation was joined to a superstitious awe of the power of capitalism, which was invincible in their eyes, ruling supreme over the whole world, armed from top to toe. Only crazy romanticists could dream of a struggle against it.

When the war broke out, when all the dreams for a peaceful development were shattered like broken glass then naturally the leaders of the larger labour organisations did not venture to go against the cruel fate. Was it not perfectly clear, that they and the labour organisation would perish and the workers be defeated? They disguised their cowardice under phrases on the defense of the country, the defense of the achievements of their struggle. They became the assistants of bloodthirsty and bloodshedding imperialism; they were compelled to support it, because they did not dare to struggle against it. There was no neutral position in the great struggle. They saved the organisations at a price which converted them into organisations fighting for capitalism instead of proletarian organisations for the struggle against capitalism. The proletarians sank in millions to their graves, were mutilated and crippled, their children came into the world weak and a young generation grew up with no marrow in their bones. When German imperialism broke down, when the power of the government was driven out into the streets, they were so prostituted by the three years policy of support of capitalism that they had only one care: how to help the capitalists, their lords and masters, to acquire the power again as quickly as possible, and to take the reins into their hands once more. Capitalism transformed the world into a heap of ruins but they considered the bourgeoisie alone capable of building it up anew and the proletarians—well, if they had allowed themselves to be duped so cruelly during four years had they not proved by that that they were incapable of ruling! Any rising of the proletariat seemed to them to be madness, and in the same way as a doctor puts a madman into a straightjacket it was decided to help the bourgeoisie to tame the workers who had been struck with the delirium tremens of after war period. Read the memoirs of Noske and you will see how this proletarian leader, who has become trans-

formed into an executioner of the proletariat, feels himself to be in the right. It is not cynicism that is to be noted in Noske's avowals: it is the assurance that he is right that is the most depressing in his book.

A minority of the leaders understood the act of betrayal of August 4-th, but they found no strength to protest against it. They were cut out of the same stuff as Scheidemann and Ebert; like the latter, the Haases and Hilferdings did not dare to enter the struggle; like them they were hypnotised by the power of capitalism, by the distrust in the power of the proletariat, the anxiety to preserve their organisation. These leaders did not go with Scheidemann and Ebert, partly because they estimated more correctly the world political correlation of forces and did not wish to be harnessed to the car of German Imperialism which was rushing to the abyss, partly because they had a less firm will and did not wish to set themselves against the inclinations of the awakening working masses. The followers of Dittman who had been urgent patriots on August 4-th, lost their patriotic assurance after the battle on the Marne and they had not the courage to go against the growing opposition of the working class. But neither had they any confidence in the revolution, nor any courage to work for it. They begged and entreated the capitalist governments not to refuse to accede to their exaggerated demands as this would only lead to a revolution. When Dittmann was accused of organising the January strike of 1918 he swore high and low before the Court that since he had left the workshop he had never agitated for the strike. After the collapse of German imperialism, the Centrists, the Haase and Dittmanns, together with the Scheidemanns and Eberts, were all persuaded that the German people can only exist on the mercy of the victorious world capital and therefore a bourgeois government must be restored in Germany, as it would enjoy the confidence of American capitalism. It appeared later on, when the Noskes and Mærkers had killed 15,000 workers in the streets, as if the Dittmanns and Crispiens had summoned courage to enter the struggle; they recognised the dictatorship of the proletariat and made the Soviet power their aim. But it soon became evident that this was no change of front, only a result of cowardice: the Dittmanns and Crispiens had engraved the slogans of the struggle on their swords, but the latter were only cardboard. They were afraid of the revolutionary workers and acceded to all their demands in order to win their confidence and then persuaded them to desist from the struggle. The masks were torn off their faces in Moscow and the revolutionary workers turned away from them. Then, when it was clear that they were able to dope the revolutionary proletariat they showed themselves openly to be what they are, namely: the adherents of the German counter revolution. They are now its agents and are striving by all the means in their power, by calumnies and persecutions to help the bourgeoisie to keep its stronghold—the labour unions—clear of Communists. They are serving the cause of the counter revolution by trying to build a bridge between it and the capitalists of the Entente. They are helping it by endeavouring to crush and stifle every move-

ment of the workers, be it only a demand for a piece of bread, out of fear that it might lead to a revolutionary struggle for power. They are its assistants not only by betraying the proletariat in each of its revolutionary struggles, but by representing the victims of the white terror to be those of Communism. They are the betrayers of all that the proletariat holds most sacred, its international solidarity, by daily undermining its faith in Soviet Russia, which, although bleeding, naked and hungry, still, is the only bulwark of the working class against world capitalism, the only hope of the struggling proletariat.

III.

Ninety nine per cent of the former leaders of the proletariat have betrayed it through their mistrust of its forces, through a superstitious slavish awe of the power of the capitalist slave-owner. Only a small part of them followed the path of struggle. The best have perished by the hand of the enemy. Westmeyer, although seriously sick, was sent to the front and to death at the time when the well-fed Kael flourished at the base as a patriotic herald. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered. Johann Knief died surrounded by the watchdogs of Noske. Joghies was killed by a white guard bullet. And the assembling revolutionary workers stood there with a small group of leaders, partly without any theoretical training, partly without any revolutionary experience and partly without closer contact with the masses. The revolutionary workers faced the enemy knowing full well that they had been betrayed thousands of times by their leaders and that even then they were surrounded by treachery. How were they to struggle? How to form their fighting columns? Whither to go? And there was no one to show them clearly which was the right path to follow, no one to help them to dispel the mists which divided them from their victory.

Only by their own experience, only after long searches on their own account, only after coming into a blind alley times and again, would the German workers find the right path to victory. There was no one to save them from long searchings, from losses, because even if there were any prescriptions to show how a victorious revolution might be carried out quickly and well, they were all useless, because the workers did not trust the doctors. Deceived by their social democratic leaders, daily betrayed by the Independents and recognising this, the workers lost all confidence in their leaders. In the wider circles of the Communist workers the tendency which found its expression in the K. A. P. D. predominated, namely: it made a desistance from all leadership of the proletarian masses a revolutionary principle. But reality does not cease to exist even though one should rise against it by high sounding phrases. The struggling working masses needed men who would make inferences from their experiences, who would help them to learn by the very defeats which had made them bleed. Every fighting column must have a chief. No army can fight without leaders and the radical revolutionary workers of all tendencies sought for them. New leaders had not been formed during the short time

in the furnace of the struggle. The Communist Party of Germany had to seek among its members for some one who would be capable of taking the leadership. Paul Levi was among the first of these.

This was not because he was more closely connected with the struggles in which the K. P. D. had been born. Among the younger generation Thalheimer was more connected with these struggles; he had taken an active part in the discussions on Kautskyism from which the left radical tendency had sprung up before the war. Paul Fröhlich was still more connected with the past of the party, he had been engaged in the first great demonstrations which even before the war had been proving the necessity of a complete reorganisation of the labour unions. Still nearer to the party were Brandler and Pieck, men of great organisational experience, who had worked and made great sacrifices for the Spartakus union during the whole time of the war. Paul Levi had not participated in the intellectual contests which had created the theoretical basis of the V. K. P. D. before the war. As a young lawyer he had just begun to work in the Frankfurt labour movement. Rosa Luxemburg summoned before the Court for her anti-militarist activities, met him casually and thoroughly appreciated the brilliant oratorical talent and dialectic capacities of the young advocate who was then an adherent of the left wing of the party. When the war broke out Levi was one of the group which had weakly organised around Rosa Luxemburg. He was soon mobilised and thus remained unknown to the fundamental nucleus of the Spartakus union. In 1916 Levi went to Switzerland for a couple of months where thanks to me he entered into relations with Lenin and Zinoviev. We all appreciated this excellent orator and we tried to influence his further development. There was no doubt for us that he was not sufficiently firm in the tactical and principled questions which the war and the approaching revolution were raising to become a leader. A well-read man, with a wide range of thought, he was also thoroughly well acquainted with the history and theory of the labour movement. But he lacked the firmness of conviction of a man for whom the labour movement is not only one of the departments in which he is interested, but the only one on which are consecrated all the thoughts and wishes, all the moral forces of a fighter. Continuing to maintain friendly relations with Levi we came nearer to him and we valued this acquaintanceship because it helped us to collect the dispersed forces of the Internationalists.

The Spartakus union which belonged to the group of the International at that time was passing through a period of fermentation which prevented it from openly and definitely going over to the side of the Bolsheviki. In Zimmerwald the representatives of the Spartakus union went hand in hand with Martov. Comrade Clara Zetkin adopted a pacifist point of view in the only number of the International which appeared there. The pamphlet "Junius" seemed full of contradictions, and at the Berne Women's conference we entered organisationally into a conflict with comrade Zetkin when she attempted by all means to enter in contact with the Centre and therefore would not consent

to go any further politically than was permitted by the pacifist women of the British Independent Labour Party. As a result of the split between the Russian and the Polish social democracies personal dissensions arose between Lenin, Zinoviev and myself on the one hand, and Rosa Luxemburg and Jogiches on the other. Between the group of our nearest partisans in Germany which had united around the Arbeiterpolitik in Bremen and the group of the "International" there arose not only theoretical discussions, which were most useful, but also a complete organisational alienation which only led to a split. Under these conditions it was most important for us to have such a talented man as Levi on our side and by his help to bring about a friendship between the two German groups, as well as to exercise our influence in favour of the International. Levi began to write for the Bremen Arbeiterpolitik and acted in complete solidarity with us in Switzerland. But even then we noticed that he lacked much that was necessary for a leader. We saw quite clearly that under the conditions in which the Spartakus group had found itself it was Levi's duty to return to Germany, where after the arrest of Liebknecht and Luxemburg there were no leading forces; or to create in Switzerland an illegal base for the Spartakists from which the latter could draw reserve forces for the struggle. Levi worked in Switzerland like a dilettante passing half the time in travelling about. On his return to Germany he was again called to the army, and he was able to resume work in the labour movement only just before the revolution. After the collapse of German imperialism he entered the Central Committee and the editorship of the "Rote Fahne", and was known in the widest working circles as a brilliant orator and clever journalist. During the January days he showed his lack of assurance as a leader of the party. Although he criticised the January events he did not attempt to come forward openly and decisively in the Central Committee in order to bring clearness into the tactics of the party. He allowed himself to be set aside, although January 8th. in answer to my letter in which I demanded that the Central Committee should cease the struggle he completely agreed with me.

After the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht he was the representative of the party in its outward appearances. Jogiches who was the real leader up to the very time of his death in the last days of March, remained in the background owing to his unsociability and non-German origin. Thalheimer, a cautious theorist, was no orator. Therefore Levi appeared everywhere in the Central Committee and at all the meetings. But when after Jogiches's death the whole responsibility of the leadership over the party was laid on him, his forces very soon became exhausted. In August 1919 when I succeeded in re-establishing relations between myself, then in prison, and the party, he informed me that he wished to give up the leadership. It was above his strength to work illegally, especially at a moment when he met with a great mistrust on the part of the adventurous and syndicalist elements of the party. It was the most difficult moment for the party. The latter was so small and weak, the left wing was urging for action the result of which

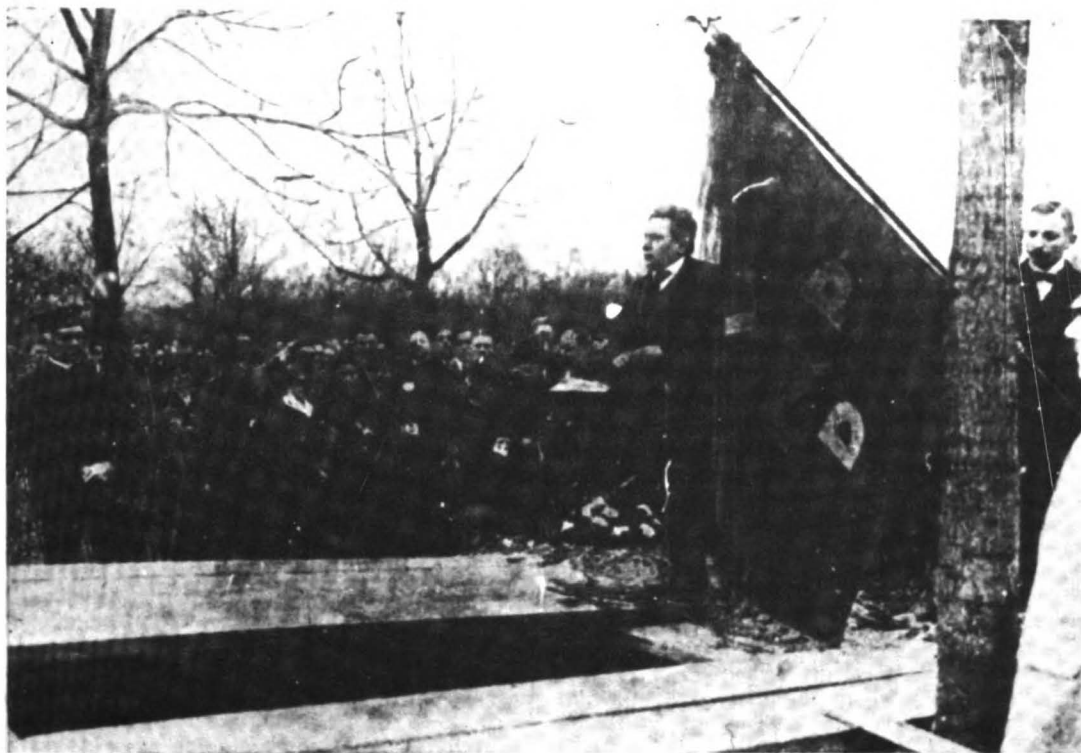
could only be the dispersion and destruction of the insignificant forces of the Spartakus union. The task consisted on the one hand in forming a single party out of the disordered heap which the Spartakus union represented by introducing clearness in the theory, and on the other hand, in preparing this young and small party to the preliminary struggles. The seizure of the power was as yet impossible. Ninety nine per cent of the proletarian masses were totally incapable of forming the basis of this power. In their majority they were under the influence of social democracy, and even the revolutionary minority was confused and not class conscious. It is sufficient to state that we had first of all to proceed to the formation of Communist factions in the workers soviets and that we had not undertaken any steps to unite the Communists in the labour unions. The task of the party was to explain to the workers the actual correlation of forces but not in a doctrinaire form which might repulse the revolutionary forward-streaming elements. Levi was not able to carry out this task. In the question of the labour unions, when he had to come forward decisively and firmly, he hesitated. He understood hazily that it was wrong to leave the unions but he did not have the moral courage to openly proclaim the slogan: "enter the unions." He manoeuvred and made it appear as though it were a question of when and how we were to withdraw from the labour unions. But wherever it was necessary to reckon with the revolutionary feelings of the masses, to spare them, even in the instances when they had led the party into a hopeless struggle, he was a pedantic, sharp and provoking doctrinarian. It is sufficient to remember Munich. Our Munich comrades were against the isolated attempt in Bavaria. When the Soviet republic was proclaimed and the Munich proletariat was threatened by the white guards then Levine said to himself with the instinct of a proletarian revolutionist: "Where the masses are ready to shed their blood, the Communist Party dares not withdraw into theoretical safe corners." Levine remained at his post. The task of the party consisted in attempting to call the whole German proletariat to the defense of Munich. But this was prevented by the policy of the social democracy and the Independents. Levine met his death with hundreds of other comrades and before the dead body, of this hero Levi raised the question whether it would not be better to draw back. After the fall of the Bavarian Soviet republic he made the party happy with the same wise petty-bourgeois phrases which had made him be looked upon as a political raisonneur. In my private letters to him I endeavoured to straighten out his political line and in my pamphlet to help the party to direct its tactics in accordance with two points in view: the assembling of the party forces for the preliminary struggle and the preserving of the contact with the onward pushing elements. But although I was well aware of Levi's weaknesses I strove to keep him from deserting the party. The latter was so poor in forces, that it seemed to me to be my duty to do all in my power to keep such a gifted orator and writer in the party. I wrote to him that his withdrawal from the party would be an act of desertion for which a leader of the revo-

lution ought to be shot. Levi gave in. His threats of withdrawal will often be used by Levi later on and I must confess that it was a result of the overestimation of the importance of intellectual leaders that made me ever and again persuade and convince Levi to remain in the party on the one hand and to soothe and calm the comrades who were indignant at his behaviour on the other. The struggle against the left elements in the party grew more acute. It was carried on by Levi without tact or measure. When I learnt a few days before the Heidelberg conference that Levi was going on for a split with the left wing at a moment when the struggle for the establishment of clear tactics was just beginning I warned him not to be too hasty. It was hard for me to break with the left wing workers, although I understood the counter revolutionary attitude of Lauffenberg, Wolfheim and Schäfer much clearer than Levi; the question lay not in these leaders but in the revolutionary workers standing behind them. Levi asserted afterwards that my letter had come too late. Meanwhile in Heidelberg irreparable events had taken place. In order to make another attempt to retain the working masses whom Levi had repulsed by his insisting on their submission to the theses elaborated in Heidelberg, which they were to discuss only later on, I persuaded the Central Committee to propose new theses in order that the labour organisations would lose the idea that they were to be placed before an accomplished fact. They were the theses which the Central Committee had submitted to the party for discussion together with the West European Bureau in January 1920. The object of these theses was also to separate and eliminate some of the opportunist resolutions which had been included in the Heidelberg theses and which had been the result of Levi's purely empiric views and his lack of revolutionary perspective.

It was no longer possible to prevent the split. I managed only to win over my old comrades from Bremen and to form a group which took up the struggle against Lauffenberg, after Levi had driven it into the latter's arms. During the Kapp days Levi took up an extremely suspicious position. After criticising sharply the inactivity of the Central Committee while he was in prison he began to carry out the opportunist policy of a loyal opposition when he was set free. In Moscow after the Second Congress of the Communist International we both protested against the acceptance of the K. A. P. D. as a fully empowered member of the Communist International. But also in the defence of the correct point of view Levi showed such an absence of tact and such unreasonableness, that he awoke the mistrust of the whole Executive Committee. It is sufficient to say that in the evening when the Executive Committee decisively passed the resolution to invite the K. A. P. D. he declared that he would leave the congress. I stopped him and asked: "Whither do you intend to go in a political sense?" Again out of anxiety for the party I endeavoured with all my power to bring about an understanding between him, the Executive Committee and part of the German comrades, who were distrustful of him. Comrade Ernst Meyer will remember the conversation I had with him before his



FUNERAL OF COMRADE SIELT.



Speech made by comrade Brandler, Chairman of V. K. P. D.. now arrested.

departure for Germany. I told Meyer that I was sure that he (Meyer) would never leave the party, whereas I could not say the same of Levi. But until new and better leaders would be formed in the furnace of the struggle we needed Levi especially in the Reichstag for agitational purposes and we must keep him. Meyer said that I was right. In a letter to the Central Committee I laid special stress on the fact that Levi also recognised the necessity of developing the activity of the party and that we must work hand in hand like brothers. After his return from Halle comrade Zinoviev informed me that Levi had become quite reasonable and that he was full of the best intentions. To my great surprise I learnt soon after this that Levi wished to return to Frankfurt, that he was tired of politics and the whole struggle. As he had won the confidence of the left wing Independents and could thus help to remove all frictions in the joint work of both wings of the party which were otherwise quite prepared to become fused, comrade Thalheimer and I brought all the pressure we could to bear on him. We explained to him that in a Communist party the comrades are appointed to their posts by the party, that they have no right to dispose of themselves and whoever does not submit to these conditions is a deserter. We threatened him with expulsion from the party if he would withdraw from the leadership. „You cannot carry a dog to the hunt“ he said and after he had ceded to our insistence we soon had occasion to see how perfectly right he was. His participation in the leadership of the party was a minimal one. The refined aesthete, who during the period of revolution could find time and moral force to add to his collection of antique vases and to study the problems of the pyramids of Cheops, found the ordinary every day work in the party too strenuous for him. On the other side he brought into the Central Committee the spirit of arbitrariness, self love, and a continuous irritation. Without any sympathy for the former comrades in his party he sought to enter into closer relations with the former leaders of the left wing Independent Party. The conflicts in regard to the acceptance of the K. A. P. D. into the Communist International as a sympathising party arose at the time. Notwithstanding that the resolution of the Executive Committee was an irrevocable decision, adopted after long and repeated discussion and that this resolution made it possible to begin the work of attracting a good group of revolutionary workers to the party, Levi declared that the V. K. P. D. is carrying a struggle against the left tendencies. He practically sabotaged the possibility of using the bridge which the Executive Committee had erected between the V. K. P. D. and the K. A. P. D.

As to the Italian question he showed that while destroying the bridges to the left he was leaving those leading to the Centre and to the right wing untouched. And even in a greater degree than these right wing tendencies did he show the barren scepticism, the unbelief and mistrust in the International which were so inherent to his very nature. On arriving in Italy he considered that the representative of the Executive Committee was making a great mistake but he did nothing to rectify it,

and he announced his solidarity with the representative of the Executive Committee. On his return to Germany instead of addressing the Executive Committee in the organised fashion by submitting the point of view of the Central Committee he opened a vigorous campaign against the Executive Committee in the Rote Fahne accusing it of having intentionally destroyed a healthy revolutionary party, and trying to circumvent the opinion of the Central Committee. „Only when the cart will be quite worn out,—he said—can remedies be thought of.“ His attitude created at once a closed front against him of all the experienced comrades from the former Central Committee. Only comrade Zetkin defended him for the sake of their friendship of many years standing and in reverent memory of Rosa Luxemburg. Also part of the old leaders of the left Independents began after some hesitation to see in Levi a disorganising element in the Central Committee and in the party itself, and a leader of the just beginning to develop centrist faction. Pressed for an explanation Levi was compelled to vote for a resolution which practically disavowed all his former policy. But as soon as the representative of the Executive Committee was gone he proceeded to carry on the struggle within the organisations and tried to transform the German party into a weapon of Serrati's. In order to put an end to his intrigues the left wing of the Central Committee passed a much sharper resolution on the Italian question. Levi then resorted to an open infringement of discipline. In a proletarian party which can demand from every rank and file worker that he should face death if called to do so, he set an example of a complete disregard of discipline by throwing away the mandate of a member of the Central Committee entrusted to him by the party. His demoralising work brought speedy results. Proletarians like Brass and Hoffmann, faithful old fighters like Däumig and comrade Zetkin who formerly in the opportunist social democracy would never have ventured to think of leaving a party post without the consent of the party, found it possible and allowable to follow his example. After having trampled upon their duties as officers they declared their willingness to do their duty as ordinary soldiers.* It will be seen how they regard their duty as soldiers.

Here begins a statement of the events which represent for the German workers, and for the Communist International, the saddest but the most instructive page of their young history. In view of the threatening internal and external dangers and also in view of the general world situation the Central Committee of the party decided on March 17-th, after long and careful deliberations to start an active policy, not of avoiding conflicts but on the contrary, to encounter them. It was not a disorganised outbreak that the party decided upon but an organised formation of fighting columns. The soldier Levi hears the call. He reassures himself that the fight will not begin tomorrow and starts for Italy to recruit his strength for the coming battles. The other ordinary soldiers of the party, the half a million of proletarians, do not go to Italy for a rest. They get their orders to strain all their efforts and to prepare for the fight. But even

as a rank and file soldier Levi demands for himself an extra ration. As an adversary of unorganised action he certainly knows very well that a combat does not begin by a shot from a revolver, that a preliminary agitation and organised preparation is necessary. But he is quite certain that the Committee will carry out this work itself. The news of the first fights which began earlier than the Committee expected reached Levi when he was in Vienna. He sacrificed his railway ticket to Italy to the world revolution and returned to Germany. But he is not to be seen in Central Germany, nor in Hamburg; he is not busy in agitational or organising work in Berlin. The "ordinary" soldier is accomplishing his revolutionary duty in another way: he begins his work of disorganisation during the very struggle. Not one of his adherents takes part in the latter. The rank and file members of the party notice their absence and this naturally does not heighten their wish to fight or their morale. March 20-th, when the fate of the struggle was not only not decided yet, but when it was necessary to lend all efforts to continue the fight Levi writes a letter to comrade Lenin in which he characterises the whole action as a crazy prejudicial outbreak. And what did he say in respect to this "outbreak?" Does he accuse himself of having made a great mistake when he and his friends left the Central Committee and thus removed all obstacles which might have averted the disaster? On the contrary, he explains: "Any one who knows me, knows that I was glad to give up the leadership of the Communist Party." The same man who in this letter foretells that "the present leadership of the party will bring it to a complete breakdown in six months," explains further that "he will not oppose this policy." "I shall take no other steps than to write a pamphlet in which I shall state my views. But I shall make no further representations either before the corresponding institutions in Germany or to the Executive Committee. The comrades who are responsible for this must not feel themselves hampered by me." The pamphlet that Levi intended to write was handed to the printers on April 3-rd. The views that he developed in it were those of Stampfer and Hillerding. The Central Committee of the party is accused of a crime against the party: the disappearance from political life is demanded for people who - if we take only Brandler, and Thalheimer - Levi is by far not worthy to serve, who are known for their self sacrificing life-long work in the ranks of the labour movement. The Executive Committee of the Communist International whose nucleus is formed of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party are represented as a band of conscienceless adventurers. Comrades, whom the Russian Party in spite of the hard struggle that it has to carry on itself, has placed at the disposition of the Communist parties abroad, who although pursued like wild animals are doing their duty as internationalists, are treated as dirt in this pamphlet by a man who is, far below them. But this is not all? At the moment when thousands of true proletarians are languishing in prisons, hundreds of proletarian bodies lie unburied, when the bourgeois press is calling for the heads of the Communist party, when the final treachery of the

Independents raises the bloodthirsty executioners of Ebert's shameful justice to the level of lawful representatives of the nation struggling against robbers and murderers instigated by the foreign countries, at this moment the former Communist leader and present soldier rises and exclaims: "True, those who have fallen, have not fallen in the fight against Hirsings attack or in the fight for the red Central Germany, but they have fallen victims to the criminal madness of the Central Committee of the K. P. D. You, orphans and widows of the murdered proletariat, do not hate capitalism! Do not hate the social democratic flunkys and executioners, do not hate the Independent swindlers, who have dealt you a blow in the back, but hate the leaders of the Communist Party! And you, workers, who, ill treated in the prisons still raise your bleeding heads in the proud consciousness that you have fallen into the hands of the enemy in your struggle for the interests of the proletariat, you are mistaken, you have no right to be proud of your wounds, you are the victims of new Ludendorfs who have cynically and thoughtlessly sent you to your death!" This is all written in the same pamphlet in which Paul Levi on page 31 states how one town after another and village after village of Central Germany, one column of proletarians after another bravely marched forward to the struggle. "It was so ordered by the Central Committee" sneers this "Marxist" without feeling that he is revealing himself as a liar and calumniator to every thinking Communist. Because whoever will believe him, that in a young party the Central Committee would enjoy so completely the confidence of hundreds of thousands of proletarians that they would be willing to go to their death at its call even when it is given out thoughtlessly. Who will believe him especially at a moment when every one knows that the withdrawal of comrades Zetkin, Däumig and Levi had weakened the already not very strong authority of the Central Committee? It is not a silly outbreak but the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat that Paul Levi is impugning! Denouncing it to the State Attorney! Denouncing it to the bourgeois press!

What is most depressing in the whole matter is not only Levi's case. I think that after what has been said of Levi's history, his downfall and the substance of the same is sufficiently clear to the eyes of the proletariat. A gifted intellectual becomes a social democrat in the stifling atmosphere of the regime of Wilhelm. Intelligent and well educated he is disgusted with the petty bourgeois tendencies of the party bosses. He comes of a rich family whose petty bourgeois life cannot tempt him and is repulsive to him. The war breaks out with its waves of dirt and patriotic lies. The young intellectual with his knowledge of languages and a clear insight into the world situation does not believe naturally the patriotic tales of invasion, etc? Without any connection with the labour unions and party organisations he cannot naturally cross the bridge by which many an "honest minded" social democrat has gone over to social patriotism: what is he in regard to the proletarian organisations and what are they to him? Their maintenance cannot serve as a self deceit for him for covering the

compromise with the bourgeoisie. He is against the war. His relations with Rosa Luxemburg, his aesthetic love for classical beauty, for all that is great brings him to the Spartakus union. But the latter cannot be as a mother country to him, to give up his blood for which it would have been his greatest joy. Free from military service he does not go into the illegal hiding corners in order to sacrifice his life for the ideas of the Spartakus union. Johann Knief did so. Pieck did this also. So did Karl Becker. Paul Levi travels abroad, considering himself a Spartakist by the way. „What is compassion, if one does not glow for it?“ asks Nietzsche. Levi did not glow in the fire of revolutionary ideas. The revolution sets the gifted writer and orator at the head of the Spartakus union. The revolution is at an ebb, party work is hard work, surrounded by many dangers, demanding the greatest self denial, privations not only of a physical kind. One must renounce everything if one really desires to serve the cause. For the intellectual dilettante and aesthete this work is a heavy burden. It is one that makes youths mature quickly into men, men grow hard as steel, but the aesthete, dilettante and intellectual feels himself oppressed, he wishes to run away thousands of times. One has to inoculate him with the germs of the struggle, to flatter his self love, to evoke the bloody image of Rosa Luxemburg. The ashes of the martyr are reposing, but not in his heart and so he revolts again and again. The cursed proletarians, they even have no conception of how he is sacrificing himself for them, having no time to admire his beloved vases more than once a week! They cry out to his very face: „Down with the bonzes!“ and threaten him with the revolver when he is exhausting himself in persuading them. Furious with the plebian horde he enters into a conflict with experienced comrades, who feel his rottenness but who are too far away from the German movement to excuse his weak sides as I do, knowing how poor the movement is in orator and writer's forces. He feels the mistrust that he awakens, but this does not drive him to think over his own defects and he is driven towards the right wing and unconsciously he seeks for support in the comrades who are only just passing over to Communism. He is frightened when he sees that the International is prepared to renounce whole groups of workers in order only not to have vacillating leaders in its ranks. The centralisation of the struggle, the support of the younger Communist parties by the older ones, which he has himself frequently advocated, seem to him now as an insufferable constraint. He revolts against the International but understanding quite well that he is not equal to a struggle with it because he can only set Hilferding's ideas against it, which the workers refuse to accept, but he does not come forward and becomes a latent disease of the party. When he is unmasked he retires. A thousand times he has been wishing to desert, to retire into private life, to a cosy home after his useful lawyer's work and to give himself up to the enjoyment of his vases and flowers; but now he goes as a grudging Achilles. No one sheds a tear after him, no one asks him to come back and he does not feel the relief that he had expected. But the moment arrives. The party enters upon a

struggle the prospects of which are pretty bad. He raises his head, he does not interfere in the matter. He washes his hands in innocence. He informs the International of his warnings but declares that he will not go against the party. The party suffers a great defeat, it is bleeding from a thousand wounds and the intellectual man thinks that the workers are made of the same stuff as he, that they have lost courage, are demoralised. And the pamphlet which he began as a theoretical lecture, becomes a bomb against the party. The passive weakling, the psychological enigma, the man with his inconsistencies manifests himself fully in his pamphlet together with his cry: „Down with the Communist Party, down with the International!“ A son of the bourgeoisie whom the putrid odour of the decomposing corpse of his class had driven to the side of the proletariat becomes a renegade! He goes so far as to appeal to the assistance of the President of the Reichstag against his own party in order to be delivered from some of his liabilities towards it. This assistance is given him. The prodigal son of the bourgeoisie has returned to his mother's lap.

Levi's downfall is a common instance of the downfall of an intellectual person whose mind is able to grasp the slogans of Communism but whose heart and nerves are not equal to the demands of the revolution. Such betrayals will take place hundreds of times during the hard struggle that we shall have to lead for a period of many years. The path of the proletariat will be sown not only with the bodies of our best comrades whom we shall bear reverently on our shoulders to their last resting place, which will then become a place of pilgrimage for the struggling proletariat. The path of the proletariat will also be sown with the decaying cadavers of the men who will fall on the way not as exhausted warriors, but like a horse that had not been trained to bear the hardships of war. And we say: It is not the political corpse of Levi, which the German proletariat will contemptuously kick into the grave that is of political importance. It is the train of mourners which is accompanying him to his grave that matters!

IV

Comrades Zetkin, Däumig, Hoffmann and Brass, to name only the best, are raising a protest in the name of „freedom of criticism“ against Levi's expulsion and they are asserting that Levi's points of view correspond to those of the Communist International. The last statement we shall not dispute at all. The views for the sake of which not only Stampfer, not only Hilferding, but even the Stinnes press are making a mental hero of Levi cannot be the views of the Communist International. This attempt to save him is so ludicrous that one need not waste one's time over it. We shall only say a few words on the subject of the „freedom of criticism“ in the Communist Party, because this reproach can be taken seriously by some of the workers. What object must criticism serve in the Communist Party? It must serve to establish the bearings of the position before the struggle, to select the means of struggle, or, after a campaign,

after a battle, to consider the mistakes that have been committed so as to avoid them in the future. Does the Communist International need to explain that it considers such criticism both necessary and essential? Is it necessary to explain that the V. K. P. D. has to submit all its actions to a careful discussion? Is it necessary to prove that in the first battle which the party had conducted on a large scale there must have been hundreds of mistakes? This is quite indisputable. But the freedom of criticism in the Communist Party is bound by three conditions: the one relates to the substance of the criticism, the second to the moment of the criticism, the third--to the limits of the criticism. Our criticism is not unconditional, just like the joining of the party is not unconditional, but it is bound by the condition that the principles of Communism be fully recognised. It is clear that if any one is assailed by doubts as to whether democracy does not lead to socialism by a surer path than dictatorship and that therefore it is better to avoid civil war--then it is of no use to bring such criticism to the Communist Party; the doubter must fight out these questions alone and if he does not solve them he must leave the party, because the Communist Party is an association of people who are fighting for the dictatorship by means of a civil war. Did Levi in his criticism remain within the limits of the principles of Communism? The fact that he is accusing the Communist party of the same defects which made the Helfferdings refuse to join it, namely: sectarianism, Bakunin's outbreak tactics, and the dictatorship of Moscow, proves that his criticism is a criticism from the point of view of the adversary, from the point of view of Centrist considerations. All the theses of Levi's result, as we have proved in our pamphlet, in the assertion that the Communist Party is in general not entitled to start any revolutionary mass actions before it will have the majority of the proletariat on its side, as otherwise these actions will represent a struggle against the majority of the proletariat. The Communist International has rejected this standpoint both theoretically and practically. Therefore Levi's pamphlet is a doctrinary assault against the principles of the Communist International.

The second condition of criticism is that it should serve the Communist Party and not its enemies. Whoever begins to criticise the actions of the party during a battle, or during a retreat when the blows of the foe are falling on the party, or bring forward accusations against it--sows weariness in the ranks of the fighters, mistrust in the retreating columns. Against all persecutions the party must close ranks in an iron phalanx. If mistakes are being made, which demand instant rectification or cessation of action, the party has organs where such may be insisted upon. April 7th Levi censured the party severely at a meeting of the Berlin representatives. He did not suffer for this in the least. At a meeting of the Central Committee April 8th comrade Zetkin attacked the latter most sharply; her resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority but the Central Committee did not resort to any measures against her. At a time when it was necessary to unite the whole party

for a joint resistance and struggle against white terror, when the matter concerned the lives of the arrested comrades, and the preservation of the organisations for which they were shedding their blood--Levi openly accused the party of being a herd of sheep driven by a band of adventurers. If even nine tenths of his accusations had been true, his pamphlet would still be nothing less than a barefaced betrayal of the party.

Whoever demands such freedom of criticism, as Levi, demands the dissolution of the party, the right to deal it a blow in the back during any of its actions. Any party which would allow such freedom of criticism would become a football for hysterical or arbitrary minds, or simply agents of the bourgeoisie. That this is a demand that is quite comprehensible and not a special theory evolved in consequence of Levi's downfall is well illustrated by the following instance in the history of the K. P. D. itself.

When the January struggle of 1919 developed into a fight for power I considered it to be a great mistake that the party did not conduct the struggle within the limits of a demonstration against the dismissal of Eichhorn. The party had no organisations behind it. The overwhelming majority of the proletariat had not begun to awaken as yet. When I received the information January 5th 1919 that Noske was organising a white guard, that as the provinces remained silent the struggle would result in a bloody slaughter of the workers in Berlin I wrote a letter to the Central Committee urgently advising it either to stop the struggle, openly explaining to the proletariat that the moment for the seizure of the power had not arrived, or, seeing that the government was feeling itself insecure, to enter into negotiations with it as with an adversary, in regard to the conditions under which the struggle was to be stopped. After the defeat, after the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht I placed a copy of my letter in safe custody. It was necessary to me to have it as a document for the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party but I feared that in the event of my arrest it might fall into the hands of the government and be used by it for the sowing of distrust against the fallen leaders of the party. When I was arrested the judge had heard of the existence of this document and as I had been accused of organising the January events together with Liebknecht, he demanded of me that the letter be remitted to him. Naturally I refused to do this, saying that it was not my business to prove my innocence but theirs to prove my guilt. My sojourn in the prison continued for several months and my life was in danger all the time. I did not shorten my stay by giving up the letter because I saw clearly that I ought not to do this, that it would be an act of treachery against the party. Before my arrest I wrote a pamphlet on the lesson to be learnt from the history of the Berlin civil war in which I pointed out the mistakes that had been committed. But I showed them up in such a way that the historical causes of the same became quite clear, and I estimated their historical importance as the first awakening of the German proletariat, as the beginning of the proletarian revolution in

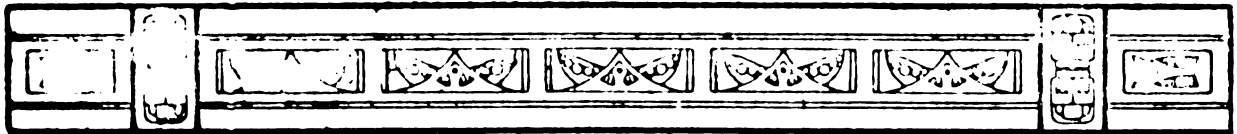
Germany. Such criticism could be of help to the party, in spite of the disclosing of all the mistakes, because even in its mistakes it could see how it should move forward. And the necessity of treating the committed mistakes in a very cautious historical manner was quite natural to me as a Communist. It is quite natural, from the point of view of Marx's doctrine, that the struggle of large proletarian masses does not develop arbitrary but only because the leaders at the head had lacked historical precedents. When the Paris Commune was proclaimed, Karl Marx expressed himself in his letter to Kugelmann very critically and sceptically on its prospects and at the same time he supported it with the whole passionate ardour of his soul. When the Commune broke down he did not disguise its weaknesses, but at the same time he made the international proletariat learn to understand the great historical progress which lay in it. Anyone who has but an atom of revolutionary feeling and Marxist consciousness will never consider the mistakes of a revolutionary movement in any other sense.

That comrades of such moral importance as Clara Zetkin or with such a proletarian past as Adolf Hoffmann, Brass and Däumig could forget these simple truths even for a moment, demands from us, young Communists, who certainly cannot be their equals in our services to the cause, that we should say calmly but decisively: „Up to here but no further!“ For these comrades the passage from agitation to action is very difficult. They are afraid of becoming separated from the masses, they are afraid of defeats and they thought themselves obliged to warn the party. The party had listened to these warnings and replied: we are aware of the dangers that you are pointing out to us, but inactivity is still more dangerous. The party did not

remove these comrades but left them at their responsible posts. But the party must demand of them that they should not become embittered and allow themselves to be driven to action which would demand their exclusion from the party. Owing to the declaration of solidarity between these comrades the conflict has reached a point when it threatens to end in a split. Should this split, as I hope, not take place at the following meeting of the Central Committee, should these comrades submit to the discipline of the party at the point at which they have stopped, the workers of Germany will only rejoice. Should however, at the moment when this pamphlet will reach Germany the split have become an accomplished fact, then the party will bear this much easier, than the right wing comrades. Let them succeed in duping part of the workers and carrying them off from the party. Between the Communist Party and the Scheideemannists there is no place for the right wing Independents, they are falling to pieces and perishing. For a party of left wing Independents or right wing Communists there is still less place. Under what slogans could they form a party? „Long live the territorially limited struggle“ or perhaps, „Down with the Turkestaners.“ We can only hope for them that they will be spared this attempt. If they do undertake it the tragic struggle of the German proletariat will pass through a lively episode. But the V. K. P. D. as a large mass party of the proletariat, cleared and freed of all vacillating elements, will by its struggle day by day earn more the confidence of the workers in spite of all defeats and it will form an iron company of men who will have forgotten the meaning of fear and who know what revolution means.

Moscow,
May 1st 1921.





Withdrawal of Five Members of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany.

FIVE members of the Central Committee of the U. C. P. G. (K. P. D.) have left the Central Committee in consequence of their disapproval of the position taken by the Executive Committee on the question of the split in the Italian Socialist Party.

For every thinking Communist the fact is sufficient that the centrist group of leaders, placed before the solution of the question, as to whether they should side with the reformists or with the Communists, or in order to please Serrati and 12,000 reformists, break with 60,000 Communist proletarians of Italy. This fact speaks more than all discussions on the subject of the tactless behaviour of such or other representatives of the Communist International. This must be clear to all the members of the German Central Committee. In a Communist party the leaders nominated by the workers have as little right to leave their posts without the permission of the party, as a red army man has to leave his sentry post. Only in the bourgeois and opportunist parties does the leader consider himself entitled to act independently, against the wishes of the members of the party. At any rate these five comrades were bound out of respect to international discipline, to inform the Executive Committee of the Communist International of their intention to withdraw from the Central Committee. The Executive Committee regrets the withdrawal of these comrades and sees in it:

- 1) A lack of discipline in the leading circles of the U. C. P. G.
- 2) A proof of the fact that among the leaders of the U. C. P. G. there are signs which point to the formation of a right wing.

The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the motives which induced comrade Levi and

his group to withdraw from the Central Committee of the U. C. P. G. are not the Italian question, but opportunist vacillations in the German and international policy.

To all the class-conscious comrades of Germany it must be clear that the Executive Committee of the Communist International makes it its object to form in every country not sects but active Communist revolutionary mass parties.

The endeavours of the Executive Committee to unite in Germany the Spartakus union with the revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party of Germany and the Communist Labour Party of Germany before the formation of a large Communist mass party are a sufficient proof of this.

The attempt of several comrades to represent events in the Italian party as a „mechanical split“ proves that they are either insufficiently informed of the actual situation of the Italian party, or that they are inclining towards the Menshevist reformist tendency.

The Executive Committee draws the attention of all the German Communists to the fact that during the last months in different countries elements are appearing which are striving to form a right wing of Communism. The Communists must therefore close their ranks and stifle these tendencies in embryo. The explanations of comrade Levi of March 23rd prove that he is quite near to a split with the Communist International.

This fact must show to the comrades who have been solid with Levi whether this course is leading him and it must help them to recognize their delusion.

*Executive Committee of the
Communist International.*





Foundation of the Two and a Half International.

By KARL RADEK.

I.

On the Border of two Epochs.

THE collapse of the Second International which took place August 4th, 1914 proved that it had been undermined from within, that it had outlived its time, even before the war, historically, by the course of events. The growth of the influence of the opportunists during the last decade before the war, which was to be observed in spite of the growing acuteness of the class inconsistencies among the separate socialist parties, and the incapacity of the Second International to oppose seriously the dangers of a war, proved that only an external cause was lacking for the collapse to take place. Nevertheless the belief in the possibility of its resurrection, the illusion of its possible reform were so great, even among the revolutionary elements, that the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Bolsheviks which proclaimed its decease in November 1914 sounded like a premature post mortem [speech by the bedside of a man who is dangerously ill, but whose recovery is not quite hopeless yet. All the attempts of the Bolsheviks, the Polish and Dutch marxists and the German left wing Radicals in Zimmerwald, to arouse at least the consciousness of the necessity of founding a new bona fide revolutionary International were futile. Up to the very end of the war the elements which had made it their aim to create a revolutionary International constituted but an insignificant minority. Even after it had become clear that after three years of war the Second International was still unable to stand out for peace, at the Stockholm conference of the Zimmerwaldists, the influential group of „internationalists“ deemed it possible to attend the conference of the social patriots in Stockholm. More than that—after the victory of the Russian October revolution and even eighteen months later, after the victory of the German November revolution such advanced revolutionary members of the Communist International as Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Joghiches considered the foundation of a Third Communist International to be premature. And now when one reads the newly published minutes of the First Congress of the Communist International, which was held March 6th, 1919, one sees clearly how slowly the masses were grouping together for the revolutionary struggle, without which no Communist International can be possible.

The breakdown of the Second International was more decisive than could have been expected by the greatest pessimist. It consisted not only in the treachery of the leaders but also in the fact that before the war the Second International was supported chiefly by the qualified workers, the labour aristocracy, which in spite of all Socialist phrases, were living in comparatively bearable conditions in the capitalist state, and these conditions in their turn served as a basis for all the democratic and pacifist illusions which the socialist bureaucracy conscientiously implanted in the minds of the workers. Notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices, which had been demanded of the masses, the war had not led to an immediate change in their frame of mind. The workers fighting at the front allowed themselves times and again to be lulled by the hope that they were purchasing for themselves a better future at the price of these sacrifices and sufferings. The workers at the base were bribed by high wages and good food rations which were paid to all those who were engaged in hard work in industries that were necessary for the war. The first protests began to be heard in Western Europe on the part of the masses of working women and proletarian youth, and although later on they were caught up by the wider circles of the working class, they did not go further than platonic pacifist complaints against the war and endeavours to induce the governments to conclude an equitable peace. In two countries only did the opposition weld together the wider masses: in Russia and in Italy. This is to be explained not only by the fact that in these countries the imperialist nature of the war had shown itself particularly openly and cynically, or that the bourgeoisie and its whole state apparatus were specially flabby and rotten, but chiefly by the weakness and undevelopment of the labour aristocracy in both countries. This passivity of the international working class explains the fact that the war did not end in an uprising of the proletariat, but in the victory of one of the imperialist camps. And for the defeated side the defeat was not the result of an open revolt of the workers in soldiers uniforms, but that of passively born sufferings, physical exhaustion under the weight of privations, bloodshed and the superior forces of the enemy.

In the victorious countries the workers returned home partly intoxicated with the fumes of patriotism, partly under the conviction that the

bourgeoisie would prove grateful for the sufferings and sacrifices that had been borne and that a democratic era, an epoch of peace would follow.

Not a proletarian revolution but wilsonianism was the slogan of the working masses in the victorious countries. In the defeated countries on the contrary the thirst for peace and quiet predominated over all other proletarian feelings: a morsel of bacon was of more value than dreams for the liberation of mankind. All the dangers threatening this liberation did not exist for the masses. In December 1918 animated crowds of workers filled the streets of the larger towns of Germany, enjoying every little source of pleasure accessible to them then, however humble it might be, not stopping to think for a moment what the forthcoming "peace" would bring them.

In all the countries the bourgeoisie managed to carry out the demobilisation without any difficulties. And as after the war industry developed rapidly everywhere in consequence of the lack of commodities, the consumers paid willingly any prices that were asked and the bourgeoisie did not stop at any rise in the wages. — whole months elapsed before the social conflict entered its acute phase.

In Western Europe the eyes of but an insignificant group of workers were directed towards the banner raised by the Communist International in the spring of 1919. Not only the British Independent Labour Party, not only the French Languetists, who had just acquired the majority, but also the German Independents found possible, with a calm conscience, to go to Berne and there, in company with the followers of Scheidemann, Renaudel and Henderson, endeavoured to find methods for the regeneration of the Second International.

Two factors produced a change in this state of affairs. In all the countries the bourgeoisie rapidly recovered from the fright which the October revolution had aroused in it as well as from the fear that the demobilisation would induce the workers to settle accounts with it. The bourgeoisie usually makes concessions under pressure; it considers itself bound to pay only when it feels the fist of the proletariat on its neck. But as the proletariat did not clutch its throat, the bourgeoisie tried gradually to shake it off and at any rate did not dream of making any concessions.

In Germany, by the help of the social democrats, the bourgeoisie proceeded to re-establish the elements of its own power by depriving the workers and peasants councils of all their state functions. In England it would not listen to any nationalisation of the mining industry. In France it united all the reactionary elements under the slogan of a struggle against Bolshevism. Simultaneously with the growing acuteness of the social situation in all countries, the masses began to see clearly, in spite of the wilsonian illusions with which they were being fed, that the bourgeoisie was totally incapable of establishing even capitalist peace. The peace of Versailles showed openly to the masses what the Communist propaganda had not been able to teach them, namely: that not only no equitable peace, but in general no peace at all

can be realised so long as the bourgeoisie will not be removed from the helm of state administration.

Instead of consolidating peace the capitalism of the Entente has ruined Central Europe by the harmful conditions of the Versailles treaty and it has begun an open destruction of Eastern Europe by its attacks on Soviet Russia, rapidly putting an end to the period of the temporary economic prosperity which had ensued after the armistice.

And by degrees, as it became ever more evident that the world public economy will not be able to recover if half of the world will be condemned to ruin, the workers were faced ever more rigorously with the question: who is to pay for the war? The working masses are growing ever more revolutionised owing to internal and external circumstances, owing, on the other hand, to the ever more obvious collapse of the capitalist world and its incapacity of restoring even the former capitalist order. Even in the victorious countries, even in the United States, a wave of strikes broke out, organised by the labour unions in spite of Gompers, or carried out without any preliminary preparation.

In England the labour movement manifested itself in a revolutionary form. The workers did not limit their demands by pressing for an increase of wages, but they insisted on the nationalisation of the railways and mines.

In France the working masses did not only with ever growing frankness express their sympathies with the Russian Soviets but they adopted an ever more oppositional attitude towards the bourgeois democracy. The more they became revolutionised, the more they diverged from the doctrines of their misleaders. In Germany the democratic illusions disappeared rapidly one after another. In Italy also strike followed upon strike and one armed collision with the authorities was followed by another.

This position could not be kept up any longer by the proletarian parties which did not openly accept the platform of coalition with the bourgeoisie, while representing a mobile cadre of the working class. They could not any longer defend their negative attitude towards the Communist International. In order to retain the masses on their side they had to make concessions to their new ideology and youthful thirst for action. Already before the war there had existed a middle tendency between the radical wing of the labour movement and its opportunist wing, which maintained the radical doctrines of marxism while at the same time refraining from all consecutive practical inferences in regard to the same. This treble face of the labour movement showed itself particularly clearly in Germany, who had, independently of Russia, even before the war, passed through a few preparatory skirmishes of the Communist International namely: in the struggle of Kautskyism against the left wing radical movement and in the questions of mass strikes, as well as imperialism. If in the other countries the division into open reformists, bona fide marxists and pseudo-radicals (centrists) was theoretically not so clearly manifested, nevertheless there had everywhere existed elements which professed radical doctrines without putting them into practice.

During the war these elements either openly passed over to the side of reformism, or limited themselves to passive protests against the social patriotic policy; they remained true to themselves in this case also. They could not become active workers in the radical labour movement, nor could they, like the reformists, openly make a stand against it.

In their policy they had to make it their object to attract the masses by a more or less open acceptance of their new revolutionary ideology, but with a view of restraining them from all revolutionary demonstrations.

What support did these elements find and what were the bases of their policy? The reformists found their support in two social strata: the labour aristocracy of the larger centres, which did not recognise the necessity of a revolutionary struggle, hoping to manage without revolutionary demonstrations, and the dispersed petty bourgeois worker units which could not decide as yet to raise the banner of revolt in their patriarchal provincial milieu.

The representatives of the centre found their support in the same elements before the war. In the countries with the old socialist traditions like Germany or France, there were not a few materially well provided for workers who had nevertheless acquired socialist trains of thought and they experienced a need of socialist ideology like a good Sunday cigar.

With the beginning of the war and after it the position of the labour aristocracy became less solid and in this respect led to the revolutionising of a great part of the former labour aristocracy, bringing a new social basis to the centre.

This very same old labour aristocracy, losing ever more its former assurance, is now craving for demonstrations but naturally at the same time it is gazing fearfully around, paling at the very thought of the consequences of the struggle and in decisive moments striving to avoid it. Richard Müller, now a Communist, an honest minded worker with a profound class consciousness, during his gradual development towards Communism in 1919 as Chairman of the Berlin Workers Soviet, when he had already placed himself in opposition to the German centre and Independent social democrats, made a speech in which he described, clearer than could be done in any document, the cowardly-pusillanimous attitude of the skilled workers towards revolutionary action.

At the time of his speech Richard Müller had already theoretically adopted the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat and nevertheless in one of the critical moments of action he had exclaimed anxiously: if matters will continue so, then Germany must expect much greater disasters, for which we shall not be responsible and which we are unable to avert! And he clutched at the idea of some positive saving clause. This instance shows up, like in a picture for an historian, the weird awe in the soul of even a bona fide proletarian fighter the prospect of the necessity and inevitability of the struggle. At that moment he drew back before it with fear and though, to his honour be it

said, he had managed to overcome this awe and entered into the ranks of militant Communism, millions of proletarians are passing through this course of development but very slowly. This slowness is the material basis for the policy of the centre.

One cannot in any way look upon the leaders of the middle stratum of the working class as class conscious counter revolutionists; they either belong to the educated class and, according to the ideas inherent in it are unable to become penetrated with faith in the creative rôle of the working masses, or they are bureaucrats from the labour aristocracy who have become so impregnated with bourgeois and reformist heresy, that they are unable to shake it off even when they formally acknowledge the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolution. Their policy consists in bringing down the idea of revolution, which they recognise theoretically, on paper, to a programme phrase, which they have recourse to in important cases and in times of parade without expecting to move a finger for the triumph of this revolution by enlarging and deepening class struggle, and rendering it more acute. The chief motive driving them to this policy is the everlasting reference to the international situation. They are always awaiting a revolution in some other country, where the conditions therefore are more favourable than in their own. The partisans of such a policy may be found in all countries. The German Independent Social Democrats and the French Longuetists are typical representatives of this policy.

II.

The International Centre.

It is quite superfluous to repeat here the history of the German Independent Social Democratic Party. We shall cite a few data from memory. It was formed owing to a split in the old radical wing of the German social democracy, which divided the latter into Kautskyites and left radicals. While it yet belonged to the German social democrats its chief objects were: the propagation of pacifist illusions regarding the possibility of reforming imperialism, the rejection of a propaganda and agitation in favour of a mass protest against the dangers of a war and against the progressive capitalist reaction and the support (together with Scheidemann and Ebert) of the electionary union with the liberals in 1912. When the war broke out, the majority of the present Independent Social Democratic Party stood on the same platform as the Social Patriots. When later on, under the pressure of the workers, the party entered into the struggle against social patriotism and the war, it still only limited itself to simple protest. When the German revolution broke out it formed a government together with Scheidemann and Ebert, and the first act of this government was a proclamation of the inviolability of private property. It helped to organise the first white guard in the Baltic provinces, and proclaimed itself to be in favour of democracy and against dictatorship. And when as a consequence of such a policy, it

was expelled from the government in order that the social patriots should be able to enter into a union with the bourgeoisie; when the struggle of the workers had grown so acute that the struggling Independent workers were shot down by the white guards of the democratic government and began to cry out for the dictatorship of the proletariat,—then the leaders of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany tried to restrain the development of the party throwing out to the masses the idea of a compromise between a bourgeois and a proletarian dictatorship—the idea of the introduction of workers Soviets into Noske's constitution. When the workers remained indifferent to this brilliant idea and definitely and clearly adopted the platform of the proletarian dictatorship and the system of Soviets the right wing leaders of the Independents also took hold of this idea only for the purpose of keeping the workers in their hands. But at the same time at the party conference in Leipzig they decisively pronounced themselves against terror, that is to say against an unconditional defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The French Longuetists presented during the war a strongly mollified copy of the German Independents. During the whole course of the war they not only voted for war credits, but they strove to represent the war as a defensive one on the part of France. They proclaimed the aim of the war to be the defense of democracy and bowed down before the most desperate pacifism without demur. During the whole war they did not publish a single illegal leaflet, nor held a single revolutionary speech in parliament. Their opposition to the policy of the French bourgeoisie and the French social patriots showed itself only in their efforts at peace negotiations with Germany and in protests against the falsification of the aims of the war as carried out by the imperialists. When the Entente, headed by France, proceeded to a war against Soviet Russia, when the heroic struggle of Soviet Russia began to arouse ever greater sympathies in the working masses, when the working masses in France began to advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat, ever more energetically—then the Longuetists could not but defend Soviet Russia. Against the attacks on Soviet Russia they had to advance the ideology of the great French revolution. Everything that is now brought against the Russian revolution by the counter-revolution was at the time brought against the French revolution by the feudal counter-revolution. By this means Jean Longuet and his partisans arrived at the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And it is quite clear, that in the country of the oldest bourgeois democracy, in the country of the most corrupt bourgeois parliamentarism, in the country where the working class, struggling against bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, constructed a syndicalist theory recognising in the labour unions a source of force and the realisation of the social revolution—in such a country the proletariat doctrinally passed by bourgeois parliamentarism most easily. But when the Longuetists agreed with the dictatorship and the Soviet system as an acceptable prospect, they naturally did not propose in any way to make the idea of dictatorship and

Soviets the axis of their agitation and propaganda, and still less did they think of using all the levers of the mass movement in order to realise it or to concur in its realisation. Their press and their parliamentary activity did not at all serve to arouse the revolutionary energy of the masses, in the best of cases they served as a weak defence for the growing bourgeois reaction. And as Longuet and his friends looked upon the revolution as a subject for conversation and in the best of cases for sentimental dreams, they could not see any reason for breaking with the social patriots and open reformists. In the same way as, during the discord between marxism and reformism in the French labour movement Longuet had swung like a pendulum between one and the other, now he is preaching the unity of the party and endeavouring to prove to the working masses, and the innocent lambs of reformism—Renaudel and Thomas—can not sully the water for any one. They are ready to conform to discipline just as he is conforming to it in respect to them. It is obvious, that this position of the Longuetists could not please the radical wing of the labour movement, which was growing ever more communist.

The British Independent Labour Party formed a third in the union of the European centre. It arose as an opportunist reaction against the dry as dust radicalism of Hyndman, who never could connect the idea of a social revolution with a practical struggle of the proletariat. Against the bookworm marxism of Hyndman it advanced the dull-headed Anglo-Saxon empirism and the soft religiously-tinted effort towards reforms. The latter circumstance grouped around it a nucleus although of unenlightened but living and thirsting-for-action proletarians. The pacifism of the Independent Labour Party formed a bridge between it and the idea of „Little England“ of the liberal commercial bourgeoisie which hoped to keep its profits safer in peace than in war. When the great world war broke out, the majority of the English liberals did not know what decision to take; in favour of or against participation in the war. This wing, represented in the government by Simon Trevelyan and John Burns, was headed by the leader of the Independent Labour Party, MacDonald and as, in addressing the workers, he was compelled naturally to speak in a much stronger and more radical spirit, he had no possibility of changing his policy after the beginning of the war. The party took up the position of a struggle against the war, and in practice this position was reinforced by two elements: the revolutionary honest minded proletarian elements, which were against the war because it was a capitalist one, and the quaker elements, which were opposed to the war, because according to their convictions, it was a sin against God and mankind. United, these elements brought the party during the course of the war even to a principled refutation of the defence of the capitalist fatherland, an idea which MacDonald and Snowden repudiated with all their might. The partisans of the I. L. P. not only took part in the mass demonstrations in England during the war, but they drew the greatest persecutions upon themselves for following the dictates of their conscience and not taking

part in the war. When after the war at the December elections in 1918 the Liberal-Conservative coalition obtained a decisive victory and mass demonstrations again took place, the left wing of the I. L. P. under the leadership of Allan Clifford and Newbold, gradually developed towards Communism, whereas the right wing, with MacDonald and Snowden at the head, speculated on the forthcoming victory of the Labour Party and its coalition with the left wing Liberals of the Asquith type. Between them stands the centre of the party under the leadership of Wallhead, an agitator and organizer of no particular tendency. Under the pressure of the left wing he had to recognise officially the idea of the revolution but as he does not wish to break with the eminent old leaders of the party he cannot forsake his dual policy. Meanwhile, MacDonald and Snowden are preparing to play the rôle of saviours of democratic England from the proletarian revolution. They are using the I. L. P. only as a springboard, in order to share the future power with the Liberal or semi-Liberal leaders of the labour bureaucracy, Henderson and Thomas.

Around these three principal parties of the centre are grouped similar elements of other countries. Thus, the leaders of the majority of the Swiss social democracy, like energetic Robert Grimm, are feeling intuitively that it is necessary to repeat what radical masses of the capitals are saying, but at the same time they are loath to break with the old leaders, who in the name of the Swiss proletariat are furnishing police and financial directors to the Swiss bourgeoisie. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy, who like Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer, had recently participated in the government together with Renner and Seitz and the Christian socialists, who saw in the idea of a coalition the anchor of safety for the proletariat, who with the help of coalitions tried to obtain help from the Entente, who betrayed the Hungarian revolution for the sake of coalition, are now, when the coalition has broken down, when the poverty of the proletariat has grown immeasurably, throwing radical slogans to the proletariat. This is in complete correspondence with their past. Before the war they had also intermingled the marxist theory with the thoroughly opportunist policy of the Austrian social democracy. During the war Friedrich Adler had ventured to carry on the struggle against the shameless treachery of the imperial-royal social democracy only in closed party meetings. His hamletism went even so far that out of pure political cowardice he had become a personal hero by his murder of Stürgk, only because he did not dare to stand up against his party. From the very moment of the Austrian revolution both he and Otto Bauer played a pitiable dual game. While Friedrich Adler, as chairman of the German-Austrian workers Soviet played the rôle of a future Marat of the approaching Austrian proletarian revolution and thus prevented the working class from actively showing its discontent, Otto Bauer played that of Talleyrand in the social-democratic-Christian-socialist government and in anonymous pamphlets consoled the hungry Austrian workers with the approaching world revolution in the victorious countries. At present, when social democracy has disappeared

from the government they are both playing the rôle of international revolutionists with a parachute. Otto Bauer who in his pamphlet "Bolshevism or Social democracy" gives the theory of an international of the centre, and Friedrich Adler who but six months ago had been doing his best to prove that it will be possible to think of the formation of an International only when all the inconsistencies which are now dividing the working class will be removed—both are now standing at the head of the efforts tending towards all international unification of the centre.

And as if on purpose to show what this International is going to be, the Russian Mensheviks have joined the number of its promoters. During the war, before the moment of the Russian revolution, they had split into a minority group of internationalists headed by Martov and enjoying no influence at all, which took part in the Zimmerwald movement; a majority group which had taken part in the committees of war industries, and finally a parliament faction playing the part of intermediary between the other two. When the revolution broke out the majority of the Mensheviks accepted the platform of the defence of bourgeois democracy. They took part in the bourgeois government and helped it to hamper the struggle of the proletariat for power. The minority was indignant with the treacherous policy of its party comrades but it did not venture to withdraw from the party. When the Russian proletariat swept away the government of Kerensky, the minority in the Menshevik party united with the majority against the workers government. This struggle was carried on by some of them, as for instance by Martov only in principle; many others fought with arms in their hands on the side of the counter revolution. The Mensheviks, with Martov at their head, called the proletarian Soviet Russia a new czarism. But at the moment when the danger of the victory of the counter revolution arose, then they called the masses to the defence of the Soviet government and the achievements of the revolution. When the Russian proletariat fought against the bourgeois government, the Mensheviks looked upon the desire to realise socialism in Russia as romanticism. In the first months of the proletarian dictatorship their press demanded the return to capitalism. At present they are demanding a "moderate socialism" without explaining what they mean by this. The party of the Mensheviks, whose history we have given here, is the favourite child of the international centre. The latter is demonstrating on the fates of the Mensheviks in Soviet Russia the malignancy of Communism which is crushing and persecuting even a socialist party. The fate of this party is undoubtedly most significant for the whole centre. Having enjoyed mercy and support under the power of the bourgeoisie and taken part in this power, they had to submit to persecution on the part of the proletarian government, as they had either openly struggled against it, or sown confusion among the workers. They explained their participation in the bourgeois government by their mistrust in the proletarian world revolution and now they are appearing as promoters of a new international, which also aspires to become the international of the world revolution.

III.

Attempt at a Compromise with the Communist International.

In the beginning the Centrists of all countries looked down upon the Communist International, not considering it as a force to be reckoned with. Called to life during the period of the greatest difficulties of Soviet Russia, it seemed to them to be fated to a certain death-like just as the first country of proletarian dictatorship. Already in September 1919 the leader of the German Independents Rudolf Hilferding declared at the September party congress that the Third International is Soviet Russia and that it would be well to wait and see what its fate would be; one should not book a passage on a drowning ship. This outspoken and shameless representative of the centre only expressed with great frankness what all the centrist Pappenheimers were thinking. At the same time they were convinced that the loss of the chastity of the Second International in the war was a matter that could be remedied; it was not in vain that they had taken part in the conferences of Berne and Lucerne, these distractions of the world bourgeoisie. However when before their very eyes the workers, who had not broken with them and whom they still hoped to retain, began to raise their voices ever more decisively in favour of the Third International, the leaders of the centre adopted the decision to join it if only they could manage to extract its poisonous fangs. The most dangerous point of the Communist International for these experienced politicians was certainly not the doctrine of Communism. The theory of modern Communism is the theory of Marx on the social development and the social struggle. During long years they have been distorting Marx and passing resolutions of a principled character but without in the least modifying their opportunist tactics. The dictatorship of the proletariat, even terror, might have been accepted with reservations in the form of a couple of buts and ifs, because they did not lose the hope that the restoration of capitalism would protect them from the necessity of having recourse to such horrors. But what they could in no wise agree to was the liability to undertake any concrete steps which might have served as a preparation to a revolutionary struggle, or to join any one of the organizations of the Third International after which the way would have been cut off for retreat from the fundamental regulations of the Communist International. Recurring to the old method of the opportunists of all countries they declared their conformity in principle with the Communist International. They would only like to discuss together with it the question of the methods for the fusion of all the social revolutionist parties. The meaning of this declaration was that the international centre as a whole, was proposing to the Communist International to discuss together with it on what basis it might be possible to create an organization of compromise for the purpose of achieving a fusion between the Communist principles and the tactics of the centre. This manoeuvre did not meet with success. The party of the centre did not succeed in obtaining a joint meeting with the

representatives of the Communist International. In consequence of the circumstances the pressure of the working masses in the separate parties of the centre was not equally strong, first the representatives of the French centre had to open relations with Soviet Russia, and afterwards the English and German Independents. After these conferences the French centrists became divided into two camps—the majority headed by Cachin and Frossart, decisively took the course proposed by the Communist International. The traditions of Headism and the ferocity of the French reaction played a decisive rôle in this case. There was no need for the representatives of the English centre, under the leadership of Wallhead, to pass a resolution immediately. After the English labour movement had developed to the threat of a general strike in the event of England declaring war against Russia, it again fell after the failures of the Red Army in Poland. Mr. Wallhead and his partisans carried away with them to England an open letter of the Executive Committee revealing before the English workers the game which was intended to mask their affected underlining of the extreme peculiarity of the English conditions. They did not trouble further. Thus the International delivered a decisive battle to the most important mass party of the centre—the Independents.

The Ditmans and Crispiens who had from time to time been making "critical" declarations in their country in regard to the marxist defects observed by them in the programme of the Communist International kept silence in Moscow or asserted confusedly that in general they could find no objection to the fundamental lines "as far as the latter were clear to them". The central point of the struggle was the question of the expulsion of the reformists from the German Independent party.

Although fully acknowledging that in the given case the question does not lie in Kautsky and Hilferding alone but in hundreds and hundreds of minor bureaucrats from among the labour unions and the reformist party and in a certain part of the parliamentary faction, who are not capable in general of carrying out the conditions of the Communist International, they tried by all means in their power to save Hilferding and Kautsky,—the former by denying his opportunism, the latter by showing him up as a very old man who had lost all influence and whom it is necessary, out of respect, to allow to end his days peacefully in voluntary exile in Vienna. But a still greater danger threatened their policy in that the Communist International was to be not, a loose federation of different parties, but a single centralised international militant party.

This nature of the construction of the International deprived them once for all of every possibility of sabotaging the resolutions of the Congress and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In this way their plan broke down. At the Congress in Halle they passed over to furious unprincipled attacks against the Communist International which they endeavoured to represent as a mixture of romantic publications and the most unprincipled opportunism, as a party created for the purpose of serving as an instrument

for the external policy of Soviet Russia. They permitted the nucleus of revolutionary workers to break away from the party, rather than to compromise by a union with the labour bureaucracy. They elected as their banner the Amsterdam Yellow International, forming out of the union of the Legiens with the Hendersons a palladium of international proletarian struggle.

After the intention of the international clique of the centre to sabotage the Communist International from within had failed, it only remained to them either to decide to join the Second International or to replace it by another one. This led to the formation of the Second and a Half International to which they have now passed over.

IV.

Manifesto and Principles of the Second and a half International.

a) Dictatorship of the proletariat and the International Centre.

The Berne manifesto of December 10-th, 1920, by which the fathers of the Second and a half-International appeal to the socialist parties of all countries is remarkable not only for what it says but for what it keeps silence. If under the present conditions of the world situation a proletarian party is being formed not to speak of the formation of an international union, then the first question which demands a clear and definite answer is the question of the world situation. Naturally the matter does not lie in general meanderings on the baseness of imperialism or one of the imperialist groups; the question to be solved definitely is: are we in a period of the development of the world revolution or not? One may blame imperialism in all severity, one may agree completely with the Communist International regarding the views in principle on the imperialist policy but nevertheless it will be necessary to follow a totally different policy in regard to imperialism, if one deviates from the position of the Communist International in discussing the question: are we in the midst of a process of world revolution, or in that of the chances of success by consolidating a new system of imperialist states? In the first case the policy of the proletarian parties will be directed towards the overthrow of the capitalist state by means of mass action, and all the historically prescribed political and organisational means must serve for the preparation of such action; in the second case it will be necessary to avoid consciously all collisions with the capitalist state power, making it one's immediate aim to organise the proletariat for the improvement of its position within the limits of capitalism, while the maintenance of the final socialist aim must serve only for lighting up the way for the proletariat and for keeping it from entering the path of reformism.

The manifesto of the Second and a half International is trying to pass this decisive question under silence. Not a word does it let fall regarding the world revolution. It talks of the revolution in Russia and Central Europe, of the world reaction threatening this revolution, it speaks of such facts regarding

which no capitalist politician would dare to be silent, only because they are facts whose existence can be denied only by the veriest blockhead. But in the same way as Lloyd George talks quite openly of the German and Russian revolution, taking care however not to touch upon the developing proletarian revolution of the whole world (on the one hand, by reason of the petty bourgeois cowardice preventing a man from looking facts boldly in the face, on the other—from the fear that a clear definition of the situation might elucidate to the struggling classes their political point of view), the parties of the Second and a half International are also afraid to express their views on the world situation. They are afraid to say so openly although many of them think so: for a time, to which a limit may be set, the capitalist society is saved, therefore forget all revolutionary illusions. They do not venture to say so because they are afraid of driving the revolutionary proletariat away from them. They do not dare to say: the world revolution is developing, in spite of its defeats, although not so rapidly as many wish it to do, and the guarantee of its final victory lies in the increasing disorganisation of the capitalist economic management. Because, should they say so, then they would be compelled in all countries, notwithstanding the difference in the degree of capitalist disorganisation in each separate country, at least to concentrate the agitation and propaganda on the work of proving to the proletariat the necessity and inevitability of the revolutionary struggle. In view of this they are trying to evade the necessity of having to explain clearly their true point of view and they have recourse to the following phrase: "The capitalist system is growing ever more inconsistent with the economic and social requirements of the proletarian masses even in the victorious countries." This slogan, as flexible as rubber, says nothing at all, because imperialism has never been consistent with the vital requirements of the proletariat and it is quite clear that the longer it will exist the more inconsistent it will become.

The leading theses elaborated February 22nd, at Innsbruck by the preparatory Commission to the Congress of the Second and a half International (Adler, Grimm, Ledboer, Wallhead) leave the question: a world revolution or the preservation of the capitalist system—as unsolved as before. In reply to our statement of this fact the spiritual leaders of the Second and a half International, the Hilferdings, Bauers, Martovs, will say: only Communist blindness will deny that in the conditions of the world situation the revolutionary and counter revolutionary forces become intersected, that side by side with the tendencies leading to the disorganisation of the capitalist regime, there are also forces working for the restoration of capitalist power. In virtue of considerations of historical foresight one must be very cautious in predicting which of these two tendencies may acquire the upper hand. Should the above mentioned learned men have recourse to such arguments—and no other issue is left them—we would have to reply: the matter does not lie in the denying of historical possibilities; the Communist International is blind and understands perfectly well that ab

no important revolutionary movements take place in countries, where capitalism is still but slightly shattered, or should these revolutionary movements suffer a defeat, then the possibility of a capitalist restoration is in no wise excluded. In the opening speech to the Congress of the Communist International it was not some one, but Lenin himself who said: „There is a way out of every difficulty; should the international proletariat not find in itself sufficient forces to overthrow the bourgeoisie, then the latter will find the means somehow to restore the capitalist social order at the expense of the enslavement of millions of proletarian masses.“ The difference between the marxist-revolutionist Lenin and opportunists like Hilferding and Bauer, does not lie in that the latter are considering possibilities, while the former is following the policy of an ostrich, but the difference lies in the conclusions arrived at. Revolutionist Lenin says to the proletariat: „the world revolution is undoubtedly developing: it is being fed by the ever increasing revolutionary streams springing up and flowing out of the very depths of society; but simultaneously the forces of inertia and counter-revolution are also at work. If you will not find in yourselves sufficient force and resolution for the struggle and victory, then suffer a defeat. Therefore you must with all your energy collect and utilise all the forces of the revolution in order to enable it to gain the victory.“ Lenin makes the prospect of the developing world revolution the starting point of his tactics and shows how to act concretely for the realisation of the world revolution. Meanwhile, the opportunist, playing with the dream of a world revolution, but fearing it in his heart of hearts, leaves the future unsolved so as to avoid a clear definition of his immediate actions, so as to be able to wait and see what history will say. In the depth of his soul he cries with a groan: „O Lord, let this cup pass by me!“ But pressed on by his own partisans, he dares not speak out frankly and clearly in favour of the restoration of capitalism, as do the reformists, who openly start from the prospect of a counter-revolution.

History's amiability does not extend so far as to give to the political workers prospects of unflinching precision. Facts alone are indubitable. Consequently, after estimating all the active forces of a given epoch the politician must endeavour to establish their general tendency, to determine which of the struggling forces will be able to win the victory and to decide in what direction should the forces of the class which he represents be led. Every prospect has a corresponding definite policy. The revolutionary prospect of the Communist International has a corresponding definite revolutionary policy. The definite counter-revolutionary prospect of the reformists, who honestly declare that a revolution does not enter into their considerations, has a corresponding counter-revolutionary policy. As the Second and a Half International does not dare to advocate either one of the two prospects, its indefinite prospect must result in an indefinite policy. We know this both from the practice of all two and a half parties and by the confirmation of this point of view by the Berne manifesto in respect to the question of dictatorship and the system.

b) Dictatorship of the proletariat, its forms and the Second and a Half International.

It is now three years that a struggle is raging in the working class concerning the question of the course which it must follow. The minds of the international proletariat are struggling over two questions. The first is: Is it possible to attain the defeat of capitalism on the basis of a bourgeois democracy and by its means, or will it be necessary to have recourse to a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship? The second says: What forms should the proletarian dictatorship adopt? Let us see what answer is given by the leaders of the Second and a Half International, not only after an international three years' old discussion of the question but, what is of much greater importance, after a three years old experience acquired by the European proletariat in the Russian, Finnish, Hungarian, German and Austrian revolutions and counter-revolutions and in the „peaceful“ development of the countries which constitute the Entente. The leaders of the Second and a Half International give not one, but two answers to the above two questions. One of them is published in the manifesto of December 7-th, and the other in the leading theses of January 10-th.

„As soon as the proletariat will seize political power wherever the bourgeoisie will sabotage the proletarian state power or show resistance to it, the proletariat will apply measures of dictatorship“—thus runs the manifesto. But may one ask where will one find a country, or a place where the bourgeoisie would not sabotage the proletarian state power? Is it possible that it should not offer resistance? Let us ask briefly and clearly: do the theorists of the Second and a Half International really consider the hope of a voluntary desistance of the bourgeoisie, which is the fundamental point of view of the reformists, as actually realisable? If so, then they are reformists, what we have always asserted, whereas they have always denied it with indignation. If they are not reformist illusionists, if this is only a tactical trick, then these „two and halfists“ are sowing dangerous illusions in the minds of the proletarians for which the latter will have to pay by defeat. The greatest obstacle towards the development of the revolution consists therein that a great majority of the world proletariat has not lost the hope of a peaceful escape from want and penury. Only because the proletariat still believes that it will be able to avoid the burdens and horrors of a civil war, does it allow the bourgeoisie and its reformist agents to deceive it. The task of every revolutionary labour party consists in repeating day by day and instilling into the minds of the proletariat that there is no third way out, that it is bound to choose between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its own dictatorship, i. e. the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when the proletariat will become penetrated with this conviction will it find in itself the force for a decisive struggle. The Second and a Half International is arousing a hope in the proletariat regarding the possibility of a

different solution of the tasks standing before it, besides a proletarian dictatorship thus diverting its mind from the revolutionary struggle and acting like an International of confusion and entanglement.

With equal success does the Second and a Half International decide in regard to the question of the form of dictatorship.

The application of one or other form of dictatorship depends on the economic, social and political conditions of the separate countries. Should the proletariat succeed in acquiring the power by means of democracy, then in the event of a resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie even the democratic state power would be compelled to establish its dictatorship. If however, during the period of the decisive struggle for the power, the democracy would prove to be defeated, or overcome by the growing acuteness of the class inconsistencies, the dictatorship would inevitably have to assume the form of a dictatorship of the organisations of the proletarian class struggle. Depending on the conditions of each separate country the organs of dictatorship may be: Soviets of workers, soldiers, peasants, local organisations of self government (communities) or any other class organisations, inherent to the given country.

What does the Second and a Half International say? First that the rule of the working class may be realised also by means of the democratic institutions, as for instance, through the parliaments. Second, that the rule of the proletariat must be realised by means of its class organisations only in the event of the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The manifesto does not know what these class organisations will be: they may be Soviets, they may be communities—the manifesto does not demand the exclusion of the bourgeoisie from the make-up of the local organisations of self government,—finally, they may be any other, not precisely specified, labour organisations. The manifesto is also silent on the point regarding how the central revolutionary power should be organised in the latter cases. What does such a position signify? It means—a complete zero, advanced by the Second and a Half International as a war slogan.

In what lay the meaning of the slogan of the Soviet system? First of all this slogan showed the proletariat that it had to create its own class organisations, its own ruling apparatus. Second, it said to the proletariat that the former class organisations which united the proletariat in accordance with its political convictions or its trades were unable to serve for this purpose. For this purpose it would be necessary that the organisations should unite the proletariat as a class, according to the branches of production, to the enterprises, independently of the different trades and independently of political convictions. During the formation of workers Soviets in the Russian revolution it was not known yet whether they would become also a form of proletarian dictatorship in the world revolution: The Finnish, Austrian and German revolutions have proved that wherever the proletariat is struggling for the power it elects—in its search for a most suitable organisational form—that of workers Soviets, as one already predestined by history. And eve-

rywhere, in Italy and in England, wherever the proletariat is just beginning its revolutionary movement, its tendency towards the formation of workers Soviets is manifesting itself. The Second and a Half International does not recognise the slogan of „workers Soviets“ as the bearer of the world revolution; the counter revolutionary nature of this refusal proves first of all that the rejection of this slogan is equal to a rejection of the slogan which serves for the uniting and organisation of the workers in the struggle for power.

Wherever the revolution is entering upon its acute period, the slogan of „workers Soviets“ points out to the workers the basis on which it may assemble its forces as a class in order to set them against the bourgeoisie. Hence, the question of the ultimate form of organisation of the dictatorship—the question of the workers Soviets—is transformed into a political question as a struggle for the dictatorship.

It is possible that with the further development of the world revolution there may be different forms of organisation of the dictatorship as, for instance, the Russian revolution has shown. It is possible that at certain stages of special acuteness of civil war it will be found necessary to defend the power of the proletariat, although only temporarily, by means of a still severer selection of proletarian forces, a still more energetic carrying on of the struggle, than this may be demanded from the workers Soviets, which by their nature are rather cumbersome organisations. However one thing is clear: during the period of the struggle „the workers Soviets“ are a central politically organising slogan. A desistance from it, the endowing it with all kinds of fanciful political possibilities—is equivalent to a desistance from the revolutionary organising rôle of the International.

The Hilferdings, Bauers and Martovs are trying to clothe their rejection of it in a historical form and to give it a historical basis. With an air of deep learning they explain: „In the same way as the bourgeois revolution in the different countries had assumed different forms, so the proletarian revolution in the different countries will also acquire different forms, especially as the degree of capitalist development in the separate countries is not alike.“ The historical information of the theorists of the Second and a Half International is on a par with their revolutionary will. The bourgeois revolutions have everywhere assumed the form of a revolutionary struggle for a parliament. The history of the bourgeois revolutions teaches us that notwithstanding the degree of development in different countries the historically leading class of a given epoch struggled everywhere for the same aim with the same means. The proletarian revolution of separate countries will present some great differences. But as it will be always carried out by the same class for the same aim, it will in its fundamental forms present the same process. By not recognising these facts the theorists of the Second and a Half International are pro only that theoretically they do not see the woe trees, so as only to avoid the duty of creating bona fide International.

A month after the drawing up of their manifesto the sages of the Second and a Half Inter-

national try to rectify their statements. Laying aside their wise sentences on the different forms of dictatorship in separate countries they pronounce themselves in their leading theses on the methods and organisation of the class struggle, suddenly, unconditionally, and for the first time, in favour of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as this dictatorship—by whatever means the proletariat shall have attained the power—will be necessary for the maintenance of this power. Even more than that; in their Berne manifesto, as we have seen, they declared: „depending on the conditions prevailing in the different countries, the organs of the dictatorship may be Soviets of workers, soldiers, peasants, local organisations of self government (communities) or any other class organisations inherent to the given country.“ Now they are writing: It is necessary to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of workers, soldiers and peasant Soviets, labour unions and other similar proletarian class organisations. As you see during the interval of time from December 7th. to January 10th. „the democratic organs of self government“—in the character of organs of dictatorship—have had time to disappear. And as all „other proletarian class organisations,“ besides workers Soviets and labour unions are the pseudonyms of simply zero, it ensues that the wisecracks of the Second and a Half International have in the end discovered that a proletarian dictatorship can only be based on workers Soviets and labour unions and we heartily wish them joy of their discovery. Because, if the labour unions, which have been grouped according to the trades, will be regrouped according to the enterprises, which is demanded by the spirit of the times, and demanded not only by the Communists but by all the advanced labour unionists as well, then the difference between the workers Soviets and the factory committees—the lowest organs of the labour unions—will disappear almost completely. The resolution contains also further improvements. It says that in the open struggle for the acquisition and sustaining of the proletarian dictatorship „in future it will not be the electionary bulletins which will decide but the economic and military forces of the struggling class. The working class will win the power only by means of mass action, mass strikes and armed uprisings.“ The Independent German Social democracy is preparing for an armed uprising! Rudolf Hilferding and Arthur Crispian behind a machine gun! What progress! What progress!

V.

Second and a Half Communist International.

In what does the Second and a Half International differ from the Third? It has pronounced itself against a blind copying of the methods of the Russian workers peasant revolution. But should those who have signed the resolution (Adler, Leber, Grimm and Wallhead) be placed before the muzzle of a machine gun, they even then would not be able to say, what other methods, differing from those mentioned in their own resolution—does the Communist International propose. The second difference on which they wish to base the existence of the Second

and a Half International is the would be incorrect estimation by the Communist International of the great variety in the structure of the different countries and the tactics which must be applied to them. But should they be pressed for an explanation they would again not be able to say what other tactics except those already recommended, they consider admissible. May be this should be understood thus: as general tactics we recommend a revolutionary demonstration even up to a mass strike and armed uprising, but as special tactics we admit a coalition with the Christian Socialists, together with whom Friedrich Adler's party participated in the same government? We think that the question has exactly this and no other meaning, otherwise these gentlemen would not be so anxious for the separate parties to retain their independence, which Moscow is supposed to be threatening, because if autonomy serves only for the application of general revolutionary principles to the separate countries, then it is in no wise inconsistent with a close international centralisation, but it is even a weapon of the latter. The attitude of the above four prophets towards the question of their separation from the reformists proves that for them the matter lies in carrying out in practice a reformist policy while jotting down revolutionary slogans on paper. With the mien of respectable people they assert that the nature of parties changes; the nature of men also undergoes changes. Under the influence of committed mistakes they grow wiser. One cannot exclude any one from the International on the ground that such a person had formerly been a social patriot. One should not either humiliate him for this. One should not demand from him that he should make a pilgrimage to Canosa, barefoot, in the garb of a repentant sinner with ashes on his bald head. All this is very touching and humane, but the Communist International has hitherto never demanded from any one of the affiliated parties that it should in honour of Lenin make a sacrifice at the altar in Kremlin of the reformists who have repudiated reformism. The Communist International is only demanding the exclusion of the reformists and social patriots who are remaining such. The Ledebours, Grimms, Adlers and Wallheads object to this—why, should such a poor human being, called reformist, remaining in the party, quietly, with observance of all the rules of etiquette and submitting to the party discipline be expelled, like a rabid dog, from the party circle? He may die of grief. What rogues are those who wrote these words! Robert Grimm knows perfectly well that in the pigsty which bears the name of the Swiss social democratic party the conductor's staff is not in his (Grimms) hand, but in that of the reformist minority. The Gustav Müllers, Greilichs, Jean Siegs and the swarm of police and finance authorities buzzing around them are occupying all the seats in the parliamentary and communal factions; the party apparatus of power is in their hands. At the party conference they submit to the party discipline, and at the same time every day they snap their fingers at the party's resolutions. And what is the situation in the social democratic party of German Austria? May be Messrs. Seitz, Ellenbogen, Leutner and Renner will trouble themselves about the revolu-

tionary principles which Friedrich Adler in Innsbruck dug out from the depths of his heart? They will send them to the dense, because the fact that they are allowed to remain in the party proves that, in order to preserve the party unity, a split is being avoided. Jean Longuet has united now with the old flunkys of the French bourgeoisie, with Renaudel and his clique in a party which will belong to the Second and a Half International. Is there any one who could for a moment believe that out of considerations of party discipline Renaudel would desist in practice when circumstances would demand this, from national defence, on which the Innsbruck theses insist? The reservation in regard to the tolerant tactics of the Second and a Half International transforms it from a militant collaboration for a struggle against capitalism into a boardinghouse where any one may be put up: some for modest sleep, some for immodest „vigils.“

The attitude towards the reformists — therein lies the central point of the whole question of the constitution of the International. Whoever does not wish to separate from the reformists who are voicing the bourgeois tactics in the labour movement, will never carry out proletarian theses in practice however revolutionary they may sound. The latter will serve only for lulling the revolutionary mass, and the reformists — for establishing a contact with the bourgeoisie. Camille Huysmanns, a clever cynic, was perfectly right when he said of the representatives of the Second and a Half International: „They think like we do, but they talk like the Moscovites.“ We can only add: „They do not only think like social patriots but they act like social patriots.“ There is nothing that so clearly shows up the substance of the Second and a Half International as the fact that its chief promoters are the very same Crispiens and Hilferdings who at the moment when they are creating a so-called revolutionary International, that is to say, when they wish to lead the proletariat to a general active demonstration against capitalism — are simultaneously against uniting with the Communists for joint action thus binding themselves with the social democrats by their joint tactics of inaction. It is by these acts that the Second and a Half International must be judged but in no wise by its words or proclaimed principles. The opportunists estimate principles as cheap as common chaff, and recur to them only in so far as they can be useful in restraining the proletariat from revolutionary demonstrations.

Future of the Second and a Half International.

The Second and a Half International is an organisation which lacks an independent complex of political ideas. It is an organisation which is very far from carrying out the ideas borrowed by it from the Communist International and which it has made commonplace. It is in general not an international organisation of the proletariat, but it is consciously striving to be an international of weakly welded federation of national centrist socialist parties. How very small is its confidence in its own vitality and fighting capacity is proved by its convulsive holding on to the yellow Amsterdam International of

Trade Unions. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to presume that the Second and a Half International is not capable of life. In case the revolutionary movement in the West European countries will not acquire a more rapid development in the immediate future, if the process of revolutionising the working masses will proceed slowly, then the Second and a Half International will know how to keep the revolutionary masses which are standing at a crossroad from joining the Third International. The Second and a Half International will become the refuge for such homeless souls who cannot as yet decide which way to turn. Its existence will naturally be that of a phantom. Incapable of action, incapable of embodying the living spirit of the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat, it will be only an illusion of the rearguard of the proletariat until such time when such a rearguard will be moved forward by the course of events towards the front of the world revolution.

How great are these masses of still undecided people has been shown by the latter day events in the Italian Socialist party. The latter was considered to be one of the most considerable parties of the Communist International. The tens of thousands (and more) of workers forming it have proved their bravery in the vanguard fights of the Italian revolution. They had in practice shown their sympathies with Soviet Russia when the latter was threatened by the greatest danger. They have pronounced themselves in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They had the idea of workers Soviets and had even attempted by revolutionary means to realise a control over the production through industrial Soviets. But in spite of all this, close ties are still continuing to bind them to their reformist past, — ties whose meaning is not quite clear to them, although they threaten to stifle the Italian revolution. Owing to the split among the reformists already before the war and to the fact that part of them openly professing imperialism had withdrawn from the party, the majority of the Italian proletariat does not perceive the danger of obstructing the party leadership with democratic pacifist elements, hostile to the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this proletarian mass which had considered itself as the vanguard of the Communist International, pronounced itself in favour of the reformist leaders, when it found itself compelled to choose between them and the Communist International. The fact that the workers who are following Serrati are deeply convinced that they have nevertheless remained faithful to the Third International serves as a proof not against, but in favour of the existence of a great danger for the labour movement on the part of the centrists.

The venom of the centrist course of thought has deeply penetrated the psychology of the working class. Only a continuing development of the world revolution is capable of bringing it out. Neither the course of theoretical investigations, nor that of propaganda will lead to a victory over it. It is only possible to master this venom by means of a struggle which will instill in the masses a spirit of firmness and the conviction that the least hesitation at the decisive moment — is equal to death.

The consideration that the centrist spirit must be vanquished under the conditions of the world revolution and by means of it, does not mean at all that the Communist International must offer peace to this spirit in its midst, in order that it could be ultimately overmastered by the revolution. Naturally, the infected organs into which the centrist venom has had time to penetrate unnoticed, must be removed so that they should not infect the whole body.

Let the Hilferdings laugh at their ease, calling us sectarians, who turn away from the masses, as soon as the latter do not express their readiness to adopt without discussion all our instructions. The Communist International is the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. And the more it recognises the necessity of keeping in touch, or of a permanent contact with the slowly developing working masses, the more must it be careful that in its own ranks, in the ranks of the vanguard of the revolution, a sound and clearly defined conception of the forthcoming tasks and ways should reign. Whoever wishes to lead the masses to the revolutionary war must, naturally, be in the closest contact with them. He must not strive to determine according to his own judgement the ways for their arbitrary movement. The Communist International has never done this. The aims, it sets itself, are based on the understanding of the tendencies of the development of the world revolution. To follow the aims of the Communist International does in no wise mean to set doctrinarily one's own wishes against the working masses. It means: on the basis of the present to think of the future of the working class; not to lose sight of the aim which is glimmering among the sinuosities of the road; it means: during the process of the movement of the masses, which are vacillating, often drawing back before the consequences of the struggle and only developing as yet—to form a closely welded vanguard and by

its help to carry the masses ever forward leading them to victory.

From the above ensues not only the necessity of a contact with the still vacillating working masses but also the duty of carrying on a most relentless struggle against all their illusions, their irresolution and first of all against the ideology of the centre with its leaders and organisations. The relations between the Communist International and the Second and a Half International must therefore be a state of war.

The more relentless, the more systematic will our struggle against lies and deceit be, the closer shall we weld our ranks and the stronger will our influence be on the masses standing behind the Second and a Half International. With them we wish to act as one, wherever and whenever they may enter the fight. Against their leaders we shall fight mercilessly everywhere and always, wherever and whenever they will mislead the working masses, or whenever and wherever they will betray their cause.

The history of the right wing German Independents shows that after the split in Halle, when they lost the cargo which was composed of the revolutionary labour elements, they have rapidly deviated to the right. By taking off their masks they will accelerate the victory of the Communist International. The Second and a Half International is the product of the revolutionary process through which the whole world is passing but this is not a product showing the creative spirit of the world revolution, it is the scum of history, a product which becomes separated during the boiling of the world revolution. Therefore the Second and a Half International will be washed away by the stream of the world revolution as soon as its movement will grow more rapid. Until then we shall fight with it, as with a narrowminded tradition which is delaying the moment when the proletariat will awaken from its sleep and rush to the revolutionary battle.





The Levy on Farm Produce.

(Significance of the New Policy and its conditions).

By N. LENIN.

Instead of an introduction. *)

THE question of the Levy on Farm produce is calling forth at present a great deal of attention, discussions, debates. This is easily to be understood, because it is really one of the chief questions of the policy under the given conditions.

The discussions bear a rather confused character. We are all suffering from this defect for reasons which are quite comprehensible. The more useful will it be to approach this question, not from its „interest of the moment“ side, but from the point of view of a general principle. In other words: to cast a glance on the general radical background of the picture on which we are now tracing the features of the definite practical measures of the present day policy.

In order to make such an attempt I shall cite a long extract from my pamphlet: „The chief tasks of our days.—The left wing infancy and petty bourgeoisie.“ This pamphlet was published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers Deputies in 1918 and it contains first, a newspaper article of March 11-th, 1918 concerning the Brest peace, second, a controversy with the group of left Communists of the time, dated May 5-th, 1918. The polemics are no longer necessary and I shall leave them out. I shall retain only what refers to the discussion on „state capitalism“ and the fundamental elements of our modern economics in their period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

This is what I wrote then:

Contemporary economics of Russia.

(From a pamphlet of 1918).

State capitalism should be a step forward as compared with the present state of affairs in our Soviet Republic. If, for instance, after six months, state capitalism would be established in our country this would be a tremendous success and the surest guarantee that in a year's time socialism would be finally consolidated and invincible.

I can imagine with what a noble indignation some people will turn away on reading these

words... How? In a Soviet Socialist Republic a passage to state capitalism would be a step forward? Is not this treason against socialism?

We must stop at this point for a while.

First, it is necessary to consider what is this passage from capitalism to socialism which serves as a right and a basis for us to call ourselves a Socialist Republic of Soviets.

Second, it is necessary to disclose the mistake of those who do not see in the petty bourgeois economic conditions and the petty bourgeois element the chief enemy of socialism in our country.

Third, we must understand the meaning of a Soviet state in its economic distinction from a bourgeois state.

Let us examine these three conditions.

There has not been a single man who in thinking over the question of economics in Russia has denied the transitional character of these economics. No Communist I think has ever refuted the fact that the expression „Socialist Soviet Republic“ means the resolution of the Soviet power to realise the passage to socialism, but in no wise to recognise the existing economic conditions as socialist ones.

What does the word „transition“ mean? Does it not mean, as applied to economics, that in the given order, there are elements, particles, bits of capitalism and socialism? Every one will recognise that it is so. But not every one, while recognising this, will think what are the elements of the various social economic customs and usages which are prevailing in Russia. This is however the very essence of the question.

Let us enumerate these elements:

1. The patriarchal order, i. e. to a considerable degree the natural peasant economic management.
2. A petty industry production (including the majority of the peasants who sell their agricultural products).
3. Private-economic capitalism.
4. State capitalism.
5. Socialism.

Russia is so vast and so variegated that all these different types of the public economic order are intermingled in her. The peculiarity of the situation lies in this very fact.

Query, what elements predominate? Obviously, in the smaller peasant proprietors milieu the

*) Comrade Lenin's article will be published in № 1 of the *Krasnaya Nov.*, a magazine published by the Publishing Office of the Chief Department of Political Culture.

predominating position is occupied by, and must be occupied by, the petty bourgeois element. The majority, even the overwhelming majority, of agricultural workers are petty producers of commodities. The envelope of state capitalism (bread monopoly, traders and contractors well under control, bourgeois cooperation) is broken here and there in our country by speculators and the chief object of the speculation is bread.

The chief struggle is developed in this department. Between what elements is this struggle going on, if we speak in the terms of the economic categories, like "state capitalism"? Between the fourth and fifth degrees in the order that I have enumerated above? Certainly not. It is not state capitalism which is struggling here against socialism but the petty bourgeoisie plus private economic capitalism are struggling together jointly against state capitalism and against socialism. The petty bourgeoisie is opposing all state intervention, registration and control, both state capitalist and state socialist. This is an absolutely indisputable fact in the misunderstanding of which lies the root of a whole series of economic mistakes. The speculator, marauder, the violator of a monopoly—this is our chief "internal" foe, the enemy of the economic measures of the Soviet power. If 125 years ago it was excusable for the French petty bourgeois, the most dire and sincere revolutionists, to strive to defeat the speculators by the execution of separate few "elected ones" and by the thunder of denunciation, then at the present moment this purely French attitude towards this question of certain left wing social revolutionaries arouses in each class-conscious revolutionist only disgust and abhorrence. We know perfectly well that the economic basis of speculation is the petty proprietor stratum which is so widely spread in Russia and also private capitalism which has its agent in every petty bourgeois. We know that millions of antennae of this petty bourgeois hydra are clutching here and there separate stratifications of workers, that speculation, instead of state monopoly, is creeping into all the pores of our public economic life.

Whoever does not see this, proves by his blindness that he is the captive of petty bourgeois prejudices.

The petty bourgeois has a fund of money, a few thousands which he has "honestly" and dishonestly accumulated during the war. Such is the economic type, a characteristic one, as a basis for speculation and private capitalism. Money is a certificate for the obtaining of public wealth and the multi-millioned stratum of petty proprietors holding tightly this certificate hiding it from the "state," believing neither in socialism or communism, await the passing of the proletarian storm. Either we shall subject to our control and registration this petty bourgeois element (we shall be able to do so if we organise the poor, that is to say, the majority of the population or "half" proletarians around the class-conscious proletarian advanced guard), or it will overthrow our workers power inevitably and unavoidably just as the revolution was overthrown by the Napoleons and Cavaignacs, who had sprung up on this

very petty property soil. The question stands thus, and only thus.

The petty bourgeois holding on to his thousands is the enemy of state capitalism and he wishes to realise these thousands only for himself, against the poor, against all general state control; the sum total of these thousands giving a multi-million basis for speculation which is endangering our socialist construction. Let us admit that a certain number of workers produces after a certain time a totality of values equal to, let us say, 1000. Let us admit further, that 200 of this sum are lost to us owing to petty speculation, stealing, and petty property "evading" of the Soviet decrees and regulations. Every class-conscious worker will say: if I could give three hundred out of the thousand in order to have more order and organisation, I would willingly give them instead of two hundred because under the Soviet power it will be quite an easy task to reduce this "tribute" to say one hundred or even to fifty, once order and organisation will be established and once the petty property violation of all state monopoly will be finally suppressed.

This simple example which is intentionally simplified for the sake of popularity, explains the correlations in the existing situation between state capitalism and socialism. The workers held the state power in their hands, they have the juridical possibility of "taking" the whole thousand, i. e. not to allow a single copeck to be spent otherwise than for socialist purposes. This juridical possibility arising from the practical passage of the power to the workers, is the element of socialism. But the petty property and private capitalist element break through the juridical situation, push in speculation, suppress the carrying out of the Soviet decrees. State capitalism would be a great step forward even if (and I have purposely given such an example to show my meaning clearly) we should pay more than we do now, because it is worth while to pay for "schooling," it is useful for the workers, because the victory over disorder, ruin, disorganisation is most important, because the continuation of the petty property anarchy is the greatest, most serious danger, which will ruin us inevitably, if we do not defeat it. Whereas the payment of a larger tribute to state capitalism will not only not ruin us, but it will lead us along the surest way to socialism. The working class, which has learnt how to defend the state order against petty property anarchism, which has learnt how to establish a large general state organisation of the production, on state capitalist principles, will then have—excuse the expression—all the trumps in its hand and socialism will be guaranteed.

Firstly, state capitalism is economically incomparably higher than our actual economics.

Secondly, there is nothing terrible in it for the Soviet power, because the Soviet state is a state in which the power of the workers and the poor is guaranteed.

* * *

In order to elucidate the question still further we shall first of all cite a concrete example of state capitalism. Every one is acquainted with this example—Germany. Here we have the "last word" of a

modern large capitalist technique and a systematic organisation subjected to a junker — bourgeois-imperialism. Cross out the last few words, place instead of a military-junker-bourgeois-imperialist state also a state, but of a different social type, of a different class consistence, a Soviet state, i. e. a proletarian state and you will have the total of conditions which give socialism.

Socialism is impossible without a large capitalist technique constructed according to the latest improvements in science, without a systematic state organisation, subordinating tens of millions of people to the strictest conformity to one standard in the matter of production and distribution of products. We Marxists have always spoken of this, and it is of no use to spend two seconds' talk with those who have not even understood this (anarchists and a good half of the left social revolutionaries).

Socialism is impossible at the same time without the rule of the proletariat in the state: that is also pure A. B. C. History (from whom no one except the Menshevist dull-heads of the first order has expected that it would give a „perfect“ socialism smoothly, calmly, easily and simply) has moved on so peculiarly that by 1918 it had given birth to two different halves of socialism, one beside the other, like two future chickens in the same eggshell of international imperialism. Russia and Germany both embodied in 1918 most obviously the material realisation of the economic, industrial, social economic, on the one side, and political conditions of socialism, on the other.

The victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would have broken at once with the greatest ease any eggshell of imperialism (built unfortunately of the best steel and therefore unbreakable for the efforts of a chicken) and would have realised the victory of world socialism for a certainty without any difficulty at all or with insignificant difficulties, — naturally if we take a world historical scale for „difficulty“ not an ordinary every day one.

If in Germany the revolution is still slow in „developing“ it is our task to learn from state capitalism of the Germans to imitate it with all our force, not to spare dictator's methods for the purpose of accelerating this imitation of Western science by barbarous Russia, without stopping at barbarous measures of struggle against barbarity. If there are people among the anarchists and the left wing social revolutionaries (I have involuntarily been reminded of the speeches of Karelin and Gay in the Central Executive Committee) who are capable of discoursing à la Karelin, that it is not seemly for us to „learn“ from German imperialism, then one may say only one thing: any revolution which would seriously listen to such people would perish hopelessly (and quite deservedly).

In Russia petty bourgeois capitalism is predominating, and from it this same road is leading both to large state capitalism and to socialism, through the very same intermediary station, called „popular registration and control over the production and distribution of products.“ Whoever does not understand this, is guilty of an unpardonable economic mistake, either not being acquainted with

the actual facts, not seeing what is going on, and incapable of looking the truth in the face, or content with the abstract juxtaposition of „capitalism“ to „socialism,“ and not entering into the concrete forms and degrees of this transition period in our country.

In parenthesis he it said: it is the same theoretical mistake which has confused the best men from the camp of the Novaja Jizn (New Life) and the Vperiod (Forward); the worst of them and the middle ones owing to their dull-headedness and lack of will power are sneaking along in the wake of the bourgeoisie, cowed by it; the best of them have not understood that the teachers of socialism have not spoken in vain of a whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism and have not in vain expressly underlined „the tortures of birth“ of the new society, this latter being also an abstract conception which cannot become embodied otherwise than through a whole series of different, incomplete, concrete attempts to create such or any other socialist state.

Just because Russia cannot move forward from the actual economic situation without passing through all that is common to both state capitalism and socialism (popular registration and control), to frighten others and oneself by the „evolution towards state capitalism“ is complete theoretical nonsense. That means to let one's thoughts roam „away“ from the real road of „evolution,“ not to understand this road; in practice this is equal to dragging one back to petty property capitalism.

In order that the reader may be convinced that the „high“ valuation of state capitalism is made by me not only now, but even before the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, I take the liberty to cite the following extract from my pamphlet: „The threatening catastrophe and how to struggle against it,“ written in September 1917.

„Try to take instead of a junker-capitalist, landlord-capitalist state a revolutionary democratic state, i. e. state revolutionarily destroying all privileges, not afraid of revolutionarily realising the most complete democratism. You will see that the state monopolist capitalism in a bona fide revolutionary democratic state inevitably, unavoidably means a step towards socialism...“

„Because socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from state capitalist monopoly...“

„The state monopolist capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, it is its anteroom; a step of the historic ladder between which and the step called socialism there are no intermediary steps (pages 27 and 28)...“

Remark, that this was written at the time of Kerensky, that the talk was not of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of a socialist state, but of a „revolutionary democratic“ one. Is it then not clear that the higher we rise above this political step the more completely we embody the socialist state and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviets, the less we have to fear „state capitalism?“

Is it not clear that in a material, economic, industrial sense we are not even in the „anteroom“

of socialism? And that otherwise than through this „anteroom“ which we have not passed yet we cannot get to the door of socialism?

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The following circumstance is also most instructive.

When we were disputing in the Central Executive Committee with comrade Bukharin, he said among other things: in the question of high salaries to the specialists „we are more right wing than Lenin“ because we do not see any digression from our principles in this, remembering the words of Marx that under certain conditions it would be more expedient for the working class to „pay off this hand“ (meaning the hand of capitalists, that is to say, to buy up from the bourgeoisie the land, factories, works and other means of production).

This is an extremely interesting remark.

Follow the idea of Marx.

This question concerned England of the seventies of last century, the culminating period of pre-monopolist capitalism; a country in which there was less of militarism and bureaucracy than anywhere else, a country with more possibilities for a „peaceful“ victory of socialism in the sense of the „buying up“ of the bourgeoisie by the workers. And Marx said: under certain conditions the workers will not refuse to buy up the bourgeoisie. Marx did not let his hands—or those of the future workers for socialism—be tied in respect to the forms, means, methods of revolution, understanding full well what a mass of new problems would arise then, that the entire life would undergo a change in the course of the revolution, and how often and how greatly it would be modified during this course.

Well, and in Soviet Russia after the seizure of the power by the proletariat, after the crushing of the military and sabotage resistance of the exploiters, was it not evident that some of the conditions had acquired the same type as might have been formed fifty years ago in England, if she would have proceeded to pass over peacefully to socialism? The subordination of the capitalists to the workers of England might have been ensured then by the following circumstances:

1) The complete predominance of the workers, proletarians in the population, owing to the absence of a peasantry; (in England in the seventies there were signs which allowed one to hope that socialism would meet with great success among the agricultural labourers); 2) the excellent organisation of the proletariat in the Trade Unions (England was at the time the first country in the world in this respect); 3) the comparatively high culture of the proletariat owing to the age old development of political freedom; 4) the long habit of the excellently organised capitalists of England—they were then the best organised capitalists of the whole world (now this supremacy has passed over to Germany) to decide all political and economic questions by compromises. These are the conditions owing to which it was possible to dream of a peaceful subjection of the capitalists of England to the workers.

In our country this subjection is ensured at the given moment by certain concrete premises

(the victory in October and the crushing of all military and sabotage resistance of the capitalists from October to February). In Russia instead of a complete predominance of workers—proletarians in the population and their capacity for organisation, the factor of victory was the support of the proletariat by the poorer and absolutely ruined peasantry. Finally we have neither the high culture, nor the habit of compromising. If one studies these concrete conditions it will be clear that we may and must attain now a combination of methods of a relentless struggle against the uncultured capitalists who do not agree to any „state capitalism,“ who are not thinking of any compromise, who are continuing to upset the Soviet decrees by speculation, bribery of the poor, etc; with the methods of compromise or buying up of the cultured capitalists who are agreeing to „state capitalism,“ who are capable of carrying it out, who are useful to the proletariat as clever and experienced organisers of large enterprises, capable of supplying products to tens of millions of people.

Bukharin is a highly educated Marxian economist. Therefore he has remembered that Marx was perfectly right when he impressed on the workers the importance of preserving the organisation of larger production in the interests of facilitating the passage to socialism, and the complete possibility of accepting the idea that it is necessary to pay well to the capitalists, to buy them up if (as an exceptional case: England was then an exception) circumstances would turn out so that they would compel the capitalists to submit peacefully and to pass over organisedly to socialism under the condition of being indemnified.

But Bukharin was mistaken because he did not enter into the concrete peculiarity of the given moment in Russia, an exclusive moment when we, the proletariat of Russia, are in advance of England and Germany in regard to our political regime, the force of political power of the workers, and at the same time behind the most backward of all the west European states in respect to the organisation of a proper state capitalism, in regard to a high standard of culture, and preparedness for the material-industrial „introduction“ of socialism. Is it not clear that out of this peculiar situation there ensues for the given moment the necessity of a peculiar „ransom“ which the workers must propose to the most cultured, talented, most capable organisers among the capitalist who are ready to enter the service of the Soviet power and conscientiously help in the organisation of a large and the largest „state“ production? Is it not clear that under such peculiar conditions we must endeavour to avoid two kinds of mistakes, out of which each one is petty bourgeois in its-way? On the one hand it would be an irreparable mistake to declare that once the incompatibility of our economic „forces“ and the political force is established then „as a consequence“ we ought not to have seized power. Such is the logic of straightlaced persons who forget that there never can be „compatibility,“ that there cannot be any in the development of society, as in the developments of nature, that only by means of a series of attempts, each of which taken separately will be one-sided and will suffer from a certain incompatibility, can socialism be victoriously

created out of the revolutionary collaboration of the proletariat of all countries.

On the other hand it would be an obvious mistake to accord full liberty to the clamourers and prattlers who allow themselves to be carried away by „glaring“ revolutionism, but who are incapable of sustained, systematic, well planned-out revolutionary work which foresees also the most difficult transition periods.

Fortunately the history of the development of the revolutionary parties and the struggle of Bolshevism against them has bequeathed to us some sharply defined types, out of which the left wing social revolutionaries and anarchists represent rather poor specimens of revolutionists. They are now crying out, almost hysterically, against the „conciliatory policy“ of the „right wing Bolsheviki.“ But they are incapable of comprehending in what lies the harm of „conciliation“ and why it has been censured by history in the course of the revolution.

The conciliatory policy of Kerensky's time gave the power to the imperialist bourgeoisie and the question of power is the radical question of every revolution. The conciliatory policy of a part of the Bolsheviki in October-November, 1917 shows that it was either afraid of the seizure of power by the proletariat, or it wished to share the power in equal parts not only with „unreliable fellow travellers“ like the left wing social revolutionaries but also with our enemies, the followers of Chernov, the Mensheviki, who would inevitably impede our actions at all the essential moments, namely: the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the relentless crushing of Bogayevsky, the complete establishment of the Soviet institutions and each case of confiscation.

At present the power is seized, held and reinforced in the hands of one party, that of the proletariat without even „unreliable fellow travellers.“ To speak now of conciliation, or coalition when there can be no talk of a division of power, of any desistance from the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie means simply to repeat like a magpie words which have been learnt but not understood. To talk of our „conciliatory policy“ now, when we have attained a position in which we can and must rule the country, when we are able without sparing expenses to attract to our work the most cultured of the elements trained by capitalism and take them into our service against the petty property ruin, means to be incapable of understanding the economic tasks of socialist construction.....“

The Levy on Farm produce, right of trading, concessions.

In the above cited considerations in 1918 there is a series of mistakes in regard to the periods of time. They have proved to be longer than they were supposed to be then. This is not surprising. But the fundamental elements of our economics have remained the same. The poorer peasants (proletarians and semi-proletarians) have become transformed in the majority of cases into middle peasant proprietors. Hence the petty property, petty bourgeois „element“ has become stronger. On the other hand the civil war of 1918—1920 has greatly

increased the ruin of the country, retarded the restoration of its productive forces, caused more loss of blood to the proletariat. Added to this the bad harvest of 1920, the lack of forage, loss of cattle, which has still further delayed the restoration of transport and industry, preventing for instance the transport of firewood, our chief fuel, by the peasants' horses.

On the whole the political conditions by the spring of 1920 have acquired such an acute form that most immediate, most urgent, most extreme, measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry and the raising of its productive forces have become absolutely necessary.

But why only the peasantry, not the workers?

Because for the improvement of the condition of the workers bread and fuel are necessary. At present the greatest „impediment“ from the point of view of state economy lies in the lack of these two commodities. It is however impossible to increase the production of bread, and the preparation and transport of fuel otherwise than by improving the conditions of the peasantry, and by increasing its productive forces. We must begin with the peasants. Whoever does not understand this, whoever is inclined to see in this „desistance“ or a semblance of desistance from the dictatorship of the proletariat simply does not use his own judgement in the matter, allows himself to be carried away by high sounding phrases. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the directing of the policy on the part of the proletariat. The latter as a leading ruling class must be able to direct the policy in such a way as to decide first of all the most urgent the most important questions. Those not to be deferred are now the measures which are capable of increasing the productive forces of the peasant economic management immediately. Only through these may be attained the improvement of the conditions of the workers, the strengthening of the union between the workers and the peasants and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian, or representative of the proletariat, who would wish to proceed to the improvement of the conditions of the workers in any other way would prove to be practically a supporter of the white guardists and capitalists. Any other way would mean: to place the guild interests of the workers above the class interests, which means to sacrifice to the interests of a direct temporary, partial advantage of the workers the interests of the whole working class, its dictatorship, its union with the peasants against the landlords, and capitalists, its leading rôle in the struggle for the liberation of labour from the yoke of capital.

Hence immediate and serious measures for the speeding up of the productive forces of the peasantry are urgently necessary in the very first place.

This cannot be brought about without very serious modifications in the food supply policy. This modification is the replacing of the former requisitions by a Levy on Farm produce which is connected with the right to trade freely after the payment of the levy at least in the local economic transactions.

In what does the essence of this substitution lie?

Most incorrect ideas are being spread on this account. This arises partly out of the fact that one does not investigate the substance of this transition, one does not ask oneself from what and to what does this transition lead. One thinks that it is a transition from Communism in general to a bourgeois system in general. Against this error we must unavoidably remind people of what was said in May 1918.

The levy on produce is one of the forms of transition from the peculiar „military communism“ called forth by the extreme penury, ruin and war, to a regular socialistic goods exchange. And the latter in its turn is one of the forms of transition from socialism with the peculiarities called forth by the predominance of the poorer peasants in the population, to communism.

The peculiar „military communism“ consisted in that we practically took from the peasants all the superfluous food stuffs and even sometimes not only the superfluous food but part of what the peasant really needed himself, for the needs of the army and the workers. It was all taken on credit and paid for in paper money. Otherwise we could not have defeated the landlords and capitalists in the ruined country of small peasant proprietors. And the fact that we did win the victory (in spite of the support of our exploiters by the most powerful countries in the world) proved not only of what miracles of heroism the workers and peasants were capable of in the struggle for their liberation, but it proved also what a rôle the „flunkeys“ of the bourgeoisie—the Mensheviks, the social revolutionaries, Kautsky and Co. had been playing practically while blaming us for such „military communism.“ It must be considered as our merit.

But it is not less necessary to know the exact proportions of this merit. „Military Communism“ was called forth by war and ruin. It was not and could not be a policy corresponding to the economic tasks of the proletariat. It was a temporary measure. The correct policy of the proletariat realising its dictatorship in a country of small peasant proprietors is an exchange of food stuffs against the products of industry which are most needed by the peasant. Only such a food policy can answer to the tasks of the proletariat, it alone is capable of consolidating the principles of socialism and the bringing about of its complete victory.

The levy on produce is a transition to it. We are still so far ruined and oppressed by the yoke of the war (which has been waging yesterday and which may again break out to-morrow owing to the cupidity and hatred of the capitalists), that we cannot give to the peasants products of industry for all the bread that we need. Knowing this we are introducing a levy, that is to say, we take from him the minimum necessary quantity (for the army and the workers) of bread as a tax, and the rest we shall exchange against products of industry.

We must not forget the following circumstances.

The want and penury are such that we cannot at once restore the large factory state socialist production. For this are necessary large reserves of bread and fuel in the centres of the larger industry, and the replacing of the worn out machines

by new ones., etc. We have learnt by experience that this cannot be done all at once and we know that after a ruinous imperialist war even the richest and most advanced countries will only be able to solve this problem after a long series of years. Consequently it is necessary to help to a certain degree in the restoration of the petty industry, which does not demand machinery, nor large supplies of raw materials, fuel, food stuffs, but which may immediately render a certain amount of assistance to the peasant's economic management and raise his productive forces.

What ensues from this?

The restoration of the petty bourgeoisie and capitalism on the basis of a certain (albeit only local) right of trading. This is undoubtedly so. It would be ridiculous not to see it.

Query, is this necessary? Can this be justified? Is it not dangerous?

Many similar questions are being asked and in most cases they show only the naïveté (speaking politely) of the questioners.

Remember, how in May 1918 I defined the elements (integral parts) of the different social-economic orders in our economies. No one will be able to contest the fact that we have all these five degrees or parts of all these five orders beginning with the patriarchal (i. e. half uncivilised) and ending with the socialist one. It is self-evident that in a country of small peasant owners a partly patriarchal, partly petty bourgeois order must prevail. The development of a small farming management is a petty bourgeois, a capitalist development once there is an exchange of goods; this is an indisputable truth, the alphabet of political economy, which is confirmed by every day experience and the observations of the ordinary lookers on.

What policy can then be conducted by a socialist proletariat in the face of such an economic reality? To give the peasant all the products of industry of a large socialist factory needed by him in exchange for bread and raw materials? This would be the most desirable, the most „correct“ policy, and we began it. But we cannot give him all the products that he needs, by far not all, and we shall not be able to do so very soon, at least so long as we shall not have ended the first series of works for the electrification of the whole country. What is to be done? Either to attempt to forbid, and suppress all development of a private non-state goods exchange, that is to say, trading, i. e. capitalism, which is inevitable with the existence of millions of petty producers. Such policy would be a foolishness and a suicide for the party, which would attempt it. A foolishness because such policy is economically impossible; suicide, because the parties attempting such policy must inevitably become bankrupt. It is no use concealing it, some of the communists have sinned „in thought, word and deed“ by attempting such policy. Let us try to rectify these mistakes. We must do so, otherwise all will be lost.

Either (the last possible and only reasonable policy) not to attempt to forbid or suppress the development of capitalism, or to try to direct it along the course of state capitalism. This is economically possible, because state capitalism:

exists—in some form or other, to some degree or other—wherever there are elements of commerce and capitalism in general.

Is a combination, union, blending of a Soviet state, a dictatorship of the proletariat with a state capitalism possible? Certainly, it is. I tried to prove it in May 1918 and I hope that I succeeded in proving it at the time. More than that: I proved then that state capitalism is a step forward in comparison with the petty property (and petty patriarch and petty bourgeois) element. Those who are comparing or juxtaposing state capitalism with socialism alone are making a great mistake; under the given conditions it is necessary to compare also state capitalism with petty bourgeois production.

The whole question—both theoretically and practically—lies in the means of finding the correct methods for directing the inevitable (up to a certain degree and during a certain period of time) development of capitalism into the channel of state capitalism, under what conditions this is to be done, and how to ensure the transformation of state capitalism into socialism in the immediate future.

In order to approach the solution of this question one must first of all obtain a clear insight into the fact as to what can, and may be state capitalism within our Soviet system, within the limit of our Soviet state.

The most simple instance or example of how the Soviet power is directing the development of capitalism into the channel of state capitalism is by the method of concessions. At present we all agree that concessions are necessary, but not all of us understand the meaning of concessions. What are concessions under the Soviet system, from the point of view of our social-economic customs and their correlations? A concession is an agreement, a block, a union between the Soviet, i. e. proletarian state power and state capitalism against the petty property (patriarchal and petty bourgeois) element. The concessioner is a capitalist. He works on capitalist lines, for profit, he agrees to sign a contract with the proletarian power in order to gain extra profits, to obtain such raw materials that it would be impossible or very difficult for him to obtain otherwise. The Soviet power has its profit in the development of the productive forces, and in the increase of the quantity of products immediately or after a short time. We possess, let us say, a hundred of enterprises, mines, forest areas. We cannot work them all—we lack machinery, food stuffs, means of transport. For this reason we are doing poor work on the remaining ones. Owing to such poor and insufficient exploitation of the larger enterprises we have the development of the petty property element in all its forms: the decrease of the local (and later on of the whole) peasant farming, the collapse of its productive forces, the lessening of its confidence in the Soviet power, theft and a mass of petty (the most dangerous) speculation, etc. In "implanting" state capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet power is supporting the large production against the petty one, the advanced forms against the backward ones, machinery against hand labour; it is increas-

ing the quantity of products of the larger industry in its own hands (a certain allotment in the production); it is strengthening the state organised economic relations in counterweight to the petty—bourgeois—anarchistic. Carried out carefully and in the proper proportions the policy of concessions will undoubtedly help us to improve rapidly (to a certain insignificant degree) the production, the conditions of the workers and peasants—naturally at the price of certain sacrifices, the payment of tens and tens of millions of poods of the most valuable products to the capitalist. The determination of the measure and the conditions under which the concessions are advantageous and not dangerous for us depends on the correlation of forces and is decided by the struggle, because a concession is also a form of struggle, the continuation of the class struggle in a different form, it is in no wise the substitution of the class struggle by a class peace. Practice will show us the methods of the struggle.

State capitalism in the form of concessions is in comparison with the other forms of state capitalism within the Soviet system almost the most simple, distinct, clear and precisely defined form. We have here a formal written agreement with the most advanced, cultured west European capitalism. We know clearly our advantages and our losses, our rights and liabilities, we know precisely the term for which we grant the concession, we know the conditions for redeeming the concession before the stipulated date, if the agreement foresees the right for such redemption. We pay a certain "tribute" to world capitalism, we "buy up" the concession on such and such conditions, obtaining immediately a definite consolidation of the position of Soviet power, and an improvement in the conditions of our own public economy. The whole difficulty of the task in respect to the concessions lies in the faculty of foreseeing and weighing all possibilities at the signing of the concession agreement and then in watching its execution. There are undoubtedly difficulties in the business and mistakes will probably be inevitable in the beginning; but the difficulties are much smaller in comparison with the other tasks of the social revolution and in particular in comparison with other forms of development, admission and implanting of state capitalism.

The most important task for all party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the levy on produce is to know how to adapt the principles, theses, bases of the "concessional" policy (i. e. similar to the "concessional" state capitalism) to the other forms of capitalism, commerce, local turnover, etc.

Let us take cooperation. It is not in vain that the decree on the levy on produce has called forth immediately a revision of the regulations on cooperation and a certain enlargement of its "liberty" and its rights. Cooperation is also a form of state capitalism, but a less simple, less clearly defined, more complicated form and therefore one that presents in practice greater difficulties to our Soviet power. The cooperation of petty commodity producers (this is the cooperation that we are discussing as the predominating and typical one in a country of

small peasant owners) inevitably engenders petty bourgeois capitalist relations, concurs in their development, putting forward small capitalists, giving them the larger profits. This cannot be otherwise, once there is a predominance of small proprietors and the possibility as well as the necessity of a goods exchange. Freedom and the right of cooperation, under the given conditions in Russia, signify freedom and right of capitalism. It would be foolish or criminal to close one's eyes to such an obvious truth.

But "cooperative" capitalism in distinction from private economic capitalism is, under the Soviet power, but a variety of state capitalism, and as such it is both advantageous and useful at present—naturally to a certain degree. In so far as the levy on produce means liberty to sell other superfluous goods (which are not levied as a tax) so far is it necessary for us to apply all our efforts to guide this development of capitalism—because the right to sell, the right to trade is a development of capitalism—into the channel of cooperative capitalism. Cooperative capitalism resembles state capitalism in so far as it facilitates the registration, control, inspection, agreement relation: between the state (the Soviet state in the given case) and the capitalists. Cooperation as a form of trade is more profitable and more useful than individual trading, not only for the above reasons, but because it facilitates the uniting and organisation of millions of the population, and later on of the entire population, to a man, and this circumstance in its turn is a gigantic advance, from the point of view of a further passage from state capitalism to socialism.

Let us compare concessions and cooperation as forms of state capitalism. Concession is based on a large machinery industry; cooperation on a petty, handicraft industry, even a patriarchal one. Concession concerns one capitalist or one firm, one syndicate, one trust in each separate concession contract. Cooperation includes many thousands, even millions of petty proprietors. Concession admits of, and even presupposes, a precise agreement and stipulated term. Cooperation does not admit of either a precise agreement or a precisely fixed term. It is much easier to annul a law on cooperation, than to break an agreement for a concession but the breaking of an agreement means an immediate, simple and prompt rupture of all practical relations between the union of economic association and the capitalist, whereas an annulment of the law on cooperation, no laws in general will not only break at once all relations between the Soviet power and the petty capitalists, but they will in general not be able to break the practical economic relations. It is easy to "look after" the concessioner, but very difficult to look after the cooperators. The transition from concessions to socialism is a transition from one form of large production to another form of the same. The transition from a cooperation of petty proprietors to socialism is a transition from petty to large production, i. e. a more complicated transition, but better capable of embracing, in case of success, the wider masses of the population, and of extracting the deeper and more clinging roots of the old pre-socialist even pre-capitalist relations, the most

stubborn in the sense of resistance to every "innovation." The policy of concessions, in case of success, will give us a small number of model—in comparison with ours—large enterprises, on a level with modern advanced capitalism; in a few decades these enterprises will pass over wholly to us. The policy of cooperation in case of success will give us a development of the petty production and facilitate its transition in an indefinite space of time to a large production on the principles of a voluntary association.

Now let us take the third form of state capitalism. The state invites the capitalist, as a tradesman, paying him a stipulated percentage commission for the sale of the state products and the purchase of the produce of the petty producer. A fourth form: the state gives in lease to a contractor-capitalist an enterprise belonging to it or an industry, a forest, piece of land, etc; the lease contract resembling most of all a concession agreement. No one speaks, or thinks, or takes any notice of these last two forms of state capitalism. This is not because we are strong and clever, but because we are weak and foolish. We are afraid to look "simple truth" in the face, we prefer to remain in the power of beautiful delusions." We are constantly repeating that "we" are passing from capitalism to socialism, forgetting to establish clearly and definitely who are "we." It is necessary to have before our eyes the enumeration of all—without any exceptions—the composite parts, all the various orders of our social management in our economics given by me in an article of May 5, 1918, so as not to forget it. "We" the advanced guard of the proletariat are passing over directly to socialism, but the advanced guard is only a small part of the proletariat, which in its turn is only a small part of the entire population. And in order that "we" should be able to solve successfully the task of our direct transition to socialism, it is necessary to understand what intermediary ways, means, methods, assistance are necessary for the passage from pre-capitalist relations to socialism. Therein lies the whole question.

Look at the map of the R. S. F. S. R. To the north of Vologda, to the south-east of Rostov-on-the-Don and Saratov, to the south of Orenburg and Omsk, to the north of Tomsk lie unlimited areas of land on which tens or dozens of large cultured states might find place to exist. And in all these vast lands the patriarchal mode of life prevails, and they are in a semi-civilised and even totally un-civilised state. And in the remote villages of the remaining part of Russia? Wherever there are versts upon versts of country roads—or more rightly no roads at all—dividing the villages from the railroads, from all material contact with culture, capitalism, the larger industry and large towns—do not patriarchal usages and customs, uncivilised conditions reign supreme?

Is the realisation of an immediate passage from these pre-dominating conditions to socialism imaginable? Yes, it is, to a certain degree, but under one condition only which we have now learnt owing to a great and completed scientific work. This condition is electrification. If we build a certain number of district electric stations (we now know exactly where and how they may and should

be placed), if we conduct the energy from them to each village, if we shall have a sufficient number of electromotors and other machines, then no transitional stages will be necessary, no intermediate steps from patriarchal customs to socialism, or at least almost none. But we know perfectly well that this „only“ condition will demand at least ten years for the works of the first turn, and that any reduction of this term will be possible only in the event of the victory of the proletarian revolution in such countries as England, Germany, America.

For the immediate future it is necessary to think of the intermediate links, which will be able to facilitate the transition from a patriarchal life and from petty production to socialism. „We are still often led astray by the argument: „capitalism is an evil, socialism is a blessing.“ This argument is incorrect, because it forgets all the combination of the existing social economic conditions, taking up only two of them:

Capitalism is an evil in relation to socialism. Capitalism is a blessing in regard to the middle ages, in relation to the petty production, to the bureaucratism connected with the dispersedness of the petty producers. In so far as we are still unable to effect an immediate transition from petty production to socialism, so far is capitalism inevitable to a certain degree as an elementary product of petty production and exchange and so far must we utilise capitalism (especially directing it into the channel of state capitalism) as an intermediate link between petty production and socialism, as a means, a way, a method for the development of the productive forces.

Take the question of bureaucratism and look at it from the economic point of view. May 5th 1918 it did not stand within the range of our sight. Six months after the October revolution, after we had broken up the whole bureaucratic apparatus from top to bottom, we did not feel this evil.

Another year passed by. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, 18—23 March 1919, the new programme of the party was adopted and we said in it openly, without fearing to recognise the evil, but desirous of revealing it, denouncing and reviling it, of challenging thought and will, energy and action for the struggle against it, we spoke of the „partial resuscitation of bureaucratism within the Soviet order.“

Two more years elapsed. In the spring of 1921 after the Eighth Congress of the Soviets, which had discussed the question of bureaucratism (XII, 1920), after the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P. (III, 1921) which had summarised the results of the debates closely connected with the analysis of bureaucratism, we see this evil still clearer, still more distinctly, still more threatening in front of us. What are the economic roots of bureaucratism? These roots are chiefly of two kinds: on the one hand the bourgeoisie needs a bureaucratic apparatus against the revolutionary movement of the workers (partly the peasants), and first of all a military, and a juridical apparatus, etc. We have no such apparatus. Our law courts are class ones, against the bourgeoisie. Our army is a class one, against the bourgeoisie. There is no bureaucratism in the army only in the institutions serving it.

We have another economic root of bureaucratism: the dispersedness of the petty producer, his penury absence of culture, illiteracy, absence of roads absence of a commercial turnover between agriculture and industry, absence of contact and mutual action between them. To a great degree this is the result of the civil war. When we were blockaded, besieged on all sides, cut off from the whole world, from the fertile south, from Siberia, from the coal region, we could not restore the industry. We could not stop before „military Communism“; we dared not be afraid to use the most desperate, the most extreme measures; we said: let us bear a half starved, or even worse than half starved existence, but let us defend the worker-peasant power by all means, in spite of the most unheard of ruin and absence of all commercial turnover. And we would not let ourselves be frightened like the social revolutionaries and the Mensheviks (who had practically followed the bourgeoisie mostly out of fear). But the circumstances which served as a condition of victory in the blockaded country, in the besieged fortress, displayed their negative sides in the spring of 1921 when the last white guard troops were finally driven away from the territory of the R. S. F. S. R. It was right and necessary to „stop“ all commercial turnover in a besieged fortress; given the valiant heroism of the masses this may be borne during three years. After this the ruin of the petty producer was increased and the restoration of the large industry was delayed. Bureaucratism as a legacy of the „siege“, as a superstructure over the dispersedness and crushed condition of the petty producer revealed itself in all its might.

It is necessary to be able to recognise evil fearlessly, in order to carry on the struggle against it the more firmly, in order to begin again and again from the very beginning—we shall be obliged many times, in all the branches of our construction to begin again, patching up what had been left undone, choosing different ways of approaching the task. If a delay in the restoration of the larger industry has made itself felt, if the unbearable condition of a „stopped“ turnover between industry and agriculture has revealed itself, that means that one must proceed to more attainable aims: to the restoration of the petty industry. It is necessary to help matters from this side; to prop up this side of the edifice which has been half demolished by the war and the blockade. The goods exchange must be developed by all ways and means, without fear of capitalism, because the latter has been placed within certain limits (by the expropriation of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in economics, and by the worker-peasant power in politics), and these limits are sufficiently narrow, sufficiently „moderate.“ Such is the fundamental idea of the Levy on the Farmer's produce, such is its economic importance.

All the workers in the party and in the Soviets must direct all their efforts, all their attention to the creation and arousing of a greater spirit of initiative in the different local branches,—the governments; still more in the districts, and still more in the volosts and villages,—in the matter of economic construction from the point of view of improving the peasants farming, although by „small“ means, in small proportions and to help them by th-

development of a petty local industry. The general state single economic plan demands that the centre of all attention and care, the centre of the „shock“ works should be this aim. A certain amount of improvement attained in this department, as near as possible to the very widest and deepest „foundations“ will allow us to pass over in a short time to a more energetic and successful restoration of the larger industry.

The food supply worker has known up to now only one fundamental regulation: to collect 100% of the requisition. Now the directions are different: he must collect 100% of the levy within the shortest time possible and then collect a further 100% by exchange for products of the larger and the petty industries. Any one who will collect 75% of the levy and 75% (from the second hundred) by exchange for products of the large and petty industries will have done a better business for the state than another who will collect 100% of the levy and 55% (out of the second hundred) by exchange. The duty of the food supply worker is more complicated. On the one hand it is a fiscal task, to collect the stipulated levy as soon and as rationally as possible. On the other hand it is a general economy task: to try to direct cooperation, to assist the petty industry, to develop the initiative in the local branches in such way as to increase and strengthen the turnover between agriculture and industry. We are still doing this very, very badly; the proof is bureaucratism. We must not be afraid to recognise that here we have much to learn from the capitalist. If we compare the results of the practical experience in the governments, districts, volosts and villages, we shall see that in one place the private capitalists and the smaller capitalists have attained such and such results; their profits are approximately so and so much. This is a tribute, a return which we have paid for our „schooling.“ It is worth while to pay for schooling, provided one learns something. In another place cooperation has attained so and so much, the profits amount to such a sum. In a third place by the state, by the purely Communist methods so and so much has been gained (this last case will only be a rare exception at the present moment).

The actual task must consist in that each provincial economic centre, each government conference in the Executive Committee should immediately take up in the very first place the organisation of all kinds of experiments or systems of „exchange“ for the surplus remaining after the payment of the levy on the produce. After a few months some practical results must be attained, and these must be studied and compared. Local or imported salt; kerosene from the centre; the handicraft woodcarving industry; all the crafts which might give the peasant the necessary and useful although not important objects out of the local raw materials; the „green coal“ (the utilisation of the local water power for electrification) and so on,—all must be set going in order to animate the turnover in the industry and the agriculture at whatever cost. Whoever will attain the greatest results in this sphere, even by means of private capital, although even without cooperation, without the direct transformation of such capitalism into state capitalism will bring more

profit to the cause of the All-Russian socialist construction than those who will „dream“ of the purity of Communism, write regulations, rules, instructions on state capitalism and cooperation but who will practically not bring about any turnover.

This may seem a paradox: private capitalism as an assistant of socialism?

But this is no paradox, only economically an absolutely indisputable fact. Once we have a country of small peasant owners, with a greatly disorganised transport, just emerging from a state of war and blockade, guided politically by the proletariat which holds in its hands the means of transport and the larger industry, then out of these premises there must inevitably ensue in the first place the great importance of a local turnover at the present moment, and in the second place the possibility of rendering assistance to socialism through private capitalism (without mentioning state capitalism).

There must be less disputing in regard to words. We are immeasurably given to err in this respect. There must be more variety in the practical experience and a greater study of the question. There are conditions in which a model organisation of the local work even on a small scale is of greater state importance than many branches of the central state work. The conditions with us are just such at the present moment in regard to the peasant farming in general and the exchange of the surplus produce of agricultural production for those of industrial production in particular. A model organisation of the work in the appointed direction even for one volost only is of greater importance for the state in general than a „model“, improvement of the central apparatus of such or other People's Commissariat. The central apparatus has during three and a half years attained such a form that it has acquired a certain dangerous inertia; we cannot improve it rapidly, we do not know how to do this. The necessary help for a more radical improvement, for a new stream of fresh forces, for a successful struggle against bureaucratism, for the overcoming of the pernicious inertia must come from the local branches, from the very bottom, from the model organisations of a small unit, but exactly a whole „unit,“ i. e. not one farm, not one branch of industry, not one enterprise, but the sum total of all the economic relations, of the whole economic turnover of even a small locality.

Those of us who are fated to work in the central organisations will continue the work of improving the apparatus and clearing it of bureaucratism if even in the most modest proportions. But the chief help in this respect is coming and will come from the local branches. There affairs are going on better as far as I can observe than in the centre, but this is easy to understand, because the evil of bureaucratism is naturally concentrated in the centre; Moscow cannot but be the worst town and the worst „branch“ in the Republic. In the local branches there are deviations from the middle course to both sides; but the deviations to the worse are rarer than the deviations to the better. The former are the abuses of those who have joined the Communists from selfish motives, former officials, landlords, bourgeois and other

good for nothings who sometimes commit repulsive acts of malignity, derision and atrocity in regard to the peasants. In such cases a terrorist cleaning is necessary: trial on the spot and shooting without mercy. Let the Chernovs, Martovs and non-partist petty bourgeois, like them, beat their breasts and cry out: „I thank thee, o Lord, that I am not like the Bolsheviki, that I have not and do not approve of terror.“ These dupes do not „approve of terror“ because they have chosen the rôle of flunkeys to the white guards in the matter of duping the workers and peasants. The social revolutionaries and the Mensheviki do not „approve of terror“ because they are carrying out their rôle of leading the masses under the flag of socialism to the regime of the white guard terror. This has been proved by Kerensky and Kornilov in Russia, Kolchak in Siberia, Menshevism in Georgia, the heroes of the Second and the „Two and Half“ Internationals in Finland, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, England etc. Let the flunkeys of white guard terror boast of not approving any terror. But we express a hard but irrefutable truth; in the countries passing through an unheard of crisis, the break down of the old relations, the acuteness of the class struggle after the imperialist war of 1914—1918,—such are all the countries of the world—terror cannot be done away with, in spite of all the hypocrites and fine talkers. Either a white guard bourgeois terror of the American, English (Ireland), Italian (fascists), German, Hungarian and other types, or a red proletarian terror. There is no middle, no „third“ one and there cannot be.

Deviations towards the better; a successful struggle against bureaucratism, a most attentive attitude towards the needs of the workers and peasants, the greatest effort to improve the farming, to increase the productivity of labour, the development of the local turnover between agriculture and industry. These deviations to the better, although more frequent, are still rare. Nevertheless they exist. The training of new young Communist forces tempered by civil war and privations is going on everywhere on the spot. We are still doing far too little for a systematic and undeviating moving of these forces upwards to the top. It is possible and necessary to carry this out in wider proportions and more insistently. Some of the workers may and should be taken from the central work and detailed to the local branches as leaders of districts and volosts, creating there model organisations of all the economic work as a whole; they will be of greater use and will accomplish a general-state work of more importance than at some of the central functions. A model organisation of the work will serve as a training school for the worker and an example to be followed, which it will be comparatively easy to imitate, while we, in the centre, will see to it that the „following“ of a good example should be spread widely and become obligatory.

The work of developing the turnover between the agriculture and the industry in respect to the surplus remaining after the payment of the levy on the produce and in respect to the petty, mostly handicraft industry demands an independent, well informed, clever initiative in the local branches and therefore model organisation of the district and

volost work will acquire at the present moment a special importance from the state point of view. In military affairs for instance during the Polish war we were not afraid to desist from the bureaucratic hierarchy, to „lower in grade“, to transfer members of the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic to lower posts (while leaving them in their high central functions). Why should we not transfer some of the members of the All Russian Central Executive Committee or members of colleges or other highly placed comrades to district or volost work? We have not really grown so „bureaucratic“ as to be „shy“ of doing so. And we shall find dozens of central workers who will agree to this most willingly. The work of economic construction of the whole Republic will gain much by it and the model districts and volosts will not only play an important but even a decisive historical rôle.

Among other things we must note as a minor but nevertheless important circumstance the necessary change in the question of principle regarding the struggle against speculators. We must support, and it is to our own advantage to develop a „regular“ trade, which does not evade the state control. But speculation cannot be distinguished from „regular“ trade, if we understand speculation in its political economic sense. A free right to trade is capitalism, capitalism is speculation, it is ridiculous to close one's eyes to this.

What is to be done? Declare speculation to be unpunishable?

No. We must revise and work out anew all the laws on speculation, declare punishable (and persecute practically with treble severity as against the past) all looting and evasion direct or indirect, open or secret, of the state control, inspection, registration. By this means (the Soviet of People's Commissaries has already began work in this respect, i. e. gave the order to review the laws on speculation) we shall succeed in directing the inevitable to a certain point and the necessary development of capitalism into the channel of a state capitalism.

Political results and conclusions.

It only remains for me to touch briefly upon the political conditions as they have become formed and modified in connection with the above described economics.

It has already been said that the fundamental features of our economics in 1921 are the same as in 1918. The spring of 1921 has brought—chiefly owing to the bad harvest and the loss of the cattle—an extreme acuteness in the position of the peasants which had been extraordinarily hard in consequence of the war and the blockade. The results of such acuteness were political vacillations, which are inherent, generally speaking, to the very „nature“ of the petty producers. The best example of such vacillations was the Cronstadt mutiny.

The fluctuations of the petty bourgeois element were the most characteristic feature in the Cronstadt events. There is very little that is clear, definite, planned out. Hazy slogans of „freedom,“ „right of trading,“ „liberation from bondage,“ „Soviets without the Bolsheviki,“ or re-elections of the

Soviets or freedom from „party dictatorship“ and so on. The Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries pronounced the Cronstadt movement to be „their own.“ Victor Chernov sent a messenger to Cronstadt and the Menchevik Walk, one of the Cronstadt leaders voted for a Constituent Assembly on the proposition of this messenger. All the white guard elements mobilised immediately for Cronstadt with radiotelegraphic rapidity. The white guard military specialists in Cronstadt, a whole number of them, not Kozlovsky alone, worked out a plan for landing at Oranienbaum, a plan which awoke a feeling of fear in the vacillating Menshevik, Social revolutionary, non-partist mass. Over fifty foreign white guard Russian newspapers developed a fiercely energetic campaign in favour of Cronstadt. The larger banks, all the forces of financial capital opened subscriptions to help Cronstadt. The clever leader of the bourgeoisie and landlords, the Cader-Miliukov explained with great patience to foolish little Victor Chernov directly (and indirectly to Dan and Rojkov who are in prison in Petrograd for their connection with Cronstadt) that there is no need to hurry with the Constituent Assembly, that they may and must pronounce themselves in favour of the Soviet power, but without the Bolsheviks.

Certainly it is not difficult to be cleverer than such self enamoured simpletons as Chernov, the hero of petty bourgeois phraseology, or as Martov, the knight of petty bourgeois reformism counterfeiting Marxism. It is not that Miliukov as a personality is cleverer but that the party leader of the larger bourgeoisie, in view of his class position, sees clearer and understands better the class side of the question and the political mutual relations than the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie the Chernovs and Martovs. The bourgeoisie is a bona fide class force which under capitalism reigns unavoidably in a monarchy, and in the most democratic republic, enjoying also inevitably the support of the world bourgeoisie. But the petty bourgeois, that is to say, all the heroes of the Second and the „Two and a Half“ Internationals cannot be anything else than the expression of class helplessness—hence their vacillations, high sounding phrases, helplessness. In 1789 the petty bourgeois could still be great revolutionists, in 1848 they were ludicrous and pitiable; in 1917—1921 they are the repulsive assistants of reaction, its direct flunkies, according to their rôle, whether they be called Chernov and Martov, or Kautsky, MacDonald, etc.

When Martov in his Berlin paper asserts that Cronstadt not only advanced Menshevik slogans but even gave proof that an anti-bolshevik movement which does not serve fully the white guards, the capitalists and landlords, is possible this is exactly the type of a self enamoured petty bourgeois Narcissus. Let us simply close our eyes to the fact that all the bona fide white guards welcomed the Cronstadt men and collected funds through their banks to their assistance! Miliukov is right as against the Chernovs and Martovs, because he gives the real tactics of the real, white guard forces, the forces of the capitalists and landlords. Let us support whoever you will, any Soviet power, so long as we overthrow the

Bolsheviks, so long as we shift the power! It is all the same, to the right or to the left, to the Mensheviks, or the Anarchists, only to remove the Bolsheviks from the power; as to the rest, „we“ the Miliukovs, „we“ the capitalists and landlords, will do all „ourselves“ and we shall drive away the Anarchists, the Chernovs and Martovs as we have done in Siberia in respect to Chernov and Maisky, in Hungary, in regard to the Hungarian Chernovs and Martovs, in Germany with Kautsky, in Vienna with Fr. Adler and Co. The bona fide business bourgeoisie has duped by hundreds all these petty bourgeois Narcissus, Mensheviks, social revolutionaries, non-partists and driven them away in all revolutions time and again in all countries. This is proved by history and justified by facts. The Narcissus will prattle, the Miliukovs and white guard forces will do business.

„So long as the power be shifted from the Bolsheviks; a little to the right, a little to the left, it is all the same; the rest will be brought about“ in this Miliukov is perfectly right. This is a class truth confirmed by the history of the revolutions of all countries of the many-century epoch of modern history since the middle ages. The dispersed petty producer peasant is united economically and politically either by the bourgeoisie (as it used to be under capitalism in all countries, in all the revolutions of modern times and will always be under capitalism) or by the proletariat (as used to be, in embryo form, during the highest development of some of the greatest revolutions of modern times, for the shortest space of time, as it was in Russia 1917—1921 in a more developed form). Only self enamoured Narcissus can dream or prattle of a „third“ way, or of a „third“ force.

With the greatest trouble, in the midst of a desperate struggle the Bolsheviks have trained a vanguard of the proletariat capable of ruling, they have created and defended the dictatorship of the proletariat and the correlation of the class forces in Russia has become perfectly clear, as verified by the experience of a four years practice. A well-tempered-steel vanguard of the only revolutionary class, a petty bourgeois vacillating element, and the Miliukovs, capitalists and landlords hiding in foreign lands and enjoying the support of the world bourgeoisie. The matter is perfectly clear. Any „shifting of the power“ will be utilised and can be utilised only by the latter.

In the above cited pamphlet of 1918, the following was said openly: „the chief enemy is the petty bourgeois element.“ „Either we shall subject it to our control and registration, or it will overthrow the workers power inevitably and unavoidably like the Napoleons and Cavaignacs who had sprang up from this very petty property soil. The question stands thus and only thus.“ (From the pamphlet of May 5th, 1918).

Our force is the complete clearness and soundness of the registration of all the actual class forces, Russian and international and the iron energy, firmness, resoluteness and loyalty in the struggle ensuing therefrom. We have many enemies, but they are dispersed, or they do not know what they want (like all the petty bourgeois, all the Martovs and Chernovs, all the non-partists, all the anarchists).

Whereas we are united, directly among ourselves, and indirectly with the proletariat of all countries; we know what we want. Therefore we are invincible on a world scale, although this does not exclude the possibility of defeat of the separate proletarian revolutions for some time or other.

The petty bourgeois element is not in vain called an element, because it really is something shapeless, indefinite, unconscious. The Narcissus of the petty bourgeoisie think that „universal suffrage“ will change the nature of a petty producer under capitalism but as a matter of fact it helps the bourgeoisie by means of the church, the press, the schools, police, military caste, economic oppression in a thousand forms; it helps to subject the dispersed petty producers. Ruin, penury, hard conditions are calling forth vacillations; in favour of the bourgeoisie today, for the proletariat tomorrow. Only the well tempered vanguard of the proletariat is capable of resisting and withstanding all vacillations.

The spring events of 1921 have proved again and again the rôle of the social revolutionaries and Mensheviks: they are helping the petty bourgeois elements to turn away from the Bolsheviks, to „shift the power“ in favour of the capitalists and landlords. The Mensheviks and social revolutionaries have learnt now to disguise themselves as non-partisans. This has been proved fully. Only simpletons cannot see this, cannot understand that we cannot allow ourselves to be duped. Non-partist conferences are no fetish. They are valuable if they bring us nearer to the masses which have remained untouched as yet, to the millions of workers standing apart from politics, but they are harmful if they give a platform to the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries disguised as „non-partists.“ Such people help the mutinies and the white guards. The proper place for the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, whether open or disguised as non-partists, is the prison (or in the foreign newspapers side by side with the white guards; we were quite willing to allow Martov to go abroad), but not at a non-party conference. It is possible and necessary to find other methods of verifying the frame of mind of the masses, of seeking a rapprochement with them. Let those who wish to play at parliamentarism, Constituent Assembly, non-partist conferences go abroad, join Martov, let them taste the blessings of „democracy,“ let them question the soldiers of Wrangel about these blessings as much as they please. We have no time for playing at „opposition“ at „conferences.“ We are surrounded by the world bourgeoisie which is watching for each moment of vacillation to return its „own friends,“ to restore the landlords and the bourgeoisie. We shall keep the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries whether they be openly such or disguised as non-partists, in prison.

We shall by all the means in our power form closer ties with the masses of workers untouched by politics, except by such means which give freedom to the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, which give freedom to the vacillations which are advantageous to Miliukov. We shall urgently put forward to Soviet work hundreds and hundreds of non-partists, bona fide non-partists from the masses, from the rank and file

workers and peasants, but not from those who are disguised as non-partists in order to spread the menshevist and social revolutionary instructions which are so advantageous for Miliukov. Hundreds and thousands of non-partists are working with us, dozens of them are occupying the most important and responsible posts. Their work must be more under control. Thousands and thousands of rank and file workers must be put forward for the work of control; they must be tested, systematically and constantly; by hundreds promoted to higher posts, after their work has been verified by experience. Our Communists do not understand yet the real work of administration: they need not try to do all „themselves,“ overworking themselves and having no time for anything, taking up twenty matters at once and not ending any of them, but they must verify the work of tens and hundreds of assistants, organising the verification of the work from the bottom, i. e. by the real masses, they must direct the work and learn from those who have knowledge (the specialists) and experience in organising large enterprises (the capitalists). A clever Communist need not be afraid to learn from a military specialist, although nine tenths of them are capable of treason at any moment. A clever Communist need not be afraid to learn from a capitalist (whether he be a large capitalist concessioner, or a tradesman, commissioner or a petty cooperator capitalist) although the capitalist is no better than the military specialist. The Red Army men have learnt to capture the traitor military specialists, to separate the honest and conscientious ones and they have made use of thousands and tens of thousands of military specialists on the whole. We are learning to do the same (in another form) with engineers, schoolmasters, although we are carrying this out worse than in the Red Army (there Denikin and Kolchak hurried us along, compelling us to learn quickly, soundly, urgently). We must learn the same (in a special form) from the commissioner tradesmen, the contractors, working for the state, cooperator capitalists, concessioners, etc.

The mass of workers and peasants need an immediate alleviation of their conditions. In sending new forces to this useful work including the non-partists we shall manage this. The Levy on the Farmer's produce and a number of measures connected with it will help us. We shall thus cut off the economic root of the inevitable vacillations of the petty producers. Against the political vacillations which are only useful to Miliukov, we shall struggle relentlessly. There are many who are vacillating. We are few. The vacillating elements are disunited. We are united. The vacillating ones are economically dependent. The proletariat is economically independent. The vacillating elements do not know what they want: they wish to, they are afraid to, and Miliukow will not allow. And we know what we want.

Therefore we shall win.

Conclusion.

Let us summarise.

The Levy on the Farmer's produce is a transition from military communism to a regular socialist goods exchange.

The extreme penury rendered more acute by the bad harvest of 1920 has made this transition unavoidably necessary in view of the impossibility of rapidly restoring the large industry.

Hence: the necessity of improving first of all the position of the peasants. Means: the levy on the produce, development of the turnover between agriculture and industry, the development of petty industry.

Commercial turnover is the right of trading freely. It is capitalism. It is useful to us in so far as it will help to struggle against the dispersedness of the petty producer, and to a certain degree against bureaucratism. Practice will determine the requisite degree. There is no danger for the proletarian power, so long as the proletariat holds firmly in its hands the power, the means of transport and the larger industry.

The struggle against speculation must be transformed into a struggle against theft and evasion of state control, inspection, registration. By means of such control we shall direct this to a certain degree inevitable and necessary capitalism into the channel of state capitalism.

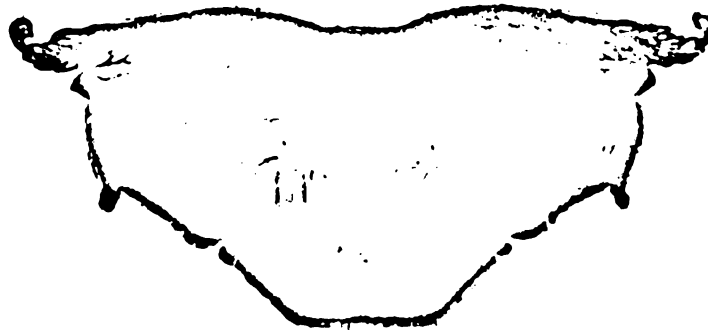
An all-sided, extensive at whatever cost development of initiative, independence in the different local branches in the matter of encouraging the development of the exchange between agriculture and industry. A study of the practical experience in this respect. Its utmost diversity.

Assistance to be rendered to the petty industry serving the peasant's agricultural needs and helping him to improve his condition; this assistance may to a certain degree take the form of a distribution of the raw materials of the state. The most criminal of all is to leave the raw material unused.

The Communist need not be afraid to learn from the bourgeois specialists, including the tradesmen, capitalist-cooperators, and larger capitalists. As to the form the method of learning must be different, but as to the substance it must be the same as has been with the military specialists. The results of the „schooling“ must be verified by practical experience alone; try to do better than the bourgeois specialists have done, endeavour in this way or that to attain the development of the agriculture and industry, and of the turnover between the former and the latter. Do not spare the pay for the „schooling.“ it is worth while to pay for it, provided one learns something.

Help the working masses in every way, come nearer to them, put forward hundreds and thousands of non-partist workers to the work of public economy. But all the Mensheviki and social revolutionaries disguised in the fashionable Cronstadt non-partist dress must be kept carefully in prison or sent to Berlin to Martov for the free use of all the blessings of pure democracy, for a free exchange of opinions with Chernov, Martov and the Georgian Mensheviki.

April 21-st. 1921.



Economic Basis of Imperialism in the United States of North America.

By E. WARGA.

OF all the capitalist Powers in the world the United States of America are at the present moment distinguished by the most vividly expressed Imperialist character. Whereas in England there is to be observed an almost general tendency in favour of a limitation of the military expenses and the liquidation of the Mesopotamian and Persian adventures, the United States are gradually developing into the largest military Power in the world—both on land and on sea. Their programme of shipbuilding is so great that its execution must lead by 1924 to a decisive supremacy of the American fleet over the naval powers of both England and Japan. As regards the land forces, it is proposed to form cadres, which will render possible a mobilisation of 7 million soldiers (the *Rote Fahne*, Berlin, September 1-st, 1920).

The *Neue Züricher Zeitung* gave notice in December of the agreement entered into by Portugal and the United States, in virtue of which the latter guaranteed the inviolability of the Portuguese colonial possessions, while Portugal on the other part entitles the United States to organise in case of war, a base for the American fleet on the Azores, in the Atlantic. The United States are protesting against the privileges granted to England in Mesopotamia, demanding the right to participate in the exploitation of the oil fields of that country. The United States are disputing with Japan on the right of ownership in respect to the telegraphic cables which formerly had belonged to Germany, etc. Everywhere the United States are profiting by their military (and financial) supremacy to obtain the extension of their military and economic power throughout the whole world. This evolution in the American policy has taken place only quite recently. True, already the war with Spain, which ended in the conquest of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies and the Philippine islands, showed that American capital is striving to direct the policy of the Entente along the course of imperialism. But only the last two or three years have revealed the full development of this tendency. Our task therefore consists in determining the changes in the economic policy of America which have called forth the above mentioned political evolution.

Basis of the economic system of the United States.

The distinguishing feature of American economic management since long ago has been the monstrous productivity of labour. Unfortunately we are not in a position to cite any statistical data which would confirm the fact (however it is a

well-known and well-recognised one*) Another equally well-known fact is that the American workers of the white race enjoy a higher degree of material prosperity than any other in the world.

The great productivity of labour in America is called forth by the following three chief factors:

1. The favourable natural conditions of the country.
2. The considerable accumulation of means of production.
3. A most rational system of production.

1. The favourable natural conditions may be summarised thus: a large area of fertile land in comparison with the population; in view of the favourable climatic conditions all the European as well as the most important tropical plants may be cultivated and first of all—cotton. Colossal underground riches, such as coal, oil, iron, copper, lighting gas, etc. Large navigable rivers and a country which is most convenient for the construction of railways, and which is able to find within the limits of its territory all the most important kinds of raw materials which a cultured people needs.

2. The highest correlation between permanent capital and wholesale capital exists in the United States. In other words the worker in America watches the work of a much greater number of machines than in Europe. This fact may be observed most in the agricultural industry, in which all the work is done by machinery (the agricultural machines employed in Russia are mostly of American invention); in the mining industry where the use of machines is much more considerable than in Europe; finally, in the process of industrial production itself, as well as in the transport (the number of automobiles constructed in the United States is increasing with a furious rapidity. The *Times* of October 20-th, 1920 says that by 1922 this number will amount to 12 millions). To the above must be added that as a general rule the machines in the United States are not subject to „moral wearing out“ as Marx says; while in Europe people are very careful of their machines, constantly repairing them, endeavouring as far as possible to prolong the time of their functioning, in America it is the custom to give up a worn-out machine to be demolished replacing it by a more modern one. Therefore in the United States the industry is using the latest and best technical methods.

*) We refer the reader to the interesting book of Shedwell on the productivity of industry in which he examines and compares the productivity of labour in America, England and Germany.

3. Work is more rational in the United States than in Europe and this circumstance is closely connected with the social development of America. The latter's population, not counting the coloured races, consists of the best elements from the population of Europe. Only people who are least conservative resolve to emigrate, who have known how to break with tradition, family ties, the mother country. In a word the most advanced people of a given milieu. Owing to this circumstance the whole intellectual life of America is much less conservative than that of Europe. America has never known feudalism, or nobility, titles, honorary posts or functions. The chasm dividing intellectual and physical labour is far less deep in America than in Europe. In America there is no backward illiterate peasantry, like that of Eastern Europe—a peasantry, which stubbornly repudiates all reasonable improvements in agriculture. Nor is there any of the guild standoffishness of the intellectual classes. Factory workers become intellectual workers, while the students of the higher educational institutions work when necessary in the factories, like ordinary factory hands. The result of such conditions is the rule of rationalism in the production, unrestrained by conservatism, which greatly increases the productivity of labour.

In examining the results of this productivity in pre-war times, we find that up to the end of the last century the influence of the first of the three factors mentioned by us, namely, that of the favourable natural conditions war particularly felt. The United States was a country exporting an enormous quantity of raw materials, chiefly grain, wool and kerosene, and importing factory products. The centre of gravity of the public economy was agriculture. The cultivated area of land increased from 536 million acres in 1880 to 830 millions in 1900 (and to 878 million acres in 1910) while the value of the agricultural products increased from 22 million dollars to 47 million dollars in 1900 and to 86 millions in 1910^{*)}. A colossal quantity of grain was thrown out in the European market: Europe was then passing through an "agrarian crisis." In 1905, with a general export to the amount of 1718 million dollars the value of manufactured articles exported was only 460 million dollars: half-products for 226 millions, food stuffs and raw materials for over 1000 million dollars^{**)}, out of which: 401 million dollars of cotton, 4186 dollars crops, 211 million dollars food stuffs (bread, meat, etc.). We see that in spite of the rapid industrialisation to which we shall return further on, we have a characteristic picture of a colonial country. It must be added that a considerable share of European capital has been invested in American industry: that the steamship traffic was wholly in the hands of England and Germany, that the United States had no colonies and were not engaged in world politics: the basis for their foreign policy being the American continental doctrine of Monroe.

Meanwhile, however, the process of industrialisation of America had progressed with great rapidity, which the following figures will show:

^{*)} The Statesman's Yearbook 1907 and 1920.

^{**)} Ibidem.

Industrial Statistics according to the data of American census:

Year	Capital in millions	Workers and Employees	Cost of the product	Cost of the material
1870	2.128,2	2.05	4.232,3	2.488,4
1880	2.790,3	2.73	5.308,7	3.306,8
1890	6.625,2	4.71	9.372,4	5.102,0
1900	9.817,4	5.71	13.004,0	7.315,4
1905	13.872,0	6.72	16.866,7	9.497,6
1910	18.490,7	7.43	20.767,5	12.195,0
1915	22.790,9	8.00	24.246,4	14.368,1

An extraordinary stormy rate of development of the mining and other industries may be observed. It is clear that the time is not far when the United States will become transformed out of a debtor-country, exporting raw materials into an imperialist capitalist Power. Even though these figures are of a too general character they nevertheless show that while in 1880 the share of each worker was 1000 dollars of capital and 2000 dollars of worked product per annum, in 1915 the capital expended was already 3000 dollars and the cost of the manufactured products also 3000 dollars. While in 1880 the value of the products manufactured per annum constituted a figure which was double the amount of capital in 1915 both figures are quite equal. The turnover capacity of capital is slowing down, its organic accumulation is rapidly increasing, serving as a typical illustration of Marx's doctrine.

Economic Development of the United States during the war.

At the time when in all the other warring countries the public economy was subjected to deep changes in consequence of the war, showing itself chiefly in the decline of material well-being, paper currency, high cost of living, stoppage in the growth of the population, and even reduction of the latter—America had not only not suffered from the war, but on the contrary she had gained by it. True, the prices had also risen greatly during the war, but this was not owing to a decrease in the productivity and the shortage in commodities ensuing therefrom, as in the other warring countries, but this was called forth by the favourable business conditions which had become created for America as the purveyor of the Entente.

Here are a few figures illustrating this fact:

The productivity of the United States amounted in millions to^{*)}

Year	Coal in tons	Iron Ore in tons	Copper in double cent tons	Tin	Kerosene in tons	Wool in ball	Wheat in quart.
1913/1914	517	31.5	5.49	4.90	32.3	14.89	—
1914/1915	466	23.7	5.26	5.68	42.3	15.07	111.4
1915/1916	482	30.4	6.46	5.82	44.7	12.95	124
1916/1917	552	40.1	8.81	6.06	40.1	12.97	86
1917/1918	570	39.8	8.56	—	—	11.91	82
1918/1919	586	39.5	—	—	49.1	—	116
1919/1920	—	—	—	—	—	12.12	—

^{*)} These data are taken from „Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1919“ and from „Statesman's Yearbook 1920.“ for the products of the mining industry the calendar year is used, for agriculture—the year of operation.

Some fact concerning the manufacturing industry are also well-known: thus the colossal development of shipbuilding in America and the abnormal growth of the construction of passenger motors cars*).

The numbers of officially registered automobiles in the United states amounted to:

Year.	Quantity.
1915	2.445.684
1917	4.983.340
1919	7.558.848
1920	9.000.000
1921	12.000.000

(This number of automobiles is cited in the „Scientific America“ 1|1920.)

Out of this number of motor cars only 4% are trucks, the rest are passenger cars, mostly private ones. Out of 500 million tons of kerosene produced in the United States one half is consumed by automobiles.

Finally we must mention the gigantic development of the cotton industry, namely in millions of pounds:

Year	Consumed within the country	Exported.
1910.	2.250	3.106
1915.	3.583	4.404
1918.	3.868	2.320

The period of war was an extremely favourable combination of circumstances for the United States. All the productive forces of the country were strained to the utmost. „All the workers found employment, all the machines were in operation. The factory owners sent agents to the rural districts in order to extract labour force from the agriculture. From 30 to 50% of workers (on an average) changed their place of work every month finding a better one in regard to the conditions of labour,“ as G. B. Roberts, Vice-Chairman of the National City Bank of New York writes in an article entitled „Contemporary Prices and the Economic Situation“ (The Economic World, November 1920).

The rapidly developing industrialisation is showing itself in the modification of the forms of foreign trade. It is a well-known fact that the excess of the American export over the import constituted in 1919 over three million dollars, i. e. almost the half of the whole export. The export of the manufactured goods had already then exceeded that of agricultural products. Here are the corresponding figures in millions of dollars:

	Import	Export	Export surplus
Food stuffs, raw . . .	545.3	678.5	123.2
Food stuffs, in prepared form	555.7	1.963.7	1.408.0
Raw materials . . .	1.674.3	1.610.1	—
Half-products . . .	610.3	922.4	312.1
Manufactured goods .	492.3	2.564.6	2.072.0

* In a most interesting article published in the „Contemporary Review“ November 1920 E. Barker writes on the question of kerosene which is now the most vital one in the Anglo-Saxon press.

After the end of the war the United States appear as an industrial country exporting chiefly manufactured goods *).

Agriculture had not suffered either from the surplus consumption called forth by the war, as had been the case in the warring countries of Europe. The best proof thereof is the development of cattle breeding. This departments of rural economy shows the following picture (Statesman, Year-book 1920).

	(In millions).	
	1910	1920
Horses.	19.8	21.6
Horned cattle.	61.8	68.1
Sheep	52.0	48.8
Pigs.	58.2	72.0

The total cost of the farm produce in millions of dollars amounted to:

In 1910	8.56
„ 1917	19.33
„ 1918	22.48
„ 1919	24.98

In ten years the cost had increased by three times and as the rise in the prices had by far not reached these proportions it is clear that a considerable increase of the production has taken place.

Therefore the rise in the prices in America must be examined from a different plane than in Europe. In the latter the high cost of living must be ascribed to a shortage of commodities called forth by the abrupt fall of the productivity whereas the state standardising of the prices was unable to suppress their rise. In America the rise in the prices and the colossal profits of the capitalists were the result of the competition among the warring countries in regard to the products of American industry, notwithstanding that the latter had been working under increased productivity**).

The profits were received by the capitalists of the United States in two forms. First, the American investments (interest bearing papers) which had been in the hands of the citizens of the countries of the Entente before the war, were claimed by the American government and returned to the United States. Second, enormous masses of gold began to stream into the United States. The result of this was that out of the total quantity of the actual gold fund belonging to the state and emission banks of the whole capitalist world and amounting by the end of 1920 to 1501.3 million pounds sterling, not less than 853.4 million pounds sterling, consequently over one half, belong to the United States (The Economist, 19/2—1921).

*) The change in the nature of the export is reflected in the movement of the population: the census of 1920 shows for the first time a preponderance of the town population over the rural one.

**) Notwithstanding that there is but a weak connection between the rate of discount and the share of capitalist profit we must still note as an index of the height of the capitalist profits that the rate of discount in the U. S. by May 1st, 1920 was equal to 6% and since that day it has been invariably 7%.

But the United States have not only paid all the money which they owed Europe, they have not only taken to themselves more than half of the gold fund of the capitalist world, they have besides this acquired for many milliards liabilities of the European countries and especially of England. From a debtor-country the United States have become a creditor-country, the world creditor. The paper currency of the United States is on a par with the gold.

The causes which in the other countries had called forth a deep change in the structure of the public economy had exercised but an insignificant influence in America. The United States had entered the war rather late and with such comparatively small forces that the detriment to the production in the presence of such rich resources as the United States dispose of was of no significance^{*)}. The direct development of the United States from a colonial agricultural, indebted state into an imperialist industrial Power was not only not delayed by the war, but it was undoubtedly accelerated by it.

Period of time since the end of the war to spring 1920.

The above favourable business conditions continued after the war approximately up to the spring of 1920. The states of Central Europe which had up to then been under boycott, began to take part, directly or indirectly in the purchase of American goods. But it was soon evident that Europe, including the countries of the Entente, had become economically weakened and deprived of purchasing power. Even England was not in possession of a sufficient reserve fund in gold of American investments to be able to finance properly the purchasing operations in the United States; the rate of exchange of the English pound sterling had fallen in comparison with the dollar by 20%, and the currency of the other European countries had fallen to 1/10 and even to 1/100 of the nominal value in gold. This inevitably led to the decrease of the purchasing capacities of these countries in respect to the United States and called forth an overproduction crisis which had been looming even some time before; it was the periodical crisis which had to take place in the United States for the very reason that the public economy had not been disorganised by the war.^{**)}

It is interesting to note how the crisis panned out. The capitalist circles, as usual would not believe that the favourable trade conditions had passed away. According to the information by the „Controller of Currency“ the total sum of credit opened by all the banks of the U. S. amounted to^{***)}:

	In millions of dollars
On June 30th 1919	25,086
1920	30,592

The credit was increased by 20% in one year and during an evident fall of the production. These are the data given by Professor Lederer; the average production for the period of time from 1911 to 1913 estimated at 100%.

^{*)} The war expenses of the U. S. were nevertheless considerable; the state expenses rose from 7.4 dollars in 1913 to 70 dollars per head in 1920.

^{**)} See above mentioned article of D. E. Roberts.

^{***)} „Wirtschaftliche Correspondenz“ 7/3, 1921.

Data on the produce of farming according to the market statistics.

	October 1919	Spring 1920 {(maximum figures)}	October 1920
Cattle (total)	151	139	116
Bread and flour	127	102	122
Wool	124	182	89
Sugar	127	184	59
Coal	152	131	137
Iron	102	159	146

The same process is to be observed in regard to many other commodities and also in the transport enterprises. Further more: in spite of the decrease in the production the reserves in the warehouses have decreased but insignificantly, constituting for instance in February 1920—534%, in October 1920—504% of the turnover for the last month at the same time that, on the contrary, the unexecuted orders have decreased from 32% of the turnover in February 1920 to approximately 10% of the turnover in October 1920. One may say that with the exception of separate cases the quantity of manufactured products has in general considerably diminished between the autumn of 1919 to the spring of 1920.

There are certain signs indicating that the advent of the crisis had been artificially accelerated by the large American capital. The concentration of property in trusts and the centralisation of the practical management of the enterprises has gone nowhere so far as in the United States. Therefore nowhere else can the market be so much under the direction of ruling capitalism as in the United States. Consequently there may be conditions which allow of the acceleration of the crisis. Unfortunately we have not got the corresponding American data, on the basis of which we might judge how far our presumptions had been practically carried out. In the above mentioned article Professor Lederer says:

„When in spring 1919 together with the fall of the American prices the rate of exchange of the European drafts and consequently also the purchasing capacity of the European countries decreased, the larger organisations of American capitalism, the banks, decided to limit the credits in future and to demand the return of loans advanced; this was soon carried out on a large scale. The limiting and the refusal of credit placed the industrial and commercial enterprises in a difficult position, compelling them to sell their goods promptly for the settlement of their liabilities. They could not keep their goods but were compelled to get rid of them even at a loss. True, they had received large profits under the favourable war conditions but nevertheless they looked upon their losses as a threat against their very existence, because they had to—and this was a second consequence of the situation so obviously pointed out by the above figures—reduce production, and consequently dismiss the workers, annul the orders for half-products, raw materials, etc. Thus, the crisis spread throughout the whole department of public economy. And in this way at the time when the whole world was still experiencing the greatest and most urgent need of American

commodities, their production was forcibly reduced in order to avoid a worse evil, namely, the accumulation of stale goods, hopeless in the sense of finding a good sale. From the capitalist point of view such a limitation of the credit was naturally most efficient, in that it averted a catastrophic over-production."

It is significant that the rate of discount was raised May 1-st to 7% and has remained so high ever since

The present economic crisis. Decrease of production and fall of prices.

In describing the course of the crisis we must base ourselves almost exclusively on English sources of information, owing to the absence of American statistical material. Judging by the information given by the "Economist" the crisis developed very slowly: capitalism tried to send the surplus of its goods to the world market, that is why the export of the United States continued to increase up to October 1920, and the possibility of a greater economic catastrophe was averted by the organised action of the larger capital. Nevertheless the fall in the prices and unemployment attained really monstrous proportions.

We have already given figures in regard to the dimensions of the reduction of the production for the period from spring to autumn of 1920. In September the "Economist" says: "Trade and industry are most irregular." In October "the number of annulled orders are increasing rapidly, the reserves in the stores instead of diminishing, are increasing. The public refuses to buy." In November the consumption of cotton fell lower than it had ever been since August 1914 (see the different numbers of the "Economist"). The crisis is greatly influencing the cotton industry. The textile factories are closing one after another." (The Times, 23-XI.)

The crisis affected also the manufacture of automobiles, which had developed so greatly during the war.

The Ford enterprises of world-wide renown were closed in the beginning of the year because the storehouses contained ready but unsold automobiles to the sum of 25 million dollars.

"L'Information" (December 20-th, 1920) thus depicts the general state of affairs just before the advent of the New Year.

The Europeans are now experiencing a feeling of satisfaction at the thought that the United States, a country abounding in gold and products, the creditor of the whole world, the only country in which gold is in circulation — begins to suffer like all the other nations, but oh, the irony of fate! to suffer not from penury, but from its wealth. The United States are suffering at present from the acute decline of their commerce which in connection with the approaching winter is revealing all the symptoms of a progressive aggravation. The number of bankruptcies is increasing day by day. The Stock Exchange is demoralised. The export, so flourishing during the war, is rapidly falling.—true, with the exception of the export of food stuffs and raw materials; a catastrophic fall of the prices in all the branches of public economy

is causing the despair not only of the factory owner, but of the farmer as well. The crisis has especially exercised its influence over the industry; the latter is in its turn weekly dismissing the workers and reducing the production, in view of the diminution of orders not only in the country itself, but abroad also. Fabulous sums invested in interest bearing papers at the rate of exchange of six-months ago are immobilised, as these papers do not find purchasers even at considerably reduced prices."

The fall of the prices on the American market acquired great proportions in 1920. The general figures give the following picture:

Year	Month	Statist. Index.*	Broad-street	Bureau of Labour.
1919	—	100	100	100
1920	January	226	2,272	248
1920	May	215	216,4	272
1920	August	200	195,7	262
1920	September	183	184	260
1920	October	170	170	242
1920	December	—	141	—

We have no more symptomatic figures. But by the notices in the Times we are able to follow the course of the extremely rapid fall of the prices of separate goods.

	Wheat	Maiz	Flour	Suet	Coffee	Sugar	Cotton	Copper	Iron
1920 Nov. 14-th.	202	93.5	8.70	20.40	7.23	5.12	15.85	16	44.50
1921 March 19-th.	179.5	84	7.00	12.55	5.34	5.13	11.45	12	29.-

These goods are noted down not according to a certain system, but only in the order they are set down in the weekly reports of the Times. The figures show the monstrous fall of the prices, especially for copper, iron and wool.

The manufactured articles do not submit to such comparative statistics. But here also the fall of the prices was at least the same, especially of the prices for clothes, shoes, furniture, etc. where "the strike of the purchasers" showed itself more acutely.

It is interesting that in face of such a colossal fall of the prices American capitalism displayed an extraordinary stubborn power of resistance. It is true, the number of bankruptcies was doubled, but there were no crashes of banks or large-capital enterprises. Some of the banks it is true, were compelled to stop payment because the farmers refused to bring their produce to the markets at the diminished prices. The number of bankruptcies and the dimensions of the bankrupt concerns were approximately three times greater in the autumn of 1920 than in 1919, but we do not find here the gigantic crash which formerly generally accompanied such a fall of the prices. The colossal organisations of American capital, the close contact between the banking and the industrial capital, did not admit of any deeper upheavals. As regards the petty trade and industry it must be specially marked, that the prices fell much slower there than in the large trade.

According to "the Federal Reserve Board Bulletin" for January, the prices for instance, of foodstuffs fell in the United States in November 1920: in the wholesale trade by 8 1/2%, in the retail trade only by 2 1/2%; this enabled the petty shopkeepers to get rid of their supplies without superfluous losses. But the whole burden of the crisis fell on the working class.

The crisis and the working class.

During the war the American working class passed through a period of favourable trade conditions. Everything tends to show that the material conditions of life of the American working class had improved during that time. I have no precise data on the subject at my disposition. The immigration of unskilled workers that is to say of cheap labour force had practically ceased; the new crisis fell the heavier on the American working class.

This crisis is revealing itself chiefly in a colossal unemployment. The number of unemployed was estimated to be 4 millions by the end of the year. In view of the absence of a workers insurance in the U. S. we cannot obtain the precise information on this subject, as in England and Germany. At any rate the unemployment in the U. S. is colossal. At the same time there is also a considerable number of proletarians working only half time.

In connection with the unemployment American capitalism has greatly reduced the wage pay.

All the American and English papers are full of communications respecting the reduction of the wage pay at the rate of 10 to 40%. On a par with this, piece work is being introduced in such branches where labour has been hitherto remunerated on the principle of working hours, for instance in the tailor business. Furthermore the capitalists are carrying on an attack against the system of "closed shop," which compels them to receive only industrially organised workers in some of the enterprises. Finally, there is the law against the freedom of strikes. We have not got the full text of the law, which has entered into force in the beginning of April. It was passed by the Senate in December of last year under the name of: "Poindexter law against the strike." According to the data of International Bureau of Labour it was the military industry that had created and defended this law. It purported to create a special legal "protection" for the workers who wish to work and chiefly to ensure the normal functioning of the transport. The law prescribes Draconian penalties up to ten years of prison.

The regulations of the law (which we do not cite here for lack of space) are such that their direct application permits the instigation of law proceedings against every leader of a strike and striker. In other words the American capitalists have started a war on all the fronts against the working class. And they are meeting with success.

But what is the position of the working class in this struggle?

It is necessary to remark that among the American workers one does not observe the unanimous organised resistance which the working class

of England is displaying now. We are meeting daily in the English capitalist press notices regarding the consent of the workers to the reductions of the wage pay and even in some cases the workers are proposing the same on their own initiative. The capitalist press is naturally searching first of all for facts which might be useful to capitalism; but in the American papers *) available to us, although we do find communications regarding separate instances of acute struggle, we see no indications of an organised struggle such as has engaged the whole working class of England. Notwithstanding the greatest development of capitalism, the class consciousness of the proletariat of the United States has attained a very low level; otherwise how could it have happened for instance that millions of workers should have given their votes at the last presidential elections to such a glaringly expressed type of a reactionary as Harding? How could it have happened that the leader of the organised workers was S. Gompers, a man whose anti-proletarian sentences are published in italics even by the capitalist press; the same Gompers who left the yellow International because the latter was "too revolutionary" for him; the same Gompers who publicly censured the appeal of the transport workers protesting against the sending of war munitions to Poland?

"It is quite possible" says Gompers "that the Polish invasion was undertaken as the only means of averting the offensive organised by the Soviet government. Moreover, the present Polish government is, may be, the most democratic in Europe." (New Republic, November 15-th, 1920).

How could it have happened that the hero of the American social democracy, the imprisoned E. Debs, whom the "humane philosopher" Wilson would not allow to leave the prison even as a candidate to the Presidency, how could Debs have asserted publicly: "if you had brought the American Socialist Party to Lenin's programme, you would have killed the party?" How could he have been against any attempt at an armed class struggle? How could it have come to pass that in a country of the most ruthless class inconsistencies, in a country where De Leon had intercepted the most important elements of the Bolshevik doctrine—there are three Communist sects, but no Communist mass party?

What is the cause of this inconsistency between the fact of a colossal class antagonism on the one hand and such a weak class consciousness of the American proletariat on the other?

It is no easy matter to give an answer to this question which is so important to the whole course of the world revolution. We think that the answer will be given by the internal discord among the proletariat, the sharp difference between the conditions of life and the ideology of the separate workers stratifications.

We shall endeavour to explain this briefly.

The American proletariat possesses a labour aristocracy. The latter consists of skilled workers organised in unions; they enjoy a monopolist

*) We have read The Communist, The Toller, Industrial Worker, The World, Advance, and the radical bourgeois Nation

position in the closed shops; by means of high initiation fees they make it difficult for new members to join their union; they despise the "unorganised lumpenproletariat." They consider themselves the aristocrats of the working class, leading the lives of petty bourgeois, fencing themselves off from the general mass of workers. The second stratum, which has become separated from the general mass of the proletariat is the group of immigrated foreigners, who have no intention of ending their lives as American wage workers, but who are striving at whatever cost to save as soon as possible enough money to buy a piece of land in the home country and to farm it as small landed proprietors. The third stratum includes the most militant elements—it is composed of acclimatized immigrants, unskilled or partly skilled workers. The coloured races occupy a special position, up to quite recent times they were not allowed in principle to join the unions. The conditions of pay and of the mode of life of the above described stratifications of the proletariat are so different that it is very difficult to weld these groups together on the basis of a homogeneous class policy.

The growth of the class consciousness is impeded by the circumstance that it is not so difficult for the ablest representatives of the American working class to join the class of petty bourgeois or to enter the circle of persons exercising the "free professions"—it is much easier than in Europe. The absence of the need of a qualification for the occupying of any function, the great number of educational institutions, which give the necessary instruction and training for becoming an engineer, lawyer, doctor and the possibility of rising above the level of the working class by means of a skillful speculation or some invention—all this induces the best minds of the American proletariat to seek their well-being, not in the conditions of a class struggle in the ranks of the proletariat, but in the endeavour to pass on to a higher rung of the social ladder along the individualist road.

In conclusion it must be noted that the high level of material prosperity of the American qualified workers which has been rising ever higher during whole decades (with the exception of the first decade of the nineteenth century) has probably concurred most of all in the fact that in the United States the revolutionary class consciousness has not attained the requisite development. True, there have been instances of frequent cruel and sharp collisions but there was no revolutionary proletariat as a whole class. At the present moment a fierce struggle is going on chiefly around the question of the "closed shop." As an indicator of the obduracy with which the bourgeoisie is conducting the struggle may serve the fact that the Bethlehem Steel Company is refusing to sign agreements with their contractors in New York and Philadelphia who do not agree with the principles of "open shops" *). Capitalism is trying to destroy the hated system of "closed shop." We wish it success, because this would mean a step

forward on the road to the uniting of the proletariat. But the American proletariat will become revolutionary only when the United States will be drawn into the European capitalist crisis, when American capital will not be able to ensure to the proletariat the customary high level of the material conditions of existence, when it will be impossible to allay the present crisis painlessly.

The imperialist attempt to solve the crisis.

The causes of the actual economic crisis are of two kinds: on the one hand they evolve out of the "normal" course of capitalist production. A crisis usually follows a period of favourable trade conditions. On the other hand the crisis is rendered more acute by the economic breakdown of continental Europe—a breakdown which we have described in № 14 of our journal. The situation of the United States in comparison to Europe is analogous to that of England in comparison to continental Europe. The United States cannot sell their goods at the European markets because the countries ruined by the war would like to purchase but they have nothing to sell. Hence the devaluation of the currency of the whole world; a colossal agio on American currency, which leads to the result that the American goods cannot compete on the world market, even more than that, the goods of the countries with a low rate of exchange are competing with the American goods within the limits of the United States. This agio on American currency has greatly increased after the war and it is continuing even now, notwithstanding the acute crisis through which the United States is passing.

The rate of exchange of the dollar in comparison with the currency of the other principal countries amounted on March 21-st. 1921 (The Times) to:

Money, exchange:	Taxed unit.	Parity.	Rate of Exchange.
London, stip. term.	lp.	4.86.23	3.92
Amsterdam, short term	100 d.	40.20	34.7/16
Russian roubles	100 r.	01.40	0.50
Paris, short term	100 fr.	19.30	5.95
Berlin (telegraph)	100 mrks.	23.80	1.00
Christiania	100 kr.	26.80	8.05
Stockholm	100 "	26.80	22.00
Copenhagen	100 "	19.30	17.30
Rome	100 lira.	19.30	4.05
Montreal on London (telegr. draft)	lp.	4.86.23	4.48

We see that the currency of all the European countries even that of the rich neutral Holland has greatly fallen in comparison with the dollar; in respect to pounds sterling the decrease amounts to over 20%, the Italian lira is quoted at 18% of its value, the Mark about 7%; the rate of exchange of the East European countries, for instance, Austria, Hungary, Poland has sunk to 1% of the nominal value.

It is quite comprehensible that under these conditions the normal sale of American goods in the above mentioned countries is almost impossible. Out of all the countries of the world only Japan

*) The Nation, January 19th. 1921.

and Switzerland have a full-value currency in comparison with the United States; the currency of Canada is almost on a par, as well as that of some of the South American states. But the population and the purchasing capacity of these countries are too insignificant for the United States export.

American capital has made an attempt, in the same way as the English capital, to support the purchasing power of the foreign countries by investing American capital in foreign enterprises. The United States have become the world banker. During the war American capital was mostly invested in the state loans of the allied countries: the debts of the countries of the Entente amount approximately to 15 milliard dollars. After the war almost all the countries and towns, as well as the larger joint stock enterprises knocked at the doors of the American money market and begged for a loan. If we look through the communications in the Economist for the last six months, we shall find the names of almost all the countries of the world as debtors of America: the states of South America, the Belgian railways, Danish towns, English banks, „completely trustworthy enterprises paying 8% interest.“ The direct investment of American capital is also widely practised. Formerly the European capitalists owned American shares and bonds, at present the American capitalists are buying up shares and enterprises throughout the whole of Europe, and paying fabulously low prices. One million dollars is equal in Central Europe to 25 million liras, or 60 million Marks, or 600 million Austrian kronen, etc.

In this way in spite of the bad trade conditions and unfavourable exchange American capital succeeded in obtaining that the export remained unchanged during the first period of the crisis. In October 1920 the export of the United States was higher than ever. Only in November an abrupt fall began; the export was 67 million dollars less than in 1919. Since that time affairs are going on in the same way from month to month.

The investing of capital in foreign enterprises, the danger of the loss of the European market in consequence of the disorganisation of the European public economy—all this compels the United States to carry on a world policy in spite of the resistance of some of the conservative circles! All the attempts to return to the old American continental policy, all attempts to „fence oneself off“ from Europe, suffer a defeat before the exactions of economic necessity. At the present moment the United States is the most imperialist Power in the world!

In order to complete the picture we must stop to consider closely the facts, which characterise this American imperialism and the tendencies of the latter. In substance it does not differ in anything from British and German imperialism, except perhaps by its still remaining false pacific phraseology. During the last five years, ever since the Americans are occupying Haiti, the American soldiers and sailors have killed 3250 men according to the official data of the Ministry of Marine. Under the sound of Wilson's pathetic speeches on the „rights of peoples“ the United States have occupied Nicaragua and Costa Rica and introduced a mili-

tary dictatorship in these states. (Labour Leader, 21-X-1920). Militarism is revealing itself ever more acutely, both on land and on sea. The United States withdrew from the League of Nations because they would not submit to the hegemony of England. At present the United States are on the surest way to become the strongest military power in the world. They are entering into a conflict which is acquiring an ever more acute form with the two other world powers: England and Japan (we cannot consider France a world power in spite of her high sounding policy). Affairs have reached a point when America is seriously looking forward to the possibility of an Anglo-American war.

What is the cause of Anglo-American antagonism?

First of all the question of the war debts. The cautious United States lent money for carrying on the war to England directly—chiefly to England and the latter supplied France, Italy, Belgium, etc. Under the present unfavourable rate of exchange these debts are now laying an extremely heavy burden on the countries of continental Europe. The demands of England to these countries are suffering a considerable risk. France's ruthless attitude towards Germany is partly due to the fact that she is oppressed by her debts to England. Therefore the English politician Keynes in his book on the peace of Versailles proposed as the only way of solving the question that America should annul her demands to all the allies and debtors, that England should do the same in respect to the continental countries of Europe, while France should reduce her demands for the indemnisation of her war losses to the proportions which would be acceptable to Germany. However, the semi-official attempt of England to obtain the consent of the United States for the carrying out of this financial plan met with a decisive refusal. The capitalist rulers of the United States are in no wise inclined to sacrifice their milliards in order to restore European capitalism. This is to our advantage, but England was put out by this fiasco.

On the other hand the United States is displeased with Europe: „Europe has fallen in the eyes of all, respectable Americans“, in view of her constant wars and revolutions and her non-desire to implant a peaceful industry“ and so on. (The Nation, November 6-th, 1920).

The activities of the League of Nations are arousing to a still greater degree the displeasure of the United States especially by the mandate for Mesopotamia which was given to England and the mandate given to Japan for the possession of the former German cable-station on the isle of Yap, and also for the possession of the German cables. The United States is interested in Mesopotamia chiefly on account of the latter's oil fields. November 26-th. of last year the United States protested sharply against the Mesopotamian mandate for England. At first sight it is difficult to understand why the United States, the largest producer of oil in the world, should protest so strongly, on the subject of Mesopotamia. But at present oil is the only commodity which in spite of the crisis is in great demand on the market; therefore its price is continuing to increase in spite of the general fall

of the prices in the world market. The American production of oil (kerosene) is utterly unable to keep time with the rapid increase of the number of automobiles. Matters have become still more complicated by the fact that British capital has secretly bought up or taken possession of the oil areas lying beyond the limits of the United States territory, including the Mexican oil fields. The situation was described by Senator Mackellar in the Senate January 1st, 1921. „Great Britain receives from the United States about 8% of the oil for her commercial and military fleet at a price varying from 10 shillings to 13 shillings and 4 pence per barrel, while she herself is supplying American ships in the Near East at the price of £ 2 to £ 3.0.6. per barrel. America possesses only 1/6 of the world reserves of oil, but she consumes approximately 3/4 of the world output.“ Mackellar gave a list of the British oil possessions: „large areas“ in Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India and smaller fields in Canada, the East Indies, producing almost 1/4 of the world output. He adds: „Great Britain or her citizens are greatly interested in the oil fields of Mexico, the United States, Russia, China, the East Indies and other countries: this circumstance permits her to control almost half of the world output of oil. The orator remarks that under the actual consumption the American reserves will be exhausted approximately within 15 to 30 years, because England is grasping the diminishing American reserves while keeping her own untouched. The United States have sufficient power to „press England to the wall“ by refusing to grant permission for her to purchase American oil. England asserts that she cannot pay her debts to America, while at the same time she is buying up the oil fields of the whole world.

But Mackellar was surpassed by Mr. Phelan, a democrat from California, who said that the Englishmen, „are imitating the Huns.“ When they appealed to America to help during the war, saying that they were „in a fix,“ they simultaneously began to purchase oil fields in foreign countries: they obtained from America 4 milliard dollars (one milliard pounds sterling) and used their own money in order to monopolise the world output of oil.

Mr. Phelan then passed over to the Japanese question. In California the Japanese are buying kerosene from the British Company at the price of 10 shillings the barrel, while the Californians have to pay 13 shillings and 4 pence. A limit will be laid to the acquisition of the Californian oil field by the English by the passing of a general bill „against foreigners.“ The orator mysteriously mentioned an „underground sources“ through which he had obtained information regarding a recent meeting of English and Japanese representatives at which the Japanese were being instigated to oppose this bill as being „cause for war.“

In view of such an acute state of affairs it is not surprising that one of the most aristocratic of American papers „The Nation“ speaks openly of the possibility of an Anglo-American war (The „Times.“ February 5-th, 1921).

The English are trying by all means to mollify the displeasure of the United States in regard to the oil question—but evidently without success (see

Barker's article on „World oil reserves in the United States“ in the November issue of the „Contemporary Review“ and other English papers). This displeasure has increased under the influence of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The results are to the face: an ever increasing armament on the land and on the sea. We have already mentioned the gigantic shipbuilding programme of America; it is being carried out without respite especially after the proposition on the part of America (made probably only for form's sake) regarding the cessation of all military construction for a whole year, had been rejected by Japan. At the end of 1920 the Senate passed a resolution to reinforce the Panama Canal by constructions supplied with the strongest artillery in the world („Frankfurter Zeitung,“ Dec. 31-st, 1920). The work for the preparation of military technical means is continuing, liquids as well as gases producing an absolutely deadly effect, are being manufactured. The United States are striving to create bases on all the seas and they are carrying on an imperialist world policy in the spirit of old times. They are protesting against the cession of the Isle of Yap to Japan and entering into an agreement with Portugal for the right of creating an American marine base on the Azores, etc.

But they have directed their chief attention to the countries which are as yet on the threshold of capitalist development, without being at the same time colonies of some European state, such as South America and China. America wishes to guarantee for herself the possession of these states as colonies and then not only to separate herself from „sick“ Europe by a wall of high custom duties or if necessary by prohibiting all import—but to fence herself off from all import on the part of countries with a low rate of exchange. Such is the economic significance of the victory of the republican party at the elections, such is the inner meaning of Harding's policy, i. e. of the policy of large American capitalism which like England and Germany of pre-war times has but one issue at present, the policy of imperialism.

What is the prognosis of the economic future of the United States?

We presume that the highest point of the crisis has been attained already, symptoms of improvement of the economic conditions are to be observed. One may say with assurance that, owing to the colossal wealth of the country, imperialist capitalism will be able to cope with the crisis. But notwithstanding all this wealth in spite of the efficacy of the policy which is seeking in South America and China compensation for the loss of the European markets—the restoration of American public economy is impossible if the breakdown of European capitalism should continue at the former rate. The future must lead inevitably to a collision between three world powers—the United States, England and Japan—a collision which is called forth by the efforts of each of these countries to acquire possession of the as yet healthy elements of the world public economy. This second world war will call forth then a crisis of the capitalist countries similar to the one which has at present taken hold of continental Europe.



The Marine Transport Industry.

Its Organisation, Problems and Possibilities.

By TOM BARKER.

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IN the days before the European War, the shipping industry was largely in the hands of the British Empire. England was the great carrying country, and after her ranked Germany, which was speedily penetrating the domain of the ship-owners of the United Kingdom.

With the end of the war came the entire reshuffling of the positions of the great maritime nations. The peace treaty deprived Germany of by far the greater part of her fleet, leaving her, for the most part, vessels of less than 1,000 tons register, and the Austrian-Hungarian fleet of a million and a half of tons was seized entirely and placed under the Italian or the Inter-Allied flags.

The submarine warfare on the part of the Central Powers more than counteracted the feverish building in British ship-yards for we find that merchant tonnage of the United Kingdom had declined from 14,892,000 tons in June, 1914, to 18,111,000 tons in June, 1920, a loss of 781,000 tons. Included in the post-war figures are many seized German liners and cargo steamers. The United States on the other hand made tremendous strides in ship-building during the years 1916-1920. United States tonnage increased from 2,027,000 tons in June, 1914, to 12,406,000 tons in June, 1920, an increase of more than 10,379,000 tons. According to an article by Gustavus Myers in the "New York Times Current History" for January, 1921, the United States Shipping Board hopes to have 18,000,000 tons of shipping flying the "Stars and Stripes." Although the Japanese were participants in the world war, their remoteness saved them from the more destructive side of the submarine warfare. Their ship-building yards were also busy, and their tonnage advanced enormously, so they were left in the latter days of the war with an almost unchallenged monopoly of the Eastern carrying trade. "The Rising Sun" of the Japanese bourgeoisie became a familiar sight in every port of any importance.

World tonnage has increased in the years 1914-1920 from 49 million tons to 57 million tons in 1920. In 1914 the United Kingdom owned 41.8 per cent of the world's ships while the United States possessed at that time less than 5 per cent of the ocean-going traffic. In 1920, the United Kingdom's proportion had fallen to 34 per cent, while that of the United States had increased to nearly 30 per cent. That includes nearly one fifth of deep-water shipping. The British Empire drove the German commercial fleets from the sea during

the war, but ended it with a greater and more powerful rival in the field than they had in the first bloody days of August, 1914.

The United States Shipping Board.

The two greatest marine organisations in the world are the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and the United States Shipping Board. The former was tremendously powerful in the pre-war days and are still exercising great power in the trade routes of the world today. It is a combination of great shipping companies whose interests lock and interlock. They are not merely interested in carrying cargo and passengers, but in ship construction and repairs, oil undertakings, steel, iron and coal, cable companies, bondholders associations, canal boards, tea companies and other innumerable concerns in all the corners of the earth.

The United States Shipping Board was established by act of Congress on September 7, 1916. It was not designed as a war measure although war conditions were largely responsible for its creation. With the advent of America into the World War in April, 1917, the aims of the Shipping Board were stimulated by the imperative need for the conveyance of millions of soldiers from one side of the Atlantic to the other, and the transportation of their food, arms and munitions. Congress set aside the sum of 3,671,000,000 for the building of 3,164 ships of 17,515,000 deadweight tons. In less than 18 months the number of American shipbuilding yards increased from 61 to 341, the number of workers in the yards from 75,000 workers to 350,000. In 1918, more than 3,000,000 gross tons of oceangoing ships were constructed in American yards, which was 25 per cent more than the total construction of all other countries combined for the same period.

The United States Shipping Board is now, by far, the biggest single corporation in the United States, and by far the greatest power in the world of shipping and ocean transport. It is almost three times the size of the Steel Corporation and six times the size of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

A trade war is now imminent between the countries engaged in International Transport. The main struggle will come between the Shipping Board and the British Chamber of Shipping. The rising coal export trade of the U. S. is increasing. During the year 1914, the United States exported

to 22 countries less than 940,000 tons of coal, but during the year 1920 the exports had risen to more than 7,690,000 tons. In fact during that year, 27,000 tons of American coal was landed in the United Kingdom.

American shipping and coal interests are woven tightly together, and the steady increase of cargo coal will increase the earning capacity of American ships, which will carry coal instead of ballast, which will be the lot of the British ships who are losing their grip on the coal trade. The British ships are going to make many trips in ballast, when their earning capacity will be nil. This struggle, will involve all the smaller nationalities.

Many forces have been operating to complicate this important industry of late. The opening of the canal at Panama has saved already millions of ship miles, and increased the advantageous economic position of the United States. It has decreased by over 50 per cent the distance between the Chilean nitrate ports and the Eastern ports of the North Atlantic Coast. It has abolished nearly all the dangers of the low latitude of Cape Horn. It has shortened the distance between Buenos Aires and San Francisco, between New Orleans and Yokohama. Kiel Canal is also operating now on a commercial basis having ceased to be one of the strategic points of aggressive German capitalism.

Oil fuel is cheaper than coal. Sixty five per cent of American war-time built ships burn oil. At the end of this year this percentage will amount to over 75 per cent. Oil burning ships carry more cargo than coal-burners, and need a far less number of men in the engine-room department. British ships are mostly old, and the motive power on the greater number of the ships is coal. The United States shipping will have a great advantage over the English shipping. Great Britain is now building oil-burners and refitting many ships with oil-bunkers and scrapping the old methods. The procuring of oil fuel in sufficient quantities for commercial purposes, is a great problem both for American and British capitalists. The presence of British troops in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia in the past year only showed how anxious the British Government is to aid its capitalists in the coming competitive struggle between the shipping amalgamations of the two countries. The transition to oil must create a catastrophic unemployment in the coal industry.

The British marine workers get at present about two-thirds of the wages which are paid in American ships. The British sailor also works twelve hours a day at sea while the American only works eight. The British shipowner seeing the attempts of their American competitors to reduce wages to enable them, in this direction, to meet the foreign competition, are already commencing a campaign to reduce the wages of their workers from £14 to £10 a month. All other nationalities are doing the same thing.

Since the war period there have been great improvements in the loading and unloading of cargo. In September, 1920, the steamer „Lewis Luckenbach“ loaded at Baltimore 12,516 tons of coal, contained in 274 rail-road cars in six and a quarter hours.

As an example of the decreased staff necessary for manning ships I recall last year while being in the port of Kristiania the arrival of the largest motor ship in the world, the „Afrika“ of Copenhagen. When she arrived the crew struck and they were sent back to Denmark. She was boycotted by the workers in Kristiania, and the officers and engineers, without the help of a single motorman, oiler, or seaman, took her from Norway to the port of Lisbon in Portugal. Eight men ran the ship, which if she had been a coal burner would have required at least 40 men. Thus we see the day coming when the largest ships will be almost purely mechanical.

Besides the United States have had very little experience in passenger traffic. On the Western Ocean they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There are only two ships on the important New York-West Coast service, and one on the run from the Atlantic Coast to the cities of the River Plate. To Australia from San Francisco they have only three passenger ships, while New Zealand alone has as many as five engaged in the regular carriage of passengers. But the alliance with the Hamburg-American line places into the credit account of the Americans a vast experience of passenger carrying.

The war ended in November, 1918, but for fully a year and a half the ocean routes were very busy. There were millions of soldiers to be repatriated from the battlefields to the United States, Great Britain and her Dominions and also foodstuffs for starving Europe. The marine unions took advantage of their position to demand higher wages and better conditions. The ship-owners were making enormous profits and did not seriously oppose the marine unions for better standards of life.

In the middle of 1920 tonnage began to find freights slackening down. Ships began to tie up and discharge their crews. The price of freights fell very quickly indeed. Coal freights out from American ports declined very rapidly. Freights from the Atlantic ports to the harbours of France fell from £25 in November, 1919, to £13 in October, 1920. From the same ports to Rotterdam the freights declined during the same period from £23 to £9, while those to the Italian ports have been lowered from £27 to £14. By the end of 1920, millions of tons of shipping stood idle. In an out-of-the-way port like Wellington, New Zealand, no less than 200,000 tons of overseas shipping is laid up. In all the ports of the United States there are many ships idle while their crews are discharged and being fed from soupkitchens in the public streets of great ports. The men who faced the submarine warfare, and risked their lives a thousand times for the exploiters are now sleeping, on park-benches, and eating wherever they can obtain food. The ruling classes do not worry about them, as the police force have that work to do. The gaol-cells are full of these men.

Marine transport is now the vulnerable point in the armour of the capitalist class, it is the strategic point where the advanced workers must organise to construct the world upon a Communist basis. With an intense discontent prevailing in all ports and ships among the workers it is now easy to create a new form of industrial organisation that

can meet, with enthusiasm and self-sacrifice on the part of the leading sections, all the requirements of the Communist Republics of the World. The good times that the marine workers enjoyed—such as they were—during the days of the war have permanently gone.

The Masters of Ocean Transport have strengthened enormously their power and holdings in the past ten years. In conjunction with their shipping interests, they have a stranglehold on the more economically backward countries of the East, and of South America. The port and ships workers organisations declined in influence and prestige. There has hardly been one forward movement made in marine union circles since the beginning of the war. The Yellow International Seafarers Federation has federated no one. It is a paper organisation, and belongs to the employers and their institution, the League of Nations. The port workers are affiliated to the International Transport Workers Federation. Both of these institutions are part of the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions.

With the coming of a great maritime struggle between the ship-owners of the various countries the workers are going to be driven into a much more precarious position than they are in even now in these black days of unemployment and poverty. The corporations that win the struggle will be those who can dispense with the use of the most labour power, and who are the most strongly entrenched. The use of oil displaces vast numbers of men. Automatic loaders and cranes do away with the necessity for dock workers and coal workers. Diesel motor ships do not need boilers, nor do they need boiler-makers, nor boiler-repairers. The existing unions and their precious Federations have not the slightest idea how they are to get over widespread changes in the industrial field. The only thing that they have to suggest to their members is to demand unemployed doles from their respective governments. These Federations encourage international scabbery, and have not a single act to point to where they have acted as the thing that they claim to be. Wherever there have been acts of solidarity it has been the action of the rank and file of the membership taking into their own hands the determination of some necessary action. No efforts have been made to standardise conditions or remuneration aboard ships, and no action has been taken to give a foreign ship status or standing in overseas ports. The action of the „Jolly George“ for instance, was one good action amongst many bad ones and was the result of the enthusiasm of members of the workers, who took action in spite of their Federation.

In England we have recently the case of seamen and the dockers of the Bristol Channel fighting one another for certain work and striking against each other, although they are both affiliated to the same Transport Workers Federation. We saw in the strike of last year of the Danish marine workers that blackleg Danish ships were handled in overseas ports by organisations who belonged both to the Seafarers and the I. T. E. These International Banquetting Societies—for they are nothing else—are only excuses for squandering money collected from their starving and unemployed

members. They are a scandal to the Labour movement and it is the duty of the Provisional Council of Red Trade Unions to fight them and their inefficiency to the last ditch. There can be no compromise. It is not merely the outlook of these organisations that we have to fight, but the entire lack of social structure, their entire uselessness in the struggle of a revolutionary epoch.

They promote nationalism. Their leaders have no hopes beyond the champagne glass and the trussed turkey. When we read of the nine course banquet of the Amsterdam International at the Holborn Restaurant in London and the dinner given by Mr. Havelock Wilson, Member of Parliament and Commander of the Order of the British Empire, and the National Seamens and Firemens Union of Great Britain and the invitations issued by Mr. Damm, secretary of the International Seafarers Federation, whereat many of the great lights of the International Plutocracy, and Mr. Cuthbert Laws, secretary of the Master's Shipping Federation, were present, we know that there is no room in the proletarian movement for such organisations.

The complication of statistics of tonnage, of clearances of shipmiles is not a question for the days after the revolution. It is an imperative need now, for Capitalism is becoming unworkable, as is demonstrated by the enormous armies of unemployed in each country.

Marine Transport is a different problem than the other industries. The sea is the point where all nationalities converge. The men who work there are the most cosmopolitan section of the working class. National organisations and yellow federationism cannot help these men. You have sometimes ten different occupations on the same ship, which are usually divided into five organisations, for seamen, firemen, engineers, mates, wireless operators and cooks and stewards. Then there are possibly as many as six to fourteen nationalities on each ship. In the port zones there are always many overseas workers employed in the handling of cargo and the transference of coal. They are therefore usually union members from several countries aboard the same ship. Yellow federationism does not bind these workers together. They need to be in one organisation. This organisation must have offices in every port. It must be a centralised affair, with far-reaching powers for international crisis, boycotts and avoidance of wars. It must be more than a Union, it must be an educational institution. It must aim to take power to build up a new Control of the Ocean routes. It must seek to build a greater power than the American Shipping Board, and to build it from the disorganised and panic-stricken elements which today form the basis of the Yellow Federations.

Such an organisation is now a possibility. The minds of marine workers are receptive to it. On every hand you hear the men talking of the need for an International Union for all the industry. I have had much experience of these men, of their ideas and of their hopes. They are not so fond of their existing Unions as some Communist leaders think. Their industry and their mode of life, the migratory character of their work, and the many and varied countries which they visit, all these

things colour their requirements. And to flirt with the discredited and hopeless tools of the League of Nations is only wasting valuable time. This is the strategic hour for the creation of a fighting Marine International on a revolutionary basis. It is the only form of organisation that can bring the marine workers any hope in the future. They are tired of burial and coffin societies masquerading under the names of „Unions“ and „Federations“.

The main obstacle to progress, of course, comes from Great Britain. Great Britain at the present moment owns 34 per cent. of the world's shipping. Her marine unions dominate the world situation as far as the workers are concerned. The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union in Great Britain is by far the largest of the existing national unions. It is the most reactionary in the world, and is constituted in such a way that it is almost impossible to alter it by working on the inside. The rank and file have no power and no jurisdiction. Advantage is taken of the fact that there is always, at least, forty per cent. of the membership on the high seas in all parts of the world. Not only are the British marine workers held back by their so-called Union, but also all the workers on the European continent. Wilson, his Union, and the precious International Seafarers Federation—of which he is president and dictator—are hated right through the whole transport industry. He has maneuvered the Genoa, London and Brussels congresses to the advantage of the ship-owners. On his return from Genoa, he delivered a speech before the French seamen in the port of Marseilles and promised them all kinds of wonderful things in the future. None of them have eventuated. Nor will they as long as he, his Union and his Federation stand in the way.

The employers are now left to take full advantage of the present economic crisis. The existing Union cannot prevent them. Wilson has left the Shipping Federation with all the winning cards in their own hands. But now, in Great Britain, the insurgent movement is becoming stronger every day. In every port there is a section in open conflict with the honty traitor. The supreme need of the day is to connect and co-ordinate all these insurgent forces and to declare war upon this useless and outgrown form of Unionism. The marine unions of Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Norway, Germany, Belgium, France and Holland will hail the day of the disappearance from the scene of the swindling autoeracy that stinks in the nostrils of every virile and militant marine worker. This type of organisation has to be broken and not mended. Life is too short to doctor it by detaching a dead branch from a rotten tree. If there is not enough energy, knowledge and sincerity to put the thing on a right basis, then we are only advertising our own bankruptcy.

The basis of ship-board organisation must be Ship's Committees. These must be representative of the three departments: Deck, Engineers, and Stewards. Each department shall have its own delegates, and they in turn shall appoint a Ship's delegate, who shall represent the workers aboard in every port that the ships visits, where he shall render a report to the Shore Office, of the status

and morale of the ship, as well as the standing of the men. He shall be wherever possible a Communist.

On the creation of the Marine International, open war shall be carried on against the remains of the Seafarers Federation and the small autonomous Unions who are opposed to the fight against Capitalism. In every port offices shall be opened and shall be utilised to combine in two sections the organisation of both port and ship-workers. All ships flying the pennant of the Marine International shall have the same status in any port regardless of their flag or the nationality of their crews. It shall be an objective to establish the fact that no ship shall be loaded or discharged, coaled or cleaned until the crew's delegate reports that the ships is cleared.

It would be necessary that the organisations affiliated to the Marine International shall pay visits to the workers in the ship-building yards in order to discuss their requirements as to living accomodation. It would be impressed upon the minds of the workers in the ship-yards that they are not merely building ships to carry passengers and goods but also for men to live in. By these discussions the workers would compel the ship-building companies to introduce commodious accomodation with separate cabins, dining and social rooms and also hot and cold water baths for the use particularly of the firemen when they come on deck after their hard and strenuous work in the stoke-hole. Last year I visited the great shipyards in the vicinity of Glasgow and as a practical sailor I spoke to the ship-yard workers on this very important matter. They had not thought of their work from that standpoint before, and they said that they would see that the Committees had the opportunity to impress upon the shipping magnates that they would refuse to build ships where adequate housing accomodation was not provided for the crews. Propaganda of this nature teaches the workers to think collectively, and gives them the class outlook, without which small rebellions may be possible, but revolution of a fundamental character would be quite impossible.

The Marine International is now in the making. Old forms of organisation are breaking down because they cannot survive in the struggle. In Great Britain this is now very much the case. In Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, Grimsby and London, the dockers and shipworkers are in open conflict with their Unions. Havelock Wilson excuses his absences from meetings by saying that he is ill, but at the same time he is fit enough to banquet with the ship-owners at the annual dinner of the Ship-owners Federation. The leader of the Docker's union is Ben Tillet, M. P. This gentleman who looks more like a retired actor than a man who handles the docker's hook, is a visitor at Buckingham Palace, and evidently one of the minor acquaintances of the British Royal Family. It will need more than a coat of red paint to convert this gentleman into a fighter for the class that gave him plenty of money, a good house to live in and nice clothes to wear, as well as the means of obtaining ample face massages when he is recovering from the effects of the highpriced beverages that he absorbs. Havelock Wilson receives altogether the sum of

£1.400 a year or £27 a week. And then there is always the stray gifts that an alert politician knows how to discover.

The Marine International seeks to forge a network of working class organisations round the world. It seeks to assume the control on the seas. It understands the gigantic nature of the task, but such a problem does not alter the fact that it has to be done. It takes into calculation all the power that the other side possesses. It understands only too well the weakness of the existing organisations and their hopelessness. But it sees clearly the road to be travelled. It understands the type of men who are employed, their needs, their modes of thought and their psychology. They do not think in the heavy phrases so current among our academicians. They think in the terms of ships, hours of labour, wages, food winches, wharves, ropes, masts, lights, shovels, pumps, engines, telescopes, holds, cargo, coal, oil, sextants, ports and all the things with which he comes in contact. It is possible that not one in a hundred shipworkers have even heard of Karl Marx, but that does not alter the fact that they are wonderful material from the revolutionary standpoint. They know their own industry, and know it well. And what landsman knows their work or their life? How many landsmen can speak the language that makes the sea-workers of the most varied nationalities understand each other. As a matter of fact these workers are producing men who have the initiative to do things, to start things. Without these men, there can be no international labour movement, no Federation of Communist Republics. And from a long experience of them in overseas ports, I can say that they are big enough, with a little constructive work on new lines, to send the lords of great shipping corporations to work on the ships that they used to own.

The marine workers do not think in political terms, nor are they affected by political watchwords or slogans. But they know in their own minds that

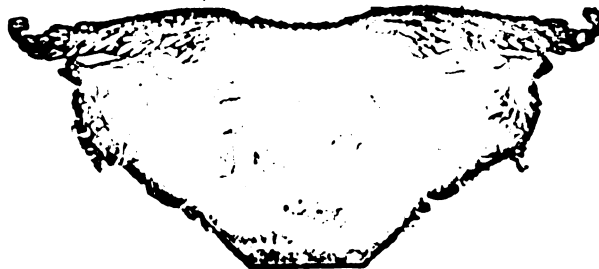
they cannot get out of the vile position that they are in, by any other way than the mastery of control of the shipping. And give the Marine International a little time to create the one organisation of dockers and seamen in every port and on every ship in the world, and where does the supreme power of capitalism come in?

Any organisation that does not stand for placing the fullest power in the hands of the workers is no use in these days. We want the militant minorities everywhere. In Germany, Argentine, Italy, Holland, Finland Australia and Russia we will get the official organisations. We have great possibilities of success among the existing unions in Scandinavia, Belgium, France, Greece and Spain. We will get the fighting minorities from Great Britain, North America, Brazil and Peru. We will get the dockworkers of Argentine, Chile, some ports of North America, Australia, New Zealand, and most of the European ports.

We appreciate the thing that we are fighting. We see its enormous strength, and we realise its weaknesses. We know that time is on our side. We know that the world must pass to our hands. We cannot afford to wait for bottom to fall out of capitalism. Then we shall have unofficial communication with every country. Every ship will be a International propaganda centre, a distributing centre for the literature. Illegal work can be carried on under the easiest conditions.

The Marine International is an urgent necessity of the present time. And in Petrograd in the month of August will be the first Congress of the revolutionary Marine Workers to create the most vital and necessary organisation in the World. And in it both the Council of Red Trade and Industrial Unions and the Third Communist International will have a sturdy and helpful partner in the work of destroying Capitalism and breaking down the Yellow Unions of Amsterdam.

Moscow, 26 April, 1921.





On the Policy of the K. A. P. D. *)

(A speech delivered before the Executive Committee of the Communist International. November 24th. 1920).

By L. TROTSKY.

I cannot deliver a programme speech—as comrade Zinoviev says—extempore, so that I shall have to limit myself to some critical comments on the programme speech which comrade Gorter pronounced here as an exhortation against the Communist International. I shall begin by a few preliminary remarks. Comrade Gorter did not simply formulate his special tendency, he denounced and enlightened us, the stepsons of Eastern Europe, in the name of Western Europe. Unfortunately I did not see comrade Gorter's mandate and I do not know for certain whether he had really been delegated by Western Europe in order to deliver his instructive lecture. But as far as I can judge comrade Gorter's speech is nothing but a repetition of the critique, the denunciations and formulae which have been frequently set by him against the programme and tactical bases of the Third International, which, as it is well known, are being formulated by us—Eastern socialists—not isolatedly, but jointly, with all our numerous and ever increasing West European friends and partisans. On the other hand we cannot but remember that comrade Gorter is speaking on behalf of a very small and not influential group in the labour movement of Western Europe. This is what must be established first of all so as to avoid misconceptions.

If I should wish to imitate comrade Gorter and make a valuation of the revolutionary political views in accordance with the cultural national limits, I should say first of all that comrade Gorter judges not to say in West European, but rather... in Dutch fashion. He is acting not in the name of France, Germany, England, with their rich experience in proletarian struggle, but in that of a part of a small Dutch party, which has certainly its merits, but which has been deprived hitherto of the possibility of acting at the head of large masses, as a leading revolutionary force. It is more of a propaganda group, than a militant party. There are workers in this group whom we value very highly but they are not guilty of the error of which comrade Gorter so haughtily accuses comrade Zinoviev (in connection with the latter's speech in Halle), that of „running after the masses“. A party which has during several decades obtained only 2,000 adherents cannot really be accused of running after the masses, or at least of having done so successfully. But it appears, according to the words of comrade Gorter himself, that among these 2,000 Dutch Communists, whom comrade Gorter has educated and with whom he has been educated there

is no unity in the estimation of the elementary events: during the war one part accused the other of supporting the Entente. Holland is an excellent country but she has hitherto not been the arena of the powerful revolutionary struggles for which and on the basis of which the mentality of the Communist International is formulated.

Comrade Gorter accused us of being too Russian. Naturally one cannot jump out of one's skin. But still we think he looks upon the question too much from a geographical point of view and politically comes too near to the opportunists and yellow socialists, when he says to us: „If the Chinese should wish to prescribe the methods and forms of the struggle to you, Russians, you would probably tell them that their propositions sound too Chinese and cannot be binding for you“. Comrade Gorter is too nationally limited in this case—only from the other side. According to our point of view the world economic management is a certain organic complete unit, on the basis of which the world revolution of the proletariat is developing, and the Communist International is taking its bearings according to the entire world economy, analysing it by means of the scientific methods of Marxism and profiting by the whole experience of the past struggle. This naturally does not exclude but it presupposes the peculiarities of the development of separate countries, the peculiarities of separate moments, etc. But in order to appreciate correctly these peculiarities it is necessary to consider them in their international connection. Comrade Gorter does not do so, and this is the cause of his cruel mistakes. Thus, when he asserts that the proletariat in England is quite isolated whereas in Russia it leads behind it the peasant masses, this bare assertion is one-sided and therefore incorrect. The English proletariat is not isolated because England is a world Power. The industry of Great Britain and the position of British capital depend wholly on the colonies and consequently the struggle of the English proletariat depends also on that of the colonial popular masses. The task of the English proletariat in its struggle against British capitalism demands orientation along the lines of the interests and tendencies of the Hindoo peasantry. The English proletariat will not attain the final victory until the people in India will revolt and until the English proletariat will give them a definite aim and programme, while in India it is impossible to win the victory without the assistance and leadership of the English proletariat. There you have the revolutionary collaboration of the proletariat and the peasantry within the limits of the British Empire.

*) Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands. (Communist Labour Party of Germany)

We, Russians, are both in social and geographical respects on the border between countries which possess colonies and countries which are colonies themselves. We were colonies in the sense that we received the largest factories of Petrograd, Moscow and the South ready made from the hands of European and American financial capital which carried off all the profits. The fact that the Russian industrial capitalist was only a third rate agent of the world financial capital at once gave to the struggle of the Russian proletariat an international revolutionary character. The Russian workers saw before them on the one hand the united financial capital of Russia, France, Belgium, etc., and on the other—the backward peasant masses entangled in a web of semi-bondage agrarian relations. We had in this London and India simultaneously in our own country. In spite of all our backwardness this brought us nearer to the European and world problems in their most developed historical aspect.

We arrived at our conception of the questions of the revolutionary struggle, however, not exclusively on our own national grounds. Almost since the very first steps we had the possibility to study the Marxist doctrine which is penetrated with the whole experience of the last decades of the world proletarian struggle and we analysed the conditions of our own struggle by means of the Marxist methods. In order to remove at least partially the responsibility for our Russian backwardness I shall take the liberty to remind that many of us have been, during a whole series of years, participators in the West European labour movement. The majority of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party have lived and fought in Germany, Austria, France, England, America, working there hand in hand with the best proletarian fighters. It is not any self-established Russian theory which has helped us to disentangle our Russian conditions and connect them with the course of the world revolution but the theory of Marxism and the fact that whole generations of Russian revolutionary fighters had to pass through the West European revolutionary school. I shall further take the liberty to add that when Marx and Engels formulated the „Manifesto of the Communist Party“ they also belonged to the most backward country in Europe in industrial respects. But for the estimation of the German conditions (and armed with the method created by them) they found their support in the analysis of the experience of the French revolutions and English capitalism.

I repeat once more that when comrade Gorter says that in contradistinction to Russia the proletariat of Western Europe will be quite isolated, he touches upon the indubitable difference between the position of the Russian and the West European peasantry. But at the same time he passes by another no less but more important fact, namely: the international character of the revolution itself and the world relations. He approaches the matter from the insular English point of view, forgetting Asia and Africa, losing sight of the connection between the proletarian revolution in the West and the national agrarian revolution in the East. Herein lies the vulnerable point of comrade Gorter.

In the question of the trade and industrial unions his position is extremely confused. It seems

at times as though according to him the matter lies only in a modification of the forms of organisation. But as a matter of fact it is much deeper. In the whole speech of comrade Gorter a fear of the masses may be felt. He is a pessimist by his views. He does not believe in the proletarian revolution. It is not in vain that he spoke so haughtily of the Third International running after the masses. Comrade Gorter speaks of the social revolution like a solist, a lyric, but he has no confidence in the material basis of the revolution—the working class. His point of view is individualist and aristocratic in the highest degree. And revolutionary aristocratism is inevitably bound to pessimism. Comrade Gorter says that we, people of the East, do not know how „bourgeois“ the working class has become and therefore the more masses we attract, the greater the danger. The real leading motive of his speech is that he does not believe in the revolutionary spirit of the working class; he does not see the depths of the proletariat through the envelope of its privileged bureaucratic upper stratum.

What does comrade Gorter propose? What does he want? Propaganda! In fact his whole method lies in this. The Revolution, says comrade Gorter, depends not on want or poverty, not on economic conditions but on the class consciousness of the masses; this class consciousness can only be formed by propaganda. Propaganda is understood by him in a perfectly idealistic sense, approaching the conceptions of the enlighteners-rationalists of the eighteenth century. If revolution does not depend on the conditions of life of the masses or not so much on these conditions, as on propaganda, then why did not you carry it on in Holland? Now you wish to replace the practical development of the International by methods of propagandist enlisting of separate workers. You want to have a pure International of the elected, but your Dutch experience must tell you that it is under such conditions of work that most acute dissensions arise in the most select of organisations. In consequence of his idealistic point of view comrade Gorter passes from one inconsistency to another. He began by preaching propaganda as an all powerful means for the education of the masses and then he passed over to the assertion that a revolution is achieved „by deeds not words.“ This is necessary to him for the struggle against parliamentarism. It is sufficiently instructive that comrade Gorter found it necessary to deliver a one hour and a half speech in order to prove that revolutions are achieved not by words but by deeds. Before this we had heard from him that the masses may be prepared for action by propaganda, that is to say, by speeches. But the point is that he wishes to have a select group of agitators, propagandists, writers who do not lower themselves by vulgar action, such as parliamentary elections or participation in the life of trade unions, but only by means of irreproachable speeches and articles in the press „educate“ the masses until they will be capable of carrying out a Communist revolution. I repeat, this method is thoroughly penetrated with individualism.

Gorter's assertion that the west European working class has become „bourgeois“ on the whole is absolutely wrong and anti-revolutionary. If it were

so, this would be equal to a sentence of death for all our expectations and hopes. To struggle against the power of capitalism which has succeeded in „making a bourgeois“ of the proletariat by means of the propaganda of a select few, is a hopeless utopia. In reality, however, it is only the upper stratum, although a rather numerous one, of the working class that have become bourgeois.

Take for instance the labour unions. Before the war their memberships was from 2 to 3 millions in Germany and England, about 300,000 in France, etc. At present they are uniting about 8 to 9 millions in Germany and England, in France over 2 millions, etc. How then can we attempt to influence the masses otherwise than by means of these powerful organisations into which new millions are being attracted owing to the upheavals caused by the war? Comrade Gorter points out that there is a much greater number of workers outside the unions than within them. In general this is true. But how does comrade Gorter hope to reach these more backward strata, which even under the influence of the greatest upheavals brought on by the war have not joined the organised economic struggle of the working class? Or does he think that only the „bourgeois grown“ proletarians have entered the unions, and the rest, the purely proletarian strata have remained outside? This is naive. Besides hundreds of thousands of privileged and demoralised workers the unions contain millions of the most militant and class-conscious elements, without which we shall not find our way to the more backward, ill-fated and ignorant stratifications of the proletariat. The creation of Communist nuclei in the labour unions signifies the engrafting of our party into the most active, the most class-conscious and therefore the most available part of the working class. Whoever does not understand this, whoever does not see the proletarian masses in the labour unions through the envelope of the labour bureaucracy and the privileged stratum, whoever wishes to act without the labour unions, is threatened with the danger of becoming a preacher in the wilderness.

Comrade Gorter considers the labour unions and parliamentarism as once for all established definite units. And as the social democratic utilisation of the labour unions and parliament did not lead to a revolution comrade Gorter proposes to us to turn our backs against both without noticing that by this means he is at the present moment turning his back against the working class.

As a matter of fact social democracy with which we have broken in the person of the Second International was a certain epoch in the development of the working class, it was an epoch of reformation, not revolution. In comparing the course of development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat the future historian will say that the working class has also had its proletarian reformation.

What was the substance of the latter? When the bourgeoisie awoke to independent historical action it did not at the beginning set itself the task of seizing the power but endeavoured to ensure for itself such conditions of life within the limits of the feudal society as would be more convenient and more adapted to the requirements of the existence. The bourgeoisie enlarged the

limits of the feudal state, modified the latter, and transformed it into a bureaucratic monarchy. It modified religion, individualising it, that is to say, adapting it to the bourgeois order. These tendencies showed the relative historical weakness of the bourgeoisie. When the latter had ensured these positions for itself it passed over to the struggle for the power. Social democracy proved to be incapable of transforming Marxism into social revolutionary action. The rôle of social democracy was brought down to the utilisation of the bourgeois society and state in the interests of the working masses. Although the object of acquiring the power was proclaimed formally, practically it exercised almost no influence at all. The work consisted not in the revolutionary utilisation of parliamentarism but in the adaptation of the working class to bourgeois democracy. This adaptation of the yet insufficiently class and power conscious proletariat to the social, administrative and ideological forms of bourgeois society was evidently a historically inevitable process, but only a historical process, that is to say, it was limited by the definite conditions of the epoch. This epoch of proletarian reformation created its own apparatus of labour bureaucracy with special habits of thought, routine, narrowmindedness, adaptability, nearsightedness. Comrade Gorter identifies this bureaucratic apparatus with the proletarian masses of whose back it had been raised. Hence his idealistic illusions. His mentality is not materialistic, not historical. He does not understand [the mutual relations between a class and a temporary historical apparatus, between the past epoch and the present one. He asserts: the labour unions have become bankrupt, social democracy has become bankrupt, Communism has become bankrupt, the working class has become bourgeois. One must begin from the top, from the group of elected, who casting aside all the old forms of organisation will bring to the proletariat pure truth, cleanse it from all bourgeois prejudices and thus finally prepare it for the proletarian revolution. As I have said already such idealistic arrogance is the reverse side of the deepest scepticism.

And now in respect to the epoch in which we are living, in respect particularly to the German revolution comrade Gorter preserves all the peculiarities of his anti-materialistic, anti-dialectic and anti-historical mentality. In Germany the revolution is going on these two years. We are observing in it a constant change of groupings, tendencies, methods, etc. This change is subject to a certain systematised plan which might and ought to have been foreseen, and which we on the ground of our analysis and our experience have foreseen and foretold. Meanwhile comrade Gorter has not the slightest possibility of attempting to prove or at least to assert that the point of view represented by him is systematically developing in Germany and increasing its influence enriched by the experience of the revolution. Comrade Gorter speaks with the greatest contempt of the split in the German Independent Social Democratic party. For him it is an episode among the opportunist and petty bourgeois prattlers, which is not worthy of attention. But this only proves the superficial

nature of his point of view. In the period of its creation, before it was formally constituted, the Communist International had in the person of its theoretical representatives already foreseen the inevitability of the growth of the independent party, as well as its further reorganisation and split. For us this split is not an empty episode but a very significant stage in the revolutionary development of the German proletariat. We have foretold it in the beginning of the revolution. We have striven for it. We have been preparing it hand in hand with the German Communists. At present we have achieved it. The creation of a United Communist Party in Germany is no empty episode but a historical fact of the greatest magnitude. It has again proved besides anything else, the absolute correctness of our historical prognosis and our tactics. Comrade Gorter with his formal propagandist rationalist speeches should think several times before anathematising the tendency which is developing together with the revolution, which foresees its immediate future and the day after it, which sets itself clear and definite aims and knows how to attain them. But let us return to parliamentarism.

Comrade Gorter says to us: "You, peoples of the East, unskilled in the questions of bourgeois democratic policy and culture, do not recognise fully the meaning of parliament and parliamentarism for the labour movement." And in the interests of our, at least partial, enlightenment comrade Gorter explains to us the demoralising influence of parliamentary reformism. Well, if the limited mental capacities of the peoples of the East are not capable of finding their bearings in these questions there is really no use in talking to us. But I am very much afraid that comrade Gorter's speech is not the last word of the West European revolutionary thought, but only one side of it, a conservative straitness. The "Communist Manifesto" has certainly appeared at one time and is even now appearing to many French and British "socialists" to be the product of German cultured and political backwardness. Although we are now disputing on the meridian of Moscow, we consider ourselves to be the participators of the world experience of the working class, we are acquainted — and this not only by books — with the epoch of the struggle between reformism and marxism in the international labour movement; we have closely and critically observed social democratic parliamentarism in a series of countries and we can establish its place in the development of the working class with sufficient clearness.

According to comrade Gorter a cringing servility before parliamentarism is too deeply instilled in the workers hearts. This is quite true. But it must be added also that in the minds of certain ideologists this servility is supplemented by a mystical awe of parliamentarism. He thinks that if he will pass by the house of parliament at a distance of one kilometer this servility of the workers before parliamentarism will be weakened or abolished. Such tactics are based on idealistic superstitions, not on realities. The Communist point of view takes parliamentarism in connection with all the political relations, not making of it a fetish

either with a sign of plus or minus. Parliament is a means for the political deception and alluring of the masses, the propagation of prejudices, the main stronghold of illusions on political democracy, etc. All this is incontestable. But does parliament stand alone in all this? Is not the petty bourgeois poison spread by the pages of the newspapers and especially the social democratic ones? Should we not repudiate the press, as a weapon of Communist influence over the masses? Or perhaps the very fact that comrade Gorter's group will turn its back on parliament will compromise parliamentarism? If it were so this would mean that in the eyes of the masses the idea of the Communist revolution represented by comrade Gorter's group is above everything else. Then naturally the proletariat would easily dissolve the parliament and take the power into its own hand. But it is not so. Comrade Gorter himself not only does not deny, but on the contrary he caricatures and exaggerates the respect and servility of the masses before parliamentarism. What inference does he draw from this? One must preserve the "purity" of one's own group, that is to say, one's sect. In the end comrade Gorter's arguments against parliamentarism may be directed against all forms and methods of the class struggle of the proletariat, because they have all proved to be infected with opportunist reformism and nationalism. In protesting against the utilisation of the labour unions and parliamentarism comrade Gorter ignores the difference between the Third and the Second International, between Communism and social democracy and chiefly he does not understand the difference between two historical epoch and the world state of affairs.

Comrade Gorter admits himself that before the revolution the parliamentary speeches of Liebknecht were very important. But, he says, after the beginning of the revolution, parliamentarism loses all sense. Liebknecht delivered his speeches in the Reichstag on the eve of the bourgeois revolution. In Germany there is at present a bourgeois revolution and the country is now on the threshold of its proletarian revolution. In France the bourgeois revolution took place long ago, but the proletarian revolution is not there yet and there is no guarantee that it will happen tomorrow, or in a week or even in a year. Comrade Gorter admits, as we heard from him, that the utilisation of parliament is allowable and useful before the revolution. Very well, but then Germany and France and England, and alas, all the civilised countries of the world have not yet entered upon a proletarian revolution. We are passing through a stage of preparation for it. If, in the pre-revolutionary period, Liebknecht's parliamentary speeches could be of revolutionary importance then why does comrade Gorter repudiate parliamentarism for the actual preparatory epoch? Or has he failed to see the difference between a bourgeois and a proletarian revolutions in Germany, has he not noticed the two years interval between them, which may become extended further? Comrade Gorter has evidently not thought out the matter sufficiently and this has led to inconsistencies. Evidently he considers that as Germany has entered a period of revolution, "in general," one must desist from parliamentarism "in general." But

what must France do in such a case? Only idealistic prejudices can dictate desistance from the parliamentary tribune which we may and must use for the purpose of uprooting the superstitions of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy among the workers.

It is quite possible that every parliamentary word of Liebknecht's in pre-revolutionary Germany found a greater number of hearers than it would find now. I admit fully that in the epoch of the approaching revolution parliamentary speeches, even the most revolutionary ones, cannot produce the same effect as they could a few years ago during the epoch of the highest rule of militarism. We do not say that parliamentarism has the same importance always and everywhere. On the contrary parliamentarism and its place in the struggle of the proletariat must be estimated from the point of view of the concrete conditions of place and time. That is just why an absolute refutation of parliamentarism is the worst of superstitions. In the end such a refutation is equal to the fear of a virtuous man, who dares not come out into the street in order not to subject his virtue to any temptations. If I am a revolutionist and a Communist, working under the bona fide leadership and control of a centralised proletarian party, then I may work in a labour organisation, at the front, in a newspaper office, on the barricades, in parliament, and I am everywhere what I must be, not a parliamentarian, nor a journalist, not a trade unionist, but a revolutionary Communist, who is utilising all the ways, means and methods in the name of the social revolution.

Finally, the last chapter of comrade Gorter's "The Masses and the Leaders." In this question his idealism and formalism find a not less bright expression: "Do not run after the larger masses,—comrade Gorter teaches us—it is better to have a small number, but of good comrades."

In such a form this prescription is meaningless. First, we see in the example of Holland and a number of other countries that a small strictly preserved number of members of an organisation does in no wise exempt the latter from doctrinary vacillation but even to a certain degree assists them, because an organisation of a sectarian type cannot possess the requisite stability. Secondly—and chiefly—we must not forget that our object is nothing else than a revolution. Only a mass organisation can conduct a revolution. Gorter's struggle against the "worship of leaders" bears a purely idealistic, almost verbal character, and he wanders away into inconsistencies at every step. We do not need leaders,—says he—the centre of gravity must be transferred to the masses. And on the other hand, he warns us: Do not run after the masses. According to Gorter, the connection between the party and the class is determined by purely pedagogic mutual relations between a small propagandist society and a proletariat affected with bourgeois preferences. But it is in such organisations where the fear of the masses reigns supreme, where there is no confidence in them, where the object is to obtain members by means of individual propaganda, where the work is carried on not on the basis of the class struggle but on that of

idealistic enlightenment, it is just there that the leaders have to play a disproportionately important rôle. I need not cite any examples. The history of the Communist Party of Germany is too fresh yet. It has hitherto done too little to lead the masses after it that one might in any way determine the mutual relations between the masses and the leaders on the basis of experience. Only now after the split of the Independent Socialist Party which has come to pass owing to the work of the Communist party (in spite of the latter's indubitable separate mistakes on which you insist),—only now will a new epoch in the life of the German proletariat and German Communism begin. The education of the masses and the selection of the leaders, the development of the self activity of the masses and the establishment of the requisite control over the leaders all these are mutually connected and mutually ensuing occurrences and processes. I do not know of any remedy by means of which it would be possible to transfer artificially the centre of gravity from the leaders to the masses. Gorter points out a propaganda by elected ones. Let us admit this for a moment. But until such a propaganda will take hold of the masses and raise their class consciousness, the centre of gravity of the action will evidently lie on those who are carrying on the process, i. e. on the initiators or leaders. Every now and then the demagogic form of struggle against the ideas and methods represented by the given leaders finds its expression in the struggle against the leaders. If these ideas and methods are correct, then the influence of the given leaders is equal to that of correct methods and ideas; only those who do not know how to take hold of the masses come forward in their name. Generally speaking the relations between the leaders and the masses depend on the cultural political level attained by the working class and on whether it has revolutionary traditions and the habit of mass action and how deep is the stratum of the proletariat which has passed through the school of class organisation and marxist education. There is no independent problem of the leaders and the masses. By enlarging the arena of its doctrinary influence, by penetrating into all the spheres of life and struggle of the working class, by attracting ever wider working masses into the active struggle under the banner of the revolution—the Communist Party is at the same time enlarging and deepening the independent work of the working masses and in no wise diminishing the rôle of the leaders, but on the contrary giving to it an unprecedented historical swing; it makes this rôle still closer connected with the independent activities of the masses and subordinates it to their organised and conscious control.

Comrade Gorter says that it is impossible to begin a revolution before the leaders will have raised the intellectual level of the working class in such way that it would finally understand its historical rôle. But this is pure idealism! As though the moment of the advent of the revolution really depends only on the degree of culture and enlightenment of the working class and not on a whole series of other factors—national and international, economic and political, and in particular on the

influence of the penury of the more ill-fated working masses because penury—with the permission of comrade Gorter—is the supreme motive power of the proletarian revolution. It is very probable that under the further aggravation of the economic situation of Europe a revolution will break out in Holland at such a moment when the Communist Party of Holland will still be only a small party numerically. Involved in the revolutionary vortex the Dutch workers will not stop to ask themselves should they not wait until the Communist Party would prepare them for a complete class conscious and systematic participation in the events. It is also most probable that England will enter the epoch of a proletarian revolution having only a comparatively small Communist party. This cannot be helped because the propaganda of the ideas of Communism is not the only factor of history. Hence the only inference to be drawn is that if by reason of the great historical causes the working class of England will find itself involved in an open proletarian revolution in the near future, it will be compelled during the very process of its struggle for the power and after the seizure of the power to create its own mass party, to enlarge and strengthen it; whereas on the other hand during the first period of the revolution the numerically small Communist party will have to strive to bring into the practically developing revolution a maximum of Communist consciousness, without breaking with the general movement and reckoning with the given degree of class consciousness and organisedness of the proletariat.

Let us return to Germany. At the moment when the revolution broke out there was no militant party organisation at the head of the German proletariat. The working class was compelled to form its bona fide revolutionary party during the very course of the fights. Hence the extremely extended lasting character of the struggle and the enormous sacrifices that it demanded. What do we see in Germany? A series of offensives and retreats, uprisings and defeats, passages from attacks to defense, a critical self analysis, internal clearings, cleavages,

reevaluation of leaders and methods, new splits and unitings. In the very furnace of the struggle for the basis of an unprecedented revolutionary experience a bona fide Communist party is now being formed. A disdainful attitude towards this process as though it were nothing more than a tiff between the leaders, or family quarrels among the opportunists, proves only an extreme shortsightedness, not to say—blindness. When one sees how the German working class allowed its „leaders“—Scheidemann, Ebert, and others—to enslave it for the sake of imperialism, how afterwards the wider masses broke with their imperialist leaders and, seeking for new orientations created temporary conditions for the influence of Kautsky and Hilferding, how later on these masses organised the Communist party, small at first, but resolutely continuing the process of further revolutionising the proletarian masses, when one sees the differentiation going on within the Independent party and the practical split between the opportunist leaders, between the labour democracy and the revolutionary masses carrying away with them the best part of the leaders, when one appreciates this process in its full significance (not from the point of view of a pedant but of a materialist thinking revolutionist, then one says: here, within the shell of the United Communist Party a new basis and new conditions are being created for the bona fide development of a revolutionary party of the proletariat. If comrade Gorter does not see this he is only to be pitied. If the K. A. P. D. (the Communist Labour Party of Germany) represented by him, in which there is undoubtedly a great number of excellent workers—revolutionists, if this not very numerous organisation is afraid to join the United Communist Party which is formed not by means of superficial enlistment, but in the very throes of the revolution, after a hard and deep struggle, after clearings and splits—then this fear can only mean that the leaders of the K. A. P. D. are still playing too great a rôle in it and infecting the workers with the same mistrust of the proletarian masses with which comrade Gorter's speech is penetrated.





Revolutionary Problems in America.

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

THIS article will be merely an outline of a picture of the United States of America. A great country of over a million square miles the outline must be filled in with rugged mountain ranges, wide expanses of plain and prairie, vast forests of gigantic trees, great lakes, wonderful waterfalls and many rivers. The other resources of this great territory are immense deposits of iron; vast stratas of coal; oil fields covering a large area; rich veins of copper and lead, with precious metals including gold, making the riches comparable to an Ophir or a Golconda.

In this great nation have gathered over one hundred million human souls, not a race, but a conglomeration of the adventurous spirits of the world, making a wonderful homogeneous mass of peoples.

Nearly all of these people, whatever their former religion may have been, have now become worshippers of the golden calf; their shrine and the fetish at which they kneel is the "almighty Dollar." This immoral instinct has developed a monstrous system of gambling and speculation in food-stuffs and other material things essential to the life and happiness of the people. A living, breathing Octopus has been formed with headquarters in Wall Street, New York, City. There the blackened, decaying head of capitalism is located, from there it throws out its mighty tentacles, reaching over industry, not only in the United States but across the seas. It reaches into every city and town where are created branches in forms of Chambers of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations, composed of the same gambling, thieving exploiters as their heads in Wall Street, which are personified by human monsters, who have more vital power than that of all combined living kings. Through their scheming and conniving the System has enabled one decrepit, bald-headed, old man, named John D. Rockefeller, to become the absolute owner of a billion dollars of the wealth of the nation, controlling as he does, the Standard Oil Company with its subsidiaries, the Amalgamated Copper Company and kindred industries.

Another prototype of Wall Street effluvia is J. Pierrepont Morgan, head of the great banking interests, who inherited his holdings from his gambling father, who made his start by robbing the government in the sale of old guns, during the time of the Civil War. These with Kuhn, Loeb and Co. and others of their character, make up the head and heart of the vicious ogre located in Wall Street. The liver, which does the dirty work finds its place in Washington, District of Columbia, where the political machine of the capitalist class functions, sometimes under the name of the Republican Party, at other times under the name of the now apparently

discredited Democratic Party, which during the world war sent its President, Woodrow Wilson and his wife a large retinue and sixteen battleships—in gorgeous magnificence on his conquering trip to Paris...

These political parties, of which the Senate and House of representatives are sometimes made up in part of the members of the Boards of Directors of great industries—always do the bidding of their Economic Masters.

In the 48 states of the Union are lesser political machines of the same stripes and spots.

These political organisations have lawfully and legally conveyed to the capitalists of the nation great concessions of the country's natural resources, for example, the Union Pacific Railroad Company, was given vast tracts of land that extended twenty miles on each side of the railway marked by every other section, i. e., one section still belongs to the Government, the next section twenty miles in width, belongs to the railroad company, which in the aggregate comprises millions of acres of land.

Vast tracts of Coal Lands have been acquired by capitalists in a similar unscrupulous manner. One instance which recurs to memory where David H. Moffat, of the First National Bank of Denver, Colorado became the owner of nearly all the coal lands of Routt County Colorado. This robbery was achieved in the following manner: Persons were selected to file claims on this land which were afterwards purchased by the said Moffat at a nominal sum. Moffat is now dead but the mines are now being worked for profits which go to his heirs.

Still another glaring example of how the people have been robbed of their heritage, is that of Henry Miller, of the firm of Miller & Lux, who has acquired title to the vast area of four million two hundred thousand acres of land upon which gratis raised and countless heads of cattle are grazed. Miller one time told the writer that he started out as a pedlar of meat with a basket on his arm, that he had made three fortunes—one for his partner, Lux, one for the damned thieves and lawyers and one for himself, that if he had started earlier in life he would have owned the entire state of California, which is the Baku District of America.

Another example of these wealth-owning personages is that of Widow King, in Texas, who owns an area of land so large in extent that it is fifty miles from the front gate to the front door of her house.

These examples suffice to show the grasping greed of individuals in the United States, which is inculcated in the minds of the capitalist class generally, and even permeates the brain of the worker at his toil. They have been taught that any boy born in the United States might become President and that all have the opportunity to become rich.

Lincoln, the woodchopper and rail-splitter and Rockefeller, the Croesus of America—are held up as examples to the youth of the nation.

The capitalists, large and small, have conceived the idea that anything they can get hold of belongs to them personally, during their lives and can be assigned to their heirs after their death. To protect themselves in this fallacious notion of private ownership, they have created around the industries they control private armies of strikebreakers, thugs and gunmen, ably assisted by the Department of Justice, so-called, which has enlisted an army of agents to act as spies in labour organisations and as fighting henchmen of the capitalist class on any and all occasions.

The capitalists of America are, as a rule, a brave and adventuresome lot. They have, for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the nation, built up a wonderful system of industries in which labour is regarded only as a commodity, to be worked the longest possible hours for which they are paid the smallest possible wages.

Oft times the housing and living conditions are reduced to a congestive condition equal only by the slums of Dublin, Glasgow and Whitechapel, London.

In juxtaposition, the capitalists live as do the Imperialists, in magnificent opulence, in palaces on great estates with summer homes in Bar Harbour, Maine, Newport, Rhode Island; at the watering places in Florida or other points along the Atlantic Coast. In luxurious steam launches they float about in indolence, enjoying the wealth created by the working class.

A brief era of prosperity prevailed for the workers during the war period, when some of them were able to accumulate a little more than their actual needs.

Now, a gigantic conspiracy has been entered into by the capitalists of the nation, its purpose is to reduce the standard of living of the working class to a pre-war basis. This conspiracy, though it was not announced as such, was first mentioned in the press by a man named Allen, a representative of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The papers of the nation were, through their editorial and news columns, calling for more production. Then came Allens' declaration that there was to be a liquidation of labour. He plainly stated that wages were to be reduced; the forces of workers minimized; the open shop established wherever necessary, and production not to be decreased. Already the great industries had begun to put this terrible conspiracy into effect. The American Woolen Company closed down its mills. The clothing manufacturers locked out thousands of men and women. The railroad companies curtailed their forego. The rubber companies at Akron, Ohio, closed down. Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, the centres of automobile manufacture, laid off thousands of men—the great Ford plant was closed entirely.

A similar action on the part of the profiteers extended across the country, even to the lumber industry owned by Weyerhaeuser and other lumber companies of the North-West. This action has continued until a crisis of unemployment has developed in the United States, that was never equalled in any previous time, even during the

great industrial and financial panics that have periodically occurred. Deplorable, indeed, are the present social conditions—as there are between six and seven million workers who have been thrown out of employment; denied access to the means of production, thus, deprived of earning a livelihood; are rapidly being forced into the bread-lines—objects of charity. This miserable condition obtains in a country boundless in its resources, which are sufficient, under Communism, to maintain all the people in happiness and contentment.

The facts portrayed are enough to convey to the mind of the reader the bitterness of the class-struggle, as it exists in the United States, where capitalism is young, daring and more brutal than in, perhaps, any other part of the globe, this not, excluding the ferocious tyranny of Great Britain.

To overcome capitalism entrenched, as it is in the United States, will require Herculean efforts on the part of a United Working-class.

Strange as it may seem, there is little revolutionary thought among the workers at the present time, outside of the comparatively small numbers which have united in the Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Party.

The American Federation of Labor which is referred to by its leaders as the Labor movement of America, but which, in fact, is the buffer organisation of capitalism, is a loosely affiliated body of 122 International Unions, paying a small per capita tax to maintain an executive board, which is housed in the Southern Buildings at Washington, D. C. This executive board comprising a president, nine vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. Never during the nearly forty years existence of the A. F. L. has it done a single thing in the interests of the Working Class.

Sam Gompers, the troglodyte, a besotted person of dwarf stature and smaller mentality, acts in the capacity of president for a salary of twelve thousand dollars a year. His chief function is signing articles of a derogatory nature, at the present time directed, in main, against the Workers Republic of Russia and any other movement with the slightest tendency of radicalism, said articles chiefly prepared by renegade socialists.

It can truthfully be said, that the executive board of the A. F. of L. is little more than a permanent lobby, who with fat salaries, sit around the hotels and halls of congress, occasionally beseeching the national legislators to pass some measure in the interest of the organized workers. Gompers and his satellites still imagine that the master-class will legislate in the interest of their subject slaves.

Previous to elections there, invariably, emanates from Gompers a slogan: „defeat our enemies, reward our friends." How successful is the Gompers campaign, was shown in the last election, when the democratic party, headed by Governor Cox, of Ohio, who was endorsed by Woodrow Wilson, a friend and compatriot of Sammy the Toad, was defeated by the most overwhelming vote since the days of Tilden.

The International Unions, of which the A. F. of L. is comprised, are autonomous bodies, acting independently of each other, with perhaps, a single exception of the Steel Strike, where 24 international organisations in the steel industry were combined



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.



It may here be recorded, that in spite of this apparent unity, a corps of two hundred organizers, a fund of 500,000 dollars—the strike was a dismal failure. The opportunity for revolutionary propaganda at the tremendous meetings was even lost. In fact, a plea for national patriotism was made, the membership card was printed on the national colours: red, white and blue.

The convention of the A. F. of L., held annually now, in the month of June, in different cities throughout the nation, the last time held in Montreal, Canada, is composed of the officials of the International Unions—yearly the same old faces are to be seen at this congress. Their chief purpose is to pass meaningless resolutions, to re-elect their official devoting most of the time to animated discussion over jurisdictional disputes. These disputes usually arising in the building industry where craft-distinctions are minutely defined.

Numerically, the United Mine Workers, is the strongest organization in the A. F. of L. It is composed of men employed in and around the coal mines with a membership close to a half-million. An industrial organization in form; craft-union poison, injected into its veins, has divided the organization into 29 different districts, each district, where possible, enters into time agreements or contracts with their employers expiring at different dates, thus, absolutely preventing solidarity of ranks. It should be explained that the coal miners of America are compelled by the mine owners to purchase the tools with which they work—not only have they to defray the cost of their tools, but must buy oil for their safety lamps as well as powder and fuse for blasting purposes.

To cite an instance, which will explain the detrimental effect of the time contract, it will only be necessary to describe the coal strike which occurred in the state of Colorado, district 15. The U. M. W. A. was supplying funds from headquarters and the same was being done from some districts for the relief of the strikers, while the members of the same organization in the adjoining state of Wyoming under contract were mining coal to fill the markets formerly supplied by the strikers. In fact the same nefarious work was done by the miners of the Northern fields of Colorado against their striking brothers of the Southern fields in the same state.

Seldom or never, have the members of the United Mine Workers ceased to furnish coal when other members of organized labour were on strike, even though such action on their part may have been the deciding factor in a struggle. In fact, the co-operative, sympathetic spirit among the craft unions of the A. F. of L. is an almost unknown quantity.

Even now, the coal miners of West Virginia are on strike. Many of them have been murdered; others are suffering untold horrors at the hands of detectives and thugs employed by the capitalists who own the mines, while members of the same labour union, the United Mine Workers of America, are placidly working in the adjacent coal-fields of adjoining states—Pennsylvania and Kentucky, permitting themselves to be used as instruments for the defeat of their brothers. Realising, if they can think at all, that when the coal miners of West

Virginia are defeated, they, when called upon or forced to strike will have to fight their battles alone—as defeat in West Virginia will mean the loss of the union.

It was the United Mine Workers, of which the late John Mitchel was at one time president. Mitchel is the man of whom it was said, by the capitalist press of America, "was the greatest labor leader that the world had ever known." John Mitchel became a member and chairman of the Trades Agreement Committee of the Civic Federation, at the munificent salary of six thousand dollars a year. He, however, was compelled to resign or he would have suffered expulsion from the U. M. W. of A., of which he had at one time been the president. Such action would have nullified his prestige in the labor movement, so he resigned his fat job. When he died, he left an estate of over three hundred thousand dollars, evidence enough to show, that this prime factor of the A. F. of L. had served his capitalist masters in other capacities than the position he had held in the Civic Federation.

Another example of the Gompers ilk, is Robert Brindell. This individual manipulated his selfish game from a different angle and ran afoul the law and is now serving a term in prison. Brindell was the head of a union known as the Building Wreckers Union. He was also a member of a building wreckers firm, thus, playing the game both ways from the middle. The crime, for which he was convicted was that of compelling a concern who desired to erect a building to pay him the sum of twenty thousand dollars before the work could proceed.

Disputes between officials of craft-unions on buildings in course of construction are not of unusual occurrence, the purpose of these disputes being to demand of the contractor who is erecting the building a bribe for the speedy settlement of the difficulty. So general has this shake-down system become, that building firms, when making bids for the construction of a building add a certain percentage for the bribes that they know will be exacted by the A. F. of L. labour leaders, personified by one Steve O'Donnell, who, during his incumbency of the office of president of the Building Trades' Council, of Chicago, Illinois is said to have accumulated money enough to erect apartment houses on the elite boulevard, known as Sheridan Road, approximating in value over 300,000 dollars.

P. M. Arthur, another of this line gentry, at the time he died, was Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which organisation he styled as the aristocracy of labor. Arthur, the leader, left an estate which nets his heirs a big rent roll.

The fault lies not so much against these men, who have transgressed by violating their duty to the working-class. But rather, the fault is with the labour unions, which are so formed and managed as to permit, indeed, invite these delinquencies on the part of their officials.

The trade or craft unions, component parts of the American Federation of Labour, are a peculiar entity which must be carefully described to be understood by members of organized labour in other

countries, who regard labour unions as a real necessity of the life and progress of the working class.

In the United States, craft unions are not for the purpose of organizing the working class, but are to throw up walls around the favored few, limiting the membership by devious methods, making little job monopolies of themselves.

First, by exacting that every new member shall have served an apprenticeship varying in the number of years in the different crafts.

Second, there are some unions that demand that a boy who is accepted as an apprentice his father must have been a journeyman at the trade. These unions, however, will accept an employers' son.

Third, some unions demand an exorbitant initiation-fee. For example, the Green Glass Bottle Blowers charge a regular initiation-fee of five hundred dollars. A special initiation-fee is demanded of Bohemian glass blowers of one thousand dollars. The moving picture operators charge three hundred dollars, which every man must pay who becomes a member of that union. The Electrical Workers No. 134, charge two hundred and fifty dollars. Carpenters & Joiners' Union charge in some places seventy five dollars initiation-fee. A member going from one place to another, where the initiation-fee is higher than in the local union where he was admitted, is compelled to pay the difference.

Fourth, sometimes an examination is required and applicants for membership are compelled to undergo a rigid mechanical course before being admitted. This is true of the Painters Union, the Electrical Workers' Union and likely many others.

Fifth, many craft unions of the A. F. of L. limit the number of apprentices accepted to learn the trade. Usually, the provisions are, that there shall be one apprentice for every seven or, in some crafts, one for every ten journeymen. Thus, it will be seen, that journeymen of a union have clauses in their constitution, which prohibit them from allowing their own sons learning the trade of their father. For example, if eight out of ten journeymen were married and rearing families, it is safe to presume, that among the eight there will be eight or more male children. These boys, when they reach a working-age most of them will naturally follow the bent of their father and will come knocking at the door of the union to which father belongs asking the privilege of learning his trade. To all but one of the many boys, their fathers in the craft-unions will deny them this inherent-right—turning their own sons adrift to become laborers; forced into the capitalist army or navy, into jails or penitentiaries. However, the I. W. W. accepts these disinherited sons of the craft and trade-unionist with open arms.

Sixth, there are unions among which can be named the Painters & Decorators and the Bakers' & Confectioners' Unions, which have definitely refused to accept any more members, their books have been closed, as far as new membership is concerned—temporarily, at least.

Seventh, some International Unions of the A. F. of L. decline to allow females to become members—the Barbers' International can be cited as an instance.

Eighth, other craft unions require an applicant to be an American Citizen.

Ninth, many trade or craft unions draw the colour line, discriminating against black men, Chl nomen and Japanese are also barred.

These rules and regulations of affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labour demonstrate the utter impossibility of that combination ever becoming a class organisation, in fact, it is not class consciousness, but distinctly, a selfish craft-consciousness that is being generated.

Gompers, himself, becomes the bed-fellow of the rankest capitalist politicians in Washington. His close relationship to the Democratic Administration during the war period is evidence of this. His friendliness with Wilson, a creature so vile that there are none now so low as to do him honour, proves the depths to which Gompers will stoop. Though his sycophancy cost the lives and the manhood of the workers of America.

The A. F. of L. makes the claim that the membership of the organization was more than doubled during the great war. Attention must be called to the fact that this increase was not brought about by the usual efforts of propaganda or work of the organization itself, but was forced by the government of the United States and Canada, the political machines of the two countries compelling miners, ship-builders and other workers to become members of the American Federation of Labour. This was the reward to the Gompers outfit for the hellish work that they had done in support of the terrible capitalist murder feast.

This same political heck-spittle, Gompers, was responsible, the writer has been told, in conniving first, with the Department of Justice in carrying on the terrible persecutions against members of the Industrial Workers of the World, many of whom lost their lives and hundreds of whom are still in the prisons and penitentiaries of the United States of America.

The ferocity of Gompers, the politicians and capitalists in general against the I. W. W. is because it is the organisation that they fear. Though comparatively small in numbers the membership has become imbued with an indomitable spirit that cannot be crushed. In this organisation a keener, deeper, fraternal feeling exists than is to be found in any other organization, which the writer has ever known.

The I. W. W. is scientifically organized along industrial lines. It has been engaged in more serious struggles than all political and so-called labour organizations of the U. S. combined. Thousands of its members have been imprisoned for the part they have played in the class-struggle. The I. W. W. has fought many great strikes and was never compelled to furl its banner in defeat. The I. W. W. has carried the message of Industrial Freedom to the remotest corners of the earth. Hundreds of its members returned to Russia and took a vallant part in the World's Greatest Revolution. The Industrial Workers of the World has never bowed its head in obeisance to the capitalist class. It stands humble before the Heroes of the Revolution, that have marked the way for Industrial Peace and the Happiness of a Great People. May the Revolution continue and grow until every worker in the world enjoys Industrial Freedom.



The Third International and the Intellectuals.

By A. LUNACHARSKY.

THE West European comrades will scarcely need theoretical proofs or such as may be taken from the almost four years' experience of the Soviet practice in Russia, to recognise the fact that the conquest of the intellectual part of the population (the „Intelligentsia“) is one of the most essential tasks of the great social revolution. It is literally a matter of conquest, because before the results of the imperialist war the intelligentsia of Western Europe in its majority, and of Russia—with the exception of a certain part of the young people and separate individuals engaged in the revolutionary movement—in general and in the aggregate was completely taken up with the every day business of life and was directly or indirectly bound up with the bourgeoisie and the old regime. Such part of the intelligentsia which does not think politically (and to the shame of this social group which pretends to be the salt of the earth there are many who do not think politically) became so to say the object of social action. The politically active classes—the landlords, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat—fought for the intelligentsia, as they did for the machines or the railways. But we must learn to possess morally even the dead stock which the proletariat has acquired possession of physically, during the process of the revolution, and this is doubly right in respect to the live stock which is represented by the politically inert mass of intellectuals.

Full of antipathy to the „bottom strata,“ which had dared to become the „masters,“ shaken by the destruction of the regime, completely unaccustomed to cope with the new requirements which are being proffered by the new conditions of life—this intelligentsia attempted at first to show a, so to say, active passivity, that is to say, a sabotage in a more or less organised form. The proletariat in Russia managed to reply to this sabotage with sufficient energy and the active sabotage was soon broken; but the same cannot be said of the passive sabotage. Up to now the intellectual middle class is snarling at the new power, talking scandal behind the backs of the Communists, rejoicing at each failure, even at such that are to the detriment of the whole country, and grieving over their successes even when the latter are to the advantage of the entire nation as a whole.

To learn to conquer this mass means first of all to acquire its sympathies for the policy of the Communists, i. e. the sympathies of the greater number of these amorphous middle class elements; secondly, to induce them to proceed to good and useful work in their special branches of science, creating a corresponding plan for their utilisation, and thirdly, to create a certain regime which without resembling penal servitude and being repulsive to the intelligentsia, would nevertheless serve for a sufficient control over the work of those on whose sympathies we can in no wise reckon. The Communist Party in Russia is carrying on its policy in this direction in regard to the above mentioned middle class intellectual elements. In Western Europe the pauperisation of the intelligentsia especially in such countries as Germany and Austria may drive a considerable part of it into a strong opposition against the bourgeois order, and this is already taking place. The situation of these elements may be alleviated and in its political triumph the social revolution may find the opposition of the middle class intellectuals very much weakened, while in a considerable part of this group it may even meet with welcome and assistance.

The opposite pole of this part of the intelligentsia, is the acutely political class-conscious intelligentsia, penetrated with a peculiar class instinct, draped in the garb of as peculiar a class theory. One must be under no illusions on this point. Whereas in Western Europe the Menshevik, i. e. the right wing socialists frequently appear to be the voicers of the skilled proletariat which has been demoralised by the bourgeoisie, in Russia only a small number of skilled workers have stock to the bottom of the so-called-social democratic party. This is the party of the intelligentsia; its inner meaning is quite clear. This is the young, as yet unfeathered bourgeoisie, deprived of the possibility of coping independently with autocracy and acquiring an honourable position for itself and the bourgeoisie; it played the rôle of conciliators between the industrial bourgeoisie as such and the more educated technically qualified part of the proletariat. To be a steward, a trusted and valued servant of the bourgeoisie and at the same time a „leader“ of proletarians in clean coats and stiff collars is the ideal of a Menshevik. It is naturally

the ideal of the Scheidemanns of all countries, with the only difference that the Scheidemanns have already a considerable workers audience, whereas that of the Mensheviks melted and dissolved at the very first thunder claps of the revolution.

Something similar to this are the intellectuals adhering to the social revolutionaries. Whole mountain loads of middle class intellectuals dumped themselves like rubbish into the Social Revolutionary Party in 1917. It was, so to say, the fashion to wear a social revolutionary red bow in one's buttonhole. A kind of Russian gaiter, in which could be found side by side a profligate kind of anarchist, a pedantic critic of Marx, a but slightly dyed blackhundred man, all strive to climb to power in Russia as non-class intellectuals and under the banner of the social revolutionary party. Naturally this friable mass crumbled down at the first serious blow dealt by the workers' hand. Can one call the social revolutionary party a peasant party?—Yes, in so far as like the Mensheviks who sought support for themselves among the labour aristocracy, it endeavoured to find its support in the peasant aristocracy; but a worker aristocrat is still only a worker, while the peasant aristocrat is a speculator and properly speaking a regular bourgeois. This gives to the right wing social revolutionary party a marked aroma of a petty bourgeois exploiter character. Add to this the intelligentsia which quite openly, without any socialist pretext, aspired to the rôle of the trustworthy steward of the bourgeoisie, i. e. the intellectuals adhering to the Cadet (Constitutional Democratic party) and you will have the so called advance guard of the Russian intelligentsia. The same will be noticed in Europe and in this respect the intellectuals as part of the petty bourgeoisie, as a peculiar kind of brain workers, will attempt to create their own party or a conglomeration of parties which will be also a peculiar variety of our Russian Menshevik, social revolutionaries and intellectual cadets.

Any reconciliation with these people is both unnecessary and impossible. They are still constituting the sharpest of oppositions. They are still dreaming of turning the wheel of history backwards, carrying on a pernicious propaganda among the non-partist intellectuals and the non-party masses in general. They must, properly speaking, die out politically. The best elements (and among them there are many very talented people) will in the end acknowledge their error and come to us by long and roundabout ways. There are certainly also some who like Saul will suddenly be able to see in a flash how the Evil One is misleading them and they will turn back. We have a whole number of respected friends and Communists who have come to us in this way. The object in this case is to a considerable degree, not the struggle for the soul of this part of the intelligentsia, but the struggle for the soul of the entire intelligentsia against this part of it.

Finally, a few words must be said in regard to the highly qualified intellectuals. I do not pretend in general to give a minute analysis in this article and I may probably return to my theme in more detailed work, but at any rate I shall have

to divide the highly qualified intelligentsia into two important elements. A group of so to say European or All-Russian celebrities, and a group of the more highly qualified professors, engineers and technicians in general. I shall begin with the latter group. There is no doubt that the general staff of the technical personnel in the sphere of industry and agriculture, including also the professors of the higher technical schools is of such necessity to us, that neither our reserves of gold, nor any other assets of the state can be compared with it. The fates have willed that they should be the monopolists of science and knowledge and namely of such knowledge without which we cannot move onwards. One cannot include this group simply among the bourgeoisie, but at the same time one must say that it has been specially favoured by the bourgeoisie.

What can we expect in regard to it?

First of all I must point out a certain kind of danger. This group is so powerful that if the engineers in Russia or abroad (where they are incomparably stronger still) would manage to group around themselves the whole qualified technical personnel of the agricultural and industrial branches, if these groups would be clever enough to attain a peculiar semi-Communism and would, so to say, propose their services to us on the basis of agreement principles, then, in spite of their small number in comparison with the whole proletariat, they might occupy a much too prominent position during the period of transition to Communism. I have heard certain deep thinking analysts of our situation express apprehensions in connection with the well known speech of the eminent engineer Professor Sody in England on the danger of this transitional period becoming, to a certain degree, the hegemony of the technical personnel which the Communist Party, as the representative of the politically powerful but theoretically and technically sufficiently helpless proletariat, would involuntarily have to support.

It seems to me that such apprehensions are exaggerated, but no one will deny that under a correct comprehension of the line to be followed by them, under a more or less general transition to the Soviet position and a good organisation, these elements might simultaneously render us a great assistance and make claim to the very serious rôle of partial exponents of the whole movement.

Are there any symptoms which may be at the same time gladdening and disheartening in this orientation of the technical personnel? Yes, there are. The corresponding union of Arfa in Germany has acquired an intermediary and as yet unexplained but serious influence. Sody in his speech asserts that an engineer and scientist are everything, whereas the bourgeoisie are making them nil, and hints at the possibility for the engineers to come to an agreement with the workers for the creation of a St. Simon's triumph of the mental and physical workers over the idlers—is very symptomatic.

And is it not symptomatic that during the epoch of the big strikes in Italy the technical personnel proved almost everywhere to be on the side of the workers?

The proletariat undoubtedly can only welcome the self-organisation of the engineers. The Russian engineers and scientists are too lymphatic, too dandified, too small in numbers to establish energetically or at least to see the possibility of a certain hegemony for themselves. Nevertheless however the technical personnel and technical professorship are coming to an understanding with the Soviet power much more easily than any other group of intellectual workers. Naturally they are also meeting with a more hearty welcome on our part.

A few words now in respect to the real salt of the earth, such as the prominent separate representatives of culture, both in the sphere of science and in that of art. On these heights the intellectuals acquire a special character. Here, in virtue of broadness of conception, individual talent, acuteness of analytic and depth of synthetic power, people really frequently outgrow their own personal interests or those of their groups. It is from such heights that Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Lenin have come to us. And we can state with pleasure that there is no lack of prophets who have turned their faces towards our rising sun. When one remembers how the greatest of Russia's botanists Timiriazev, in his dying hour and literally in his last words before going to his eternal rest, blessed Lenin and his work, when one learns of the warm sympathies with the ideas of Communism of such people as the greatest physicist of our times, Einstein, the greatest pedagogue, Nattor, when one hears of the position taken by such luminaries of international brain power and creative genius as Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Anatole France; when one receives such a nice sincere letter from such a typical leader of a highly ethical cultured intelligentsia as August Forel, etc., when one sees how a warm sympathy with the revolution is awakening in the hearts of the young people in the artistic circles, the literary expressionists of Germany and similar tendencies everywhere—then one comes to the conclusion that the intelligentsia, morally beaten by the war, shaken by the pauperisation of the middle classes, is creating a sufficient basis for the passing over of the greatest minds and most sensitive hearts to the right side.

And in Russia, people like Gorky, Brussov, Serafimovitch, Mayakovsky belonging to different traditions, different ages, different stratifications of the intelligentsia, but nevertheless leaders of whole phalanxes of writers have come straight to the banner of Communism. Others are approaching hesitatingly as yet, but they are coming. The estimation of the revolution as given in some of the poems of Blok, Max Voloshin, residing out of Russia, a typical representative not only of the intelligentsia, but also of its middle class narrow minded elements, Ivanov-Razumnik, testify to the possibility that ever newer intellectual circles are drawing nearer to the acceptance of the Communist evangelium.

Naturally there are many obstacles on the way. There is no doubt that the passage to Communism of the coryphae, that the recognition of the ideas of Communism by the best minds and hearts, especially those who are possessed with the artistic talent, of which Tolstoy says: a talent that fires other hearts; there is no doubt that their passing

over to our side would exercise a powerful influence both on the politics of the actual moment and even more so probably on the young people who are in some circles still hostile to us, but who certainly are capable of being cured from the bourgeois venom which has not penetrated them too deeply. But I repeat, there are many obstacles to this: the acute individualism of the intelligentsia is its best representative; their ethical Tolstoyism; their horror of all violence which revolutionary surgery cannot do without and their consternation at the destruction which frequently touches even the most cultural achievements; the absence of skill in addressing the new audiences who are filling the theatres, auditoriums and libraries in Russia and will soon fill them in the whole world; the economic ruin aggravating the hard conditions of their physical existence and other unfavourable circumstances which one cannot remember and enumerate at once.

We are far from being able to say that, taken up by our war tasks and placed before the threatening economic crisis, we have done all that was necessary to place a few hundreds of the most prominent representatives of the intelligentsia in such conditions as to save them from the extreme pressure of the crisis. We have had no time to pay special attention to discussions with them and propagananda among them, like among the remaining part of the intellectuals. I think, however that now when we have thrown off the hand of war from our throat, at least for a certain time, now when we are fully engaged in the organisation of our economic management, we shall find time and means to take up directly the cause of our intelligentsia.

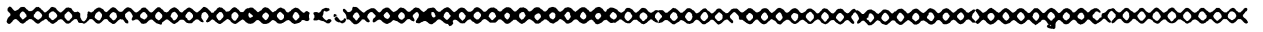
In the present article I wished to give an approximate picture of the conditions of the different strata of the intelligentsia and the prospects which are opening before us. We need the intelligentsia, we need it in the domain of technics, agriculture, public instruction, and chiefly we need it as the principal contingent of state agency; we need it also very much in the domain of art, which in its best part is even now an ennobling element favourable to Communism and which, with the gradual growth of the new art, must become a powerful assimilator between the old and the new. We need the intelligentsia, while in its greater part it is still in various stages of hostility to us. The more precious for us are those among the intellectuals who have passed over to our side or who are on the way to do so, and the more important it is to use all our efforts to assemble as great a number as possible of intellectual forces around the new axis of the world—Communism.

It is not necessary, I think, at the creation of a kind of International of intellectuals to demand from them a distinct doctrine, a Communist or at least Marxist train of thought. No extreme political demands must be made of them. The intellectual elements are incapable of attaining the heights of discipline and political class consciousness of the proletariat. One must remember that the red banner with which the intellectuals will in ever greater masses join our procession will always have rosy reflections and it

would be irrational to say: „Either with us or against us,” (in regard to questions of theory or disciplinary training of these elements, their proletarian ethics, etc). No, „whoever is against the bourgeoisie is with us” is the slogan which must form the basis for the organisation of an international of intellectuals.

The reader must not think that I really desire to propose the formation of an organisation on parallel lines with our International, but it would be desirable that the international intellectuals more or less adhering to us, should call to each

other, meet perhaps at some congress and pronounce before all the world their curse against the bourgeoisie and sympathies with us. Then, may be, we, the Third International of proletarians, might be able to exercise a more organised influence on an international scale on this part of the human race which will have to live as a separate part of society during many years yet, which is so necessary to us and which is not separated from us (like the bourgeoisie and the peasant exploiting elements) by impassible jungles, but is the nearest neighbour of the proletariat.



The question is quite simple in regard to the large landownership. Here we have an undisguised capitalist production and in such case, there can be no room for doubts. We have before us a rural proletariat and our task is quite clear. As soon as our party will acquire the state power it shall expropriate the larger landlords as well as the industrial factory owners. Whether this expropriation will be accomplished without the indemnification of the owners or not, will depend, in the majority of cases, not on ourselves, but on the conditions under which we shall acquire the power and besides on the behaviour of the landlords themselves. At any rate we cannot look upon indemnification as inadmissible under any conditions whatever. Marx has repeatedly said to me: if we could by up the whole band, it would be the cheapest way of getting rid of them. The larger estates which will be in such a way returned to society, we shall hand over to the agricultural labourers who are working them at present; they will be organised in associations and placed under the control of society. What the conditions will be it is impossible to say definitely as yet. At any rate the transformation of capitalist production into a social one is already fully prepared and may be realised immediately in the same way as, for instance, at the works of Krupp or Mr. Stamm. And the example of such agricultural associations will convince the last still-resisting small peasant-owners—and perhaps the larger ones too—of the advantages of a social production.

Fr. Engels. „The peasant question in France and Germany.

The Japanese Labourer.

By SEN KATAYAMA

The Japanese Worker Under the New Regime.

THE feudal period of the history of Japan ended with a revolution of 1868, which was accomplished by the lowest strata of the military caste. Plain people did not participate in it. Under the revolutionary government the Japanese labourer had to adjust himself to the new and ever-changing conditions of life.

During the past sixty years or more, the Japanese labourer had to make the best of his lot. He was utterly inexperienced in the new kind of industry which had been introduced into the country from time to time. Factory and machine industry was almost unknown to him. In the past, he had been doing all his work by his previous experience, and to handle new and scientific machinery imported from the west was a big task for him; but in a few decades however, he learned to use this new machinery fairly well thanks to the practical education which he got in the past. He quickly qualified himself in every kind of work. Blacksmiths, carpenters and other old labourers were the first men who came to the new factory built by the government. Long before the graduates, from the polytechnical institutes or from the Imperial University, took their position as bosses or as engineers those plain working people had learned how to use the steam hammer, belt machines to build a railway engine or a steam boat. Thus the working man was free to make progress in the technique of modern industry. Indeed it is true, that many improvements and inventions patented by engineers in the army and navy factories were really inventions accomplished by the labourer who had acquired practical working knowledge and experience.

The Reactionary Bureaucracy. The Condition of the Working Women.

In the beginning of the New Era, the rulers of Japan diligently tried to administer their national duties in a way that might suit the people, but as soon as they felt secure in their new position, they began to dispose of those who did not agree with their policies, by war and oppressive measures. In order to stabilize their own power in the government, they began to create various institutions. Upon these institutions, all sorts of governmental favouritism was lavishly and extravagantly bestowed. Thus the higher educational institutions were created with special privileges for their own bureaucratic support, and there were established

firm economic relations with the rich upon whom were bestowed many valuable franchises and monopolies.

Not only was economic favouritism bestowed on them but also social honours and positions, thus creating the nobility ranks anew with funds given to anyone who served the bureaucracy faithfully. The political bureaucracy, without strong support from the moneyed and propertied classes, had no power over the people so they grudgingly gave a constitution with a representative legislature. But on this constitution they worked skilfully so that by a carefully qualified franchise, the capitalists and imperialists would always have the upper hand. Here, in this limited election law the economic power of the propertied classes was firmly established monopolizing to themselves the law-making power. To crown this, the cabinet ministers were responsible to the Emperor only and not to the legislature or the nation. To make this arrangement still more rigid, the ministry was given the power to create new peers in any number in order to keep the balance of the upper legislative chamber and members of the imperial nomination. Finally they created unconstitutionally, of course, the genre group, elder statesmen who really controlled the destinies of the nation and checked every new movement of the people.

Under such well-thought-out reactionary bureaucracy, the Japanese laborer has been more and more exploited in the evergrowing industrial fields. He was not only prohibited from organizing a union, but a law was also enacted incriminating every labour movement. Under this law striking was a crime to be punished with imprisonment for six months of hard labour.

The wife and daughters of a Japanese labourer are the most unfortunate workers. They work day and night in the spinning and silk factories—14 hours a day with two days rest in a month. All of them are recruited from the country districts enticed by good wages and the best treatment. But in reality they are kept in the company's barracks like prisoners, surrounded by high brick walls and fed by the company with food fit for pigs.

There are today about seven hundred thousand such poor girls in the cotton and other mills. Most of these girls are very young, over 70 per cent, are under twenty. In the textile industry there are more girls employed than men. In 1908—190,000 girls worked in silk mills and 230,000 girls in cotton mills. Girls in those mills were more severely exploited than men. Sicknesses of girls were over five times greater than that of men, and

over half of the sickness was tuberculosis. In the year of 1909 16,989 girls went out spinning—from 7 northern provinces—and from this number 7,220 returned home on account of illness. 107 were seriously sick and 279 died in the same year 1324 girls lost their health or life in the same year. There are still more surprising statistics of working girls of Nigata Prefecture. Every year more than 6,000 girls go out to work from this province, and only about 3,000 girls return home; of these half return on account of sickness. It is also reported that 120,000 girls disappear. It was found in 16 mills that the duration of stay of the girls was very brief.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Less than 6 months	1,586	5,281	6,849
" " 1 year	1,054	3,960	5,014
" " 2 years	943	3,507	4,452
" " 3 "	644	2,294	2,938

Girls leave the factory within six months on account of hard work and of illness. They work 12 hours a day and every 7 or 10 days they have to work 18 hours a day in order to adjust the day and night shifts. In 1912, there were 515,217 girls working in the factories, 45,441 girls working as coolies and 29,670 girls working in the government factories. Most of these girls are very young; there were 54,518 girls under 14 working in private factories and 2,127 girls working in the government factories. Even today there are quite a few girls working who are under 12, and in some cases under 10 years of age, especially, in the cotton and match factories.

The above are all old data, but the conditions today are not any better. Mr. Toyohara who was charged by the government to investigate conditions of girls in the industries in the western part of Japan, says that the much advertised better conditions of the factory girls is simply a camouflage reform without reality. Every factory has some sort of reform, which, however does not count at all. The girls are taught how to serve tea and how to arrange flowers and such things for mere etiquette. But after a day's work of fourteen hours in a dirty spinning room, the girls are dead tired and could never learn anything that is taught to them. To day out of 200,000 girls 80,000 return home sick and worn out. The following are the diseases of those unfortunate ones.

Returned factory girls per 1,000.

Kind of work	Tuberculosis	Analogous to Tuberculosis	Stomach and Intestines
Cotton Spinning	266	217	67
Silk "	34	47	284
Weaving "	210	280	20
Hemp "	114	114	114

Thus they lose health and suffer from diseases. It is said by the same officer that 80 in 1000 girls who left home for the factory died of consumption within the year and 138 are serious tuberculosis patients. (From the "Oriental Economist," a weekly, April 15, 1919).

Women workers in the rice fields, hitched to wagon or pushing a heavy loaded cart with her husband, is in a far better condition physically and mentally than the girl employed at the "civilized" methods of industry with all its modern improvements—such as the cotton factory. The wagon-pusher in this case is a free and independent labourer. In most cases she owns her wagon; in some cases she carries her own products to sell. But this has often been an object of severe attack by the foreign humanitarian visitors.

The Japanese woman is, indeed, a very lovable creature always adapting herself to the situation she is placed in and is capable of adjusting herself well to her surroundings, but the rapid growth of the modern industrial system which particularly exploits young girls, driving them out of their native homes and surroundings and placing in a prison-like cotton factory, makes a slave out of her. And yet our capitalistic governments have legalised such an awful condition of existence in the factory under the name of the Factory Law which has been in force since September 1st, 1918, and assured the capitalist exploiters that the status of the working girl would remain unchanged, for the coming fifteen years.

As already said above, the Japanese women's working conditions in industrial life are the worst feature in modern industrial Japan.

As to Japanese militarism, I would say that the Japanese man has been pretty well subjected. He is always conscripted to military service while he sustains vast military and naval expenses as a labourer, and in war time he is freely used as cannon fodder.

There is no Japanese labourer who does not hate the military service; many try to evade the service by mutilating themselves physically so as to become unfit for military duty. Yet he is conscripted while the sons of the rich are exempted under various forms of favouritism. For instance, a student in secondary educational institutions is exempted for the time being. The youth who can afford to go out of the country to study or to enjoy an idle life is also free from the hated military duty. But the labourer has no escape from drudgery of the barrack life.

The Japanese Labourer Under Modern Industrial Capitalism.

In the agricultural sphere the Japanese labourer has been exploited more and more since the revolution, by the ever increasing power of land capitalism. Agricultural land is capitalized by the rich all over, for this gives the landowner a special political right and advantage. The highest land taxpayers elect their members to the upper chamber of the national legislature which gives them the best and safest investment for their growing capital. Within the last sixty years, especially, land values have been rising as the population increased and the food prices rose. Thus is labour on the farm brought down to a veritable slavery by the capitalization of land.

In the industrial sphere the worker is even more severely exploited than his brother on the

farm, because he is more completely deprived of the political right and the right of organization. And it means that he is taxed indirectly to the very limit, nor can he get a wage increase when prices rise; he has no union to make a collective demand, so that in every way he is in a most hopeless position in the present social status.

But in spite of all this, the Japanese worker has made a marked progress in the past few decades. Of course he is only in the process of formation just as the industries have been in the process of establishing themselves on modern lines. Indeed he has had no time as yet to adjust himself to the new industrial conditions as the labourer of the past to the feudal regime by forming craft guilds. But he has done his best to promote his own welfare and adapted some ways to better his condition—as by means of strikes or riots, or by secret union of idleness (stealing time in the factory) which is practiced very much now-a-days. These are his natural rights, as no union is allowed him. Yet he strikes in the face of the prohibitive law, as all the demands he makes fail, and since August 1918, he has learned how to riot as well as how to sabotage. The last tactic is in vogue among the Japanese workers at present. Before the present police law of "peace and order" which was enacted in 1890, the labourer of Japan had engaged freely in the labour movement for five years, and after the law was enacted, it was not applied to the movement; not until the union became strong.

The Japanese worker has to keep himself tame and quiet now, for the said law prohibits practically all strikes and agitations. But in spite of the law, some big riots developed in the copper mines of Asia and Bessimines in 1907.

Labour Strikes and Riots.

Japanese history records many riots most of which occurred as a result of famine. The Japanese people always gained through such riots. And besides famine riots, Japan had countless revolutions in the past which invariably resulted in new governments with the same old Mikado. But the modern riots which have been occurring in recent years have somewhat changed in character. Conditions of farmers have improved very much. There was hardly any famine in Japan for the last 20 or 25 years. This is due to improved irrigation and drainage system of the rice fields. But with the introduction of western methods, there arose industrial riots. Unorganized labour strikes have often developed into destructive and violent riots. In the factories and in the mines where riots occurred most frequently the labourer was very much oppressed politically. But on the whole the worker gained considerably.

August 1918 was a month of riots; they were economic revolts against the rich profiteers and against the authorities who supported and defended them. Out of 142 riots in different cities, towns and villages, which happened within a week or ten days and which extended almost over the whole country. In twenty-five places the rioters burned and destroyed property, while in thirty-eight places the riots could hardly be put down even by the aid of the army. Police forces and gendarmes could do

nothing before the indignant rioters. Many were killed and wounded by the troops. The rioters demanded cheaper rice, fuel and clothing. The aim of their attack was the rich, but it developed into a conflict between rioters and police forces and soldiers. Indeed, in some cases they compelled the rice merchants to sell rice at lower prices. Ninety per cent of the rioters were said to be labourers who led the rioters and terrified the ruling classes.

The riots were general uprisings of the dissatisfied workers, and became very violent in the factories and in the mines. From the first to the 19th. of August over forty strikes were recorded in the dailies of Tokyo and Osaka alone. Some strikers demanded 180 per cent increase in wages; many demanded a 50 per cent. increase and got it.

Last year's riots were the first, on a large scale, which gave the impetus to a general awakening. The workers tested and realized their strength and power even against the rigidly disciplined police and army. On the other hand, the government have since lost the grip of power over the people. Thus it is now attempting many schemes of would be reforms and patronages which only result in the exposure of its weakness.

The Present Labour Situation and the Russian Revolution.

The Japanese labourer is profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution. The Japanese are, indeed, much indebted to the Russians for their spiritual enlightenment. Such great masters as Tolstoi, Dostoyevski, Gorky and many others were studied in Japan with great enthusiasm. In fact the Japanese understand Russian art, literature and music more easily than Anglo-Saxons. We feel the Russian art is something akin to us—Oriental—to some degree. The Japanese workers also felt sympathetic to the Russian Revolutionists who were always struggling for freedom. We were inspired by their thought and heroic activities. The Japanese socialists always sent their greetings which linked international relations between the two people. The first public greeting sent by the socialists was on March 20th. 1904 when the two countries were at war.

There is no need to comment on the above interchange of greetings, except to say that my comrades in Japan kept up their fight unwaveringly during all these years of oppression and persecution, although they lost freedom of expression and organisation which they had then. Their position to-day is a great deal like that which the Russian comrades had before the revolution—being hunted by detectives wherever they go. In 1904 I had the honour of representing the Japanese workers at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam. At this Congress I had the great honour of meeting the Russian comrades and publicly shaking hands with Comrade George Plechanoff who was on the platform as the vice president of the day. Plechanoff was leader of the Russian section then. Unlike the War of 1914, we have expressed our international solidarity in spite of the war between Russia and Japan. This cordial relation has been kept up and renewed from time to time. In May 1917 the

Japanese socialists sent again greetings to the Russian revolutionary comrades. This message was most bold and striking. "At the present time the workers must try to stop this bloody war, and at the same time the proletariat of the belligerent countries should turn their guns, which are aimed at them in enemy countries, at once on the ruling classes of their own respective countries. This responsibility lies not only on the Russian Socialists but on all the socialists of the world." A message of still more recent date of the Japanese workers was sent secretly to the Russian comrades at the time when Japan invaded Siberia:

"Our wholehearted interest and attention is focussed on the course of the Russian Revolution, and it is with the most profound sympathy that we observe the forward advance of the Russian Proletariat that produces an undying impression upon the soul of the people of Japan.

"We are highly dissatisfied at the perfidious actions of the Japanese Government, who under pretences which do not interest us, has sent its troops into Siberia in an attempt to crush the free development of the Russian Revolution.

"We are infinitely sorry for the fact that we have not enough strength as yet to upset the present danger of our Imperialistic Government's intervention, which menaces your hard won freedom, but you can rest assured that notwithstanding the present day persecutions, on the part of our Imperial Government, the flag of Liberty will soon fly over the soil of Japan."

The rational optimism of the Japanese socialists expressed in the resolution has been proved right in Japan. The recent development of Japanese labour and social movements show clearly that Russian Bolsheviks have greatly influenced them. The rice riots of August 1918 was in one sense a protest against the Siberian intervention by the Japanese Militaristic government. The reason for opposing intervention is economical because war with Russia would raise the already high prices of food and bring misery to the working classes. Since then strikes were prevalent everywhere, and now our strikes are taking the form of sabotage. In one place, sabotaging, undertaken by 15,000 shipbuilding workers employed at the Kobe Kawasaki Shipyard, was just ended. This was the first one in the history of the Japanese labour movement. Every morning the workers reported at the Yard but did nothing. This state of things continued for 10 days, from September 18th. to September 28th. On that day leaders conducted the general referendum vote among the workers which resulted in the continuation of sabotage. During that period they negotiated with the President of the Company—Mr. K. Matsugata—a son of Marquis Matsugata—but all in vain. Then two other branch factories of the same company voted for sympathetic sabotage. At this stage, 500 engineers, assistant engineers and 800 bosses of the Yard expressed their full sympathy with the saboteurs and asked the President to comply with the demands of the workers. This made stubborn Matsugata concede, though reluctantly, to the demands of the workers at last substantially.

This form of labour demand just suits the Japanese labourer for he is denied the right of organisation and so has no strike fund. But by such a method he can accomplish the very object of the strike. The police law can not reach them; The bosses and the engineers could not do anything to the workers; they all slowed down the speed of work to zero! The bosses might have dismissed them, but they rather sympathised with the workers! Besides it would have been impossible to dismiss 15,000 workers en masse even if they had the authority to do it. Through sabotage the workers got the 8 hour day and pay for a 10 hour day. This is one of the Japanese ways of adjusting himself to the situation.

Bolshevik Ideas and the Japanese Labourer.

The Russian Bolsheviks exercised great influence on the better element of the Japanese. Our papers are not as yet very tainted by the capitalist crookedness, because the Russian obligations towards the Japanese were assumed entirely by the Japanese government and paid by it with government bonds. So that there is no trouble or bond interest among the people.

Thus Japan, of all the allied countries, has come in direct and frequent contact with the Russians both in Russia and in Japan. That means, that the Japanese have come in contact with Bolshevik ideas more than any other people. There are vast numbers of Bolsheviks in Siberia. It is reported that the Japanese reserves, and there were about seventy thousand of them, were hastily withdrawn from Siberia, because it was found that those soldiers who have wives and children at home and who have some worldly experiences seem to be easily adopting the Bolshevik ideas. We just heard that about thirty or thirty-five thousand soldiers in Siberia were converted to Bolshevism and actually went over to the party; from time to time the Bolsheviks have propagated their ideas and distributed literature among the Japanese soldiers printed in Japanese. Especially at Vladivostok they distributed literature among the Japanese soldiers and every post and wall of the city was placarded with propaganda. This is carried on not only in Siberia but even more vigorously in Japan both by Russians and Japanese. Some Russians who were working for the cause at Yokohama were ordered to leave Japan within five days. There are nearly ten thousand Russian Bolsheviks in Japan deserters from the Kolchak and other reactionary armies. Besides, the Japanese socialists are also spreading Bolshevik ideas among the labouring classes. Some of them were arrested and put into prison, but there are plenty of them still out of prison. Strikes occur very frequently and in a very revolutionary fashion and the workers are sabotaging. They are already demanding joint control of the factories and are even going to ask pay for Sunday without working! The eight hour day which a few months ago, was considered almost impossible, is now being granted one after another to the workers. Many labour organisations arose in spite of the law and the oppressive attitude of the government. The yellowest labour association—Yu-

Ai-Kai—whose president was Bunji Suzaki became a strong radical union; Suzaki's autocratic rule of the past was done away with, and at the meeting of September last it decided to be as democratic as possible. The Kai Association has united with the Printers Union, the only union that continued its existence, though at times feebly, through the oppressive years, recently revived its strength and both unions are now working together with great vigor for the right of organisation and the abolition of the police law. The spirit of Yu-Ai-Kai has greatly changed since. Lately its official organ has been publishing the Life of Karl Marx.

Friends from Japan write me that socialist classics—such as Marx's „Capital“ „Economic Teachings of Marx,“ by Engels, Marx's „Wage, Labour and Capital“ and many others—are now being energetically translated and published and are selling well. (Papers and periodicals that do not contain anything about Marx or socialism do not sell very much).

Reactionary Policies of the present Government.

For the past year or so there was, repeatedly, a cry for a second revolution, and recently a party was formed—the Koizo Domei (Reconstruction League)—which advocates many radical reforms. Just now Japan is having quite a thrilling time, for there is a rumor that a labour party will be formed by Ozaki and Goto, both ex-ministers.

Although the country is full of new and progressive movements, the government—an autocratic and well organised bureaucracy—supported by abnormally strong persons, stubborn and bigotted militaristic cliques, led by old Prince Yamagata, has been getting more and more powerful. Although Prince Yamagata has been conceding some popular demands of the people and diligently camouflaged their patronage with social and labour affairs in a most haphazard way. The government is trying to tighten its grip on the people, although it is becoming ever more and more reactionary. For instance, in order to check the spread of Bolshevism among the people, the government allowed the blacklisting of socialists,

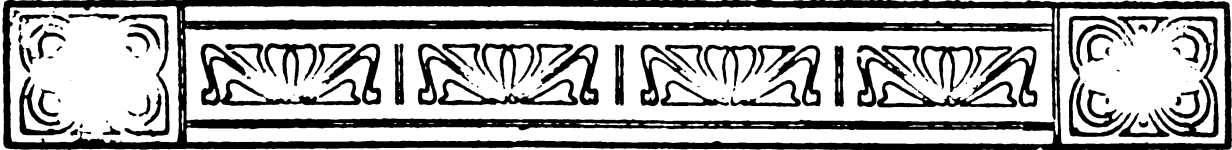
anarchists and Bolsheviks. Since the last rice riots, the department of gendarmeries have been cooperating with the department of police of the Interior Department and have been composing the black lists of the Bolsheviks. The government declared that the gendarmerie rule is done away with in Korea, but in Japan it is much more strengthened. Under such a policy the Socialists, not of the Scheidemann or Spargo type, are more severely persecuted and oppressed than ever before. As the „Eastern Review“ remarked—these features will no doubt react on the present general awakening of the masses. Japanese journals have been saying, some with consternation and others with satisfaction that one development of the great European War, which has stirred the masses of the Japanese people to intelligent interest, has given rise to Bolshevism. The announcement of the ethical tenets and war purposes of France, Great Britain and America has made very little appeal to the Japanese as the journalists have admitted frankly:

The elementary rise, however, of the illiterate Russian people has proved to be of engrossing interest.

Conclusion.

Taking into consideration the history and present conditions together with the outside influence and pressure which is ever increasing, the Japanese labourer will nevertheless work out his own way to the new society. He has always been capable of adapting himself to any new environment he was put into, and now he will not lag behind but will march on with the rest of the liberated world. My conclusion is taken from the history of the Japanese predecessors—that the present ruling classes will neither conform to the requirements of the people or give up their present position to others more fitted for the new task. Hence the late cry, that is ever louder and louder—the need of a second revolution—will sooner or later materialize.

New York
October, 29th, 1919.



P. A. Kropotkin.

A THEORIST OF ANARCHISM.

By J. NOVOMIRSKY.

PETER Alexeievitch Kropotkin is dead. When a great man dies, and especially when he was a public character a fierce struggle arises around his grave: his friends sincerely see in him an extraordinary genius, while his adversaries try to persuade the world that mankind has been freed of a malefactor or a monster; both sides are irreconcilable.

I would like to remain impartial, — may his friends and foes forgive me.

1.

I met Kropotkin for the first time in Paris in 1906 where he had arrived I think illegally. From twenty to thirty anarchists had assembled in the private apartment of his friend. We were talking of the maturing revolution in Russia and the rôle which the anarchists would take in it. Peter Alexeievitch had much to say, he discoursed in his clever delicate way, but while listening attentively one was tempted to cry out: „That's not it, that's not it.“ He spoke of the Russian revolution—in the same tone of voice and words that he would have used in speaking of the revolution in Spain or on the Sandwich Islands. To any one arriving from Russia direct from strenuous underground work and having seen how, in the cruelly fierce struggle of the classes, the conflagration of civil war was breaking out, it was strange, even nauseous, to listen to such worn-out almost meaningless expressions, as: the spirit of mutiny, the creative genius of the people, etc. When we attempted cautiously to raise the question of the struggle of the classes, Peter Alexeievitch, generally so kind and tolerant, grew agitated, showed signs of irritation and began to interrupt us at almost every word. He certainly excused himself afterwards and touchingly and jestingly begged me „to forgive a foolish old man for his insufferable temper.“ I not only „forgave“ him; I was completely under the charm of the unique, serious, loyal soul of a wise man. But I had received the ineradicable impression that P. A. Kropotkin was no more, that he had gone away from us somewhere very, very far: into the past, into the future—who knows?

Between the old master and ourselves, young anarchists, even then, 15 years ago, an impassable chasm was yawning. All the anarchist tendencies in Russia had developed in opposition to and in struggle against the doctrines of Kropotkin. The Anarchy, Black Banner, New World, The

Stormfinch—all these papers voicing the various shades of anarchist thought in Russia were properly speaking against Kropotkin's theories. There was only one group of Kropotkin's adherents: „Bread and Freedom“ but it exercised less influence than any other in Russia and soon became fused with the others.

In the summer of 1906 on my return journey from America I visited P. A. Kropotkin who was then living near London, at Bromley, villa Viola. He was not at home. He had gone to Normandy for a cure, but on receiving my letter with the information that I was returning to Russia for underground work and would like to see him he answered by a long and kind letter, cut short his stay in France and returned to Bromley. We passed many days together and I shall never forget the enchantment that I felt each time I happened to see him alone and he talked in his kind deep voice on humanity, on solidarity, tolerance, the sufferings of the people and his own life. But as soon as the conversation came down but a little lower from the cloudy heights of morality and philosophy, Kropotkin became irrecongnisable. The least hint in regard to the theory of the class struggle, the necessity of organisation, called forth an uncontrollable irritation—all conversation became impossible.

The great revolution maturing before our eyes demanded from all revolutionists an absolutely clear programme, absolute precision, concrete tactics and the greatest organisation. But all our attempts to arrive at any definite understanding were in vain. The great master, who showed such a clear-sightedness in his disquisitions on the past, simply gave forth platitudes whenever our talk touched upon contemporary questions. These phrases were all quotations from his articles which had long ago been collected in books: „The Speeches of a Revolutionary,“ „Bread and Freedom,“ etc. There was no special point of contention between us, but neither was there any ground for an understanding. When at times it seemed that we completely understood each other, unexpectedly a „minor“ tactical question would crop up and at once upset all the points of conciliation, and the discussion had to start anew. The last stumbling block was the question regarding the attitude of anarchism towards „private expropriation.“

This question was growing very acute at the time, because under the mask of anarchism whole crowds of robbers and plunderers had begun to appear threatening to drown completely the young



PETER ALEXIEVITCH KROPOTKIN.
This photograph was taken two months before his death.



P. A. KROPOTKIN LYING IN STATE.

doctrinary anarchism. The leaders of the movement were called upon to pronounce themselves definitely with severity and without mercy. The young ideological anarchists working in Russia and witnesses of the threatening proportions which the evil was assuming declared a relentless war against expropriation.

When I told Kropotkin that my friends had decided to shoot down mercilessly all those who were abusing the name of anarchism for their own robberies and villainous aims he was horrified and ended his long speech with the following words: „our duty is not to kill the young people who err, but to teach and persuade them. The duty of an anarchist is not only not to kill, but even not to criticise. Anarchists must teach not by criticism, but by example.“

This was perhaps very humane and not without a grain of truth but such truth was quite barren; with such tactics it would be possible to form a new variety of Tolstoyism but it would be impossible to create a single great and powerful revolutionary party.

Our discussions led to nothing. History has shown which of us was right. The ideas of „Bread and Freedom“ evaporated like a dream, without leaving a trace, while the anarchist-syndicalism assimilated and swallowed up all the other tendencies in Russian anarchism. And while listening to his earnest sermons I used to think with bitterness: „Where is the leader of anarchism, if he not with us, with those who are struggling for and creating a new life?..“

Many years went by. We passed through two more revolutions, that of March and of October. A group of Russian anarchist syndicalists decided to found a large political anarchist paper. In order to make it a unifying, organising centre of Russian anarchism; we needed the name of Kropotkin. We entered into negotiations with him and gave him to understand with what rapture this idea had been welcomed in all the anarchist circles including his personal friends. But Kropotkin considered that this was not the time to found a large political paper, that it was necessary to form circles, to carry on propaganda—to act by personal example, to reprint and propagate articles from „Les Temps Nouveaux“, „La Revolte“ which had long ago become archeological rarities. And by the end of 1917 Kropotkin was not with us, who were alive, but with those who had left life long ago.

When the news of Kropotkin's death in Dmitrov was received all those who loved him (and such are very numerous because he was loved by all who knew him) felt, with the deepest pain that the traditional dreamy anarchism so remote from real life, had gone down to the grave together with the great old man. It is not surprising that the two rival tendencies in Russian anarchism immediately crossed swords over his grave,—realism or utopianism? With life or outside it? And it is not difficult to foresee that life which conquers all will be the victor. Soon all anarchists will understand that one cannot make a virtue of cheap criticism and show a special kind of „revolutionary spirit“ under the aspect of silence. This is why the starting point for the new movement must be an objective and purely

scientific criticism of the legacy bequeathed by Kropotkin.

2.

Herzen in „The Past and Thoughts“ has given a wonderful portrait of Bakunin whose figure rises before one's mind when one speaks of Kropotkin and tries to understand what he wished to give to the world and what he has given it.

„Bakunin (says Herzen) had many faults but they were minor ones, while his positive qualities were great. Is not this alone a great thing, that wherever fate might set him he would catch hold of two or three features of the surrounding milieu, distinguish the revolutionary spirit and immediately proceed to lead it on, to develop it, to make of it a passionate question of life?..“

„In this man lay the embryo of a colossal capacity for action, for which there was no demand. Bakunin carried in him the capacities of an agitator, a tribune, a preacher/ leader of a party, a sect, a heretic, a fighter. Place him wherever you like but only at the extreme end: anabaptist, Jacobinite, partisan of Anacharsis Klotos, friend of Gracchus Babeuf, he would have carried away the masses and shaken the fates of nations.“

„But he loved not only the roar of an uprising or the clamour of a club, a public square, or barricade, he loved also the preparatory stage—the exciting and at the same time restrained life of conspiracies, conferences, sleepless nights, negotiations, conventions, ratifications, chemical ink and conventional signs. Bakunin never stayed long at weighing possibilities, he only saw the final aim... He carried people away not by arguments, but by his will, he wished to believe and he believed... He marched straight on in seven league boots over mountains and seas, over years and generations.“

When one reads this characteristic of Bakunin written by a great artist it seems at times as though it was meant to show us what his disciple and successor Kropotkin had not been. Kropotkin did not like to „study the features of actuality“ in order to separate all that was revolutionary. In 1905 he was solidary with the members of the zemstva and the Cadets. In 1906 and 1907 he did not see the reactionary features of expropriation. In the bloody slaughter instigated by the world robbers he sided with the contemptible traitor Butzev. During the three years of the actual revolution he did not recognise the revolutionary nature of Bolshevism and was nearer to the right wing social revolutionaries than to the anarchists who had entered into a coalition with Bolshevism. For him the „passionate questions of life“ lay in personal integrity, not in social politics. His inclination was not towards the „extreme edge“ but towards the centre, and even nearer to the right wing side... That is why he was not destined to „shape the fate of nations,“ although it had been his great luck to live in the epoch of the most gigantic upheavals of society. During this great epoch he had been silent. True, he had also liked „conspiracies“ in his youth and he had known how to break through the enemy, ignoring infallible ethics for the moment, he wished to believe and he inspired others with this invigorating faith. Other-

wise he would not have been known as the „world revolutionary.“ But during the last 20 years he had not only lost faith himself, he even killed it in others; ethics had screened reality from his eyes and by his book on Ethics he had shut himself up from the passionate dream of his youth which he had not recognised when it came to him in his declining years—from the Revolution.

3.

When one thinks of Kropotkin and seeks for some fundamental trait which might be recognised as the guiding or determining one of his character, one must inevitably stop at his kindheartedness. This quality engendered his pity for mankind, which in its turn called forth and strengthened the feeling of revolt against the social order. He was guided, not by a scientific analysis of life, nor by a learned prognosis of the future, but by pity. His daughter A. P. Kropotkina says of him: „He loved mankind with the same love which,—he always said—is the love of the Russian people, that is the love that is akin to pity.“ Acknowledging this feeling in himself as the chief leading force, he naturally idealised it, attempting to transform it into an almost cosmic force. There was no harm in this so far.

But the harm began when he attempted to make of this deeply subjective tendency a basis of actual policy. When we read his books „The Speeches of a Revolutionary,“ „Bread and Freedom“ and his numerous articles, it seems that we are hearing the same sermon over and over again: one must not rob the poor, one must not oppress the weak, we must love and pity each other. When we read this doctrine for the first time it carries us away by its unlimited sincerity. That is why there is no other agitational book in the entire world literature which might be compared to the „Bread and Freedom,“ but when one afterwards meets with the same words, the same phrases, the same conclusions everywhere: in a proclamation, in a pamphlet, in a scientific book, one feels a kind of irritation. Certainly, no writer on earth had used the words „solidarity“ and „revolt“ so often. But what had he done for the organisation of „solidarity“ and this „revolt?“

Kropotkin was a great apostle. He was an incomparable preacher of love of humanity, because he preached by example, but alas! he was no organiser, and that is why he did not leave any distinct traces in the social life of Europe and Russia, either in the programmes of the fighters, nor in the institutions of modern times.

He made all organisational plans and all tactics converge in a peculiar love of the people. In fact he was a „narodnik“ of the purest type. That is why there is a lack of swing even in his scientific works: a great scientific mind and an undoubted writer's talent are struggling in the clutches of a narrow „love of people“ dogma. After Bakunin there is hardly any one else who spent so much force in the struggle against religion and metaphysics in the name of science than Kropotkin, but when one studies carefully all his scientific works and together with the author passes from epoch to

epoch, from nation to nation, from one sphere of life to another and arrives at a happy result, one feels a kind of vexation: in reward for his long wanderings the author arrives at a couple of plain aphorisms, out of which a small sermon might be evolved, but on which it would be impossible to build any positive programme of action.

For example, he wrote on some important investigations on medieval towns, the small industry: the French revolution, the Paris Commune, etc., but if one summarises all this information and asks: and what is to be done now?—there is practically no answer.

In May 1920 he writes *) to one of the anarchists: „I have a deep faith in the future. I believe in the syndicalist movement, that is to say, that the labour union movement which has recently assembled at its congress the representatives of 20 million workers, will come out as a tremendous force within the next 50 years in order to proceed to the creation of a Communist non-state society...“

„I believe also that for the organisation of a socialist, or more rightly, a Communist society the cooperative movement among the peasantry and mainly the Russian peasant cooperative movement during the next 50 years will also present a living creative nucleus of Communist life...“

It is truly incomprehensible how a syndicalist movement headed by Jouhaux, Oedegeest and other wary politicians and arch-bourgeois „statesmen“ will lead to a non-state Communism. It is difficult to understand how a typically commercial operation will also begin to „create“ a Communist life. But especially it is difficult to conceive where the anarchists come in here and what they are to do during these 50 years, that is to say, during two generations of mankind.

Certainly, no leader of a party would give such an answer to the insistent questions of the day, as Kropotkin does, but for an apostle and preacher to whom socialism is only a field for the application of his own personal moral views a naïve profession of faith is sufficient. Credo quia absurdum.

Naturally we have no wish to lay a reproach on the dead man. We only desire to delineate clearly and precisely his position in the history of anarchism and revolution.

He was not and could not be a leader of anarchism, but he was its greatest preacher.

4.

In the theory of the tendencies which pass under the slogan of anarchism, there is properly speaking no principle which might be fully ascribed to Kropotkin. One reads frequently however that Kropotkin had made a revolution in one point of the anarchist doctrine: anarchism, which under Bakunin, was collectivist became Communist owing to Kropotkin. This assertion is founded on a misunderstanding.

„In his economic views — says Kropotkin himself **) — Bakunin was a complete Communist, but

*) „Anarchist Organisations in memory of P. A. Kropotkin“, February 8, 1921.

**) „Anarchy“ publ. Petersburg 1919, page 48-49.

by agreement with his federalist friends from the International he called himself an anarchist collectivist, as a concession to the mistrust which the state communists had aroused in France... For him, as well as for his friends, collectivism meant a common ownership of all the means of production without establishing in advance under what form the remuneration of labour among the different groups of producers would be carried out: whether they would accept the communist doctrine or prefer to adopt certain counters, or an equal daily wage for every one, or any other decision."

It is quite obvious that Kropotkin's innovation did not in any way mean a step forward in the development of the theory of anarchism. Bakunin knew that society must be based on the ownership of the means of production, not consumption, and that it is therefore necessary, first of all, to create a definite form of production, whereas the methods of distribution will be forged in the furnace of the revolution itself, under the influence of the concrete conditions of the struggle. And the Russian revolution proved how perfectly right Bakunin was: the revolutionary workers seized first the means of production: the factories, the works and the land, while the forms of distribution are even up to the present in a stage of development between the bourgeois remuneration of labour and complete communism: the latter will become possible only when the new conditions of production will in so far heighten the productivity of labour that they will ensure to every one all that is requisite.

If we admit that the introduction of Communism into the programme of the anarchist doctrine was a step forward in the sense of a greater clearness in regard to the final aims, we must agree that it was an undoubted step backward when Kropotkin replaced Bakunin's definite and clear formula of the struggle of the classes by the confusing and at times dangerous conception of a non-class people. Bakunin, like Marx, possessed a subtle analytical mind and he understood very well that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat there exists a great number of intermediary labour groups with their own particular interests and their own ideology. True, he did not see the "anti-collectivist skull" anywhere, but he knew perfectly well that it is necessary to approach the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectual classes in a special way, that these groups may and must march together with the proletariat in one case and may and must go against it in a thousand other cases. Analysing their ideology as economist and psychologist he, an ideologist of the working class, pointed out definite tactical plans for the converting of these probable foes into possible allies. But Kropotkin approaches these dangerous question quite differently. "Every honest man—says he *)—among you, young people, among the peasants and town workers, learned or unlearned, poor or rich,—if only a warm and sensitive heart beat in his breast, must understand how the rights of mankind are being trampled down, he must recognise his own rights and go whither the whole actual order

is driving him—he is compelled to be a revolutionist..." The whole tactics of the revolution are based on a "warm and sensitive heart..." In our great and terrible times this sounds like a naïve jest.

In what does the fundamental idea of Kropotkin's doctrine for the destruction of the state lie? Bakunin never separated capitalism from the state, understanding that they were two hypostatical parts of one principle, namely the rule of the bourgeoisie. In a whole series of his most serious and conscientious disquisitions on the origin and nature of the state, Kropotkin introduced such confusion in this question that anarchism became completely mixed up with liberalism.

In one instance he places the mark of equality between the state and the government. In another he interprets the conception of state only as a centralised government. In some places he speaks of the medieval town community, which he proudly calls a "free community" as almost becoming fused with the ultimate ideal Commune, or at least as representing a step towards it, in others he fully recognises the class and state nature of a medieval town.

In his book "Bread and Freedom" we read *): "As soon as the communities of the X, XI and XII centuries succeeded in freeing themselves from the power of the lay and clerical authorities they immediately began to develop the principles of a general labour and a general consumption.

"The city, not individual traders ("Gospodin Veliky Novgorod" in Russia) equipped the ships and sent caravans to trade with distant countries and the profits from such trade went, not to separate merchants, but to the whole city; the latter purchased all the supplies which the inhabitants required."

"All this has disappeared. The village community alone is still struggling for the preservation of the last signs of this Communism and even in this it is successful only so long as the state does not throw its heavy sword on the scales."

In another part of: "The Speeches of a Revolutionary" he says **): "After freeing itself from the landlords did the medieval community become free of the rich merchants who had accumulated large fortunes in trade and in the banks? Unfortunately no! After destroying the castles of the nobles, the town inhabitants perceived in a short time that the rich merchants were building similar castles, and that in the internal life of the community a struggle between the rich and the poor was springing up; a struggle in which the King soon began to intervene."

Thus, in the "free Community" a struggle of the classes had arisen; some were growing rich, some were becoming poor and the profits did not fall to the share of all. The "city" was simply a collective name for the merchant class, just as at present the "country" is nothing but a firm for the bourgeoisie.

On arriving at this conclusion Kropotkin understands that such a "community" is far from being an ideal one, it is not even an anteroom to a future commune and he naturally endeavours to establish the difference. In the same book (page 118) he says:

*) "The Speeches of a Revolutionary" publ. "Golos Trouda" Petersburg-Moscow 1921, page 72.

*) Publ. "Golos Trouda" Petersburg-Moscow, 1919, page 80.

***) Publ. "Golos Trouda" Petersburg-Moscow, 1919, page 110.

„For a citizen of the middle ages his community was a state (?), strictly separated from the others by its borders. For us the community is now not a land unit only. It is rather a general conception (?) of any (?) union of equals, knowing neither city walls, nor borders... A community of general interests is created, whose members are dispersed among a thousand villages and cities...“

I must confess, I find this strange. That there will be separate groups in the communities, that these groups of one community will enter into various unions with other groups either similar or useful to them, is quite undoubted. But is the very existence of any community possible without a definite economic basis? Consequently, under the modern methods of production, under the actual means of communication and the actual condition of science, which has not yet arrived at a laboratorial preparation of food stuffs, no economic existence of society is possible without a definite territory; a community of interests is more adaptable to purely mental activity, but not to the sphere of production, without a systematic organisation of which Communism is impossible.

5.

From economics we shall pass on to politics. In his book „Bread and Freedom“ Kropotkin says: „Each economic phase in history has its corresponding political one; it is impossible to destroy the present form of ownership without introducing at the same time a new order of political life...“

„So long as society was based on the serf system it could be satisfied with autocratic monarchy, when it was founded on wage slavery and the exploitation of the masses by the capitalists it found its best support for exploitation in parliamentarism. But a free society, which has seized the common wealth—land, factories, funds—into its own hands, will have to seek a new political organisation, corresponding with the new economic conditions, an organisation founded on a free union and a free federation“.

In another place he says: *) „A free community—such is the political form which the social revolution must take...“

„We consider also that if a central government is unnecessary to rule over free communities, if the national government is to be destroyed and the unity of the country attained by means of a free federation of communities—in such case a central city administration is quite as superfluous and harmful...“

„The federative principle, that is to say, the free association of districts, industrial unions, unions of consumption and exchange, etc., will be quite sufficient to establish an accord within the community between the producers, the consumers and other groups of citizens.“

These are undoubtedly correct ideas, dictated by the entire history of popular revolutions and confirmed also by the history of our own great revolution.

The Russian revolution has notified in its first

historical act, in the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, that we are tending not to the creation of a centralised, soldier-Communist state, but to a free association of workers. After pointing out that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorer peasantry is only a temporary form of organisation „with the object of completely crushing the bourgeoisie, abolishing the exploitation of man by man and the establishment of socialism in which there will be no division into classes, nor state authority,“ the Constitution says: „the Russian Republic is a free socialist association of all the workers of Russia“.

As regards the federative principle, it has found its confirmation in the very first steps of our Russian revolution. In accordance with the most sacred wish of Kropotkin, namely: that the revolutionists should carry out the revolution on the spot, immediately, without awaiting the official permission of the parliament, the Russian Communists dissolved the arch-democratic Constituent Assembly, overthrew the bourgeois-socialist power, seized Petrograd and Moscow, established the rule of the workers throughout the country, taking possession of town after town, village after village. If revolutionary Russia has not been transformed hitherto into a free socialist society of workers, the blame must not lie on the state workers, but on the conditions of war which demand the greatest centralisation of Russia and on the economic crisis called forth by the four years of imperialist war which also exacts the greatest economy and consequently centralisation.

But alongside with the healthy and clear ideas regarding the future political organisation of society we find much that is hazy and confused in Kropotkin's works, because he does not distinguish the tendencies from the final aims and dumps into one heap the concrete tasks of the present moment with the last stage of the process. One must be blind not to see the absolute impossibility of transforming at once, on the first day of the revolution, a vast hardly cultured and ruined country into a free federative association of the smallest village communities and city districts.

Kropotkin gives us the same strange mixture of talented clearness in regard to the general prognosis and vexatious confusion in all concrete matters in his doctrine on the course of the social revolution.

„It will be our duty—he begins most correctly—to see that from the very first days of the revolution and during the whole time that it will continue, there would be on the area where the uprising is taking place no man suffering from lack of food, no woman who would have to stand in a line at the door of a baker's shop waiting for a piece of bread made from bran to be thrown to her out of charity, no child that would be short of anything that is necessary for its tender organism“.

„In order to proceed practically it is necessary, according to our opinion, that the people should immediately take possession of all the products to be had in the locality where the revolution has broken out, make a record of them and see to

*) „Anarchy,“ pages 44—45.

*) „Bread and Freedom,“ page 80.

it that nothing should be lost, but that every one might profit by the accumulated products and thus pass through the critical period *)."

This is certainly correct and such was the direction taken by the tactics of Russian Communists: requisition, registration and the card system.

"The peasant," continues Kropotkin **), "must receive not papers, but such objects which are the most necessary to him: winnowing machines and reapers, which he is obliged to do without now against his will; clothing which would protect him from the bad weather; a lamp and kerosene to replace the „loutchina" („little torch") spades, ploughs, scythes — in a word, everything that he lacks now..."

But we are entitled to ask: and if the town is unable to give all this to the peasant because it is completely ruined, let us say, by war, as at present? Kropotkin gives no answer to this. He is merciless in his refutation of all authority: „Let the city send to the village not a commissary with a red or multi-coloured scarf, with an order to convey supplies to such and such a place, but let it send friends, brothers, who will say to the peasants: „Bring us your products and take from our stores all that you want". Then the food supplies will stream into the towns from all sides."

A beautiful truth... But if our stores are empty and we have almost nothing to propose to the peasants, and if the latter refuse to convey their products to the town „idlers?" Will it not become necessary to send a commissary (although without a scarf) to the village?

Kropotkin's answer is the more unsatisfying that, with the quicksightedness of genius, he foresaw such moments of the revolution, which have only now become evident to all. „The peasant," he says, „will undoubtedly take advantage of the revolution to straighten his back which is bent over the earth. Instead of working 14 and 16 hours a day as he is doing now, he will quite justly wish to rest half the time and this may lead to a decrease in the production of the chief vital products: bread and meat.

„It is prudent therefore to presume ***) that the import of products from the different places within the country and from abroad will decrease in general. How is this shortage to be replaced? Very simply: by the means of the town itself?"

Kropotkin not only foresaw the greatest difficulty of our revolution: the disorganisation of industry, the decrease in the productivity of labour, the wave of „laziness" which the bourgeois economists are deploring, the necessity of a goods exchange between the towns and the villages, but also the necessity of utilising the unencumbered town lands for their cultivation. This last decision presupposes a lasting and difficult process.

And meanwhile? What are the already famishing towns to do, so long as they have not organised their own food supplies, when the wa-

rehouses are empty and there is nothing to offer the peasants, when the latter have reduced the amount of tillage and are offering bread at speculative prices or refusing to sell? Must the towns become quite dissolved and perish to please the uncultured unrevolutionary villages, which the same towns have called to life and which they have endowed with land and freedom? Naturally Kropotkin's sagacity made him see very well the inevitability of an organised violence on the part of the towns over the villages if only to prevent a still more cruel and inhuman violence of the villages over the towns, but to say so openly would mean to recognise the struggle of the classes within the „people", to acknowledge the necessity of a certain dictatorship, and this was in contradiction to his elementary premises — pity, solidarity and absence of authority. And he passed this question in silence.

Not only in politics was Kropotkin guided by purely ethical considerations. All his scientific works on biology, zoology and even geography are permeated with this love which was, properly speaking, pity. It is well known with what joy he had in the seventies of last century caught up the idea of Professor Kessler as to „the existence in nature of a law of mutual help besides that of mutual struggle". In this doctrine of Kessler Kropotkin had felt a basis for the „scientific" justification of pity. („Only on one point, says Kropotkin *), I cannot quite agree with Kessler's views. He mentions „the feelings of parents" and care for the coming generation as a basis for the mutual inclination between the animals..."

„My attention is chiefly directed to the establishment, first of all, of the importance of mutual help as a factor of evolution, leaving to further disquisitions the task of establishing the origin of the instincts of mutual help in nature." **)

Thus Kropotkin, having casually come upon the idea of mutual help, intentionally avoids studying its origin, in the fear that it might be proved that the facts in favour of it as well as the still more numerous facts against it, will have nothing in common with the instinctive pity and solidarity which he wants to make a law of the universe.

6.

It is impossible to touch upon all the sides of the activity and mentality of this great scholar and revolutionist within the limits of an article for a journal. I would like to summarize all that he has left to the world, albeit in a general way. The historian will probably note with the greatest respect the life and the scientific and propaganda work of this great man. It is difficult for us, his contemporaries, who have not yet solved all the problems around which Kropotkin's life and thoughts had turned, to establish unerringly and precisely the place occupied by him; he was too many-sided, too independent to be embraced in one single formula.

*) Ditto, page 83.

***) Ditto, page 101.

***) „Bread and Freedom," page 105.

*) P. Kropotkin, „Mutual Help as a Factor of Evolution," page 4.

***) Ditto, page 5.

In studying Kropotkin attentively one is involuntarily reminded of another great thinker, wonderfully analogous to him, namely: Plato. Both the one and the other having imbibed all the fruits of the preceding development became the centres of a talented intuition and at the same time of numberless inconsistencies. Both the one and the other consecrated a whole life to the search for a perfect society and to this object they devoted not only all their strength, but all their thoughts and erudition. Both had made the law of their personal spiritual life the law of the universe: justice, with the only difference that the illustrious Greek unburdened by the feeling of pity, sought for justice in harmony, while Kropotkin, who had never forgotten the wounds inflicted on him by the pitiless pictures of serfdom and the heartless depravity of the aristocracy, had made the idea of an all-levelling equality the highest law as a mental protest against his order. Plato was a proud greek, Kropotkin — a repentant nobleman.

Kropotkin was a rationalist like Plato and also sincerely believed in the reign of wisdom, with the difference that Plato called his ideal „politia“, while Kropotkin named his „anarchy“. Plato did not make compulsion the highest law, he believed that a voluntary solidarity between all the members of society might be attained, although each one would do his own work. On the other hand Kropotkin was in no wise so absolutely anti-state, as he thought himself; he was in favour of federalism, of common right, arbitration, the principle of convention, but he did not conceal that the community is entitled to have recourse to violence, — only he did not want organised violence, he was against written laws, against centralism. On this point he might to a certain degree come to an understanding with Plato who also did not intend to rule by means of dead laws which he considered rather as general directions, and whose ideal was the small communities — towns. Hence, Plato's state was called „Polis“ that is to say, the town with a few surrounding villages.

One may say without exaggeration that even in the domain of philosophy their divergence was not irreconcilable: Plato was not an absolute idealist, because he did not deny the existence of an external life, whereas Kropotkin who considered himself to be a materialist (his materialism bore a rather hazy character) had advanced materialism not out of philosophical but rather out of practical considerations, as a protest against the Church. But in one thing Plato and Kropotkin were in perfect harmony, that is their attitude, towards morality. Both regarded aspiration towards perfection as the object of existence. For the attainment of this moral perfection of the human race Plato wished to create an ideal state, believing that such attainment is only possible in an organised state, while Kropotkin, on the contrary, idealising the people, insisted on a complete and immediate destruction of all state organisation, in the belief that it is the state alone which prevents the people from manifesting and embodying the hazy ideals of moral perfection.

Kropotkin rarely mentions Plato in his works,

contemptuously calling him a state utopist. But what is still more surprising he is almost completely silent in regard to another of his predecessors — one to whom he owes one of the chief buttresses of his doctrine, namely Michail Bakunin. Kropotkin only mentions him casually praising him in a perfunctory way in which there is more of criticism than affection. Meanwhile he is as much indebted to Bakunin, as to Plato. The Greek philosopher gave him the idea of a perfect society surrounded by a halo of higher morality — Bakunin opened the way to the desirable social ideal: the uprising of the people. The ideal of perfection emerging from the hands of Plato as too recondite, wingless and utopian, acquired through Kropotkin a firm basis and strong wings, owing to Bakunin.

The influence of a third original mind, that of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, appears to have been still stronger than that of Plato and Bakunin. Bakunin was too much of a realist for Kropotkin. He lived and breathed together with those surrounding him, he was agitated, he suffered and burned for the interests of his time and class. He subjected to these interests philosophy, science, tactics. Considering as Marx did the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to be the fundamental factor of modern society he threw himself, body and soul, forgetful of self, into the camp of the proletariat and looked upon the whole world and all the tasks of the day from the point of view of the actual interests of this class. For Kropotkin there existed no classes, he looked upon society not as a fighter or gladiator, but as a „repentant nobleman“ poisoned by the feeling of pity for the people, and for whom there exist no proletariat, nor petty bourgeoisie, nor intellectual class, but only oppressed and oppressing, honest and dishonest men. Bakunin naturally seemed too narrow to Kropotkin; he proceeded to develop Bakunin's doctrine and did not notice how he returned to proudhonism. In the latter doctrine he found the idea of cooperation, of free agreements and a federative organisation of the industry. It was Proudhon who suggested to him the leading idea for his investigations: mutuality. And when Kropotkin heard this from Kessler in the domain of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, he was overjoyed as the hope flashed before him to „proudhonize“ natural history, so to say. He carried out this idea in his well known book on mutual help.

However, neither Plato, nor Bakunin, nor Proudhon has been able to reveal to us all the sources of thought of this rich nature, as first of all and most of all Kropotkin was neither a thinker, nor a revolutionist, nor a socialist, he was over and above all a preacher. In his eyes ethics occupied the highest place. That is why he calmly renounced all his privileges and riches; that is why he so easily renounced what was more precious to him than wealth — science; and that is why that came to pass which remained so incomprehensible even to his friends, namely: that he desisted from all political and social activity in order to retire into the quiet of a country life during the epoch of the greatest storms, and there gave himself up completely to the eternal questions of morality. He was a preacher above all. In this respect he came nearer

than any one else to another great Russian thinker—Leo Tolstoj.

It is not without reason that Kropotkin once said to V. Tchertkov, an eminent follower of Tolstoj: „One may judge of how akin th. views of Leo Nicolajevitch are to my own by the fact that I have written a whole work to prove that life is based on mutual help and not on the struggle for existence.“

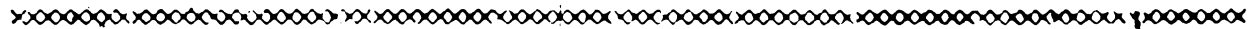
„And if“ says V. Tchertkov, „Kropotkin never touched upon the subject of the „spiritual“ sphere in which Tolstoj laid the foundation of his own understanding of life, one can feel without any doubt that in the depth of his heart Kropotkin was no materialist but an idealist of the purest type.“ („Anarchist organisations in memory of P. A. Kropotkin.“)

From Plato through the French encyclopedists Kropotkin came near to Tolstoj and from Bakunin through Proudhon he again approached Tol-

stoj. How near we will probably learn in his „Ethics“ *).

Kropotkin is dead, but the coming generations will not forget him. They will never forget his inexhaustible love for mankind, his unlimited devotion to all workers. They will not forget one who renounced a great fortune, honours, science and all the joys of life in order to serve the world revolution; one who may have often been mistaken and even cruelly mistaken sometimes, but who always even, when erring, was so disinterested, so pure of heart and so deeply sincere, that even his enemies considered his voice to be the voice of conscience and posterity will never, never forget one who saw the greatest danger for the revolution in „mental cowardice, prejudices,—half-measures“ and whose last bequest together with Danton was: „courage, courage, more courage...“

* This is the title of the book which Kropotkin had been writing up to the very day of his death.



„One should not form the erroneous impression that the petty bourgeoisie is in principle striving for egoistical class interests only. It thinks rather that the peculiar conditions of its liberation are the same as the general conditions within the limits of which alone, modern society may be saved and the class struggle done away with. One should not imagine either that the representatives of democracy themselves belong, every one of them, to the class of petty shopkeepers or that they are particularly well disposed to them. By their education and personal position they may be as far removed from the small shopkeepers as heaven is from earth. What makes them the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is that theoretically they go no farther than the limits which the shopkeeper ever passes in his lifetime, so that theoretically they arrive at the same tasks and decisions at which the small shopkeeper arrives practically by virtue of his material interests and class position. Such are in general the relations of the political and literary representatives of a class towards the class that they represent.“

Karl Marx. „18th Brumaire.“



The Opposition to the Social Revolution in Britain.

By TOM QUELCH.

I.

IN Britain the capitalist class and the working class stand almost with the definiteness of contending armies, openly opposed to each other. The class lines are clearly defined. There is no mistaking who is a capitalist and who is a workman, who is rich and who is poor. The organisation of each class is almost complete. The capitalists are banded together in their Chambers of Commerce, their Masters' and Manufacturers' Associations. The workmen are organised in their powerful Trade Unions, or, as they are now, Industrial Unions; such as the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, the Iron and Steel Trades' Confederation, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Transport Workers' Federation.

While there remain many workers outside the Trade Unions, for all vital and effective purposes—as in all vital industries—the organised workers dominate the situation. That is to say that while the industries of the country could be run without the unorganised workers they could not be run without the Trade Unionists:

Outside of these two main classes there is a nebulous mass of professional men, literati, commercial travellers, petty bourgeois, hangers on the capitalist system. This mass is reactionary, corrupt, just raised above the proletariat by lying and cheating. It provides recruiting material for White Guard organisations, for middle class Unions, etc.

II.

The British capitalist class is the most astute, the most cunning, the most resourceful and the proudest ruling class in the world. It has been made so by centuries of experience of robbery and pillage and piracy in all parts of the world. It has had to deal with all peoples and all countries. It has learnt to "govern" by possessing colonies in every corner of the earth. The past five years of outrage, rapine and murder in Ireland would seem to point to the truth of the maxim "that Statesmen never learn." It knows how to create the atmosphere of liberty, and yet rule and rob with an iron hand. It knows how to manipulate democracy. It knows how to have "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press" which is no freedom. It knows how to break up and disperse incipient revolt. It knows how to corrupt leaders of the masses in India, in Egypt, in South Africa and at home. It knows how to purchase labour leaders with honours, flattery,

social position, money. It possesses a wide and profound knowledge of the economic and political forces. It possesses a secret service well and elaborately organised. British commercial and secret agents are perhaps the best equipped and the best supplied of all such creatures, and their number is tremendous. They are to be found everywhere.

Such a ruling class, naturally, knows well the arts of protecting itself, both from internal revolt and external attack. Of all political policies, the policy of Britain has been the most Machiavellian, the most perfidious, the most cunning. Is not capitalist Britain known among the nations as "perfidious Albion?" How often has Britain encouraged Continental nations to fly at each others' throats that they should remain weak and leave her in a position of dominance? And how often have the working class revolts at home been either cunningly betrayed and dispersed or crushed and drenched in blood?

The British capitalist class has at its disposal, first: all the "forces of the State." These forces comprise Parliament, a well organised bureaucracy, a strong judiciary, a powerful police, and the Army and the Navy. The Army is no longer a conscript army, but a volunteer army, an army that is kept in barracks and apart from the people. The Navy—the pride of the ruling class—is even more isolated from the masses. Only occasionally do the sailors, those fine sons of the working class, get leave to go ashore. Such leave is usually spent in the ports—like Portsmouth, Chatham, Dover, Liverpool or Glasgow—and is usually a time of morbid excitement quite natural after so much confinement on board the battleships.

Secondly, the British capitalist class has at its disposal a powerful and wonderful press. The capitalist newspapers of Britain are like no others in the world. They are unique; and their hold over the masses is supreme. Every morning and evening these newspapers circulate in millions amongst the workers, colouring their outlook on life, determining largely the political opinions, fashioning their thoughts, moulding their minds to a servile acceptance of things as they are or as the controllers of these mouthpieces of capitalism desire them to be. "Give me control of Fleet Street"—the centre of the British press—"and we will have a revolution in a couple of weeks," said Robert Williams at a recent meeting in London. Williams was right. If Communists would control the "Daily Mail," the "Daily Mirror," the "Daily News," the "Daily Sketch," the "Daily Chronicle" and the rest of the capitalist newspapers for two weeks there would undoubtedly

be a revolution, so great is their influence. The capitalists realise their strength in this connection, that is why in Britain there is only one daily newspaper—the „Daily Herald“—claiming to represent the working class movement, and why the weekly journals of the workers are so small.

Thirdly, the British capitalist class has its interests defended by numerous religious and semi-religious organisations—from the State Church to the Wesleyan Brotherhood movements. Religion, as such, has very little interest for the masses, but many of these organisations possess thousands of members, and influence them, because they provide a social milieu gathering places, clubs, gymnasiums, games, concerts, etc.

By these various means the capitalist class in Britain holds down the masses.

III.

But Britain also has, in great superfluity, its Mensheviks and social traitors and misleaders of the workers. They are not as well educated as the same breed on the European Continent—there is, for instance, all the difference in the world between Arthur Henderson and Emile Vandervelde. The one is a stodgy narrow-minded, rather puritanic man of mediocre attainments while the other is a scholar, a literateur, a brilliant linguist and a thinker of no mean order. Yet—apart from Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden who are Mensheviks sans phrase—Arthur Henderson is the leader of the misleaders. He represents the type—for the British labour leaders are a type peculiar to themselves. In the majority of cases they have no knowledge of Socialist thought, next to no knowledge of the history of the working class movement, and possess all the insular prejudices and heavy-headedness of the mass of their compatriots. The British labour leaders usually develop through, first, their Trade Union branches, then the District Councils of their Trade Unions and then on to their Executive Committees. Their progress enables them to develop fluent speech, a genial spirit usually very superficial and a degree of cunning.

We have stated elsewhere that British capitalists first line of defense is these labour leaders.

The strange fact about the labour leaders is that they do not „lead.“ They call themselves leaders. The Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, for instance, or the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson frequently

refer to themselves, either openly or by inference, as leaders. But they do not lead. They retard. They check. They hold back. They are used by the capitalist class to prevent any forward movement on the part of the workers.

As soon as there is rumour of discontent in the factories, mines or mills, or the threat of a strike, these leaders are trotted along to the dissatisfied area, there to use their powers of persuasion, their diplomacy, their cunning, to ensure the smooth running of the industrial machinery.

The Government spent thousands of pounds on labour leaders during the war, and thousands are still being spent on them. At Trade Union Congresses and important Labour Conferences, when the shambles of France and Flanders were soaked with the blood of British workers, when, every day, thousands were being sent to their death, it was possible for anyone, who knows the working class movement, to pick out the leaders and to tell what Government Committees they were on—paid Government Committees then sprung up with mushroom growth—and, if one had inquired deep enough, one could have told something approaching the amount of money these men were receiving for their support of the brutal war policy of the British capitalist class. These labour leaders bargain their influence with the masses to the ruling class for social position, honours, and money. In this respect they are like the Plebs Leaders of Old Rome who frequently betrayed the Plebians to the Patricians. The reputations of these labour leaders are enhanced by the capitalist press—which lavishes great praise on their wisdom, their sanity, their sound patriotism. They are feted and dined by the capitalists. When the capitalists consider them safe and reliable instruments they are made Right Honourables—members of the King's Privy Council—and C. B. E's and O. B. E's and generally loaded with social distinctions. The leaders of the British Labour Party:—The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas and so on—are most honourable men as is also the secretary of the Trade Union Congress—the Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman.

As a matter of fact the working class movement in Britain is enmeshed with the webs woven by men „honoured“ and paid by the capitalist class. Mainly recruited from the Trade Union bureaucracy, much advertised in the newspapers, generally less keen-witted than their masters, they readily play the part of Judas.



One of the Aims of French Communism.

By ELLEN BRION.

THE excellent article: „Novelty in the Russian Revolution“ in the *Revue de la Presse Russe* among other things says: „Our revolution, finishing with the prehistoric epoch of the development of mankind and opening the first page of its real history, is especially interesting and instructive owing to the new experiments which it is carrying out on a gigantic scale.“

For us, women, and especially French women, the Russian revolution is doubly interesting because it is practically realising the principles of emancipation in both respects: as workers and as women. Meanwhile the principle of emancipation of the women is not only unrealised in practice but is even not recognised in theory in the country which, up to now, has been considered as the most revolutionary in the world. In this country more than anywhere else in Europe we have frequently to remember Ibsen's words, so full of a deep meaning: „The human race does not embrace all mankind — it is only the men.“

Most regrettable was the attitude taken towards this question by the advanced (?) representatives of socialism and syndicalism (Renaudel, Jouhaux and Co.) and the great majority of their followers, members of various organisations. With their usual thoughtlessness and undisguised egoism, which they always demonstrate so brilliantly, these gentlemen constantly opposed all propaganda of the idea of emancipation. As regards the sphere of legislation, there exists but a very insignificant number of laws which are bringing a slight alleviation into the conditions of life of the French women, namely: the right of research of paternity by means of the law (*recherche de la paternité*), the permission for married women to dispose of their earnings, the demand for the right of suffrage for women, etc. These laws are in no wise the result of parliamentary activity of the socialists. Certainly, the socialists did not, at any rate, vote against them, but to their shame be it said they were not their initiators.

In political life the socialist party always occupied an ambiguous and indefinite position on this question. Under the strong pressure of the feminist movement it found itself compelled, beginning from 1908, to put forward the candidatures of women both in the municipal and in the legislative institutions. However the party always took care that such candidatures should not be numerous and should be put forward only in completely „virgin“ districts

which had never yet voted for a socialist candidate — that is to say, in such places where failure could be foreseen in advance, where it was possible to obtain a ludicrously small number of votes and where the task was a specially thankless one. If the Party had really taken the women's question to heart, it could have advanced the question of the women's candidature on a large scale in a Socialist district where the election of the Party's candidates would have been ensured beforehand. May be, this bold innovation might have entailed the proclaiming of the elections to have been non-valid, — the Party would have risked the loss of one seat, but how great would have been the agitational significance of this fact for the women, what a splendid effect it would have made! But, this did not even occur to the minds of our pseudo „great men.“

In the trade unions the position of the women was no better. A vast majority of the unions which constituted the Amsterdam International were most unwilling to receive women. For these gentlemen it is yet a question — whether a woman has a right to work. At any rate they repudiate her right to receive a good pay for her work, her right to enjoy a fundamental technical education and they suffer her only in such enterprises which demand no qualified workers and where the work is badly remunerated. But since the world war the limits of Women's labour are becoming ever more enlarged. The women have begun to demand the same pay as the men get for equal work, but this is totally inadmissible from the point of view of the majority of the members of the trade unions as was declared openly in Paris in May 1920 by three, not very eminent, officials of the trade unions. „That they have worked as much as we did, may be quite possible,“ one of them said, „but they ought not to receive the same pay as the men, they are still only women.“ The second official added (and the third agreed with him): „what would be the good of being a man otherwise.“

Such speeches are a terrible symptom. It is the psychology of slaves who wish to have slaves also at whatever cost; it is greatly to be regretted and proves an extreme moral degeneration. Naturally, under such conditions, women and especially women feminists always keep away from Socialism, syndicalism, and all that was reputed to be „The liberative movement.“

They will cease to take this negative attitude towards Communism as soon as they will become acquainted with it and learn what it wishes to attain for them. It is however necessary for the Communists to meet them half way, as they are doing for the seamen, soldiers, peasants, that is to say, the Communists must begin a special propaganda in conformity with the special conditions of women's enslavement.

This however the French comrades do not understand. You, Russian Communists, men and women, must explain this to your French comrades. You have deemed this necessary and Moscow became the centre for the special work among the women. If this is necessary in Russia, then it is easy to understand how much more necessary it is in our country, where during 130 years, the masculine and bourgeois democracy has been the supporter of the hideous conditions of social reality.

Be assured that such special agitational work

among the women will not remain fruitless. You know better than others, what an important rôle women's enthusiasm and women's revolutionary will can play during the revolutionary period. You have seen the Russian women in their revolutionary work. If you have not seen this yet in the French women, it is only because up to now no one has ever thought of carrying on a propaganda among them, of enlightening them, winning them over to the cause of universal liberation. Standing apart from all movement—they are waiting. Go to them, you, who dare all and can accomplish all. They will immediately answer your call and they will struggle together with you, with all the militant ardour of which they are capable. Only then will the victory of the proletariat over its enemies be ensured in France—the victory of labour, which as the above mentioned article says "opens the first page of the real history of mankind."

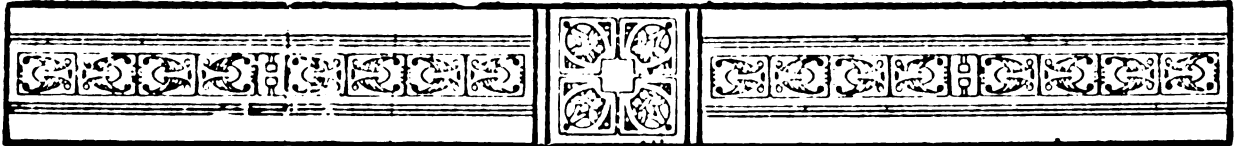


What are our relations to the smaller peasantry? And how should we deal with it on the day when the power will pass into our hands?

Firstly, the following regulation of the French programme is absolutely correct: we foresee the inevitable destruction of the small peasant, but we are in no way called upon to accelerate this by any intervention on our part.

*Secondly, it is also evident that when we shall have possessed ourselves of the state power we cannot think of expropriating the smaller peasants by force (either with or without indemnification) as we shall have to do with the larger landlords. Our task, in respect to the peasants consists first of all in converting their private production and private property into associations, but not by force, only by example and by proposing public assistance for this purpose.**

Fr. Engels. „Peasant question in France and Germany“



Revolutionary Movement in South Africa.

By A Delegate of the League.

THE vast bulk of the proletariat in South Africa is Bantu by race, disfranchised except in the Cape Colony, and labouring under serf conditions of passports, indentures and special penal laws.

The Indian and white workers are in the minority. Pronouncements from the official Labour movement in South Africa should be accepted always with those facts in view: that the illusion of all white master communities, Alienation democracies, that they represent the whole of the people and that the mass of the serfs or slaves beneath them are politically non-existent, to a great extent possesses the white working class movement in South Africa also.

So far the great mass of the native workers, comprising 75% of the proletariat, have not yet attained to a collective voice or to the consciousness of their mission as a class. Peculiar methods of temporary employment in the industries, alternating with periods of return to their native reserves, largely account for this.

The Political Labour Movement.

With the formation of the South African union in 1910 the scattered sections and Trade Councils in the Labour movement in South Africa united into one South African Labour Party, with the Socialist objective in its constitution.

At the 1910 general election the S. A. L. P. returned four members to the Union Parliament. Up to the dissolution of Parliament in 1915, election victories brought the number up to eight members.

Effect of Industrial Upheavals on the Political Movement.

In July 1913 the great strike of the miners, followed by other trades on the rand, took place. It was made notorious throughout the world by the massacre of citizens in the streets of Johannesburg by the Government troops.

In January 1914 another general strike took place (confined, of course, to white workers). The strike was started on the railways, followed by the miners and other trades. The elaborate preparations, by martial law regulations and police suppressions, made by the Government to cope with the strike, brought about a débâcle to the workers, and the deportation of nine strike leaders followed.

In the Provincial Council elections, which came round in March following, the S. A. L. P. drew to

itself all the liberal and labour indignation against the military methods of suppression adopted by the Government, and 23 out of 25 labour candidates were returned to the Transvaal Provincial Council.

This success brought its penalties: The Party was invaded by a large number of political adventurers, so that when the war broke out in August of the same year, it had hardly found time to regain its working class equilibrium.

Nevertheless, ten of its 23 members in the Transvaal Provincial Council voted for an anti-war resolution brought forward in that body. At the annual conference of the Party held in East-London in January 1915 the anti-war section of the Party was in possession of the Party machine and controlled the conference. In spite of the fact that they had an enthusiastic majority behind them, the anti-war section held its hand for the sake of unity, being under the impression that a speedy termination of the war would save the Party.

Comrade W. H. Andrews, spokesman in Parliament for the anti-war section, and chairman of the Party, was reelected chairman at this conference, and an anti-war majority was elected on the Executive.

A resolution was then passed, with only one dissentient, leaving the question of war to be decided by each individual member according to the dictates of his own reason and conscience.

On this compromise the Party worked until Colonel Creswell, its Parliamentary leader, returned from German South-West Africa, in June 1915. The general election for Parliament was due in October, Col. Creswell immediately 'threw down the challenge to the anti-war section of the Party in a manifesto to the members, urging the Party the "See the War through" policy. A counter-manifesto was issued by 20 prominent members. A special conference was called for August 22nd to decide the Party's election platform.

During the intervening months the press had been at work hurling vituperation at the anti-war Party, and the appeal to passion was reflected at the special conference.

Now the majority had gone over to the "See it Through" Party. The election ruthlessly swept aside all talk of compromise, all consideration for old associations, all desire to make the continuance of the anti-war comrades in the Party easy, all appeal to the deeper things for which the Party had been formed; and all candidates, who would not endorse the "See it Through" policy were turned down.

The Cleavage.

Eight members of the E. C. including the chairman, secretary and treasurer, resigned office.

The anti-war section then formed itself into a body under the name of International League of the S. A. L. P., with the view to carry on the propaganda and retrieve the Party for internationalism. But this could not last. The election fever grew. Almost simultaneously as the League members voted to withdraw from the S. A. L. P. and form a separate organisation, the S. A. L. P. administrative Council voted for the expulsion of all members of the International League. In September 1915 this organisation started as the International Socialist League of South Africa.

Our Organ „The International.“

Immediately after the break away of the socialists, the League started its weekly „The International,“ which is now in its sixth volume. The „Worker,“ the official organ of the S. A. L. P., collapsed in 1915 owing to the conflicting views on the war. Since then the S. A. L. P. has not published a newspaper or official journal of any kind. Our organ „The International“ is absolutely the only working class weekly in South Africa. The League possesses its own printing plant, which is a great help to us in getting our literature out in time.

The peculiar problems, which the socialist movement has to face in South Africa with its black proletariat, accounts for the small circulation of the paper.

Election Results Since Formation of the League.

In the Transvaal Provincial elections in 1917 comrade W. H. Andrews contested the Benoni division, and though defeated by the Labour Party nominee, received a poll of 355 votes, which was of sufficient concern to the capitalist press to cause it to break its conspiracy of silence and inquire into the reasons.

The League fought elections on issues such as „war against war,“ and „industrial unionism against craft unionism,“ which in South Africa, of course implies the native.

In the Benoni election referred to, the League candidate had arrayed against him not only the pro-war passion, but also the anti-native, anti-colour prejudice, which among the Dutch section of the population especially, is exceedingly virulent. With the increasing popularity of international socialism the appeal to colour prejudice is being resorted to more and more by the enemies of the working class, the more dangerous we become.

This weapon was used against us with such an effect at the Benoni election by the Labour Party, that the whole of the Dutch vote, which was anti-war as far as it is anti-British and petty bourgeois, was alienated from the League.

Anti-colour prejudice was used by the L. P. in the elections mentioned, and it became their chief

weapon in the general election in March of this year, 1920. The League fought that election with five candidates in the field. The election platform was: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

As the immense majority of the S African proletariat are members of the Bantu races, it is obvious that the native question in regard to Soviets was brought more than ever to the foreground.

South Africa, like Russia, possesses a large rural population, and in our case, as in Russia, the proletariat in practice would include not only the industrial workers, but the small peasants and landless agriculturists as well, who again in our country to a large extent are non-European.

All these elements, irrespective of colour, are to make up the „ruling class,“ whose dictatorship and mastery of the productive forces of society is the first step in the working class revolution.

It is this stumbling block that makes the socialist problem seem so insoluble and difficult in South Africa, where most white wage earners, if not actually property owners, aspire to that status and absorb the ideology of the petty bourgeois. Yet any working class movement that ignores or shirks the organisation of the native worker is a sham.

Any revolution leaving out the lower stratum to the rest would at the bottom be one of a bourgeois nature, perpetuating the antagonism, on which present society is based.

This the vote catching Labour Party, playing up to the white trade unionists and the whites in general, refuses to see. It preaches the segregation of the natives, which spells cheap labour. Because it is a well known fact, that the whites could not last one week without the natives. This has been proved by big strikes of native workers on the gold mines and during the March 1920 general election campaign.

To the shame of the white miners, they scabbed on the native workers. The League, notwithstanding the fact, that during the election campaign it had been under the constant fire of colour prejudice both of the press and Labour Party on account of our native policy, immediately issued a leaflet, calling upon the white miner not to scab upon his black fellow worker. (See „International“ 224).

The S. A. L. P. not only dissociated itself from this great native strike, but it went to great pains to prove, that these wicked International Socialists were behind it all. It resulted in the breaking up of our election meetings by organised gangs led by prominent Labour Party members. Large numbers of our supporters at other times, having been hit in one way or another by the native strike and who have the petty bourgeois penchant of repeating revolutionary phrases, voted for the Labour Party. On the eve of the poll Col. Creswell, the leader of the Labour Party, in a manifesto, issued in the capitalist press, declared for the maintenance of imperial connections between S. A. and Great Britain. This manifesto, combined with the fear on the part of the English population that the Dutch Nationalist Party, fighting for an independent „South African Republic,“ might win the day, finally drew to the Labour Party a large num-

ber of British nationalist voters. The Labour Party returned eighty one members to the Union Parliament.

Notwithstanding our overwhelming defeat, the fight we put up has been very valuable and we are gratified in being able to state, that the principle of solidarity of labour irrespective of race or colour is making headway among the white workers.

If election results are to be the index of power, then the S. L. P. counts for little as yet in the South African working class movement. But if the degree of working class revolutionary effort is to be accounted for, then the immensity of colour prejudice it has to face, its great propaganda work both by public meeting and written word and the fact that it sustains, through the self sacrifice of its members, the main South African working class paper, places the International Socialist League as the one vigorous political organisation of the workers of South Africa.

The theatre trust, which controls most halls in South Africa, refuses to let us any hall. The League's meetings have been broken up time and again by an organised black hundred, and the police has repeatedly instigated proceedings against our members for the crime of being assaulted by organised mobs.

In August 1916 a manifesto against the continuance of the War was the occasion for a police court charge. Two comrades were sentenced to six weeks hard labour. The sentence was quashed on appeal.

A Government Frame Up

In July 1918 three of our white comrades and five natives were arrested on a charge of Gewalt (violence). The League, which during the war had been the only propaganda body in South Africa, had become somewhat popular among the workers, especially among the native workers. The native had found in the League, for the first time in the history of South Africa, a working class organisation willing to fight for the native proletariat, assisting them in every way towards their emancipation.

The Industrial Workers of Africa, a native organisation on revolutionary lines, formed by the League, the outcome of the League's native study classes, began to instill in the minds of the authorities the fact, that it had been formed for the purpose to fight for the abolition of the present system.

A passive resistance movement, organised by the I. W. of A. in conjunction with South Africa native National Congress for the abolition of the pass system and for higher wages, was the occasion for the Government to try their hands at a frame up.

Elaborate preparations were made by the "Native Affairs" and "Secret Service" department to strike the blow, which was to exterminate the League. By means of cables to Britain and discussions in Parliament the Government started, six months prior to the arrest of our comrades, a campaign to prepare public opinion against the League.

Police spies were sent to the meetings of the I. W. of A. and classes of the League, instructed

to take notes of the proceedings. One spy even accepted secretaryship of the I. W. of A. After a very sensational and mysterious message from the Government to the people about the League and German gold, details, which were inexpedient in public interest to publish etc., arrest followed.

The chief witness for the Government, a native of our study class, apparently more impressed by our teachings than by the Government pay, confessed, after reading a long statement in court about the activities of the League, that the statement just read out by him was not his statement, nor had it been signed by him. This smashed the six months work of the Union Government, and after three months of silence the case was dismissed.

About The Black Proletariat.

At the Socialist Conference of South Africa Socialists held on August 5th. 1917, for the purpose of electing a delegate, to represent South Africa at the Stockholm Conference of 1917, was to be noted the first fruits of our propaganda against colour prejudice. The League's lead in the matter was recognised by the following bodies represented: The social Democratic Federation of Cape Town, South African Peace and Arbitration Society, the Jewish Socialist Society of Cape Town, Sailors Union, and other unconnected Socialists outside the League. An Indian delegate, com. Sigamoney represented the organization of the urban Indian Union, and a number of native workers, one of whom addressed the Conference on the native agrarian grievances. It would be hard for our European comrades to realise the significance of the Indian and native delegates sitting in a working class gathering in South Africa. The very fact of these black fellow workers voicing their class consciousness with us, lifted the conference to a high pitch of enthusiasm. So seditious, subversive of order and of constituted authority is it regarded to carry on working class propaganda among the native workers, that an administrative Council of the S. A. L. P. sitting below in one of the Trades Hall Committee rooms adjourned to a neighboring hotel, as a protest against whites and natives sitting in conference together!

We do not claim that these coloured delegates represented great masses of the black proletariat. We look upon them rather as the advanced guard of that mass in its struggle toward articulation: the very existence of that mass, voteless, voiceless and unorganised, makes all white election results insignificant as a test of power. We repeat that only a barometer of effort, not of votes, can entitle a South African delegate to be heard in the Council of the International. We think that our propaganda and its fruit among the native and Indian workers are of a mighty significance for the millions of the coloured proletariat, in all parts of the world, and a surety that the South African proletariat too, will unitedly tread the path of the working class International.

Since that Conference South Africa has seen three huge and two or three small native strikes, one against the pass law and for higher wages as previously mentioned in the report.

This movement developed out of a small wage-strike of natives working in the Johannesburg municipality. It being the first native strike, the police court inflicted some sentences on the natives on strike, which caused a fairly general movement among the natives. The feature of their struggle against the pass law was, that the natives simply collected the passes in big bags and burned them in front of pass offices and police stations.

In the Cape Town strike of January 1920, against the export of foodstuffs from the union, the natives were let down badly by the white workers notwithstanding the fact, that they had come out on strike on request of Cape Federation of Trades.

The third strike was of native mine workers, in March 1920. About forty thousand natives were involved daily, where one mine returned to work, another mine came on strike, thereby keeping the police on the run all the time.

The Transvaal strikes were all suppressed by violence on the part of the police and white mobs of hoodlums and the workers were driven back at the point of the bayonet. A large number of casualties were inflicted (injured and killed).

A Government inquiry held for the purpose of finding the causes of the native grievances, assured the public once more, that the working conditions of the natives did not warrant the unrest among them, but the doctrines of the I. S. I. and the example of white workers were the cause.

The natives are rapidly proving that they begin to understand what solidarity means. So far, the natives' spirit of revolt has meant so much steam in the air, as they do not possess the necessary organisation. But once that machinery could be created to control and direct that spirit they will prove an irresistible force.

Affiliation to the III International.

During the war the League has found its kind est spirit in the Zimmerwaldien group. It has corresponded and looked for inspiration, up to the Russian Revolution, more to the Italian Socialist Party and com. Grimm of Berne, than to even our English comrades, although the personnel of our E. C. is predominantly British.

At our Fifth Conference the League affiliated to the Third International.

The Industrial Movement of S. Africa

Like the political movement, the industrial movement suffered severely through the war.

It had just emerged from a last battle in January 1914 and had not had time yet to consolidate its forces, when the war broke out.

The first general strike, July 1913, a victory for the workers, had killed all race hatred existing between the Dutch and English workers, and indeed it seemed as if internationalism was going to be the basis of the South African trade union movement. But the war, once more awakened a bitter racial feeling between both races, and the already badly damaged forces of industrial organised labour, fell to pieces or nearly so.

Since its inception, the League had started

vigorous campaign for „Industrial Unionism.“ The workers had not been long in discovering that the capitalist class was undermining and weakening the workers' position, while the workers were disorganised through racial feelings. During 1916 and 1917 the South African Industrial Federation started a vigorous organising campaign in the Transvaal, with the result that today it is hard to find a white man in the Transvaal, who does not belong to one union or another.

The South African Industrial Federation consists of affiliated trade and craft unions. As its name indicates, previously it was called „The Federation of Trades,“ it was thought that with the existence of trades craft unions, the „Federation“ was to be the means to bring „Industrial Unionism“ about. But instead of that being so, the Federation discourages all revolutionary movements, or any tendency to revolutionise the fighting tactics of the workers.

So far the only move that is made towards industrial organisation, is by means of forming „Industrial Departments“ within the shell of the Federation, without touching or eliminating craft or trade unions between such Industrial Departments.

The industrial movement is more and more forced to adopt the League's methods of fighting and organisation. Three years ago the industrial movement did not give the native any consideration. The native was not simply in their mind as a worker, and any one preaching the organisation of the white unskilled, to say nothing of the organisation of the Bonta proletariat, was considered insane.

Today the native question receives due consideration, although nothing concrete has been done. The question is laid down before every trade union congress or delegates meeting of any kind and union branches. Considering this in the light of the position of three years ago, then indeed it can be regarded as a great advance towards the fulfillment of the League's principle of solidarity, irrespective of race or colour.

The League, in its propaganda for working class solidarity, does not neglect one race or another. The white worker with his petty bourgeois outlook on life is inseparable industrially from the native, therefore both races must advance together.

The Shop Steward Movement.

The Shop Steward movement in Great Britain was a spontaneous one, initiated by the rank and file of the trade unions in spite of the officialdom of these unions. In South Africa it was introduced by com. W. H. Andrews, the delegate to the Stockholm conference just returned from Britain. In his capacity of League organiser, he addressed a number of trade union branch meetings, aggregate meetings of trade unionists, together with a number of propaganda meetings under the auspices of the League, on the Shop Stewards movement.

This movement is more or less artificial in South Africa. Like in the trade union movement, the native is ignored, has no say or representation on the work committees, and for this reason has not developed into a revolutionary movement. Today

It is bound hand and foot to the Federation, the object of the Shop Steward movement has been lost.

Every effort on the part of the Shop Steward committee of a complete industrial concern, like mine, power station etc., to get their grievances adjusted by direct action, is condemned by the Federation, and the men concerned are branded as sectionalists. "We want" says the Federation, "united mass action of the proletariat," but good care is taken that such action never comes about, and if any crisis threatens to develop into mass action, it is always directed into joint boards and boards of reference and what not.

The Federation will not be anything else, but a petty bourgeois movement, until the native takes his place in the ranks of organised labour. While using revolutionary phrases, it assists the capitalists to exploit the labour power of the Bantu races, strengthening the whites' position on this exploitation.

In fact, the capitalist press, time after time, appeals to the white worker to come to some peaceful arrangement, by which all whites will be enabled to suck the life blood out of the native.

Revolutionary Action on the Part of the White Industrial Workers.

Two events of immense revolutionary effect on the workers' mind took place in South Africa. The formation of Johannesburg and Durban municipal Soviets. These events prove that the revolutionary instinct of the workers is ahead of their socialist knowledge.

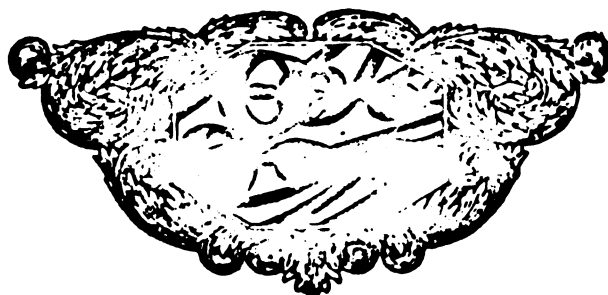
The movement in Johannesburg developed out

of the wage action on the part of the Power Station Engineers. The refusal on the part of the Power Station's Engineers, and the refusal on the part of the Town Council to settle the matter led to the formation of the Soviet. On April 1 the engineers and tramway men disposed of the services of the town council, captured the Town Hall and resumed the tram, Power and lighting services of the Town under their own control. The first tram coming out, flying the red flag, bore out the victory of the Soviet, and 16 members of the Town Council resigned.

The Durban affair was better organised. There the workers had taken control of all the municipal offices and concerns.

In both Soviets the natives were ignored as usual. The strategy was excellent in both cases. They wisely reckoned, that as a permanent institution under capitalism the Soviet was impossible. After giving the rank and file a taste of their power and the unconditional surrender of both Councils, the Boards of Control or Soviets, withdrew. Such experiments can only be successful by forcing the whole proletariat to capture control first of political power.

A drop of water in a pump often makes the pump give water. But the revolutionary spirit throughout the country was not there yet. In both Soviets the workers' revolutionary discipline was splendid. Apart from the S. A. I. F. we have the Cape Federation of Trades and the Natal Federation of Trades and the National Union of Railway and Harbor Servants. The S. A. I. F. is the largest body; all the other organisations together have about an equal membership as the S. A. I. F.



The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

The Labour Unions in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

By A. LOZOVSKY.

DURING the course of their many years' existence the Labour Unions did not set themselves the tasks which are now facing the Labour Unions of Russia. The reason for this was that they had to do with the system of capitalist exploitation and the more revolutionary among them in all the countries were compelled in the process of self defence to struggle not only against separate capitalists, but against the entire capitalist system as well. In studying the hundred years-old history of the struggle of the Labour Unions, we find along the course of the nineteenth century embryonic organisations of mutual relief — guild-corporative unions, arising as elementary forms of association, as primeval organisations of self defence, which gradually under the pressure of concentrated capital became united into wider and larger organisations, and in the separate countries developed into powerful industrial associations, embracing hundreds, thousands and millions of workers. The history of the labour movement is the history of the transformation of dispersed workers into organised links of a large machine, which has welded together the workers of various branches of labour into organs of mutual relief on the ground of the every day economic tasks and organs of direct self defence.

During the course of their struggle with capitalism the unions came into collision with the whole capitalist system and with the capitalist state itself, collective agreements which in the beginning of the development of the labour movement had been the ideal of the unions, very soon wore themselves out. They showed that the collective agreement, although in itself a step forward, was least of all capable to solve the fundamental inconsistencies of the capitalist regime. Under the blows of the united capital the unions were compelled to become transformed into organisations for the struggle against capital, into revolutionary organisations destined, together with the political parties to blow up the bourgeois society.

But not all of the labour movement have reached this stage. The Labour Unions of the different countries are even at the present moment standing at the different stages of this long historical road. We even now have tremendous workers organisations whose point of view is that the tasks of the

unions do not overpass the limits of a capitalist society and that the whole activity of the unions must be adapted to the capitalist relations, the stability of which they do not doubt. For the majority of these unions, in so far as they did not raise the question of a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the future rôle of the unions did not present any interest. The unions of this type regarded the future in the light of a gradual development of the democratic masses on the basis of equal rights for labour and capital and of a wide development of democratism. If the Trade Unions of the Anglo-Saxon countries never raised this question, the social democratic unions of Germany studied the future rôle of the unions, but penetrated with the spirit of reformism and slow evolution, they approached the question of the tasks of the unions in the same way as the trade union organisations. The Labour Unions of Germany did not go further than the ideas of equal rights for labour and capital, collective agreements, their gradual instillment into the capitalist society and similar reformist principles, and when the war broke out the entire ideology of the German Labour Unions became exactly similar to that of the English Trade Unions: neither the German nor the English unions thought of their future rôle, they connected the very existence of the labour movement with the victory of the national arms.

In contradiction to the German and English unions, the Labour Unions of France raised the question of their rôle on the very day after the social revolution. The revolutionary syndicalists of France even considered that the unions were the only organisations which would carry out the revolution and realise its tasks. The fundamental principles of revolutionary syndicalism consist therein that the unions in the centre and the local branches should take upon themselves the administration of production, that there should be no other organisations beside those which would control the production, because the social revolution is directly connected with the destruction of the State and the establishment of a non-power form of commonwealth. True the war has equalised the French syndicalists with their German and English antagonists. The French syndicalists, who had

been the dire enemies of all state order became the faithful servants of a bourgeois state and the hards of national unity.

Naturally, in this period there was no question for them of the future rôle of the unions; their present was bound up with the bourgeois society and on this basis they drew practical conclusions for the future.

For the first time the question of the rôle of the Labour Unions in the transitional period was raised in Russia. The young unions, which had been formed in 1905 and crushed during the period of reaction, came to life again in 1917 and eight months after the beginning of the Revolution they stood face to face with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of laying their hands on the works and factories. The October revolution was first, and most of all an economic revolution; the very form of the Soviet power, which had called forth the furious hatred of the International and Russian counter revolution was closely connected not only with the political but also with the economic suppression of the former ruling classes. With armed force the Russian proletariat drove the bourgeoisie from its positions. The overthrow of the coalition government was accompanied simultaneously with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the factories, the expulsion of the factory owners, the seizure of the enterprises and their conversion into collective property. The economic struggle, which had been started in the first days of the February revolution, led to the October revolution, because politics, as the programme of the Russian Communist Party says, are concentrated economics.

From the very first days of the October revolution the unions were faced by the question of what they were to do and how they were to do it. They stood face to face with a huge mass labour movement and a burst of revolutionary energy throughout the vast expanse of Russia. The workers of the works and factories settled accounts directly with the owners. "All power to the Soviets, all power to the working class" was understood, and quite rightly too, as the seizure of the citadels of the bourgeois society—the works and factories by the workers. But when the bourgeoisie was driven away, the Russian Labour Unions stood practically before the three following issues.

1. The mutual relations between the factory committees and the Labour Unions.

2. The mutual relations between the Unions and the Soviets.

3. The place of the Labour Union in the general system of the Soviet state.

In regard to the factory committees it was clear from the beginning that the revolutionary unions had to be formed on the basis of the factory committees. In truth, what were the factory committees? They were organs of struggle, created by all the workers of a given enterprise in order to overcome the assault of the capitalists during the first period, and in order to drive away the capitalists and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat during the second period. If there should be two organisations for one enterprise: factory committees and Labour Unions then the results

would be mutual collisions, rivalry, parallelism and waste of forces. This might have its historical justification, if we had been on the eve of a social revolution; in that case the factory committees would see the centre of gravity of their work in the control over the production, and the Labour Unions—in the organisation of Labour. But the October revolution placed the same tasks before the factory committees and the Labour Unions.

The logic of development would lead to a collision between these two organisations, and on the eve of the First Congress of the Labour Unions the latter were faced by the question of reconstruction of the Russian Labour movement, of a passage from the system of delegates and delegates' meetings to the system of factory committee conferences and to the construction of the entire union apparatus on the basis of factory committees.

In this way the factory committees are the smallest nuclei of the Labour Unions.

The sum total of factory committees is a supreme organ which elects the board of the unions. Parallelism and rivalry have disappeared, and the question was solved without special frictions by the resolution of the First Russian Congress of Labour Unions, which took place in the beginning of January 1918.

The question of the mutual relations between the Labour Unions and the Soviets is much more difficult and complicated. What do the workers Soviets represent? They are the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat which realise the fundamental demands of the working class on a general state scale and in the order of compulsion. The Soviet, whose constituent is the factory, is the new form of state formation which is most suitable for the transition period from capitalism to communism.

But what does the development of the Soviets lead to? It leads to the fact that by degrees as the power of the working class becomes consolidated, and by degrees as the social revolution itself develops further, the Soviets as organs of the state power, undergo a transformation. The state function fall away, whereas their economic functions are increased engulfing all the other administrative-technical functions of the Soviet apparatus. If the Soviets represent the recognised form of the proletarian dictatorship what rôle do the Labour Unions play under the existence of the Soviets? After the Social revolution the Labour Unions have no capitalism before them.

From organs of struggle against capitalism they become organs of economic construction, but the economic construction itself and the totality of the functions which lie on the unions are intermingled with the economic functions which lie on the Soviets.

In a state where the power is in the hands of the working class, every labour organisation must, on the one hand, take upon itself the state functions and on the other hand the state functions cannot but take upon themselves the functions which lie on the Labour Unions.

In this way the very process of development of all the forms of the labour movement after the social revolution leads to a close intermingling of the existing labour organisations and to the fact that the Labour Unions penetrated with the Com-

munist spirit, become more and more intermingled and at a definite stage of this intermingling a single organ is created which realises both the direction of the production itself, and the organisation of labour.

This process of interjunction is a lasting one, it is a whole historical period. The very face of the intermingling and growing together of the Labour Unions with the corresponding economic organisations depends on the one hand on the development of the international revolution and the specific gravity of industry in the general economies of the country, and on the other hand this line of development of the labour organisations after the social revolution gives a practical indication of the rôle of the Labour Unions in a workers state and the key to the establishment of the normal mutual relations between the unions and the Soviets.

The Soviets carry out the general class interests of the proletariat in a state order, the unions carry out the same general class interests of the proletariat by their own methods, in the order of a revolutionary association of workers. The proletarian dictatorship and the very existence of the Soviets is impossible without powerful unions, penetrated with the Communist spirit.

The unions organise labour in the production and for the production. Considering the production from the point of view of the class-proprietor, from the point of view of the class to whom the production on the given territory belongs, the Labour Unions serve as a foundation of the proletarian dictatorship. The very development and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship places ever wider tasks before the unions, and the moment of the cession of the state functions from the Soviets leads to the concentration of all the economic and industrial functions in the hands of the Labour Unions.

Thus already in the transitional period the unions serve as the fundamental elements to which the apparatus of administration of the production and the apparatus of registration and distribution are entrusted in the newly developing society.

It follows therefrom that the close collaboration between the unions and the Soviets, a constant joint action, and a joint discussion and carrying out of different measures, the undertaking of the general state functions by the unions, etc. are the necessary premises for the victorious development of the revolution and the necessary condition of the proletarian dictatorship. This shows clearly what place the labour unions are occupying in the general system of the Soviet construction. The unions are not state organs; they are free associations of producers, but as the unions are the organs of the same producers who elect the Soviets, they unite the same working class for the special tasks which are not solved by the Soviets.

The unions supplement the Soviets and make the Soviet system itself more stable, because the workers are united not only as citizens of their country, realising their dictatorship over another class, but the union brings them together as producers, it makes of them a social unit which is creating definite industrial, socially necessary values.

This is why the unions are a support and an annex to the Soviets. This peculiar specific form of uniting the workers has its basis in the construction of the unions and Soviets.

The Soviets are formed by the working class on a horizontal line, by regions: from the factories to the districts, from the districts to the governments, from the governments to the whole of Russia.

Each Soviet is an assembly of the workers of all the industries. The Unions unite the workers not only on horizontal lines (district bureaux, government Soviets, and Russian Soviet of Labour Unions) but on vertical lines also, according to the industries (metal, textile, wood-workers, transport workers, etc.). This vertical uniting of the workers is called forth by the requirements of the production itself.

It is possible to direct and manage the general-state work through the regional and governmental organisations of the Soviets, but it is impossible to manage the production through the horizontal organisations alone; in this case vertical organisations according to the industries are necessary.

The very system of the public economic management and the requirements of its organisation lead to the peculiar organisational forms in which the unions take shape. If, before the revolution, the unions used to organise according to the industries in order to struggle against capitalism, which was organised in the same way; if each union, in proportion to the growth of the class-consciousness of the workers, embraced an ever greater number of categories of labour in order to set them against united capitalism, which was the chief reason of the formation of industrial unions—then after the proletarian revolution the creation of industrial unions and their consolidation was called forth by the requirements of the public economic management and the impossibility of regularly organising it without the Labour Unions. One question arises on this point, the answer to which may be obtained from the very first steps of the revolution. If the public economic management cannot be organised without the Labour Unions, then the best course of all might be that each union should undertake the organisation of one whole industry, in other words that the management of the corresponding branches of industry should be transferred to the corresponding unions.

This would solve the fundamental question of the forms and methods for the management of the production. Some people consider this to be the rôle of the unions in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they think that the unions will begin by this; together with the political party they will defeat capitalism and as soon as the proletarian dictatorship will be established, they will take upon themselves the management of the production.

This proposition is unacceptable in such an absolute form: first of all because an organisation of the production according to the unions would lead to its dispersion; true, for the coordination of production and its regulation there are inter-union organisations, like the Soviets of unions and gene-

ral national organisations, but nevertheless such a transfer of the management of production into separate unions would lead to a vertical cut-up of the whole production, to the development of a labour union egoism and to the competition of the separate productions among themselves.

In the first period of construction it is necessary that the regulation of the production should be a general class one, that the Soviets should do away with the frictions which are inevitably created between the different categories of labour, if the total management of the corresponding branches of public economy is transferred to them.

How is this to be effected? This will be attained by the creation during the transitional period of organs of management of the separate branches of industry in which both the Soviets and the unions will be represented; on the basis of a joint, constant, every day work of the Soviets and unions, a contact is formed between them.

The economic organs, together with the unions on the one hand, organise the production, and on the other hand they approach all the questions concerning the production, not from a narrow corporation or guild point of view, but from a general class point of view, considering not only the technique of administration, but the organisation of labour as well. In proportion to the development of the revolution itself, its embracing of new countries and the disappearance of the class of exploiters and the class of vicillating elements connected with it; the intermingling of the economic organs and the unions becomes ever stronger; and at a definite stage of the development, together with the dying of the Soviet as state organs, the economic organs become fused with the unions. The unions pass over to the concentration in their hands of the entire public economy as a single whole unit, as it is said in the programme of the Russian Communist Party. This is a lasting process and therefore there can be no thought of an immediate transfer of the entire management of the corresponding branches of industry to the unions. Public economy, especially socialist public economy, cannot be any other than a centralised economic management.

The plan of the entire public economic management, the conformity of its different parts, a careful registration of all the productive forces including the labour force, a scientific record of the requirements—all this presupposes a scientific apparatus, organised on a national and a world scale,

which is incompatible with the transfer of the management of production into the hands of separate unions. It must be further borne in mind that public economy is not the industry alone, it includes also agriculture which plays a tremendous rôle in the general economies of a country, especially in countries of an agrarian type, like Russia, Italy, etc. The transfer of the management of each branch of industry into the hands of the corresponding unions presupposes the transformation of separate industrial unions into sections of a general national association of Labour Unions, which again may only be the result of a lasting process of the organisation of the masses on the one hand, and the organisation of the administrative-technical and economic apparatus on the other.

Thus, in answer to the question, what rôle must the labour unions play during the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we can answer not only on the basis of purely theoretical inferences, but also on the basis of the Russian experience, that: 1. The Labour Unions are the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because they organise labour in the process of production and the production itself in its connection with labour. 2. The unions are the necessary annexes of the Soviets, which are realising through the unions and together with them the class tasks of the proletariat. 3. The Labour Unions are the most important weapons of the social revolution itself; together with and under the leadership of the Communist party they expropriate the expropriators and seize the means of production. 4. At the moment of the social revolution the Labour Unions and their local branches, the factory committees, are the only organisations whose duty it is to ensure the uninterrupted process of production and the subordination of the guild and corporation tendencies to the general class tasks of the proletariat. 5. Embracing wide circles of non-partist masses, the Labour Unions educate the working class as a whole for the practice of socialist construction, serving thus as a school of Communism.

From the above schematic description of the rôle of the Labour Unions in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat the following simple, but extremely practical, conclusion may and must be drawn: the conquest of the Labour Unions is a preliminary condition of the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Industrial Workers of the World.

By V. LOSSIEFF.

I. Organisation of the Union

The Labour movement in the United States of America in the beginning of the XX century presented a very depressing picture. The Socialist Party in U. S., never revolutionary, was at that time deeply impregnated with the opportunist and petty bourgeois spirit of the Second International. It was completely under the control of such yellow leaders as Hillquit, Berger, Lee, Spargo, Russell who had openly gone over to the camps of the enemies of the working class. The American Federation of Labour as well as other large Trade Unions not affiliated with it (The Brotherhood of Railway Workers, Amalgamated Garment Workers, etc.) presented a similar spiritual bankruptcy and were not capable of any revolutionary action.

The A. F. of L. is built on purely craft bases, and the Trade Unions, though united by the centre, always quarrelled among themselves. During strikes they acted as strikebreakers towards the members of other unions of the A. F. of L. They cultivated a racial, national and craft hatred among the members and developed an aristocracy of labour, absolutely ignoring the unqualified and migratory workers, who form the largest percentage of workers in America. In view of a better competition with those outside the Unions they established all sorts of examinations, rituals, high initiation fees, and closed the door of admission to women, foreigners (until recently) and also to the coloured races. All the activity of the Unions was limited to mild struggles for immediate rise of wages and shortage of working hours for their own members only. The sole purpose of the entire Labour movement according to their point of view—was the achievement of a „fair day's pay for a fair day's work“. At the same time the A. F. of L. (and other trade unions) together with some organisations of capitalists, especially the so-called Civic Federation, waged a strong campaign for the recognition by the workers of the identity of the interest of the employers with those of the employees. „There is no such thing as class division, at least in the United States“—leaders have said and are saying.—„We are all working for the good of our society, of our country, some in the capacity of qualified and unqualified workmen, others as foremen, managers, captains of industry. We are bound with one common interest—improvement and betterment of life in our society“.

Following this principle the A. F. of L. was always most unfavourable to strikes, demonstrations and to the struggle in general, considering that all the difficult questions could be solved peacefully with the employers over a cup of tea. One of the favourite methods in the activities of the A. F. of L. is the making of contracts between the

employers and the employees. The agreements are drawn up by a trade union independently of other unions, and often even without the knowledge of the interested members themselves, which of course bound them hand and foot. Little wonder that under such conditions 1/10 of the strikes in U. S. were lost and the U. S. became justly known as „the country of lost strikes“.

A bright exception to this was the independent Western Federation of Miners, struggling against the A. F. of L. It was under the influence of the socialists William D. Haywood, Little, Moyer, who have now passed over to the camp of the conservatives and the syndicalist Vincent St. John. Further, must be mentioned the American Labour Union, independent of the A. F. of L., small in number but of a strong fighting quality, guided by a Catholic priest J. J. Haggerty who was the editor of the official organ „The Voice of Labour“; the American Socialist and Labour Alliance, organised in 1895 by the „father of American Socialism“ comrade Daniel de Leon, and also the United Brewery Workers Union. The latter though affiliated with the A. F. of L., was considered a strongly Socialist Union, which under the influence of Trautman, editor of the official organ of the Union, „The Brewer's Messenger“, cured its own union of all the defects common to craft unions in general, and proposed to sever its affiliation with the A. F. of L.

The main part in revolutionising the trade union movement in America was played by the Western Federation of Miners. During ten years this organisation, instinctively aiming at the immediate overthrow of capitalism, without definite plans for the future, carried on civil war in a number of Western States of America (Colorado, California, Utah, Nevada, Idaho). This war which the yellow capitalist press recalls even now with horror and fear, induced the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to realise the necessity of creating a single organisation of miners on an industrial basis and attracting into the army of the organised proletariat the unskilled workers, foreigners, the coloured races, women and children.

In the end of 1901 in Chicago six active leaders of the labour movement met together in a private conference to exchange ideas on the labour situation in America. But this conference did not work out any new plans for the movement and in January another larger conference of unions and Socialists was called. Among the Socialists taking an active part in the organisation of the I. W. W. are to be noted: from the Socialist party (though not representing it) Debs, who was also present at the first conference, and the leader of the Socialist Labour Party Daniel de Leon representing at the Second convention the American Labour Union. Two prominent, but at that time yellow Socialists,

M. Hays and V. Berger refused to participate in the conference. The second convention issued an appeal to the American workers and called an All-American Congress of their adherents: i. e. the Unions of the American Federation of Labour and the Independent Unions based on opposition to the A. F. of L. This appeal issued in different languages called the workers to shake off at last the worn-out and rotten system of constructing a fighting organisation on craft bases. This system only creates an eternal struggle for mild insignificant improvements in the condition of the working masses.

„It is hopeless to establish an industrial democracy in which there will be no wage slavery and where the workers will in common possess the means of production...

„The world wide economic slavery from which the working class is suffering can be abolished only by a world wide labour movement...

„The movement which could perform this task must comprise one big industrial union, which includes all the industries...

„It must be founded on class struggle and its general attitude should be in accordance with the recognition of the inevitably growing clash between the capitalist and the working classes.

„The union must be founded on an economic organisation of the working class without any relation to the existing political parties...”

2. Preamble of the Union.

The convention took place in 1905. About 200 delegates represented 84 organisations with a general membership of about 100,000. There were many different organisations. At the convention were represented the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the anarchists, and also what was left of the Knights of Labour, once a revolutionary organisation, half legal, half illegal, half Socialist, half anarchist, which began to die out after the Chicago tragedy in 1886 and which finally expired in the beginning of the XX century. Here were also represented some conservative trade unions: the American Labour Union, the American Trade and Socialist Alliance and the Western Federation of Miners, the latter giving the leading tone at the convention. To unite all these different shades of opinion was a hard task. „An unconscious gravitation to unity was prevalent at the convention, the delegates trying to avoid all sharp angles” wrote one of the historians of the I. W. W. (Harold Lord Varney, „History of the I. W. W.” One Big Union Monthly). However, only after twelve days of incessant work, after long and heated debates was a preamble worked out and the union founded. The preamble, the authors of which were the leaders of different movements, took the character of compromise. Later on it led to a conflict within the Union, which ended in a split. The preamble of 1905 among other things, says the following:

„The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.

„There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who form the employing class have all the good things of life.

„Between these classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take hold of that which they produce by their labour through an economic organisation of the working class, without affiliation with any political party...

„The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another in the same industry, thereby helping them to defeat one another in wage wars...

„...The interests of the working class (can be) upheld by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof...”

So the convention formed a union, the founders of which thought that the union, as well as its preamble, was of a revolutionary character. In fact, compared with the conditions of the labour movement of that time, the preamble of the new union appeared to be really an expressly revolutionary act. The union itself from the very first days of its existence took up a definitely revolutionary position. But upon a closer study of the above mentioned preamble we will not find there anything definite or concrete. The only paragraph of the preamble from the point of view of the revolutionary experiences of our days, that really can claim to be revolutionary, is the third paragraph which says that the class struggle „must continue until the workers of the world organise and take possession of all that is produced by their hands”. But this paragraph was so flexibly worded that representatives of different movements within the organisation could claim the organisation as „their own.”

In the statement that the workers must unite not only on industrial but also on „political” field, the socialists and adherents of political action saw a big victory of their ideas. At the same time the sympathisers of direct action and anti-parliamentarism around whom were grouped anarchists and anarchist-syndicalists and all who were under the influence of one of the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners—Vincent St. John, a man of unusual wide experience in the labour movement, agreed also in view of this third paragraph, that the I. W. W. is a union of direct action and therefore of a revolutionary character.

Around the third paragraph of the preamble a struggle was waged between the sympathisers of De Leon and St. John. This struggle paralysed during the first few years the organisation work and made it impossible to keep up the warfare against capitalism. At each of the following conventions this question was brought forward and in 1908 at the fourth convention it caused a split. The industrialists won; all the affairs of the union passed into their hands and the preamble of the union was modified. The contested third paragraph was formulated as follows:

„Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world, organised as a class, take possession of the earth, and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system”

Besides this the following paragraph was added at the end of the preamble:

„The army of production must be organised not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

„By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old“.

Such is in general the preamble of the I. W. W. as it stands now.

The critics of the union insist mainly that the preamble does not outline the necessity of the political struggle. In answer to this the above mentioned comrade St. John says:

„To those who think that the workers must unite in political parties, we say: unite but do not use an economic organisation for the purpose of achieving the aims of a political party...“

To this last slogan the I. W. W. still adhere. Every member of the I. W. W. can be a member of any political party. But the leaders or representatives cannot hold office or be representatives of political parties. At the same time the organisation, as such, never resorted to political action.

While on the subject of the preamble of the I. W. W., we shall emphasize once more the part where it says: „The army of production must be organised not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old“.

This paragraph of the preamble provoked discussion in the circles of the I. W. W. after the October Revolution in Russia. Until 1917 the I. W. W. did not pay much attention to this side of their theory. Although the union and individual leaders always challenged the immediate overthrow of capitalism yet to the definite question: „How to perform a social revolution? What will be after the overthrow of the capitalist state?“, there followed no definite answer. After the October Revolution in Russia the leaders of the union began to think over this question and there were started three movements.

One of them denied the necessity of forming „structures“. First, because the present moment was full of unexpected possibilities, secondly because the help to the „Russian proletariat was to be expressed in action“, that is to say, a revolution was to be begun at home immediately, and thirdly, because it would be impossible to foresee what form a revolution in the U. S. would take even if it would break out in the nearest future.

The second extreme movement whose exponent was the Secretary of the Union of Metal Workers, Harold Lord Varney, pointed out:

„The revolution of which the I. W. W. speaks is not a suddenly begun bloody slaughter... It is on the contrary a logical healthy and scientific act carried out by society“.

„The revolution for the I. W. W. is nothing but an act of organisation... a moment must come when the developing industrial organism will prove to be more powerful than the exist-

ing regime. When this moment will arrive the I. W. W. will wipe capitalism off the face of the earth.“

„When the proletariat will overthrow the capitalist system, the I. W. W. will be a completely prepared organised government of the new regime. There will be no necessity to convene a Constituent Assembly, there will be no need to create soviets... because the very same organisation of the I. W. W. which will lead the revolution to the end will remain itself as the backbone of the new communist regime... The Executive Committee will be the highest executive organ of the nation which will take in hand the management of the political and industrial functions of the future society“ („Industrial Communism and the I. W. W.“—Harold Lord Varney. The „Trudovaia Mysl“ № 4, page 30—31).

Finally, the third movement, one of compromise says:

„The development of the labour movement and the communist revolution is going on with such speed, the end is so near that no matter with what energy, perseverance and insistence the delegates and members of the I. W. W. would organise the workers they will not keep pace with the course of events that bring us nearer to the collapse of the capitalist system.“

„It seem incredible that capitalism will submit its strongholds without a fight even if the proletariat be completely organised. To dream of this in view of the raging reaction, to hope for this—shows but little sense“ („Something about the preamble of the I. W. W.“ by V. Lossieff. The „Trudovaia Mysl“ № 7, page 10).

An overwhelming majority of the members took the path of compromise.

3. Structure and Tactics of the Union.

The leaders of the I. W. W. regard their organisation as the outcome of a „marriage union between socialist theory and economic practice“. The union was founded at the Convention of 1905 where two friendly revolutionary organisations met, aiming at one common object. One of these organisations was formed by the theorists of Communists, and Socialists, with an unfavourable attitude towards politics who tried to create industrial unions. At the convention they proposed a theory of the union worked out by them on general lines and based on the Marxist doctrine. At the convention they met with another kindred element,—with a wide experience of the economic movement^{*)}. A result of this meeting was the formation of the union, of the Industrial Workers of the World, (I. W. W.). What is the construction of this union?

^{*)} Harold Lord Varney, The History of the I. W. W. (I am quoting the Russian translation of the „Trudovaia Mysl“ № 4, page 29).

The structure of this union was worked out by the most prominent leader in the labour movement of America, comrade Trautman, of the Brewers' Union. Analysing the contemporary development of the industry and its actual situation and taking into consideration that "the new social construction is growing out of capitalism, taking as a model the respective economic structure of modern society" he comes to the conclusion that the best economic organisation is one that is built on the same principles as contemporary industry. Owing to the sympathisers of Trautman the following industrial form of organisation was introduced:-

The Union is divided into six departments: 1. Agricultural; 2. Mining; 3. Transport and ways of communication; 4. Factory and general production; 5. Building; 6. Public service. In its turn each department is divided into sub-sections*).

The I. W. W. think highly of their organisation scheme and justly point out that it is aiming to unite all honest and useful workers occupied with manual and mental labour.

They consider that only such form of organisation can help the development and strengthen the organisation of the working classes, relieve the struggle at the present moment within the capitalist system and give the possibility to create the structure of the future society now.

From the fact that the I. W. W. is in favour of a strong movement for forming the "structure of a future society within the shell of the old"—the reader should not draw the conclusion that the I. W. W. forgets that the chief aim of the working class is the overthrow of capitalism. On the contrary, all their daily struggle is going on under this slogan, all their press is penetrated with this spirit.

With capitalism the I. W. W. make no compromises, as is proved by comrade Vincent St. John in his pamphlet: "Construction, Tactics and Methods of the I. W. W.". "They demand only one thing: the complete transfer of the whole machinery of production into the hands of organised workers". That is why the I. W. W. is not very particular in its tactics. "Being a revolutionary organisation, we are eager to apply any tactics and methods of struggle, that can give desirable results with the least expenditure of energy and time. The questions of "right" and "wrong" concern us but little." In their struggle they are resorting to everything: strikes,

* It is necessary to bear in mind that the I. W. W. is not the only industrial union of North America. There are many other industrial unions, of which we will mention the most important ones: the United Shoe Workers of America, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Carpenters, Foodstuff Workers Federation of New York, One Big Union of Canada, United Association of Railway Employees, Amalgamated Textile Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers, etc.

But the fact that these unions are constituted on industrial lines does not infer that they are revolutionary. Many of them (almost all) have come to the industrial form of the union only with a view of carrying on a more successful every day struggle for their members on. At the same time they do not believe in the necessity of abolishing capitalism and are not aiming at it. Besides all the above mentioned unions are not bound to each other, they lead an independent life, concerning themselves only with their own branch of industry.

Whereas the I. W. W. include the workers of all branches of industry, and all their branches are constantly in contact with one another and always ready to support and help each other.

demonstrations, sabotage, inciting insurrections, leading sometimes to civil war (in San Diego, Everett, Centralia), filling up the prisons in the small towns, thus provoking the discontent of the citizens who are compelled to support the prisoners, and transforming legal trials into revolutionary tribunals, etc.

While fighting mainly against the employers, large American trusts and associations, the I. W. W. in the course of the struggle inevitably clash with the state, which always of course sides with the employers. In such cases the I. W. W. do not refuse to fight with the government though they try hard to avoid this, regarding the government as a tool of the capitalist class, which will fall together with the economic downfall of the bosses.

But as it often happens with the I. W. W. their practice disagrees with their theory and at least in the past they have frequently opposed the government and the state.

4. Attitude of the I. W. W. to Socialist and Communist Parties.

The incredible persecutions to which the I. W. W. was constantly subjected from the first day of its existence, the heroic effort for the privilege of meetings, for their press, for freedom of speech and for the very life of the organisation developed in the members of the I. W. W. a deep devotion, reaching at times to a blind patriotism.

In any branch of the Union one may meet with comrades who have grown old and hardened in the struggle, who without hesitation are ready to sacrifice their life for their union, but who at the same time will not give up a single letter of the preamble and its fundamental principles even if such compromises were dictated by the interests of the revolutionary movement and struggle. Such a suspicious attitude towards any proposition made by outsiders, whether friends, or revolutionists of other countries, is difficult to meet in any other organisation. From the very beginning the I. W. W. had to fight for their life on two fronts: the bourgeois world on the one side, and the conservatism in the labour movement (the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Parties) on the other.

Both the American Socialist parties (the Socialist and the Socialist Labour Party), as such, did not take part in the creation of the I. W. W. but tried from the day of its birth to get hold of it. The I. W. W. regarded this as an attempt "to submit the economic movement to the political one and thus to transform the economic organisation into an appendix of the political party". The struggle continued as we have shown for four years during which time all sorts and methods of fight were employed. From the beginning of the split in 1908 the I. W. W. found themselves isolated from the political parties of the working class and the political movement of the proletariat. They did not help them in any way, nor did they expect or accept any help or support from them. Though there were no open or sharp collisions with the Socialist parties, yet the mutual animosity was kept up by individual leaders from time to time appearing in the press or on the platform. As a result of this the I. W. W.

members fostered a remarkable distrust of the „politicians“ of both parties.

Besides this the very membership of the union, mainly foreigners and migratory workers enjoying no political rights, not only did not emphasize the necessity of a political struggle, within one or the other of the Socialist parties, but on the contrary insisted that such a struggle was not needed for the members of the I. W. W. Hence the inference was drawn that the political fight of the working class is not a necessity and the results acquired by it can be easily, and just as successfully, attained by means of economic struggle. It is to be noted that the organisation which had very poor theoretic forces and which drew all its conclusions from a very limited circle of economic experiences never faced the question of seizure of the power, of a transition period, or the period of the fight for the foundation of a new state against the elements of an old society not yet conquered.

That is why it is hard to say what the attitude of the I. W. W. to the dictatorship of the proletariat will be in the future. Undoubtedly only this one thing—a heave to the left in the direction of a revaluation of values is in process, and we may say that the union will recognise the necessity of cooperation with the Communist elements, under the red banner of the Communist International.

Meanwhile we must state, that all the distrust that the I. W. W. felt towards the Socialist parties, is transmitted to the Communist parties of America. The union regards them only as politicians, probably more revolutionary, but politicians, i. e. people, interested only in the conquest and retaining of power. Frictions and differences, existing in the Communist Parties of America, their lack of desire or ability to unite, also the haughty attitude of some elements of the American Communist movement towards the I. W. W.—all this not only makes it impossible for them to work together, but encourages them to pass resolutions against joint activity with them.

The conditions recently proposed by the Communists for affiliation with the I. W. W. again awaken in the latter a fear for the unity and independence of their union and the old suspicion that „the political movement wants to submit the economic one to its influence“. In other words the old struggle is beginning in the I. W. W. which had already brought about a split in the organisation—but which at present is of more significance because it is proceeding not only on the grounds of the American movement, but on those of the world revolution.

5. The I. W. W. and the Communist International.

The question of affiliation with the Communist International provoked lively and heated debates. A series of reports was made, articles appeared in the press. Under the influence of old ideas, the Communist International appeared to many of the members of the I. W. W. as an organisation that is striving to submit the I. W. W. to its decisions and activities. In spite however of this negative attitude to the question of affiliation with Moscow

a tendency could be noted in the circles of I. W. W. to confirm their actions with those of the adherents of other movements. In this case the imprisoned comrades who represent all the best forces of the union played a most helpful part. A great service was rendered by comrade John Reed, who, at that time, had just returned from Russia. Though not a member of the I. W. W. he was considered to be a good friend of the organisation. Finally the splits which took place in the Socialist movement and the Communist elements which, separated from the Socialist party, did not remain without a positive influence. In capable hands the amalgamation might have been possible already in 1919. But the desire to maintain the unity of the organisation, the wish to relieve by amnesty or by bail the imprisoned comrades and to remain a legal organisation,—served as an impediment. It is probable, that it would have been possible in this case by retaining both organisations the economic one (the I. W. W.), and the political one (the Communists) to work jointly. But this did not happen, and the convention of the I. W. W. in 1919 instructed its Executive Committee to enter immediately into relations with the Communist International, as well as to enter into relations with the international revolutionary labour movement in general.

After this convention owing to the negligence of the Executive of the I. W. W. and its Secretary, the old, very much overburdened with work, comrade Whitehead, the question of international relations lapsed. Soon afterwards, this peaceful epoch was disturbed by agitations against affiliation with the Third International. The leader of this agitation was John Sandgren editor of the *One Big Union Monthly*.*)

At that time the Executive Committee of the Communist International published its famous 21 conditions of affiliation. The Executive Committee of the I. W. W. decided that „in view of the great importance of the question it could not take upon itself the responsibility for such or other decision without having previously learned the wishes of the whole organisation.“ Thus, the question was put to a referendum while in the press an agitation was again raised for and against affiliation.

In one of the best articles of the sympathisers of the affiliation: „Where are we going? Moscow or Amstredam?“ (*One Big Union Monthly*, No. 10, Vol. II, page 25), comrade Geo Andreytchine justly points out that chauvinism is penetrating into the union and that the members of the union forget that „nothing in the world is perfect, that the organisation must be supple and adapt itself easily to the changeable conditions.“

He concludes with an appeal to the members of the union:

„The I. W. W. has nothing else to do but to

*) With due respect to Sandgren I must say that until quite recently he has not said anything against the Workers and Peasants Power. From time to time he has attacked in the press such or other measures of the proletarian government and the Russian Communist Party. But lately he has transferred his attack to the Soviet power, and to the honour of the I. W. W. he it said, the Executive Committee deprived Sandgren of the editorship and even suspended the paper. According to the *Workers' Dreadnought* it has been replaced by the „Industrial Pioneer“ under a new Editor.

follow the example of the friendly organisations in Europe, which have already joined the Third International."

The opponents of the affiliation keep to the old views and believe in and resort to the resolution about political parties, passed by the I. W. W. in the beginning of its existence—as an argument against it.

At the referendum the following was proposed:

1. Recognition of the Third International.
2. Non-recognition of the Communist International but affiliation with the Red International of Labour unions.

3. Recognition of the Third International with the following amendment: "We shall not take part in any parliamentary struggle and we reserve to ourselves the right to develop our own tactics depending on the existing conditions."

One need not be a prophet to foretell that the second point of the referendum will be accepted by the members of the union, namely: that they will refuse to join the Communist International and will become a part of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions, taking an active part in their affairs and struggle, and obeying all the decisions of the Congresses of the latter.

To the Workers of Great Britain.

Comrades!

The forthcoming Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions is presenting a favourable occasion for attentively examining with you the nature and rôle of the organisation which we have named the Amsterdam Yellow International to the great wrath of those who are inspiring and directing it. But one need only remember how this organisation arose, what it has done and what it will be able to do yet in order to confirm the correctness of the name we have given it. This so-called labour International is at present the most solid support of international capitalism.

The extremely rapid development of the Third International has aroused the anxiety of the bourgeois of all countries. When its foundations were laid eighteen months ago the servile pens of the yellow press and the reformist and centrist leaders met it with a pretended contempt and mockery. It is not even an International, they asserted, it is, without counting the Russians, only a small group of persons whom no one has empowered to do anything.

But this rallery and contempt did not continue for long. Already a year after the foundation of the Third International the gravitation towards it, on the part of the workers, was so strong that it became necessary to lock the doors to avoid the advent of undesirable elements. The German Independent Socialist Party which had formed a very imposing block uniting all those who desired to remain between the Third and Second Internationals has recently suffered a defeat at the Congress in Halle. The proletarian masses of Europe and America are on the side of Soviet Russia, body and soul and they wish that from now on she should become the centre of the international labour movement.

This vitiginous growth of the Communist International, the powerful development of its ideas and methods of action have shown clearly to the capitalists both of the defeated and the victorious countries, that a great danger is threatening them all. Meanwhile, the Second International, which had rendered them such invaluable services during the war, is unable to help them! The International of Scheidemann, Thomas Vandervelde, Branting, Renner and Henderson has finally sunk into the abyss of shame and disgrace. It has ceased to be a force and if it still preserves a semblance of life, this is only owing to the fact that the British Labour Party is still remaining among the fragments of the different parties which are constituting it. The capitalists have had to seek for help in other places and after some search they found it in the camp of the leaders of the Trade Union movement.

On the eve of the war, enquiring upon the greatest world conflict, they experienced an urgent need of attracting the leaders of labour organisations to their politics. They wished to insure themselves against the revolution, as the whole course of modern history showed them as clearly as an axiom, that each war is followed by a revolution: the Franco-Prussian war resulted in the Commune, after the Russian-Japanese war the revolution of 1905 had broken out; the latter greatly shattered the buttresses of tsarism and even at one time threatened its very life. They therefore gave posts

of Ministers to the leaders of the labour organisations and these tactics proved perfectly successful in all countries, even in France where the General Confederation of Labour was a revolutionary organisation. When the war was ended, it only remained to them to continue this successful policy. And in this way, first in Washington, then in Amsterdam, the Legiens, Jouhaux, Appletons, Gompers, the "allies" and the "enemies" began to assemble. During the war each of them defended his own bourgeoisie, providing it with the requisite gunfodder and obedient labour hands. After the war they came together again uniting for the defence of the bourgeoisie of all countries against its common foe: Bolshevism. After playing the necessary preliminary comedy these ardent patriots became reconciled. But they still wished to square Versailles and Amsterdam and according to the proposition of the "allies" Gompers and Jouhaux, Legien, a German was replaced by the Englishman Appleton as Chairman.

Is he not a suitable president for a public, this chairman Appleton, who is asserting that he represents the labour movement in the Amsterdam International? A dire jingoist during the war, he did not cease to protest against all the large strikes breaking out in England, proclaiming them to be a crime against the people. He incited public opinion against the English miners who were struggling systematically and insistently against capitalist exploitation, and he did this in the same spirit as the most Conservative papers, as for instance, "The Morning Post." He was invariably yellow in all his actions and he seemed verily destined by fate to play the rôle of representative of the renegades and traitors of the working class in the International. But in the same way as he has no qualifications for acting as representative of the British workers, as has been pointed out by him recently, neither has the Amsterdam International any claim to the rôle of defender of the interests of the working class of the world. For this very reason we have desired to create a bona fide International of Trade Unions in order to set it against the Amsterdam one.

As soon as we proclaimed our intention we understood that we had touched the sorest point of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist press immediately raised a hue and cry with touching unanimity regarding the new incredible pretensions of the "Moscow high priests." It asserted with satisfaction that the Trade Unions were opposing this intention much stronger than the political parties. It mourned the fate of the Appletons, Jouhaux, Gompers and Legiens, whom the first appeals of the International of Red Trade Unions had treated with disrespect. Naturally the above mentioned gentlemen did not fail to announce that the International of Trade Unions was exciting only on paper; but they and their followers had done the same at the time of the formation of the Communist International. At the same time they comprehended the necessity for them to make an attempt to justify themselves in the eyes of the workers. They drew up a declaration in which they enumerated their great deeds: the relief of the Austrian children and the boycott of Hungary.

They had sent relief to the Austrian children. When after the ending of the imperialist slaughter, in which all

these gentlemen had taken part, travellers began to describe the disastrous condition of German Austria of that time and the sufferings of the small children in Vienna, the victors felt confused and ashamed. Special Committees of Relief were formed and the International of Trade Unions invited, although a little late in the day, its partisans to sign a subscription for a struggle against the disaster. But all this was only a work of charity and benevolence, which the different bourgeois societies, for instance, the Quakers, had been carrying on much better than the International, whose help was most insignificant. The International must pursue other aims. But the miserable conditions in Austria, like those of the other countries, were the result of the imperialist war in which the leaders of the Amsterdam International had taken an active part and these miserable conditions are now aggravated by the hideous treaty of Versailles which had also been prepared and approved by all these Jouhaux and Gompers, who had been members of the peace conference. And if tomorrow the workers of Austria and Germany will arise to overthrow the regime which had been compelling them to kill each other and is now unable to give them food, then the armies of the Entente and its paid menials will help in the "establishment of order," while the Amsterdam so-called International will not move a finger to prevent this new crime of the bourgeoisie, just like it had done nothing to prevent the destruction of Soviet Hungary. But it would be quite pleased if its belated boycott of Hungary would be recognised as a merit, although such boycott was proclaimed a whole year after the re-establishment of the autocracy of the bourgeoisie which had had time for ample revenge, and although the boycott had been carried out partially without bringing any serious results, as has now been established.

However this moment had been elected by the imperialists for negotiations with Horthy in order to show that they did not consider the weak attempts of the Amsterdam International in this direction as serious.

The leaders of the Amsterdam International are attempting finally to prove that their organisation is completely independent of the International Labour Bureau attached to the League of Nations, which certainly strongly compromises it. But this is an unrealisable task, because we find the same persons in Geneva, in the International Bureau, in the League of Nations and in Amsterdam. The only difference lies therein that in Geneva the representatives of the labour organisations are not alone. They are working with the representatives of the employers and the governments. And the Vice Chairman of the Amsterdam International Martens, a Belgian, spoke the following words of praise in favour of the Geneva Bureau: "At the moment when the International Labour Bureau formed in accordance with article XIII of the peace treaty, is starting its operations in Geneva, we consider it necessary to express the sympathies which we are feeling for it and the hopes which we are laying on it. It is a labour organisation in which the workers have complete confidence."

The Amsterdam International and the League of Nations are pursuing the same object: to strengthen and preserve the capitalist system, whose solidity has been shattered by the imperialist war. The bourgeois states, threatened with bankruptcy and therefore unable to lavish money, are giving up one third of the budget of the League of Nations, seven millions in gold out of twenty, to the International Labour Bureau; they know very well that it is a good investment for their money, by the help of which they will deceive the workers, mislead them, carry discord into their ranks and entice them away from the good and right path.

However, in spite of the assertion of the Vice Chairman of the Amsterdam International the workers are not feeling any confidence in the International Labour Bureau, created and maintained by the imperialist bourgeoisie. They recognise in the persons pretending to represent their interests the same leaders of the workers who had betrayed them during the war and bound their fate with that of the bourgeoisie. Every day they are seeing clearer the lessons which they must remember after the imperialist war. They understand that if capitalism wishes to succeed in escaping unharmed out of the crisis which it has itself created, this will be possible only if the exploitation of the workers will continue and increase, and if the possibility of a new slaughter in a more or less remote future will not disappear, a slaughter which will be more terrible

than the one that has just thrown the world into mourning and turned it into ruins.

But the bourgeoisie itself, struggling with the ever growing difficulties which it is unable to overcome, is opening the eyes of the workers by its cruelty and violence.

No, neither Geneva, nor Amsterdam will save the workers. Instinct and commonsense are drawing them to Moscow, to Soviet Russia. They wish to fight and conquer together with the Russian workers and peasants. Certainly the struggle is a hard and difficult one because the bourgeoisie, feeling the mortal danger which is threatening it, is defending itself, but even the smallest of strikes often demands sacrifices and only the traitors of socialism and syndicalism can attempt to assure the workers that they will march along an even and smooth road towards liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

The international of Red Trade Unions will develop as rapidly as the Communist International. Besides the Russian Trade Unions it includes all the labour organisations which, having understood the real tendency and thoughts of the leaders of the Amsterdam Federation, have decisively refused to join it; such are: the Industrial Workers of the World of America and Australia, the Union of Italian Syndicates, the Spanish National Confederation of Labour, the Trade Unions of Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia, the German Trade Unions, the Union of Norwegian Trade Unions, the Federation of Transport Workers of Holland and the Dutch Indies, the Syndicalist Federation of the Republic of Argentina and lastly the Shop Stewards Committees of Great Britain. At the present moment the Red International has to start its work in France, in Germany and in England, where the Trade Unions are adhering to the Amsterdam Federation, but where a considerable part of the labour organisations is rejoiced to see the formation of a bona fide International of Trade Unions and is ready to join it.

This has been carried out recently in France after the Congress in Orleans, at which were represented over 600 labour organisations, that is to say, one third of the total number of the members of the General Confederation of Labour, which had voted in favour of the affiliation to the Red International.

The creation of such an International was planned a few months ago during the sojourn in Moscow of the workers delegations from England and Italy. Comrades A. Purcell, a member of the parliamentary faction of the united Trade Unions, and Robert Williams, secretary of the Federation of Transport Workers, took part in the conferences which were held at the time. Together with the Italian and Russian delegates they recognised that the Federation was incapable of carrying on the requisite struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they decided that it is necessary to convene a new authoritative and numerous conference of workers for the organisation of a bona fide International of Trade Unions, which would in no wise be bound either with the capitalist League of Nations nor with the so-called leaders of the labour movement who during the war had proved themselves to be jingoists and social patriots and who are continuing to carry on the same policy at the present time.

This conference will take place May 1st, 1921 in Moscow. We are hoping that the labour organisations of Great Britain, understanding the necessity of a bona fide labour and international union will answer our call and send numerous delegates to the conference.

Only then will the International of Trade Unions be finally established and the workers of all countries have at their disposition a powerful and single centre of action which will help and direct them in their struggle, enable them to resist the international bourgeoisie, to attack it victoriously and to construct a new world on the ruins, which the capitalist system will have left as its only legacy.

Down with the capitalist League of Nations and its followers!

Long live the Red International of Trade Unions!

**Executive Committee of the
Communist International.**

**Provisional Council of the International
of Trade Unions.**

Report of the Condition and Work in Britain of the Shop Stewards Movement.

At the end of 1920 there was very little activity going on in the Shop Stewards' Movement. Apart from one or two active groups in the provinces in such districts as Coventry, Sheffield and Hull and the groups associated with "Solidarity" in London and the "Worker" in Glasgow, there was little evidence of any movement in the Engineering industry.

The Scottish Workers' Committee reported they were beginning new developments in the Clyde factories but they were of very little importance.

The previous meeting of the National Administrative Council of the Shop Stewards had been in September, but apart from a discussion of what they wanted to do in the way of appointing organisers, the Meeting accomplished nothing. A meeting in Sheffield on December 9th. discussed with the Council what could best be done to revivify the movement in the Engineering industry and coordinate the activities of the revolutionary Committees in the Mining and Transport industries. At this meeting it was then agreed that delegates should be invited from the Miners Reform Committees and the Vigilance Committees in the Transport industry to confer with the N. A. C. with a view to linking up all these Committees and drafting a common programme of action.

It was also decided to discuss with the Scottish Committee the question of centralising the whole of the activities of the industrial movement in the National Administrative Council. For some time the Scottish and English movement had drifted apart and this decision was taken in order to counteract this tendency.

A Committee was appointed to make an Agenda for the Conference. This Committee was of the opinion that the movement was very indefinite in its aims and objects and that this Conference should be the first step towards the definite shaping of a policy for the extra-Union organisations in Britain. It therefore proposed that this Conference of January 27th. should be the initial Conference preceding a general National Conference of all Revolutionary Industrial Committees whether working only in the Unions or in the Factories in the form of Shop Stewards' Committees, etc.

At the Preliminary Conference of January 27th. there were in attendance the National Administrative Council, of Shop Stewards, delegates of the Scottish Workers' Committee, South Wales Miners' Reform Committees, Yorkshire Miners' Reform Committees, Durham and Northumberland Miners' Reform Committees, Fifeshire Miners' Reform Committees, the Dockers' Vigilance Committees of Liverpool and Glasgow.

This Conference decided to place before the Conference of March 31st. the following items besides the discussion of general organisational problems:

1. A survey of the industrial movement with special reference to the present situation and the problems before the Unions.
2. A thesis on Unionism and the Revolution.
3. The rôle of the Unions in the Exercise of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
4. The relationship with the Red International.
5. Unemployment.
6. State ownership and Control of Industry.

Some members urged the necessity of dealing with the practical application of our Communist principles to these problems rather than to place before the Conference abstract theories which would leave the movement where we found it.

This Conference also dealt with their relationship to the Party, and readopted the resolution which had been passed at the N. A. C. Meeting on Dec. 28th. 1920, which reads as follows:—

"This Conference of Revolutionary Industrial Committees recognised the necessity for acting in close contact with the Communist Party and for assisting in the furtherance of the interests of the revolutionary movement as a whole. It will lay stress on the necessity for its active members joining the Communist Party and, reciprocally, will expect all industrial workers, who are members of the Communist Party, to actively participate in the work of the Shop Stewards' movement. The

Shop Stewards and Workers Committees and the Communist Party should devise some convenient arrangement to ensure perfect harmony in the activities of the two organisations. The members of the organisation who are members of the Communist Party will naturally come under the discipline of the Communist Party as members of that organisation and the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees will come under the discipline of the Red International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. The above position will remain good until the International Congress will take place. Questions of relationship may then require modifications in accordance with the decisions arrived at by the Congress."

The Conference accordingly elected a sub-Committee to meet the new Executive Committee of the Communist Party after the Unity Conference, to discuss how best the Party and the organisation could work together. It also elected delegates to attend the Unity Conference of the Communists on January 30th.

With regard to the controversy between the Scottish and English Committees the following decisions were arrived at:—

1. The Scottish Workers' Committee should immediately appoint 3 delegates to the N. A. C. until the National Conference.
2. That the N. A. C. to be elected at the National Conference shall consist of 3 delegates from each of the following areas: 1. Scotland, 2. North of England, 3. Wales, 4. South of England.
3. The Scottish Committee for the time being shall have the right to appoint the Editor of the "Worker" and control its policy.
4. Comrades Messer and Campbell to function as national officials, the former as Organising Secretary, and the latter as Organiser.

A report was read from the newly formed Engineering Union in Ireland. This Union had been formed partly as a result of the intense nationalism which prevails in Ireland at the present moment and partly, as a consequence of great dissatisfaction with the leadership of the English Unions. The membership of this Organisation is about 5,000, being four fifths of its possible membership South of Belfast. They ask for a recognition of their card in Britain and are eager to be in touch with the Shop Stewards movement. There is a goodly element of revolutionaries in this organisation and its development will be of importance. At the same time, in view of the inadequate information we have received concerning its relationship to the Irish Transport Workers' Union and their attitude towards unionism in general, it was decided to send fraternal greetings to the organisation asking them to send delegates to the Conference of March 31st. The correspondence read at the conference show that activity has begun again for the development of the Committees in Wales, Bradford, Swindon, Rochdale, Plymouth, London, Liverpool, Coventry and Hull.

The Conference decided to utilise every means at their disposal to assist the British Bureau of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions and that resolutions demanding the affiliation of the Union to the Communist International should be pushed at every Conference and in every Union branch. Already the Northumberland and Durham miners have been instrumental in convening a Conference in Newcastle, at which representatives from 62 Unions represented by 400 delegates were present. This Conference passed the resolutions put forward by our delegates.

The Conference of January 27th was the first time when representatives from all the leading coalfields in Britain had met with the Committees of other industries and the Vigilance Committees of the Dockers. It has begun a new, very important, period in the revolutionary activity of British unions. The fundamental features of this new period are: 1. Centralisation of the revolutionary activity of all the industrial workers committees, and 2. Rapprochement with the Communist Party which will enable the British labour movement to elucidate and formulate their aspirations and to desist from reformism.

Pages 119 and 120 were missing in the 1968 Greenwood Reprint that Google scanned to produce this pdf file.

I have verified this by looking at the physical printed volume that is in the collection of Shields Library, University of California at Davis.

---marty

Martin H. Goodman MD
director, Riazanov Library digital archive projects

The Activities of the Communist International

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Proletariat of all Countries Against the Yoke of the Entente.

Working men and working women!

The troops of the Entente having violated the Versailles peace treaty, abominably cruel in itself, are occupying important industrial districts in Germany in order to compel the people to agree to conditions which if they should be realised would mean a complete subjugation of the German working class. Two and a half years have passed since the Versailles treaty was signed, for two and a half years the Entente had a chance to show on what grounds it would reorganise the victorious world bourgeoisie; for two and a half years it had a chance to prove whether victorious capitalism is in a position to guarantee to the proletariat suffering from its rule, at least bread and work. Four millions of unemployed in America, two millions of unemployed in England, constantly growing unemployment in France at a time when stores are full of unsold goods, this is the first reply of the Entente to the question as to how victorious capitalism will establish peace. The growing poverty in Germany, the decay of Austria and Hungary is the second reply. The victorious countries produce much merchandise which finds no export because Central and Eastern Europe are ruined and not in a position to buy. Hence the unemployment. On the other hand Central and Eastern Europe are starving from the lack of the most necessary goods, because the policy of the Entente is killing their purchasing capacity, as was the case with Soviet Russia, and is purposely cutting them off from the rest of the world.

The victorious capitalist governments feel the danger of the growing unemployment which must cause a revolutionary movement and see only one way out of the situation, put Germany down on her knees, put the yoke on the German people, compel them to pay an unheard of contribution, regardless of starvation and poverty. If this plan should succeed, the only outcome of it would be the overcrowding of France, England and America with German industrial supplies, the increase of unemployment in the Allied countries and a complete enslavement of the German workers, who would be downtrodden under a double yoke, that of their own capitalists and that of the Allies. The German capitalist government could not and cannot protect the German people from this slavery, or the world proletariat from a further destruction of the world economy.

II.

The present government of Germany built its power on the bones of 20,000 workers killed by it and it fears the German working masses more than all the scorpions of the Entente. Up till now it still hoped that a compromise between German and allied capital would be possible: a compromise which would enable the German capitalists to retain as large as possible a part of the profit in their hands and to squeeze out of the German workers the indemnities for the Entente.

For the right to live on the charities of the Entente as its flunkey in exploitation of the German workers the German bourgeoisie not only agreed to all kinds of humiliations but it is ready to sell the German workers to the Entente as cannon fodder against Soviet Russia. The Paris and London usurers were insisting on the payment of the sums owing them, they needed the last drop of blood and sweat of the German proletariat! The German bourgeoisie being pressed to the wall by the Paris conference collapsed and it does not know how to get out of this situation.

The Second International that once upon a time advocated the freedom of peoples was also to blame for [the situation. Firstly, because during the imperialist war it gave up the proletariat completely into the hands of the capitalists and thus made possible the victory of capitalism which brought to the working people unemployment and lawlessness. Secondly, because it participated directly in the Paris and London resolutions, these cruel attempts on the life of the German people. When the German social democracy participated in the government together with the German capitalists, it helped them to disarm the German working class and together with it put obstacles in the way of a union between the German and Russian workers, when this union could have compelled the Entente to give up playing with the fate of the German working masses. If the German social democracy cleared the way leading first to Versailles and now to the Paris resolutions, then the Belgian social democratic party, member of the Second International, was also a direct participant in the Paris resolutions. Mr. Vandervelde chairman, and now member of the Second International was a participant in the Paris resolution. He stands for the same aims as the renegades of the Second International, as Briand and Lloyd George; he demands with drawn sword the acceptance of the Paris resolution and to reinforce his demands sends into Westphalian Rhine province battalions of Senegalian negroes.

III.

And what is the two and a half International doing, this ridiculous International of fools which met recently in Vienna? It is appealing to the reason of the dying capitalist world, muttering about the unrealistic demands of the Entente. These demands cannot be called unrealistic, the possibility of their realisation, the possibility of enslaving sixty millions of people by the action of the Paris and London banks is possible in a result of the war against which the heroes of the two and a half International could move nothing but obedient mutterings about conciliation with the capitalists.

This possibility is the result of the policy of Adler, Hilferding, Longuet and Wallhead, who continued the struggle with capitalism only in words and retarded in every way the growth of the revolutionary forces.

Working men and working women of all countries! The Communist International does not appeal to the mind of the dying old regime because it knows that the capitalist order is not capable of organising the world on a reasonable basis.

The Communist International does not hope to be able to restrain the victorious bourgeoisie by parliamentary protests; the Communist International depends only on the revolutionary energy of the proletarian masses in all countries. It says to the French, English, American, Belgian and Italian workers: if your houses succeed in putting a yoke on Germany and squeezing out of her the required indemnities, it will signify not only the growing poverty in Germany, but also the growing penury in France, England, America, Belgium and Italy, because the oversupply of your markets with German goods will subjugate you to a growing need and unemployment.

That is why the proletariat of the Allied countries must not be satisfied with only verbal protests. Powerful street demonstrations must impress upon the bourgeoisie that you will not remain only calm spectators of their shameful game.

The Communists of all countries whose soldiers are on the German soil must develop now a strong agitation amongst the soldiers and explain them that they act as executioners of the German people and that it is their duty to refuse this rôle.

And to the German workers the Communist International appeals to abandon any hope that the capitalist government of Germany is capable in any way of defending the interests of the German people from the attacks of the Entente.

This government of old flunkys of Wilhelm, this government of grafters and hangers-on of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia and Russia, is only desirable to the Entente. To be in a position to afford resistance to the Entente the German proletariat must send its government to hell.

It must prove that to break up these criminal slaves of Wilhelm II, to overthrow the capitalist government in Germany, to establish a proletarian government is the first condition for defending themselves against the enslaving plans of the Entente.

The second step must be the union between the German proletarian republic and the Russian Soviet Republic. By its three years heroic struggle the Soviet Republic compelled the victorious capitalist England to conclude peace with it. It proved to the international proletariat that, if only it wished, it would not find itself disarmed before international capitalism. The establishment of a German Soviet Republic, its

union with the Russian Soviet Republic would prove to the Entente that there is a limit to the power of tyrants; the sympathies of the proletariat all over the world would be on the side of the workers fighting for their rights and existence.

This would speed up the revolutionary development in the world and create a basis for the joint work of reconstructing the shattered, pauperised and bleeding world!

Proletarians of the world! Every day in which you do not move further in your fight against capitalism will bring you a greater economic disorder, with every such lost day the danger will grow that when at last your patience will be exhausted and you will find yourselves forced to rebuild the shattered world with your own hands, you will be faced only with a heap of ruins.

Proletarians of the world! The Communist International calls upon you to throw off your indecision and to increase tenfold your efforts for an attack against the Bastille of capitalism.

Down with the slave yoke of the Entente! Down with the German capitalist government!

Long live the German Soviet Republic!

Long live its union with the Russian Soviet Republic!

Long live the World Revolution!

Executive Committee of
the Communist International.

To the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The Small Bureau of the Communist International decided: That the Third World Congress will commence its work not later than the second of June, in Moscow.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International herewith publishes an approximate list of the organisations invited to the congress. The Executive Committee points out that the list is only approximate and by no means complete. Communist organisations which for some reason or other are not included in this list also have a right to take part in the congress.

Russia. The Russian Communist Party. **Germany.** The United Communist Party, The Communist Labour Party (consult. vote). **France.** The French Socialist Party, Minorité, Révolutionnaire des Syndicats. **Italy.** The Communist Party, Union Syndicale, Railwaymen's Union, Seamen's Union, The Socialist Party (consult. vote). **Bulgaria.** The Communist Party. **Poland and East Galicia.** The Communist Labour Party of Poland, The Communist Party of East Galicia. **The Jewish Labour Group „Bund“** (consult. vote). **Czechoslovakia.** The German-Bohemian Communist Party, The Marxist Left of the Czech Socialists, The Slovakian Socialist Party (consult. vote). **The International Socialist Party of the Russian Peoples** (consult. vote). **England.** The United Communist Party, The Left wing of the I. L. P. America. **The Communist Party (United), Industrial Workers of the World, Austria.** The Communist Party. **Hungary.** The Communist Party. **Yugoslavia.** The Communist Party, Socialist Party of autonomous area of Fünfkirchen. **Ukraine.** The Communist Party. **Finland.** The Communist Party. **Sweden.** The Communist Party. **Norway.** The Labour Party. **Spain.** The Communist Party, Confederation of Labour. **East Siberian Republic.** The Communist Party. **Japan.** The Communist Groups. **Argentine Republic.** The Communist Party, The Communist Labour Federation (consult.

vote). **Azerbaijan.** The Communist Party. **Armenia.** The Communist Party. **Georgia.** The Communist Party. **Greece.** The Communist Party. **Belgium.** The Communist Party. **Holland.** The Communist Party. **Denmark.** The Communist Party. **Switzerland.** The Communist Party. **The Labour Unions of the Swiss States** (consult. vote). **Roumania.** The Communist Party. **Letland.** The Communist Party. **Estonia.** The Communist Party. **Independent Social-Democracy, Persia.** The Communist Party of Iran. **Australia.** The Communist Party. **Canada.** The Communist Groups. **Cuba.** The Communist Groups. **Mexico.** The Communist Party. **Central America.** The Communist Groups. **Uruguay.** The Socialist Party. **Chili.** The Socialist Party. **Java.** The Communist Party. **South Africa.** The International Socialist League. **Lithuania.** The Communist Party. **Portugal.** The Communist Groups. **Luxembourg.** The Communist Party. **Ireland.** The Communist Groups. **Iceland.** The Communist Party. **Turkey.** The Communist Party. **Khiva.** The Communist Party. **Bokhara.** The Communist Party (consult. vote). **Palestine.** The Communist Party (consult. vote). **India.** The Communist Groups. (consult. vote). **China.** The Left Wing of the Socialist Party (consult. vote). **The Communist Groups.** (consult. vote). **Corea.** The Communist Party (consult. vote). **The Social Revolutionary Party** (consult. vote).

The Executive Committee of the Communist International further invites the following organisations, as interested groups, to send delegates to Moscow, for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the proceedings of the World Communist Congress: The Finnish Socialist Labour Party, The Italian General Federation of Labour, The Federation of Russian Workers of South America, The Confederation of Trade Unions of Greece, The National Labour Secretariat of Holland, The Federation of Opposition Trade Unions of Denmark, The Left Wing of the Belgian Socialist Party (Brussels Federation), The Anarcho-Communist Union of Holland.

The Sections of the Communist International

Activities of the English Communists' after their Union at Leeds.

(According to the report of the United Communist Party of Great Britain).

The hopes of the leaders of the Communist International to see a single united Communist party in England have been fulfilled at the conference at Leeds January 29th-30th. The following parties were merged in the Communist Party of Great Britain:—1. The Communist Labour Party (whose activities are carried on exclusively in Scotland; 2. the Communist Party (British section of the Communist International) and 3. The Communist Party of Great Britain.

The Socialist Labour Party has again declined to join. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the stubborn refusal to enter into negotiations on the subject of unification depends chiefly on the position occupied by a small group of officials of the party. The behavior of the latter is calling forth indignation among the several branches, that the party still manages to retain, and undoubtedly in the immediate future the opposition will have to give way and agree to the party being merged in the Communist Party of Great Britain. This proposal is being made by the three largest branches of the S. L. P. As to the communist movement in the left wing of the Independent Labour Party, a definite understanding has been reached between the party Executive and the new group. The Executive is being guided in the given case by the precise and preliminarily established tactical tasks and the favourable issue of the negotiations allows us to assert with full assurance that if the Easter Conference of the I. L. P. does not swing the party to the left, it will at least bring a substantial section of reliable Communists over to its ranks. *)

What actual numbers will come from either of these latter bodies it is as yet difficult to foretell. Suffice it to say that meantime the new results of the efforts for Communist Unity gives the party approximately 5000 members. The task consolidating the ranks, consequent upon the fusion of the new groups, is being rushed forward as quickly as circumstances will permit.

The Leeds Conference appointed a three months period for the final working out and establishment of a programme, constitution and rules.

The membership of the Party is distributed

at present over 150 branches (March 1921) whose strongest influence is in the urban areas. These branches are grouped territorially into divisions controlled by Divisional Councils with organisers under the control of the National Organising Secretary. The party is not unmindful of the needs of the agricultural areas and it is giving them its attention.

The Party has 200 propagandists of Communism and roughly 300 public meetings are being held weekly. The latter number will of course be considerably augmented during the summer months. Between fifty and sixty of the members hold positions on local Government authorities and the solitary member of Parliament (Colonel Malone) is at present in prison.

The party has nuclei almost in every trade union, and efforts are being pushed forward to bring these into touch with each other according to the industries, in the terms of the Theses of the Communist International. In this connection the party has used many efforts for the creation of the British section of the Red Trade-Union International.

All the members of the party are bound to take an active part in the unemployed agitation, which is very acute, and whatever has been done to turn the situation to account in a Communist sense is due to the work of the party. The object lessons of the Russian Revolution are being urged so persistently that at every meeting of the unemployed the attitude of the Government to Russia is a burning question.

The best evidence of the influence of the party is the persistent attention of the authorities to it. It is almost impossible for the Communist party to get a decent hall for its public meetings in most of the large towns, while in a number of places even the traditional and elementary rights of assembly in the public squares or streets are disregarded and prohibited. At present 15 of the members of the party are either serving sentences or waiting for their verdicts, and every obstacle is being placed in the way of the Communists approaching the masses.

The formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain in August 1920 was the signal for intensified Communist activity all over the country. The Central Headquarters were transferred to 16 King Street Covent Garden. At the beginning of

*) At the Conference in Southport a split did actually take place and the left wing joined the Communists. See list of organizations which joined the Communist International. Ed.

the year the incoor staff dealing with the party work consisted of eight, at present it numbers over twenty.

Besides the Secretariat the party has a series of branches.

The Organisation department controls the activities of the members of the party, maintains the contact between the branches and district councils and coordinates the work of the divisional organisers and propagandists.

The Editorial department deals exclusively with the production of the party organ The Communist.

The Literature department deals with the production of pamphlets, translations of foreign literature, etc.

The party press has lately made great progress. The circulation of the Communist has increased from 10,000 copies to 50,000, this coincides with the time of its transformation into an organ for agitation among the wider masses. Every party organ is faced with two current tasks: 1. Agitation among the wider masses, 2. Information and education of the Party membership.

The Communist has hitherto been fulfilling both functions but naturally it could not pursue both objects with equal success. Meanwhile the need of an organ which would be a help in the revolutionary construction and be supplied with a sufficient quantity of information and other kind of material is felt ever more insistently. This material is necessary for the forthcoming statistical elaboration of the Party programme and its application to the concrete circumstances. However, even the reports of the Party cannot always find a place on the pages of the Communist. Likewise the international part of the Communist movement is not sufficiently developed, whereas information in this direction is most necessary for the members of the Party as the great defect of the British proletariat has always been its separatedness from the international revolutionary movement.

Under these conditions and to meet the definite needs arising therefrom the Party Executive is proceeding to the immediate establishment of a special organ "The Communist Bulletin" to be published monthly, at first and more frequently later on.

Since the beginning of August 1920 when the Editorial department of the Party began its work and up to February, the following books have been published:

1. "Soviet System at Work," by Robert Williams 1500 copies.
2. "Left Wing Communism," by Lenin 5000 "
3. "Life and Activities of Friedrich Engels" by Sgldi Kagan-Kot's 2000 "
4. "Economic Organisation of Soviet Russia," by Miliutin 2000 "

The first edition has been sold already and a new one is being printed.

At the same time the following pamphlets were issued:

1. "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," by Kamenet 10000 copies.

2. The First Four of Series of Theses of the Communist International each of them 5000 copies.

As regards the remaining two series of Theses (on the national, colonial and agrarian questions) special introductions, applicable to the local British conditions, have been written for them; they have also been published at present.

Besides this the publication of a series of pamphlets for the needs of the current propaganda has been undertaken.

First of all the Party has printed in 10,000 copies and spread among the left wing members of the I. L. P. the answer of the Communist International (Henderson, Thomas, Gosling and Macdonald "for internationalism"), entitled: "Restoration of the Second International."

Finally, the abundant statistical material received from Russia was utilised for the publication of a third pamphlet whose object it is to show the economic development of Soviet Russia; it is addressed chiefly to the British trade unions.

The production of larger works has also been undertaken. Trotsky's answer to Kautsky's "Terrorism and Communism" is being printed and will soon be issued.

Radek's "Development of the World Revolution" has already been translated and is awaiting its turn after Trotsky's book.

A book on Communism by comrade Wm. Paul will also be published.

For cost free distribution a whole series of leaflets has been issued. The most important are: comrade Malone's speech in the Chamber of Commons on unemployment, and the leaflets "Open the prison doors" demanding the liberation of the arrested Communists (their number is increasing daily).

In the beginning of February the English edition of N° 1 of "Communist International" was issued. Three consecutive editions gave in the aggregate 1500 copies. Out of these 1000 copies were distributed among the sections of the Communist Party, the I. L. P. and the S. L. P. At present N° 13 of the journal is being printed after which the turn of N° 2 will come and so forth in consecutive order.

All measures are being taken for the publication in accordance with the plans of the Executive of the Communist International of the "World Review" of the Communist movement, in which a special place will be given up to the British colonies in India.

Relations of the Communist Party to the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees.

The mutual relations between the Communists and the "Shop Stewards" movement in Great Britain demand special explanations. It is therefore necessary to give first a brief historical survey.

Before the war of 1914 the trade union movement had reached just that stage in its development when it became necessary to secure a closer contact between the workers and the Central Office, which latter was being driven more and more aloof from the wider masses.

When the system of Shop Stewards was introduced their duties related exclusively to the financial side of the business, namely: to supervise the regular payment of the contribution fees and to remit the latter to the respective branches. Later on the question of the relations between the organised and non-unionist workers entered into the sphere of competency of the Shop Stewards; the latter were bound to send in quarterly reports on the number of trade unionists and non-unionists in their respective work-shops. In this way the "Shop Stewards" became factors in local agitation. This was strictly the limit of the functions of the Shop Stewards prior to the war. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers now merged in the Amalgamated Engineering Union had the most highly developed system at that time.

Concurrent with this there also existed a revolutionary organisation which had its origin in the I. W. W. Convention in Chicago in 1905. A group of Advocates of Industrial Unionism was formed in 1908; this was a purely theoretical organisation.

The programme of industrial unionism met with the most success on the Clyde in Scotland and it was here that was formed a fighting organisation in 1910, taking the name of the Industrial Workers of Great Britain. Active units were formed in a number of provincial towns of England, but the propaganda met with real success only in Scotland, where many important nuclei were organised in various enterprises. However lately the "Industrial Workers of Great Britain" have lost their militant character and have proceeded to doctrinary propaganda.

When the war broke out the conditions became aggravated in connection with the increasing cost of living. At the same time discontent became rife amongst the workers due to the trade unions having signed an agreement with the Government in 1914 owing to which the workers were deprived of the right to declare strikes and the officials were pledged neither to assist nor to encourage strikers in any way whatever. It was then that the hopes of the workers became centred on the organisation of Shops Stewards Committees.

The factories had always contained a minority which was strongly opposed to the war. The representatives of the trade unions refused to head this movement and when matters reached the first strike during the war (in February 1915 in Scotland) the need arose of a new organisation to carry out the strike; it was therefore perfectly rational to utilise the already existing system of Shops Stewards. From the provisional strike committee there was formed the first permanent committee into which a large number of those who had participated in the movement of 1911 were included, this gave a definite character to the whole organisation. This committee conducted such a vigorous agitation that its effects soon began to be felt throughout the whole country and similar organisations began to crop up. This created in its turn the idea of the necessity of forming a permanent organ on a national basis but

it was embodied only in 1917 when a series of strikes seized the towns of Sheffield, Barrow, Glasgow, London and others, and culminated in the embargo strike with the object of establishing a workers control over the transport. A National Administrative Committee was created. Although this movement was not crowned with success, nevertheless the course of events showed that the guiding ideas of the movement had become deeply enrooted in the workers minds, and in all critical moments the workers resort to organisations constructed on the lines of the "Shop Stewards". This has been proven by the disputes which have occurred since in Glasgow, Belfast, Limerick, London, the Railway strike, the Miners' strike.

At first the tendency reigning among the Shop Stewards organisations was a purely syndicalist one, but by degrees as a greater number of the workers who had passed the school of socialism began to take part in the movement and the general course of events to exercise its influence, the organisations came ever nearer to the Communist Party and today all the active Shop Stewards are members of the Party while collectively the whole organisation is acknowledging the necessity of conforming its activities to the work of the Communists.

In accordance with the decision of the Leeds Conference the Provisional Executive Committee of the Party had to take steps towards the establishment of a permanent contact with the National Administrative Committee of Shop Stewards. The representatives of both organisations met at a united conference in London February 23rd 1921.

A general discussion and exchange of opinions pointed out the necessity of a close collaboration between the party and the Shop Stewards in the matter of organising a labour movement, based on industrial principles; the general control and direction of the movement was to be given into the hands of party workers.

The following resolutions were passed: 1. the necessity of "the closest collaboration between the Communist party and the workers committees" was established; 2. it was recognised that it was urgently necessary to transfer the control over the industrial movement into the hands of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the requisite measures are to be adopted for this purpose; 3. the Communist Party of Great Britain is entrusted with the control over the activities of its members, whose duties it shall be to take part in the industrial movement for the following purposes: a - the introduction of the principle of organisation according to the industries; b - the creation of conditions favourable to revolutionary demonstrations; c - the liberation from the influence of the Amsterdam International and the transfer of the centre of gravity to the International of Red Labour Unions.

The Communist Party is entrusted with the care of seeing to it that all responsible posts in the labour movement should be occupied by Communists and that the industrial movement should conform in all matters to the principles established by the Party.

List of the organisations, declaring themselves in favour of the Third International.

Parties, separate factions, separate Trade-Unions and Unions of Youth, supporting the 21 points and affiliated to the Communist International, to the Communist International of Youth and to the International of the Red Trade Unions after the World Congress of the Communist International, since the middle of August, 1920.

(UP TO MAY 15th. 1921)*.

A. SOCIALIST PARTIES AND GROUPS.

I. Great Britain.

- 1) The Communist party of Scotland organised according to the principles of the Communist International. „Daily Herald“ № 1466, October 6th.
- 2) The Communist party of Great Britain completely accepted the programme of the Communist International. Information from diverse English papers.
- 3) The Communist party (British Section of the Communist International), S. Pankhurst's group, considers itself to be affiliated to the Communist International while retaining the character of a left position. Information from diverse English papers.
- 4) The Communist Labour party formed in Glasgow on September, 11th. Same, as № 3. Information from diverse English papers.
- 5) The London Section of the Independent Labour party of Britain has voted by a complete majority against four votes for affiliation to the Third International. „The Rote Fahne“ (Vienna) № 522, January 28th, 1921.
- 6) The Communist party of Great Britain, the Communist party, (Sylvia Pankhurst) the Scotch Communist party, the shop-stewards Committees and numerous separate Communist groups have united into a United Communist party of Great Britain at the Congress of Leeds on January 29-th. and 30-th. „The Communist“ February, 4th.
- 7) At the conference of the South-Wales organisation a resolution was passed to join the III International. „Daily Herald“ 23/III, 1921.
- 8) The left wing S. L. P. left the party at the congress in Southport on May 20th and joined the Communist Party of Britain. „Daily Herald“ 30/III, № 1413.

- 9) Three fourths of the members at Pontypool branch have joined the Communist. „Daily Herald“ № 1633, April 22nd
- 10) Clydach branch of the I. L. P. unanimously voted for affiliation with the Communist Party. „Daily Herald“ № 1633, April 22nd

II. Scandinavia.

- 1) The Executive Committee (Arbeidskott) in conjunction with the Party Soviet, (Representatskap) with the addition of representatives of the party organisations, have accepted the 21 points by a majority of 13:2 deciding and 26:0 consulting votes at Stockholm on October 17th. -21th. and decided to retain in the meanwhile the right of modifying details at the next Congress of the Communist International. „F. D. P.“ № 246, October, 22nd.
- 2) The Norwegian Labour party has expressed itself in favour of the Communist International at the conference in Christiania (October 30th. -31st.) by a majority of 280 against 32. The Central Committee of the party accepted the 21 conditions by 20 votes against 3. „F. D. P.“ № 258, Nov. 2nd.
- 3) The Danish Left Socialist party has unanimously agreed to accept the 21 conditions and to call itself hence the Communist party of Denmark at the Extraordinary Congress of representatives of 13 organisations in Fredericia on November, 7-th. „F. D. P.“ № 239, November 20th.
- 4) The Organisation of the Left Socialist party of Sweden accepted at Göteborg a resolution of unconditional affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 2/3 of the votes. „International“ № 34, Dec. 4th.
- 5) The party organisation of Alengas and separately, the Club of the Youth have accep-

* The list is not complete.

ted Ström's resolution (on an unconditional affiliation to the Third International).

6) The party organisation in Hudiksvall together with the women's club and the club of the Communist Youth, has accepted Ström's resolution.

7) The meeting at Ronneby has accepted the resolution of the majority of the Stockholm Conference on affiliation to the Third International.

8) The resolution of the majority is accepted at Ekskilstun.

9) The Stockholm organisation has accepted by a majority of 180:8 the resolution of the majority.

10) The resolution of the majority is unanimously accepted at Andebal.

11) The Veriland District has unanimously accepted the resolution of the majority at a meeting with the participation of representatives of four organisations (about 100 persons were present).

12) The District party Committee of the Northern Smoland District has, by a majority of 3 against 2, expressed itself against the acceptance of the 21 conditions without their preliminary revision. Nevertheless at a meeting of representatives of 19 organisations, by a majority of 12 against 7 votes, solidarity with the resolution of the majority was expressed.

13) The meeting of representatives of the party organisations of the city of Christiania has accepted by a majority of 148 against 58 (the opposition on the right being 13 votes) the resolution of the majority of the party Conference.

14) The meeting at Trodjem (Nov. 21-th.) expressed itself by a majority of votes against six votes for the resolution of the majority. (About 1000 persons were present).

15) At the meeting of the representatives of the party organisations in Stavanger, a majority of 180 against 51, the opposition of the right being 58, accepted the resolution of the majority, without, however the change of name.

„F. D. P.“ № 287.
Dec. 3rd.

„F. D. P.“ № 257.
Nov. 4th.

„F. D. P.“ № 272
Novemb. 22th.

„F. D. P.“ № 270.
— Nov. 30th

„F. D. P.“ № 263
Novem. 2nd.

„F. D. P.“ № 262.
Nov. 10th.

„F. D. P.“ № 284.
Dec. 6th.

„Social-Democrat“
(Norway) № 269.
Nov. 19th.

„Social-Democrat“
(Norway) № 272.
Nov. 23d.

„Social-Democrat“
(Norway) № 281.
Dec. 8d.

16) The Skjjen Branch of the Union of Youth has accepted the resolution of the majority unanimously against 2 votes.

17) The meeting of the District of Jevnaker has accepted the resolution of the majority by a complete majority against 8 votes (without changing the name).

18) At the meeting of the Herstad organisations, the proposition to leave the Third International was rejected by all the votes against 6. The resolution of the majority was accepted.

19) The organisation of Evre-Eker has accepted the resolution of the majority by all votes against 3.

20) At the District meeting of the party at Hamir (Norway) the resolution of the majority of the Conference of Christiania was accepted.

21) At their meeting of December 10th, the representatives of the Anere local branch of the party accepted the resolution of the majority of the conference of Christiania by 55 votes against 20. The change of name of the party is rejected by 40 votes against 23.

22) The Club of the Communist Youth in Björknäs is renamed as the Club of the Communists on January 1-st. 1921.

23) The Socialist Youth of Jukkusjärvi has unanimously decided to rename their club as the club of the Communists.

24) The club of the Socialist Youth at Sali is already renamed as the Communist club.

25) The Communist Youth of Udder-valla has unanimously decided to demand the renaming of the union as the Union of the Communist Youth.

26) The Club in Nikka is already renamed as the Communist Club.

27) The Skörgadsklubben in Sederham stands for the renaming of the union as the Communist union.

28) The club of Fonlind (the Southern suburb of Stockholm) stands for the renaming of the club as the club of the Communists.

29) A students' Communist club has been formed in Stockholm.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway) № 255
November 8th.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway), № 259
November 8th.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway) № 260
Dec 2nd.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway)
№ 280. Dec. 2nd.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway)
№ 301 Dec. 26th.

„Social Democra-
ten“ (Norway)
№ 295. Dec. 20th.

„Stormklockan“
№ 5.

„Stormklockan“
№ 5

„Stormklockan“
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„Stormklockan“
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„Stormklockan“
№ 5.

„Stormklockan“
№ 5.

„Folkeste Dagblad
Politiken“ № 271.
Nov 20th. 1920.

- 30) After the report of comrade Inudsen, the organisation of Hedemarrk, (Norway) has accepted a resolution for complete affiliation to the majority by 32 votes against 8.
- 31) The District of Sunu has accepted affiliation to the resolution of the majority by 25 votes against 2.
- 32) The organisation of Westeroles has unanimously voted for the resolution of majority.
- 33) In the organisation of Gjøvik 33 votes were for the resolution of the majority 17 for that of the minority and 6 against both resolutions.
- 34) At the meeting of 40 representatives of 9 unions in Tronden a resolution was accepted in favour of the resolution of the majority by all except 2 votes.
- 35) The Labour party in Norwin has accepted the Moscow theses by a majority of 23 against 19.
- 36) The organisations of the Labour party in Selshan, Oridal, and Homelvin accepted the resolution of the majority.
- 37) The organisation of Prigero has accepted the resolution of the majority by 2/3 of its votes.
- 38) There was a split in the Sindsford Branch of the Labour party at its meeting; 32 members left the hall and held another meeting, where they unanimously accepted the resolution of the majority, retaining however the old name of the party. The right Socialists (in the number of about a 100) decided to leave the Norwegian Labour party, and to affiliate to the Social Democratic Labour party from March 1st.
- 39) The organisation of Bumerus has accepted the resolution of the majority by a majority of 24 against 70.
- 40) The Labour party in Iveland has unanimously accepted the resolution of the majority, retaining, however, its old name. Four votes were in favour of changing it.
- 41) The Labour party in Rjengen has accepted the resolution of the majority by 86 votes against 10.
- „Social Democraten.“ (Norway) № 1. Jan. 3rd. 1921.
- „Social Democraten.“ (Norway) № 2. Jan. 4th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 7. Jan. 10th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 7. Jan. 10th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 8. Jan. 11th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 15. Jan. 19th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 21. Jan. 28th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 23. Jan. 26th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 24. Jan. 28th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 25. Jan. 31th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 25. Jan. 31st.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 29. Febr. 4th.
- 42) The Labour party of Seljord has unanimously accepted the resolution of the majority.
- 43) The Labour party in Swolswier has accepted by all votes against one, the resolution of the majority, with a reservation in regard to the name of the party.
- 44) The Labour party of Lids has accepted the resolution of the majority by 52 votes against 36. Simultaneously, censure was expressed in regard of the right Socialists for splitting up the working class.
- 45) The left Socialist Party of Sweden on the 4th congress, March 25-29th in Stockholm resolved to change its name to Communist Party of Sweden and by a majority of 173 against 37 expelled the centrists, thus confirming its affiliation with the Communist International.
- 46) The Norwegian Labour Party at its 25th congress on March 25-26th in Christiania adopted a resolution of the majority of E. C. against 20 centrists and five right wing Socialists, confirming its affiliation to the Communist International. The centrists remained in the party, the right Socialists were expelled.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 20. Febr. 4th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 29. Febr. 4th.
- „Social Democraten.“ № 31. Febr. 7th.
- „Folkets Dagblad Politiken“ № 26/III. 21.
- „Social Democraten.“ (Norway) № 70-71.

III. Germany.

- 1) The Socialist organisation of the Berlin students has separated into two groups: the Social Democrats, and the Communists.
- 2) The Upper Silesian Socialist party has accepted the 21 conditions. (Berlin, September, 25th, from „International“).
- 3) Left wing of the Independent Social Democratic party, the majority of the I. S. D. P. (the left wing) broke away at the congress of Halle and affiliated to the Communist Party of Germany at the Unity Congress on December 4th.
- 4) The Union of the Socialist proletarian Youth. At the All-German Conference in Leipzig on November 7th, by majority of 10 votes it was agreed to dissolve the organisation and to affiliate to the Communist Youth thereby uniting with the Communist International.
- „Avantl.“ № 267. Nov. 7th.
- „The Pravda“ № 269. Nov. 30th. 1920.
- The German press.
- „Rote Fahne“ № 236. Nov 17th.

7) The Party Congress of the Independent Socialists in Danzig has decided to unite with the Communist International by a majority of 77 votes against 9.

„Rote Fahne“ № 38.
January 24th. 1921.

IV. Switzerland

1) The Socialists organisation of Rütli has declared itself in favour of the Moscow Conditions by a majority of 46 against 1.

„International“
№ 17. Novem.
18th.

2) The Swiss Socialist party. The three sections of Berne has expressed themselves in favour of accepting the 21 conditions. The Committee of the Zürich section decided for affiliation to the Communist International and for accepting the 21 conditions by a majority of 21 against 18.

„Avanti“ Nov. 10th.
and Nov. 13th.
1920.

3) The Extraordinary Congress of the Canton of Zürich has accepted the Moscow Conditions by a majority of 178 against 97.

„Avanti“ № 278.
Oct. 10th. „L’Hu-
manité“ Nov. 10th.

4) A constituent congress has taken place in Basle on November 23-nd, called by the Left Social Democratic party, which has left the ranks of the Socialists in view of the latter not desiring to unite with the Third International.

„Rote Fahne“
№ 263. Dec. 18th.

5) The Socialists of the city of Geneva have accepted by a majority of 44 against 9, the affiliation to the Third International, with a reservation demanding the re-examination of the 21 conditions.

„International“
№ 27. Nov. 27th.
№ 36. Dec. 6th.

6) The Socialists of Basle have declared themselves in favour of the 21 conditions.

„Tribune“ № 28.
Nov. 2nd.

7) The Swiss Socialist party (Canton of Luzerne) has accepted at its Congress the resolution of affiliation to Moscow on the basis of the 21 conditions by a majority of 51 against 31.

„Avanti“ Nov.
18th 1920.

8) The Congress of the Socialist party at Schaffhausen has decided to unite to the Communist International by a complete majority against 1 vote.

„Avanti“ October.
30th.

9) The left wing Socialist party of Switzerland at a convention on March 6th resolved to join the Communist Party of Switzerland. On the same day a united congress of these parties, was opened with 200 delegates present, representing approximately 65.000 members.

„Rote Fahne“
№ 118, 11/III.

V. France.

1) The Socialist Federation of Youth of the department of the Seine has passed at its Congress a resolution for unity with the Communist International, by a majority of 5/8 of the general number of votes. (Oct. 24-th).

„Rote Fahne“
№ 225. Nov. 4th.

2) The Union of the Socialist Youth of France has decided to unite to the Communist International at the Conference in Paris, during the last session on November 1st, by a majority of 5443 against 1958.

„Pravda“ № 247.
Nov. 4th
„L’Humanité“
Oct. 25.
„Rote Fahne“
№ 451. Nov. 3rd.
„Avanti“ Oct.
31 st.

3) The National Congress of the A. R. A. C. (Assemblée Républicaine des Anciens Combattants) has accepted a resolution for acknowledging the Third International.

„L’Humanité“
July 20 th.

Preparations for the National Congress at Tours.

1. Department of the Seine.

1) The Congress of the 20th. Section of the Federation of the Seine has passed on Oct. 24th. a resolution for affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 376 against 83.

„L’Humanité“
Nov. 25th.

2) The Section of the Pré-Saint-Gervais of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution for affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 206 against 13. With 6 not voting (Oct. 25th).

„L’Humanité“
Nov. 25th.

3) The Fourth Section of the Federation of the Seine of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution of direct and unreserved affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 74 against 8 with 6 votes being for a conditional affiliation (Nov. 6th.).

„L’Humanité“
Nov. 13th.

4) The Twelfth Section of the Federation of the Seine has accepted a direct and unreserved affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 264 votes. (For conditional affiliation—32 votes. For the Blüm-Meyer resolution—6 votes).

„L’Humanité“
Nov. 13th

5) The Section of Araquay-Cashon of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution of unreserved affiliation by a majority of 50 against 10 (for a conditional affiliation) Nov. 7th.

„L’Humanité“
Nov. 14th.

6) The Section of Surène of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution of unconditional affiliation by a majority of 154 against 8 (for a conditional affiliation) Nov. 7th.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 14th.	the Longuet-Faure resolution - 2 for a resolution with special reservations--10; for the resolution of Blum--4. (Nov. 20th.).	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 19th.
7) The Section of Nain-en-Teuil has unanimously accepted an unconditional affiliation.	L'Humanité Nov. 14th.	20) Section of Clichy: for affiliation--173; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--8; for the resolution of Blum--2.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 19th.
8) The Section of Saint-Maur of the French Socialist party has accepted a resolution of unconditional affiliation of 43 against 13 (for a resolution for conditional affiliation) with 2 votes withheld.	L'Humanité. Nov. 12th.	21) Section of Montreuil: for affiliation--178; for Longuet-Faure's resolution--71; for the resolution of Blum--2; 115 votes withheld.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 20th.
9) The Section of Gentilly of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution of unconditional affiliation by a majority of 77 against 16 (for a resolution of conditional affiliation) Nov. 12th.	L'Humanité“. Nov. 11th.	22) The V Section of the Federation of the Seine; for affiliation--103; for the Longuet resolution--18; for the resolution of Blum--32	" "
10) The XVIII Section of the Federation of the Seine has passed a resolution of affiliation to the Third International. 212 for unconditional unity. 47 for conditional. Against affiliation 37. (Nov. 1st.).	" "	23) Section of Ivry: for affiliation--108; for Longuet's resolution--22; 1 vote withheld.	" "
11) The IX Section; for affiliation--1222 votes, for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--7 votes. (Nov. 8th.).	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 9th.	24) Section of Saint Etienne: for affiliation. (Number of votes not mentioned).	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 21st.
12) The X Section; for affiliation--134; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--81; against--28.	" "	25) Section of Mouchard: for affiliation. (Number not mentioned).	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 21st.
13) The XI Section; for affiliation--248; for Faure's resolution--47; against affiliation--3. (Nov. 6th.).	" "	26) Section of Long-le-Sugny: for affiliation. (Number of votes not mentioned).	" "
14) The IX Section; for the resolution of Frossard--271; for Longuet's resolution--55; for the resolution of Loris--10; for the resolution of „la vie Sociale“--8. 1 vote withheld.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 9th.	27) Section of Nogent-sur-Marne: for affiliation--21; for the Longuet-Faure resolution--8; against affiliation--2.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 27th.
15) The Section of Grémelou--Bissert; for affiliation--77; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--17, against--9. (Nov. 4th.).	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 11th.	28) Section of Saint-Godan: for affiliation--29; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--12; against affiliation--2.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 27th.
16) The Second Section; for affiliation--123; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--7; for the resolution of Blum-Paoli--10.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 17th.	29) The XIV Section of the Federation of the Seine; for affiliation--395; for the amendment of Heine-Leroi--137; for the resolution of Blum--117; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--33.	" "
17) The Section of Bras-sur-Marne was unanimously for affiliation.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 18th.	30) Section of Courneuve: unanimous for affiliation.	" "
18) Section of Chaisy-le-Rât; for affiliation--124; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--13; for resolution of Blum--2.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 18th.	31) Section of Sceaux: for affiliation--30; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure--20; for the resolution of Blum--8.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 27th.
19) Section of Fontenay-sous-Bois: for affiliation--108; for	" "	32) Section of Saint-Mande: for affiliation--34; for the Longuet-Faure resolution--11; for the Blum resolution--6.	„L'Humanité“ Nov. 28th.
		33) Section of Nogent; for affiliation--271; for the Longuet-Faure resolution--104.	
		34) Section of Bacalange; the majority was for affiliation. Number of votes not stated.	
		35) Section of Marly--unanimous for affiliation.	
		36) Section of Carouble--idem.	

87) Section of Sain-Solhy—
idem. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.
38) Section of Fennaint—idem. " "
89) Section of Loffre—idem. " "
40) Section of Rondin—idem. " "

2. The department of the Seine and Oise.

1) The Nanterre Section of the French Socialist party has passed a resolution of unconditional affiliation by a majority of 13 votes against—9; (for a resolution of conditional affiliation). Nov. 10th. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 11th.
2) Section of Beauchamp; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 17th.
3) 3th Section; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 21st.
4) Section of Vanjour; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 26th.
5) Section of Corbeuil; for affiliation—91; for the Longuet-Faure resolution 7; for the resolution of Blum 2. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 20th.
6) Section of Seine-et-Oise; for affiliation—159; for the Longuet-Faure resolution—32; for the Blum resolution—6. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 27th.
7) Section of Crozut; for affiliation—21; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—2; 9 votes withheld.

3. Department of Herault.

1) Section of Bezier of the French Socialist party; has passed a resolution of unconditional affiliation by a majority of 58 against 32 (16 for a conditional affiliation and 16 against). „L'Humanité“
Nov. 12th.
2) Section of Montpellier; for affiliation—38; for the Longuet-Faure resolution—2; for the Blum resolution—3; 2 votes withheld. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 19th.
3) Section of Muorviel; nearly unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Dec. 7th.

4. Department of Lyons.

1) Section of Villebron; for affiliation—103; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—37. (Nov. 16th.) „L'Humanité“
Nov. 16th.

5. Department of Seine and Marne.

1) Section of Coulonnier; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 18th.

6. Department du Nord.

1) Section of Oppis; the administrative Committee stood for the resolution of Cachin-Frossard. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 21st.

2) Section of Hélémin; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 21st.
3) Section of Akstaing; for affiliation all votes against six. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 27th.
4) Section of Lallong; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.
5) Section of Denan; for affiliation all votes against—6. " "
6) Section of Onneing; for affiliation unanimously against—2. " "

7. Department of Vienne

1) Section of Cannes la Bennât; for affiliation—12; 2 votes withheld. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 21st.

8. Department of Creuze.

1) Section of St. Sulpis les Champs; unanimous for affiliation. „Le Populaire“
Dec. 13th.

9. Department of the Haute-Garonne.

1) Section of Illiad Dodon; unanimous for affiliation. „Le Populaire“
Dec. 13th.

10. Department of the Haute Loire.

1) Section of Chazelle; unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Nov. 19th.
2) Section of Chalette (Loire) unanimous for affiliation. „L'Humanité“
Dec. 7th.

11. Department of Nièvre.

1) Section of La Charité; unanimous for affiliation. „Le Populaire“
Dec. 7th.
2) Section of la Machine; unanimous for affiliation. " "
3) Section of Verneuil for affiliation (number of votes not indicated). "

12. Department of the Vosges.

1) Section of Espinal; for affiliation—11 mandates—16 votes; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—1 mandate—4 votes. „Le Populaire“
Dec. 7th.
2) Section of Ramontan; for affiliation unanimously against one vote. " "
3) Section of Geradmé—for affiliation—18, for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—1. " "

13. Department of the Haute Marne

1) Section of La Motte d'Avignon, unanimous for affiliation.

14. The rest of the Departments of France.

1) The Strassburg Section of the French Socialist party has expressed itself for affiliation to the Third International (Wireless from Lyons).

2) The meeting of the section of Pas-de-Calais of the French Socialist party (majority of 600 votes) has expressed itself on October 10th. for affiliation to the Third International (November, 5th.)

3) The Section of Lille (unanimous) November, 11th.

4) Section of Rivesaltes: unanimous for affiliation.

5) Section of Orange: unanimous for affiliation.

6) Section of Masses: unanimous for affiliation.

7) Section of Ruelle (federation of the Charante) for affiliation—110, for the resolution of Longuet—40.

8) Section of Metz for affiliation—24, for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—2, for the resolution of Blum—3 two votes withheld

9) Section of Bagby for affiliation 25, for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—9, 1 vote withheld.

10) Section of Cannes unanimous for affiliation 41.

11) Section of Mühlhausen: for affiliation—159, against it (for the postponing of the resolution)—61.

12) Section of Feiran (Basse-Seine) unanimous for affiliation against 2 votes.

13) Section of Dax: unanimous for affiliation against 4 votes.

14) Section of Eignay for affiliation—84, for the resolution of Longuet Faure—12 for the resolution of Blum—1

15) Section of Aulnoy le Valencien: unanimous for affiliation.

16) Section of Valenciennes, idem.

17) Section of Anzin: unanimous for affiliation against 4.

18) Section of Entierre a crushing majority for affiliation.

19) Section of Segrain: idem.

20) Section of Berne-sur-Mer: for affiliation—37; against—17.

21) Section of Milan: for affiliation—57; for Longuet-Faure resolution—18.

„Pravda“ № 270
Dec. 2nd 1920.

„L'Humanité“
November, 13th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 16th.

“ “

“ “

“ “

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 19th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 20th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 21th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 27th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 27th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.

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„L'Humanité“
Dec. 7th.

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22) Section of Bourguand (federation of Isere) for affiliation—53; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—5.

23) Section of Roubais: for affiliation—237; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—182; for the resolution of Blum—11.

24) Section of Sette; for affiliation—77; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—16; for the resolution of Blum—5. (Nov. 27th).

„Le Populaire“
Dec. 13th.

„Le Populaire“
Dec. 7th

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 29th.

15. Federations.

1) The Socialist organisations of Provence have decided to affiliate to the Communist International at the Congress of Nov. 1st by a majority of 5443 against 1958 (see list N. 1).

2) The Federation of Corrèze (3000 members and 100 sections) has decided at its Congress to affiliate unanimously (with the reservation formulated by Frossard: retaining the name of the party, the non-expulsion of the faction of the centre, and non-subjection of the labour movement to the Socialist party).

3) Federation of the Haute-Savoie; for affiliation—20 mandates—200 votes, for the resolution of Longuet-Faure 8 mandates—32 votes.

4) Federation of the Marne; for affiliation 608; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—373; for the resolution of Blum—14.

5) Federation of Charente: for affiliation 22 mandates 880 votes; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—6 mandates 240 votes; for the resolution of Blum 1, mandate—40 votes.

6) Federation of Metz; unanimous for affiliation.

7) Federation of Indre-et-Loire; for affiliation 60 mandates—2000 votes; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—26 mandates—1040 votes; for the resolution of Blum 1 mandate—40 votes.

8) Federation of Doubs; for affiliation—53; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—5; Diverse votes—7.

9) Federation of the Loire; unanimous for affiliation. (107 mandates)

10) Federation of Dordogne; for affiliation—1311; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—22.

„Die Rote Fahne“
(Berlin) Nov. 4th.
(№ 225).

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 10th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 28th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 7th.

“ “

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 10th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 29th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 29th.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 29th.

11) Federation of Nimes; expressed itself by a majority of 1327 for affiliation to the Third International against 57 votes.

„D. H.“
Dec. 8th.

12) Federation of the Seine; has accepted on Nov. 28th the resolution of Cachin-Frossard by a majority of 13488 votes against 1161.

„L'Humanité“
Nov. 29th.

Cachin-Frossard . . . 13488.
Longuet-Faure . . . 2.114.
Blum 1.961.
Heine 248.

13) Federation of Finisterre; has accepted the resolution of Cachin-Frossard by a majority of 167 against 98.

„Rote Fahne“
N. 255. Dec. 9th.

14) Federation of the department of the Moselle expressed itself for affiliation to the Third International.

„ „

15) Federation of Evre-Loire; for affiliation—88 mandates—3520 votes; for the resolution of Longuet-Faure—20 mandates—800 votes; for the resolution of Blum 4 mandates—160 votes 1 mandate—40 votes withheld.

„Le Populaire“
Dec. 13th.

Since the beginning of December, the French Socialist papers have had an account solely of the resolutions of the federations, for the reason that it is impossible to have a full account of the voting of the sections through their great number and diverse character.

The following federations have expressed themselves for the Third International:

1) Aveyron:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 282 votes.
Longuet-Faure . . . 174 „
Blum-Paoli 7 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 22nd.

2) Allier:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 1204 „
Longuet-Faure . . . 266 „
Blum-Paoli 746 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 13th.

3) Alpes Meridionales, unanimous for the Third International.

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 11th.

4) Alpes Maritimes.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 56 mand.
Longuet-Faure 6 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 5th.

5) Ariège:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 9 mand.
Blum-Paoli 1 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 14th.

6) Alger
Cachin-Frossard . . . 39 mand.
Longuet-Faure 1 „
Blum-Paoli 2 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 22nd.

7) The Circuit of Belfors; unanimous for the Third International.

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 5th.

8) Houches-du-Rhône:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 70 mand.
Longuet-Faure 20 „
Blum-Paoli 3 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 13th.

9) Vienne:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 38 mand.
Longuet-Faure 6 „
Blum-Paoli 14 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 21st.

10) Vandel:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 4 mand.
Longuet-Faure 1 „
Blum-Paoli 1 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 15th.

11) Les Vosges:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 14 „
Longuet-Faure 4 „
Blum-Paoli 3 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 22nd.

12) Vaucluze:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 42 mand.
Longuet-Faure 3 „
Blum-Paoli 1 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 21st.

13) Du Gard:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 1327 votes.
Longuet-Faure . . . 1057 „
Blum-Paoli 215 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 16th.

14) Drôme:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 298 mand.
Longuet-Faure 79 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 20th.

15) Sèvres:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 9 mand.
Longuet-Faure 3 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 18th.

16) La Gironde:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 1290 votes.
Longuet-Faure . . . 950 „
Blum-Paoli 910 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 13th.

17) Isère:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 84 mand
Longuet-Faure 21 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 14th.

18) Isle and Villaine:
Cachin-Frossard . . . 8 mand
Longuet-Faure 4 mand
Blum-Paoli 3 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 72nd.

19) Côte d'Or: unanimous for the Third International.

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 21st.

20) Corsica.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 17 mand.
Blum-Paoli 5 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 16th.

21) Côte-du-Nord.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 198 mand.
Longuet-Faure . . . 184 „
Blum-Paoli 8 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 9th.

22) Calvados.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 13 mand.
Longuet-Faure 8 „
Blum-Paoli 2 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 16th.

23) Creuse.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 37 mand.
Longuet-Faure 6 „
Blum-Paoli 5 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 21st.

24) Loire-Inférieure,
Cachin-Frossard . . . 20 mand.
Longuet-Faure 4 „
Blum-Paoli 13 „

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 22nd.

25) Haute-Loire.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 4 mand.
Longuet-Faure 1 „

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

26) Loire.		„L'Humanité“.	43) Saône-et-Loire.	„L'Humanité“.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 592 votes.		Dec. 16th.	Cachin-Frossard . . . 55 mand.	Dec. 15th.
Longuet-Faure . . . 90 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 15 "	
Blum-Paoli . . . 58 "			Blum-Paoli . . . 7 "	
27) Loire-Chère.		„L'Humanité“.	44) Seine Inferieure.	„L'Humanité“.
{ Cachin-Frossard 6 m. } 9		Dec 15 th.	Cachin-Frossard . . . 65 mand.	Dec. 14th.
{ Heine . . . 3 } mand.			Longuet-Faure . . . 6 "	
Longuet-Faure . . . 5 "			Blum-Paoli . . . 5 "	
Blum-Paoli . . . 1 "			45) Seine et Marne.	„L'Humanité“.
28) Lot-et-Garonne.		„L'Humanité“.	{ Cachin-Frossard 435 v. } 441	{ Dec. 10th.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 65 mand.		Dec. 15th.	{ Heine 6 " } votes.	
Longuet-Faure . . . 5 "			46) Seine and Oise.	„L'Humanité“.
Blum-Paoli . . . 1 "			Cachin-Frossard . . . 3472 votes.	Dec. 20th.
29) L'Osère		„L'Humanité“.	Heine 78 "	
Cachin-Frossard . . . 5 mand		Dec. 9th.	Longuet-Faure . . . 480 "	
Longuet-Faure . . . 2 "			Blum-Paoli . . . 101 "	
30) Haute-Marne.		„L'Humanité“.	Votes withheld . . . 60 "	
Cachin-Frossard . . . 9 mand.		Dec. 18th.	47) Tarne and Garonne.	„L'Humanité“.
Longuet-Faure . . . 2 "			Cachin-Frossard . . . 25 mand.	Dec. 20th.
Blum-Paoli . . . 1 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 14 "	
31) Maine and Loire.		„L'Humanité“.	48) Oise.	„L'Humanité“.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 31 mand.		Dec. 22nd.	Cachin-Frossard . . . 78 mand.	Dec. 21th.
Longuet-Faure . . . 7 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 40 "	
32) Morbihan.		„L'Humanité“.	Blum-Paoli 1 "	
Cachin-Frossard . . . 10 mand.		Dec. 18th.	49) Cher.	„L'Humanité“.
Longuet-Faure . . . 4 "			Cachin-Frossard . . . 24 mand.	Dec. 18th.
Blum-Paoli 2 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 5 "	
33) La Manche: unanimous		„L'Humanité“.	Blum-Paoli 2 "	
for the Third International		Dec. 20th.	50) Charente-Inferieure.	„L'Humanité“.
34) La Meuse.		„L'Humanité“.	Cachin-Frossard . . . 29 mand.	Dec. 7th.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 2 mand.		Dec. 21st.	Longuet-Faure . . . 8 "	
Longuet-Faure . . . 1 "			Blum-Paoli 8 "	
35) Nièvre.		„L'Humanité“.	51) Indre.	„L'Humanité“.
Cachin-Frossard . . . 30 mand.		Dec. 20th.	Cachin-Frossard . . . 10 mand.	Dec. 18th.
Longuet-Faure . . . 6 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 2 "	
Blum-Paoli 8 "			52) Indre and Loire.	„L'Humanité“.
36) du Nord.		" "	Cachin-Frossard . . . 2000 votes.	Dec. 16th.
{ Cachin-Frossard 462 v. } 464			Longuet-Faure . . . 1040 "	
{ Heine 2 " } votes			Blum-Paoli 40 "	
Longuet-Faure . . . 247 "			53) Eure.	„L'Humanité“.
Blum-Paoli 23 "			Cachin-Frossard . . . 71 mand.	Dec. 22nd.
Votes withheld . . . 81 "			Longuet-Faure . . . 2 "	
37) Basse-Pyrénées.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 11 mand.		Dec. 22nd.		
Longuet-Faure . . . 6 mand.				
Blum-Paoli 1 "				
Witheld 2 "				
38) Hautes-Pyrénées.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 107 votes.		Dec. 14th,		
Longuet-Faure . . . 2 "				
Blum-Paoli 19 "				
Votes withheld . . . 34 "				
39) Pas-de-Calais.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 267 mand.		Dec. 21st.		
Longuet-Faure . . . 145 "				
Blum-Paoli 67 "				
40) du Rhône.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 80 mand.		Dec. 21st.		
Longuet-Faure . . . 7 "				
Blum-Paoli 14 "				
41) Bas-Rhein.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 102 votes.		Dec. 13th.		
Against affiliation . . 29 "				
42) Haut-Rhein.		„L'Humanité“.		
Cachin-Frossard . . . 24 mand.		Dec. 22nd.		
Longuet-Faure . . . 1 "				

The Congress of Tours has decided to affiliate to the Third International:

Cachin-Frossard	3208 votes.
Longuet-Faure	1022 "
Blum-Paoli	394 "
Heine	44 "

VI. Italy.

- 1) 460 labour Sections of „Pravda“, Dec. 9th. Milan have decided for affiliation to the Third International.
- 2) The faction, supporting „Avanti“, Nov. 23rd. concentration, has confirmed its affiliation to the Third International at the Congress of Reggio-Emilia on Nov. 10th, 11th, and has accepted the 21 conditions.
- 3) The Socialists of Venezia-Giulia, belonging to the faction the unitarists, have made a

declaration, stating that they continue to support the existing affiliation to the Third International.

4) The faction of the Communists - abstentionists - has decided to affiliate to the Communist faction of the Italian Socialist party. „Soviet," № 20.

5) The temporary Committee of the faction of Youth of the party of Communists abstentionists has decided to affiliate to the Communist faction of the party. „Soviet," № 27.

6) The faction of Unitarists of the Italian Socialist party (Serrati's group) has declared its complete acknowledgement of the Moscow conditions without exception at the Congress in Florence on Nov. 20-21st. „Avanti," Nov. 23rd.

7) The sections of the province of Bologna, belonging to the Communist tendency have stated at a meeting of Nov. 14th., the necessity and duty of the Italian Socialist party to remain in the composition of the Third International. However the party has made numerous reservations. „Avanti," Nov. 18th.

8) The Maximalist faction of the province of Reggio-Emilia, after studying the question of the diverse tendencies, existing within the party, has confirmed its affiliation to the Third International. „Avanti," Nov. 24th.

9) The faction of the Communists of the Italian Socialist party has confirmed its affiliation to the Third International at the Congress at Imola on Nov. 27-28th.

During the evening session of the first day, a report was made by Hari in the name of the Commission for the examination of the mandates stating that 321 sections (belonging both to the majority and the minority) have affiliated to the Congress. The sections are distributed after the following fashion:

1.	Province of Alessandria	11
2.	" Aquila	19
3.	" Arezzo	16
4.	" Bari	5
5.	" Bologna	6
6.	" Cosenza	1
7.	" Cuneo	2
8.	" Cremona	10
9.	" Florence	5
10.	" Ferrara	1
11.	" Forli	7
12.	" Genua	13

13.	Province of Mantua	6
14.	" Lecce	1
15.	" Lucca	1
16.	" Magerata	1
17.	" Milan	11
18.	" Modena	2
19.	" Naples	10
20.	" Novara	16
21.	" Pavia	4
22.	" Pesaro	1
23.	" Pisa	1
24.	" Pistoia	6
25.	" Porto-Maurizzu	2
26.	" Potencso	1
27.	" Ravenna	2
28.	" Reggio-Emilia	3
29.	" Reggio-Calabria	1
30.	" Rome	1
31.	" Toronto	3
32.	" Teramo	1
33.	" Turin	3
34.	" Trapani	1
35.	" Venice	1
36.	" Venezia-Giulia	5

13 sections have affiliated from abroad. 28 separate comrades have affiliated; 2 committees of provincial socialist federations with separate representatives; without representatives—1.

14 Provincial Federations of Youth besides the Central Committee of the Italian General Federation of Youth, in a overwhelming majority. Diverse nuclei of the youth, numbering 85, have sent declarations on the subject of their affiliation.

Among the members of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist party, Genary (secretary), Bellene, Marziani, Sessa, Terracini and Tantar have affiliated. (Avanti, Nov. 30th.)

Early in the sessions of the second day, news was received of the affiliation of new sections, distributed in the following fashion: Aquila—11, Caserta—13, Cosenza—1, Cuneo—4, Genova—5, Mantua—19, Modena—3, Novara—1, Teramo—1, Turin—5, Venezia-Giulia—5.

The Milan union of the Communist Youth also affiliated. (Avanti, Dec. 1st.)

Such was the situation at the moment of the first organisational congress of the party. Since then, during the whole of December and the first part of January the affiliations to the Communists continue ceaselessly. The long list of them occupies several numbers of Avanti, and by January 14th (Avanti No 12) the general number of Socialist organisations influenced by the communist movement, attained 1263. In many sections the majority has affiliated, in others the „minority", possess only Communist „nuclei" (gruppi).

1) The provincial Congress of the Communist faction of Liguria has declared on December 16th in Genua its complete enthusiasm for, and closest solidarity with the Executive Committee of the Communist International. „Avanti", Dec. 18th, 1927.

2) The Communists Secessionists have been victorious by 203 votes against 200 at the Socialists party congress of the province of Laziura.

3) The Communists Secessionists have been victorious by a majority of 62 against 51 at the party congress of the province of Ravenna.

4) Results of the party Congress of the province of Turin:

Communists - Secessionists 3844 votes
Unitarists 2070
Concentrationists 7

5) The votes at the Congress of Livorno were distributed in the following fashion:

Communists 54788
Unitarists 98028
Reformists 14895

As result of this vote, the Communists have broken away and formed a separate party.

3) The section of Grado of the Italian Socialist party, which had at first united to the Unitarists, has reconsidered its decision and affiliated to the Communist party of Italy. (by telegraph from Trieste on February, 10th.)

7) The Congress of Socialist Youth (Unitariats) in Florence, attended by the representatives of 315 sections composed of 12,000 members, confirms its affiliation to the Berlin International of Youth, accepting its methods, principles and programme, and empowering a new Executive Committee to take all the practical and necessary steps towards the realisation of this decision.

VII. Belgium and Luxemburg.

1) A Flemish Communist party has been formed in Ghent, which is to affiliate to the Wallon group. (Brussels).

2) The Communist party of Belgium has finally formed in the character of a section of the Communist International at the Parteitag at Brussels, (October 31st and Nov. 1st). All the principles of the Communist International are accepted.

3) After the Congress at Differdingen at which a majority of 67 against 21 repudiated the 21 conditions of the Communist International, a separate Communist party of Luxemburg was formed.

„Avanti“, Dec. 24th, 1920

„Avanti“, Dec. 15th.

„Avanti“, Dec. 22nd 1920.

„Rote Fahne“, February 13th 1921.

„Ordine Nuovo“, February 2nd 1921.

„International“, № 14.

„Moscow Pravda“, № 261, Nov. 20th 1920.

„Rothe Fahne“, January, 21st. 1921.

VIII. Austria.

1) The left wing of the Austrian Social Democrats has broken away from the party and formed a new organisation (the Socialist Labour party) which will affiliate in the near future to the Communist party of Austria. The party has unanimously decided at its constituent Congress to affiliate to the Third International.

2) The Social Democratic Group of youth, „Ottakring“, (Lalkshelm) has decided at its general meeting of November 9th. to enter the Union of Communist Youth.

3) The left Socialists and the Communists have united into a sole Communist party of Austria at the Congress in Vienna of January 19—20th.

„Rote Fahne“, № 248. Dec. 1st.

„Rote Fahne“, № 412. Sept. 18th.

„Rote Fahne“, (Vienna) January 21st. 1921.

IX. The Balkans and the Slavonian States.

1) The Hungarian, German and Slovak Socialist parties of Slovakia have united into a sole party, unanimously supporting the programme of the Third International at the Congress of Neytva.

2) The representatives of 10,000 organised workers of Tzoupa (Teka) have decreed to base their activities on the programme of the Third International, uniting to the left Socialists of Austria, at the conference at Prable on Nov. 28th.

3) The Bulgarian Communist party has affiliated at the congress in the end of September.

4) The left wing of the Bulgarian Social Democrat party (a minority) has broken away and affiliated to the Communists, thereby entering the Communist International.

5) The German Youth of Bohemia (Deutsch Böhmsche Jugend) has decided, by a majority of votes, to join the International of Communist Youth, at a conference of Octob. 31st—November 1st.

6) The Socialist Youth of Slovakia has unanimously agreed to enter the International of the Communist Youth at its 1st Congress (Sept. 5).

„International“, № 34. Nov. 4th. № 37. Nov. 7th.

„Rote Fahne“, № 225. Oct. 9th.

From Roumanian papers.

„Rothe Fahne“, Berlin № 259. Nov. 20th

„Rote Fahne“, № 455. Nov. 7th.

„Rote Fahne“ (Berlin) Sept. 28th. № 194.

7) The Czech left Socialist party has instructed the presidium of the party to realise the affiliation to the Communist International.

8) The District Congress of the German Socialist of Czecho-Slovakia at Iglau has expressed itself in favour of the Communist International by majority of 27 against 6, 3 votes were withheld.

9) A constituent Congress of the new Communist party has taken place at Reichenberg 30 of Jan. The party was formed from the ranks of the German Socialists of Czecho-Slovakia. The aim of the party consists in revolutionising the German proletariat of the Czecho-Slovakia Republic on the basis of the principles of the Communist International and to realise an unreserved affiliation to the latter. 350 delegates, representing 18,000 members, attended the congress.

10) The Socialist organisation of Krajova has expressed itself in favour of the Third International.

11) A resolution with an appeal to the general party organisation on the necessity of affiliation to the Communist International was passed at the first Congress of the Socialist Youth of Semigradia and Banat in Kluje.

12) The majority supported affiliation to the Communist International at the Congress of the Socialist party of Semigradia and Banat. The final decision on the question is left to the general Congress of Roumanian Party.

13) The section of Roumanian Socialists of Fokshano has decided to unite to the Third International.

14) The Congress of the Socialists of Banat have expressed themselves in favour of the Third International at Temesvar on September 19th.—20th.

15) The Ostra organisation of the Czech left Socialists has decided on an unconditional acceptance of the 21 points and on joining the III International.

16) The German communists of Czecho-Slovakia on March 12th in the presence of representatives of German Communist at the congress in Retchen-

„Freiheit“ (Berlin)
N° 407. Sept. 28th.
1920.
(Evening edition)

„L'Humanité“ Feb-
ruary. 22nd. 1921.

„Rote Fahne“.
N° 51. February
1nd. 1921.
Viennese „Rote
Fahne“. N° 527
February 3nd.

„Sozialismus“. July
24th. 1920.

„Sozialismus“. July
31st. 1920

„Sozialismus“.
August. 26th 1920.

„Sozialismus“.
August. 15th 1920.

„Sozialismus“.
Sept. 24th. 1920.

„Vienne R. F.“
N° 392, 21/IV.

„Humanité“
N° 6204, 16/III.

berg declared their unconditional affiliation to the III International and declared themselves as part of the Communist International. (Telegramme from Prague from 18/III 1921).

17) The Czech Socialist Party of Moravia unconditionally accepted on April the 21st., the 21 points of the Communist International.

18) At the Congress of the Socialist Party of Roumania, which was opened on May the 9th., 1921, it was, by a crushing majority of votes, decided to affiliate to the Moscow Communist International. At the same time the Congress voted against a resolution, proposed by Communist, to expel from the party all socialist-unitarians, who expressed themselves for affiliation with some reservations.

X. Spain.

1) By a majority of 8269 against 5016, the Spanish Socialist party has agreed to take measures for affiliation to the Third International.

2) The Spanish Union of Youth has decided to affiliate to the Moscow International of Youth.

3) The extraordinary congress of the Spanish Socialist youth has resolved by 3,000 votes against 440 to leave the Socialists party and join the III International. The organisation has adopted now the name of „United Communist Youth of Spain“.

4) The Socialists of Bilbao pronounced themselves in favour of joining the III International. (Telegramme from Madrid from 5/IV).

5) The Left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party has formed a Communist Labour Party. The formation of the new party was a result of the Socialist Congress of 14 of April, where 8808 votes were cast against affiliation to the III International, and 6025 votes—for.

X. Portugal.

1) The Portugal Socialists have decided at the Congress at Lisbon on Oct. 3rd. to take measures to enter the Third International.

„Daily Herald“
N° 1634—21/IV.

„Petrograd Pravda“
N° 107. May 8th.
1921.

„Rote Fahne“.
N° 225 Oct. 4th.

„Communist“.
N° 18. Oct. 2nd.

„R. F.“ N° 187,
27/IV, 21.

„L'Humanité“
7/IV

„Labour Leader“
N° 16. Apr. 22nd.
1921.

„International“
N° 1. Oct. 27th.

XII. The Baltic Countries. 1

1) The Estonian Communist party has unanimously accepted the resolutions of the Communist International at its Congress. „Petrograd. Pravda“, Oct. 10. 1920.

XIII. The Near East.

1) The Turkish Communist party at Angora.
 2) The Communist party of Iran (Persia).
 3) The Communist party of Azerbeidjan.
 4) The Communist party of Georgia.
 5) The Communist party of Armenia.

Had their representatives to the 1st. Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku on September 1st.—8th. 1920.

XIV. Other Countries and International Organisations.

1) A special group, called the „Communist League“ has separated from the composition of the „International Socialist League“ at Johannesburg. (Transvaal). It has received an invitation to the Second Congress of the Third International. № 45. Dec. 3rd. „Communismus“.

2) A Communist group has been formed on the isle of Cyprus, intending to establish a working agreement with the British Communist organisations. „Rote Fahne“. № 225. Nov. 4th.

3) The first congress of the Mexican Communist party (Section of the Third International) has taken place in the city of Mexico. The representatives of four provinces of Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Yucatan and Tamaulipas had taken part at it. „Labour Leader“ Dec. 2nd. „Avanti“. № 272.

4) Poaly Zion has decided for affiliation to the Communist International at the Universal Congress at Vienna. „Vorwärts“. (Berlin) № 442 August 25th. 1920.

5) The Socialist party of the South American republic of Uruguay has decided for affiliation to the Communist International at its yearly Congress in Montevideo by a majority of 2/3 of the votes. (Wireless, agency Unigraph). „Moscow Pravda“. № 215 Sept. 28th. „Tribune“. № 30. Nov. 4th.

6) The affiliation to the Communist International of the Socialist party of Egypt is expected. „Rote Fahne.“ 1921. № 6.

7) The Finnish Federation has left the Socialist party of America, in view of the refusal

of the latter to accept the 21 conditions of the Communist International.

8) According to information from Sydney, a Communist party was formed in Australia. „New York Call“ Jan. 6th. 1921.

9) The Argentina Socialist party of Internationalists has unanimously accepted the 21 conditions at its party congress, and now calls itself the Communist party of Argentina, section of the Communist International. (Telegram from Buenos Ayres Febr. 7th.) „Rote Fahne.“ Febr. 13th 1921.

10) The Socialist party of Chili has decided almost unanimously for affiliation to the Communist International at its Congress at Santiago. „Rote Fahne.“ Febr. 13th 1921.

11) The Mexican Socialist party joined the III International and passed a resolution to join the Communist Party of Mexico. „Communist“ 9/IV, 21, —

12) The local organisation of the Socialist party in Troy (U. S. A.) at their convention passed a resolution to join the III International, instructing the delegates to the National Congress to vote for it. „New York Com.“ № 90, from 9/IV.

13) The Special Correspondent of the „De Tribune“ writes from Rio de Janeiro, that a minority of the anarchists union, headed by Edwardo Diaz, left the organisation and joined the Communist International. „De Tribune“ № 140, 16/III.

14) Inside the American Socialist Party a committee of 25 persons has been formed for propaganda of unconditional acceptance of the 21 points. Many individual members of the Socialist organisations of the country, are in sympathy with the platform of the Communist International. „Rote Fahne“ (Vienna) № 605 6/V 1921.

B. LABOUR ORGANISATIONS.

I. Germany.

1) The opposition in the Union of the Berlin printers has accepted the point of view of the Third International at its meeting of October 29th. „R. F.“ № 223. Nov. 2nd.

2) The Berlin wood workers have unanimously decided at the meeting of Oct. 29th. to develop their activities on the basis of the Third International, and to acquaint the Bureau of the Communist party of Germany of the fact. „International.“ № 15. Nov. 13th.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

- 3) The Berlin union of the Sewing Industry have decided to affiliate to the Third International. „R. F.“ № 241. Nov. 23rd.
- 4) The German Union of Builders of the District of Chemnitz has decided to unite to the Third International. „International.“ № 27. Nov. 27th.
- 5) The Trade-Union of the masons has unanimously passed a resolution in favour of Moscow at its meeting in Berlin on Oct. 11th. „R. F.“ № 208. Oct. 15th. 1920.
- 6) The local branch of the union of the metallists of Fürstenwalde has accepted the „Stuttgardt“ platform. A Communist was elected president by a majority of 427 against 168 votes of the block of Independents and right Socialists. „R. F.“
- 7) The general meeting of Dec. 14 th. of the branch of the Union of Metallists of Hamburg has accepted the resolution of the Communists and rejected the resolution of the administration calling upon the members to struggle with the Communists. (Dec. 14th.) „R. F.“ Dec. 29th. 1920.
- 8) In Aue, (Saxony) 15 Communists have been elected to the regional administration of the Union of metalworkers. The Communists received 276 votes, the rights—130, and the Independents—20. „R. F.“ Jan. 1th. 1921. № 6.
- 9) The general meeting of the Section of the metallists of Essen has expressed itself by an immense majority for the revolutionary tactics of the Trade Unions. „R. F.“ Dec. 25th 1920. № 209.
- 10) At Düsseldorf, on December 20th, the general meeting of the section has expressed itself by an overwhelming majority in favour of the revolutionary tactics and the „Stuttgardt platform.“ „R. F.“ Dec. 25th.
- 11) At Binning (Württemberg) the general meeting of the Section of the metallists has unanimously accepted the Moscow International and the „Stuttgardt platform.“ „R. F.“ Dec. 25th. 1920.
- 12) At Schramberg, the meeting of the Branch of the metallists has unanimously supported the „Stuttgardt platform“ Dec. 18th. „R. F.“ Dec. 25th. 1920.
- 13) The „Stuttgardt platform“ was unanimously accepted at Koswig. „R. F.“ № 267. Dec. 23rd.
- 14) The Section of the Union of the Glassfactory Workers of Intelne (Lower Saxony) has accepted the „Stuttgardt platform“ at a general meeting. „R. F.“
- 15) At Borsigwald, the workers of the factory (Firm of Borsig) have dismissed the legal work-shop Soviet and elected a revolutionary representation. A general meeting of the workers has also accepted the „Stuttgardt programme.“ „R. F.“ Dec. 23rd. 1921.
- 16) The construction workers of Leipzig have expressed themselves by a majority of 600 to 3 against Amsterdam and for Moscow. „R. F.“ Jan. 4th. 1921.
- 17) A meeting of the workers of the Gasfactories in Berlin has accepted on December 30th unanimously against three votes a resolution on the reorganisation of the Trade Unions into Industrial organisations for the support of Moscow against Amsterdam. „R. F.“
- 18) At Königsberg, on Dec. 25th, the conference of the representatives of the union of the railroad workers of Eastern Prussia has unanimously decided to protest against the decisions of the principal presidium. The „Stuttgardt platform“ was accepted as well as a strong Communist resolution. „R. F.“ Dec. 26th. 1920.
- 19) The meeting of the out-of-work technical workers of the Berlin Section of the Union of Technical workers and the ordinary meeting of the district of „Norden“ of the same branch have unanimously accepted the „Stuttgardt platform.“ „R. F.“
- 20) The functionaries of the German Union of railroad workers in Hn have expressed their sympathy with the Third International, this being confirmed by the general meeting of the members. „R. F.“ Dec. 22nd.
- 21) The railroad workers of Eastern Prussia have accepted a resolution of protest against the conduct of the Committee in regard to the Third International. „R. F.“ Febr. 10th. № 63.
- 22) The Conference of the Economic Councils of the Free Labour Union (Wirtschaftsräte der Freien Arbeiter-Union) in Helsenkirchen has expressed itself for unity with the Third International on February 1st. 1921. „R. F.“ Jan. 30th. 1921.
- 23) The Berlin Workers of the pottery corporation have decided, after the report of

comrade Abramovitch, to send a delegation to Moscow

24) The workers of the sewing enterprises of Plauen have taken a resolution in favour of Moscow.

25) The workers of the Second Berlin gas factory have expressed themselves in favour of the Red International of the Trade Unions.

26) The meeting of the workers of the aniline factories of Treptow has demanded the sending of delegates to the congress of the Labour Unions in Moscow (Jan. 24th).

27) The meeting of the workers-engineers of the wood workers Union in Berlin has accepted a resolution in favour of Moscow.

28) The glaziers of Berlin have expressed themselves in favour of Moscow at the session of Jan. 16th.

29) The coal-heavers of Berlin have expressed themselves in favour of the Red International of the Trade Unions and of the transformation of the trade unions into industrial ones.

30) The Berlin bookbinders at their meeting on 23/III voted to send delegates to Moscow from the Berlin organisation (by a majority of 204 votes against 190) and suggested to the central organisation of the union to do the same.

II. Scandinavia.

1) The most important labour organisation of Norway—the union of masons, riggers and cement workers has accepted the Moscow conditions.

2) The Danish Communist Party at its convention from 23—25 April in Vejle, and the opposition in the Trade Union (Syndicalists) (Fagoppositionens Sammenslutning) at their convention which took place at the same time—united in one Communist federation. The Syndicalists also decided to join the International of the Red Trade Unions.

3) Printers of Louisa (Sweden) accepted the programme and tactics of the III International.

„R. F.“ Jan. 9th.
1921.

„R. F.“ 27th Jan
1921.

„R. F.“ Jan. 27th.
1921.

„R. F.“ Jan. 25th.
1921.

„R. F.“ Jan. 20th.
1921.

„R. P.“ Jan. 10th.
1920.

„Rote Fahne“
23/III, № 138.

„Social-Democraten“
Norway. Febr.
4th. № 29.

„Arbejdsd“
№ 96—97.

„Folkets Dagblad
Politiken“
17/II, № 39.

III. Switzerland.

1) The Trade Unions of Zurich have decided at the meeting of the delegates in September to enter the Moscow International of Trade Unions.

2) The Swiss Union of functionaries in Social enterprises has expressed itself in favour of affiliation to the Third International.

„Freiheit“ № 192.
Sept. 18th.

„R. F.“ „Moscow
Pravda“ № 247.
Nov. 4th.

IV. Italy.

1) The Trade Unions of the Italian textile workers (Federazione Italiana Operai Tessili) has decided to unite to the Moscow International of Labour Unions.

2) The Congress of the Italian transport workers has ended by a victory of the Communists. The Congress has sent greetings to the Communist International, and acknowledged itself to be bound to the new Communist party of Italy.

3) The representatives of above 25,000 workers of the 80 factories of Milan have expressed themselves in favour of leaving Amsterdam and for uniting with the Red International of the Labour Unions, at their conference of February, 8th.

4) About 10,000 workers of the chemical enterprises of Milan have affiliated to the Communist party of Italy, and are ready to give their Trade Unions a decisive impetus in the direction of the Communist International.

5) The Committee of the Roman Trades Unions has expressed itself in favour of the Third International and of participation in the Congress at Moscow on May 1st.

6) The Boards of Labour of Naples and Nuovi Liguri have expressed themselves in favour of the Third International and protested against the policy of the General Confederation of Labour.

7) The Board of Labour of Cuneo has expressed itself in favour of the Third International.

8) The Congress of the Labour Unions of the Teachers in Mo-

„R. F.“ № 225.
Nov. 4th.

„R. F.“ № 54.
Febr. 2nd. 1921.

„R. F.“ Febr. 18th.
1921. „Avanti“
Febr. 11th. 1921.

„R. F.“ Febr. 16th.
1921.

„Ordine Nuovo“
Febr. 5th. 1921.

„Ordine Nuovo“
Febr. 10th. 1921.

„Ordine Nuovo“
Febr. 12th. 1921.

„R. F.“ № 30th.

dena has expressed itself in favour of the Third International.

9) The All-National congress of Italian Confederation of Labour in Livorno 3/III, passed a resolution, stating the unconditional joining to the attempt to create an International of Red Trade Unions and the severing with the Amsterdam Trade Union International in the case that such will have to follow the consequence of the resolutions adopted in Moscow.

V. The Balkans and the Slavonic States.

1) After the session of the Federal Soviet, at which the Communist resolution, demanding affiliation to the Communist International, gained 18 votes (12 for the centre and 8 for the right wing) the Communists broke away and formed a separate group. The machinery of party administration and the paper, the Socialismul is in their hands.

2) The Bulgarian Communist Trade Unions affiliated at the Congress of Sofia in October.

3) The Greek Trade Unions have affiliated to the Moscow International of the Labour Unions at the Congress of Athens.

4) The Trade Unions of the tailors and the construction workers of Yugo-Slavia have decided to affiliate to Moscow unanimously against 1 vote at the Congress of Zagreb.

5) At Lubane, at the meeting of 149 delegates, representing 240.000 workers, a resolution was unanimously taken, expressing complete unity with the principles of the Communist International. (Jan. 17th.)

6) In Moravian Ostrau (Ostrov Moravski) the programme of the Reichenbergists was adopted by the conference of the workers.

7) According to the information, given by the General Committee of the Trade Unions of Roumania, the latter supports the Third International, as it alone voices the principles of the class struggle; the Trade Unions of wood workers, shoe makers, metal workers, tanners, waiters, munition workers, the workers of the match factory, the workers of tobacco factory, the

„Avanti“
4/III. № 35.

„Avanti“ Dec. 9th.

From the Roumanian press.

„L'Humanité“
„Moscow Isvestia“
№ 257. Nov. 16th.

„R. F.“ № 225.
Nov. 4th.
„International“
№ 16. Nov. 14.

„R. F.“ Jan. 20th.
1921.

„R. F.“ Jan. 20th.
1921.

„Socialismus“
July 28rd. 1920.
№ 160.

bakers, millers, confectioners, municipal functionaries, bookbinders, workers in the cinematographs, the transport workers and dock workers of Galaty have expressed themselves in favour of it.

8) The labour organisation of the town of Krajova have expressed themselves in favour of affiliation to the Third International at a general meeting.

9) The delegates of the Trade Union organisations of Old Roumania in their conference in Bucharest 11/XII expressed a very harsh protest against joining the Amsterdam International.

10) The congress of Czechoslovak country workers (farm-laborers, foresters and gardeners) where about 500 delegates were present from 257,864 organised workers—resolved to join the Moscow International of Trade Unions.

„Socialismus“
July 24th. 1920.

„Vienna R. F.“
3/III № 551.

„Avanti“
27/II.

VI. S p a i n.

1) The Confederation of Labour and the General Labour Union have expressed themselves in favour of Moscow. Their unity is expected.

„R. F.“ (Berlin)
№ 236. Nov. 17th.

VII. F r a n c e.

1) The Syndicalists of central France have accepted a resolution for affiliation to the Communist International at their Conference.

„Moscow Pravda“
№ 217. Nov. 29th.

2) The Congress of the Labour Unions of the minority (86 delegates, 37 labour unions, 1 local union and 2 inter-union Committees attended) accepted a resolution on Sept. 5th. demanding the affiliation to the Moscow International of Labour Unions of General Confederation of Labour and acknowledging the Third International to be the sole revolutionary International.

„L'Humanité“ Sept.
6th, 7th and 11th.

3) The Congress of the Stonebreakers Union has expressed itself in favour of affiliation to the Third International. (Sept. 15th.)

French Press.

4) The Congress of Engravers on iron have voted for affiliation to the Third International. (Sept. 16th.)

5) The Congress of the revolutionary Trade Unions of the department of Vienne and South-Eastern France has passed on

<p>Sept. 15th. a resolution of direct and complete affiliation to the Third International by a majority of 43 against 5 with 2 votes withheld. 58 labour unions, 2 local unions (Vienne and Grenoble) and two departmental unions (Isère, Haute-Savoie and Doubs) were represented.</p>	<p>French Press</p>	<p>resolution (by 18 votes against 14), demanding the sending of delegates to Russia to study the question of affiliation to the Third International.</p>	<p>French Press</p>
<p>6) The Congress of the Union of the metalworkers of Argenteuil has passed a resolution for the affiliation of the General Confederation of Labour to the Red International of the Labour Unions. (Sept. 16th.).</p>	<p>French Press</p>	<p>16) The Trade Union of the draughtsmen, engineers-draughtsmen and metalworkers has expressed itself for affiliation to the Third International on Sept. 26th.</p>	<p>French Press</p>
<p>7) The meeting preparatory to the Congress of the electricians of the department of the Seine has expressed itself in favour of the principles of the Third International. (Sept. 15th.).</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>17) The Trade Union of the stenotypists—idem, at the same time.</p>	<p>" "</p>
<p>8) The Soviet of the Trade Union of printers has expressed itself in favour of affiliation to the Third International. (Sept. 15th.).</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>18) The meeting of the delegates of the Trade Unions of the minority has accepted after the Congress of Orleans (Oct. 3rd) a resolution on affiliation to the Third International.</p>	<p>" "</p>
<p>9) The meeting preparatory to the Congress of the diggers of the department of the Seine has expressed itself in favour to the Moscow International of Labour Unions.</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>19) The Section of the Union of the Cooperatives passed a resolution on affiliation to the Third International. (Oct. 10th.).</p>	<p>" "</p>
<p>10) The Union of the carriers of the department of the Seine has accepted the resolution of the minority (on affiliation to the Third International) at the meeting of Sept. 18th.</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>20) The Extraordinary Congress of the representatives of the labour organisations of Lorraine have expressed themselves by a majority of 18,429 against 8642. (794 votes withheld) for affiliation to the Third International.</p>	<p>„R. F.“ № 225. Nov. 9th.</p>
<p>11) The same happened at the plenary meeting of the Trade Union of the decorators (scene-painters) on Sept. 14th.</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>21) The Union of the chauffeurs of city of Paris has decided to unite to the Red International of Trade Unions.</p>	<p>„L'Humanité“</p>
<p>12) The transport workers have expressed themselves in favour of affiliation to the Third International.</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>22) The Union of Hairdressers of Paris has accepted the programme of the Committee of the Revolutionary Syndicalists at its general meeting, and decided to unite to the Third International.</p>	<p>„L'Humanité“ Dec. 20th. 1920</p>
<p>13) The council of the Trade Union of sausage-makers of the department of the Seine has expressed itself for unity with the Moscow International of Trade Unions. Sept. 20.</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>23) The Federation of syndicates of the department of Calvados by majority of 48 against 11 votes condemned the policy of the Amsterdam International and resolved to join Moscow. (Telegramme from Paris, 28/II).</p>	<p>„Vienna Rote Fahne“ 3/III № 551.</p>
<p>14) The Congress of the Trade Unions of the minority of Orleans has unanimously accepted (against 1 vote) affiliation to the Third International of the Trade Unions; local departmental unions were represented (Haute Savoie - Charente Inférieure Indre, Isère, Doubs, Dordogne), and three federations (the hairdressers, carriers and teachers). (Sept. 26th.).</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>24) The fifth county union of the Federation of Leather Workers in a body of 8th departments at the Congress March 13th in St. Etienne, by a majority of votes resolved to join the Moscow International of Trade Unions, though with it declares its wish to retain complete freedom of action in reference to political parties.</p>	<p>„Vie Ouvrière“ 18/III № 98. „Vienna Rote Fahne“ № 568.</p>
<p>15) The National Congress of furniture makers at Orleans has accepted on Sept. 26th. a</p>	<p>" "</p>	<p>25) The confederate Committee of the Dept. Doux by a majority of 56 votes against 36 (with 29 nonvoters and six</p>	<p>„Vie Ouvrière“ 1/IV № 106.</p>

absent) expressed itself for severing with the General Confederation of Labour, the Amsterdam International of Labour and resolved to join the Moscow Trade Union International.

26) The Confederate Committee of the Dept. of Somme by majority of 91 vote against 13 accepted the resolution of the Committee of the revolutionary Syndicalists.

27) Confederate Committee of the Dept. Sharente on 27/II by majority of 18 against 11 decided that the G. C. L. should join the Moscow Trade Union International.

28) Congress of 15,000 organised railway workers in Alsace-Lorraine at Sarreguemine on 8-9/IV by majority 8,698 votes against 4,453 with 500 nonvoting, resolved to join the International of Red Trade Unions.

The trade union organisations, which have accepted the programme of the Committee of the Revolutionary Syndicalists, have thereby repudiated the reformist policy of the General Confederation of Labour and accepted the point of view of the Red International of Trade Unions.

The following united trade unions have expressed themselves in favour of the Committee of the Revolutionary Syndicalists:

1) The Federation of the French Union of the victualers has expressed itself for the revolutionising of organisations and has protested against the policy of the General Confederation of Labour by a majority of 13 against 9 (1 vote withheld) on Jan. 31th.

2) The workers of the sugar refining industry of the department of the Seine.

3) The Union of the Syndicates of the department of the Rhône.

4) The Union of the Syndicates of the Haute-Vienne.

5) The Union of the Syndicates of the department of Bouches-du-Rhône.

6) A Revolutionary Committee has been formed in the union of the Syndicates of the department of Maine-et-Loire; judging from the data gathered from the last votes, it is supported by half of the organisation.

7) The former minority in the department of the Cher has gradually increased and com-

poses at present a decided majority in the union of Syndicates, supporting the Red International of the Trade Unions.

VIII. Holland.

The Congress of the Central Committee of the Labour Secretariat and the Committees of the Netherlands, together with the organisations affiliating to it, has elected a delegation to the forthcoming Congress of the Trade Unions in Moscow. (Jan. 9).

„Tribune“.

IX. Austria.

1) The Section of the Union of agricultural labourers of Winiige (Austria) has decided to affiliate to the Red International of Trade Unions, and has instructed its representatives to begin the requisite negotiations with the Communist International.

„R. F.“ № 51.
Febr: 2nd. 1921.

2) A communist group of workers of glass industry was organised in Vienne.

„Vienna
Rote Fahne“
22/IV 19. № 393.

X. Great Britain.

1) The conference called in Borrow of the Sections of the Trade Unions adopted a resolution recommending the Committee of the Trade Unions to sever with the Amsterdam International and take steps to send delegates to Moscow.

„Daily Herald“
11/IV

2) At the unofficial conference of the coal miners of the dept. of Yorkshire an unanimous resolution to join the International of Red Trade Unions was adopted.

„Solidarity“
8/IV 1921.

3) The congress of trade organisations of Scotland in Aberdeen 24/IV by a majority of 55 against 50 votes resolved to join Moscow.

„Rote Fahne“
№ 185 20/IV
1921.

4) Federation of Fife Mineworkers resolved to join independently the International of the Red Trade Unions.

„Solidarity“
8/IV.

5) The number of branches of the trade unions which adopted resolutions, proposing to their respective central executive committees to take necessary measures: 1) to sever with the Amsterdam International and 2) to join the Red International, at present executes far above two hundreds.

In different Unions the branches are classified in the following order:

„Vie Ouvrière“
15/IV № 102.

„Vie Ouvrière“
18/III № 98.

„L'Humanité“
20/IV 1921.

„L'Humanité“
Febr. 2nd. 1921.

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 23rd. 1920

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 24th. 1920

„L'Humanité“
Dec. 16th. 1920.

„L'Humanité“
Jan. 9th. 1921.

„L'Humanité“
Febr. 20th. 1921.

„L'Humanité“
Febr. 4th. 1921.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Amalgamated Union of Mechanics	— 80	branches.
The Miners	— 42	"
Carriage Makers	— 18	"
Workers' Union	— 14	"
Coppersmiths	— 15	"
Union of electro-technicians	— 6	"
Labor hands	— 3	"
National Union of Railway Workers	— 5	"
Union of Railway Machinists and Engine drivers	— 3	"
Dockers	— 7	"
Metal and iron	— 5	"
25 other Unions	— 40	"
Total	238	branches.

In the 23 other unions entered there are 2 or 3 branches of each of the following unions: painters, paperhangers, bleachers, carpenters, bricklayers, bakers, tailors, city employers, etc. One must not forget that the list is uncomplete, because only such branches are included here, of which information has been obtained.

„Solidarity”
17/IV. 1921.

XI. Near East.

1) the International conference of Labour in Constantinople voted to join the Moscow Trade Unions International.

„Rosta”. Moscow
Febr. 24th.

XII. Non-European countries.

1) The newly organised union of the American Metal Workers at its first meeting in Philadelphia voted to join the Moscow Trade Unions International.

„Rote Fahne”
№ 98. 25/II. 1921.

2) The congress of workers and peasants in Mexico City where 40,000 workers were represented, adopted a resolution to join the Mexican Communist party and the Moscow International of Trade Unions.

„Communist”
9/IV. 1921.

3) The trade unions of large industries in the United States of North America are discussing the question of their attitude towards the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. Not long ago the trade unions of Detroit and Seattle have decided to send representatives to the Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions. Similar decision is expected, in the near future, at Chicago.

„Rote Fahne”
(Vienna), № 595
April 24th.

Abbreviations

- F. D. P. — „Folkeets Dagblat Politiken”.
- D. H. — „Daily Herald”.
- K. F. — „Rote Fahne”.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WOMEN MOVEMENT

TO ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International and Women Section of the Communist International is convening, on the occasion of the forthcoming Third International Congress, the Second International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow. The Conference is being all for the purpose of reviewing the experience of work among women from an international viewpoint; for determining the duties of working women in accordance with the conditions dictated by the international situation; for determining the methods and policies to be pursued among working women in connection with the main task of the Communist International, namely, to unite all the forces of the proletariat, including working women, in order to hasten the process of securing the dictatorship of the working class.

The Executive of the Comintern and the Womens Secretariat invites comrades and women comrades to send delegates to the Congress.

It is desirable, that delegates should bring with them the report of the work conducted among women.

The accepted agenda by the Comintern for the Congress is as follows:

1. The role of women in the struggle for the conquest of dictatorship.
2. Methods and forms of work among proletarian women.
3. Participation of the working women in the economic struggle and the reconstruction of the economic life of the country.
4. The composition and the tasks of the Secretariats.
5. International Womens Conference.

To the Second Conference of the Women Communists of the World, the International Womens' Secretariat and the Executive of the Communist International propose the following representation:

First Group. 8 Votes.

- Russia.* Communist Party.
- Germany.* Communist Labour Party (consultative).
United Communist Party.
- France.* French Socialist-Revolution Party
Minority of the Syndicates.
- Italy.* Communist Party.
United Syndicate } With Right of vote.
Seamens' Union }
Railway-mens' Union } Consultative vote.
Socialist Party }
- Norway.* Labour Party.
- Sweden.* Communist Party.
- Bulgaria.* Communist Party.
- Poland and Eastern Galicia.* Communist Party of Poland.
Communist Party of Eastern Galicia.
Union of Jewish Workers (consultative).
- Czechoslovakia.* Communist Party of German Bohemia.
Left Wing (Marxist) of the Socialist Party.
Slovakian Socialist Party (consultative).
International Socialist Party of the Rousina. (cons.)
- England.* United Communist Party.
Left Wing of the I. L. P.
- America.* Communist Party (United),
I. W. W.

Second Group—8 Votes.

- Austria.* Communist Party.
- Hungary.* Communist Party.
- Yugo-Slavia.* Communist Party.
Socialist Party of the autonomous State of Funafkirchen (consultative).
- Ukraine.* Communist Party.
- Finland.* Communist Party.
- Spain.* Communist Party.
Confederation of Labour.

Third Group 2 Votes.

- Far-Eastern Republic.* Communist Party.
- Japan.* Communist Group.
- Argentine.* Communist Party.
Communist Labour Federation. (consultative).
- Azerbaijhan.* Communist Party.
- Armenia.* Communist Party.
- Georgia.* Communist Party.
- Greece.* Communist Party.
- Belgium.* Communist Party.
- Holland.* Communist Party.
- Denmark.* Communist Party.
- Switzerland.* Communist Party.
Labour Union of Cantoons. (consultative).
- Roumania.* Communist Party.
- Lithuania.* Communist Party.
- Estonia.* Communist Party.
Independent Socialist Party.
- Persia.* Communist Party of Iran.

Fourth Group—1 Vote.

- Australia.* Communist Party.
- Canada.* Communist Party.
- Cuba.* Communist Group.
- Mexico.* Communist Party.
- Central America.* Communist Group.
- Uruguay.* Socialist Party.
- Chile.* Socialist Party.
- Java.* Communist Party.
- South Africa.* International Socialist League.
- Lithuania.* Communist Party.
- Portugal.* Communist Party.
- Luxemburg.* Communist Party.
- Ireland.* Communist Group.
- Iceland.* Communist Party.
- Turkey.* Communist Party.
- China.* Communist Party.
- Bokhara.* Communist Party.
- Palestine.* Communist Party.
- India.* Communist Group.
- China.* Left Wing Socialist Party.
Socialist Groups. } Consultative Votes.
- Corea.* Communist Party.
Social-Revolutionary Party.

QUESTIONS.

The delegates to the Second International Conference of the Communist Women are asked to reply to the following questions pertaining to the conditions of the peasant and working women in their respective countries.

COUNTRY

ORGANISATION

NAME

Part I.

Economic and Political Situation of the Women.

1. What are the particular laws in which the inequality of sex is definitely expressed?
2. Principal laws pertaining to family and marriage rights before and after the war.
3. Have any changes occurred in fundamental laws as a consequence of the war?
4. What are the basic laws for the welfare of women in the city and country?
5. What are the laws providing for child and motherhood welfare, and the kind of institutions, governmental or social, in existence?
6. What is the attitude of the government towards the social care of children and how is it expressed with reference to food, education, medical care, etc.?
7. What is the attitude of the government towards social organisations, such as free kitchens, public dining rooms, laundries, etc.?

Part II.

Women in Industry.

1. State the predominating industry in the country.
2. In what industries are women mostly employed?
3. Women's status in industry before, during, and after the war. Has any change been marked?
4. What is the average wage of a working man and the minimum cost of living?
5. What is the average wage of a working woman and the minimum cost of living?
6. What is the difference in the standard of wages between male and female labour in various industries?
7. Unemployment amongst women; its cause, and the government measures to relieve the situation.
8. What part does the government and governing class play in the liberation of women from idleness by establishing institutions such as nurseries, dining rooms, etc.?
9. What are the general conditions of the working women as to family life in city and country?

Part III.

Women in Trade Unions.

1. How do the women organise in industries?—Into separate organisations, or jointly with the men?
2. Do the women in the Trade Union enjoy the same rights with the men?
3. The total number of working women organised into Trade Unions. What industries, and the proportion to the men working in similar industries,—defined by figures.
4. Number of women active or at the head of Trade Unions.
5. Is there any special organisation amongst the women carried on by any of Trade Unions?
6. Which of the Trade Unions, consisting mostly of women, are most revolutionary?
7. What were the particular demands presented to the governing class through the initiative of the women; which of the demands have been granted?

Part IV.

Women in Political Life.

1. Women's part in political life and its governing laws before, during, and after the war.

2. What part do the women play in the administration of local and general affairs: participation of the women in election, whether passive or active.
3. Total number of women engaged in administrative work.
4. What initiative has been shown by the women at the head of government or municipal departments, regarding introduction of new laws or abolishing the old ones, in reference to the political and economic life of the women.

Part V.

Women in Social Life.

1. Women activities in social life, and how do they appear.
2. The difference in social life between city and peasant and bourgeois women.
3. The difference in social life between married and single women.
4. Have any changes taken place in the family and married life of women, since the war?
5. What has been the influence of religion upon the women since the war, and how is this influence shown?
6. Which are the organisations uniting the women in their struggle for their emancipation (reformist or religious organisations.)

Part VI.

Women in the Revolutionary Movement.

1. To which revolutionary party do the women adhere mostly?
2. What part have the women played in the pacifist movement?
3. What part have the women played in the economic and political struggle such as strikes, riots, etc.?
4. What were the chief slogans presented by the women, uniting them in their struggle?
5. What particular demand were especially presented through the initiative of the toiling women?
6. What improvements in political and social life have been achieved by the women in their revolutionary struggle?
7. Number of women imprisoned at present for revolutionary activities.
8. What is the significant influence of the Russian revolution upon the revolutionary movement of the women?
9. How is the International Women's Day celebrated each year since its creation, and what were the slogans used and the class of women observing that day; whether working, peasant women or housewives.

Part VII.

Local organisations and their adherence or affiliation to the Communist International, and their special work amongst women.

1. Which are the organisations conducting special work amongst women: enumerate them.
2. Form of agitation.
3. Form of organisation.
4. Press.
5. Social status of the women embraced in various organisations and their number.
6. How are the practical results of the work shown?
7. Name some of the most popular leaders.
8. State the difference in methods, form and tactics of various nationalistic or socialist organisations amongst the working and peasant women and housewives.

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 7. „Bratsberg Demokraten“ (Bratsberg Democrat) Skien. Editor Ervind Reiersen. Daily.
 8. „Sorlandets Soc. Dem.“ (Sorland Soc. Democrat). Christiansand. Editor Ole Soleberg. Daily.
 9. „Demokraten“ (The Democrat) Hammar. Editor Alfred Ockerman. Daily.
 10. „Nybrot“. (The New Struggle) Larvick. Editor A. Rines. Daily.
 11. „Vestfold Arbeiderblad“. (Westfalian Worker's Paper). Tønsberg. Editor Ole Eismang. Daily.
 12. „Tiden“. (The Times). Arendale. Editor Charles Hirill. Daily.
 13. „Glommendalens Soc. Demokraten“. (Glommendalens Social Democrat). Kungälvinger. Editor Waldemar Karlson. Daily.

14. „Tidens Krav“. (Call of Time). Christiansund. Editor Ingvald B. Jacobsen. Daily Paper.
15. „Ny Dag“. (The New Day). Gjøvik. Editor Nils Edgord. Daily.
16. „Hangesund Folkeblad“. (Hangsunda Peoples Paper). Published by the Party Committee. Bi-weekly.
17. „Daggry“ (The Dawn). Horten. Editor. Ole Bakka. Three times a week.
18. „Østerdalens Soc. Dem.“ (Østerdals Social Democrat). Elverum. Editor Olaf Sotter. Three times a week.
19. „Arbeidets Ret“. (The Right of Labour). Røros. Editor Jens Haløen. Three times a week.
20. „Nordlands Soc.-Dem.“ (The Nordland Social Democrat). Bode. Editor Harold Haløen. 3 times a week.
21. „Folkvilljen“. (The Peoples Will) Harstad. Editor Alfred Skar. Three times a week.
22. „Nordlys“ (Northern Light) Tromsø. Editor Peter Kossmo. Three times a week.
23. „Fremover“. (Forward). Narvik. Editor Axel Olsen. Published three times a week.
24. „Namdalens Soc.-Dem.“ (Namdals Social Democrat) Namsos. Editor Iohanes Eld. Published 3 times weekly.
25. „Akershus Soc.-Dem.“ (Social Democrat of Akershus). Lillestrøm. Editor August Iversen. Published 3 times weekly.
26. „Hönefoss og. Opl. Soc. Dem.“ (Social Democrat of Hønefoss and Opl.) Hønefoss. Editor Iergen Tpa. 3 times weekly.
27. „Folkets Frihets“ (The Peoples Freedom) Kirkenes. Editor Martin Gjønnes. bi-weekly.
28. „Helg Fremtid“ (The Helv. Future). Molje-Ranau. Editor Knutsen. Bi-weekly.
29. „Vestfemmarkens Soc. Dem.“ (Westfemmarkis Social Democrat) Hamarfest. Editor Chr. Andreas Oløsen. Twice weekly.
30. „Uttrøndelagens Soc. Dem.“ (The Uttrøndelagen Social Democrat). Orkandalsøren. Editor Martin Foss. Edited bi-weekly.
31. „Gudbrandsdalens Soc. Dem.“ (The Gudbrandsdal Social Democrat) Lillehammer. Editor O. Rosoff. Bi-weekly.
32. „Det 20 Aarhundrede“. (The Twentieth Century) Editor Arvid Hansen.
33. „Kvinden“ (The Woman) Organ of the Womens Union of the Labour Party.
34. „Klassenkampen“ (Class Struggle) Organ of the Norwegian Young People Social Democrat Union. Christiania. Weekly.

- Beside the above mentioned party organs, the following are also in sympathy with the party ideas.
35. „Introdalagens Social-Demokraten“ (Introdu Social Democrat). Levanger. Editor H. Gallan. Published 3 times weekly.
 36. „Folkets Rost“ (The Peoples Voice). Askim. Editor Smørre Hvertholm. 3 times a week.
 37. „Hardanger Social-Demokraten“ (Hardanger Social-Democrat) Odda. Editor Edw. Jerstadt. 3 times a week.
 38. „Fimarken“ (Fimarken) Vardo. Editor Jone Andrew. Twice a week.
 39. „Sogne Social Demokraten“ (The Sogne Social Democrat) Lerdal. Editor Erik Nordberg. Bi-weekly.
 40. „Follo Social Demokraten“ (The Follo Soc. Democrat) Drbak. Editor B. Chr. Holte. Bi-weekly.
 41. „Moss Social Demokraten“ (The Moss Social Democrat) Moss. Bi-weekly.
 42. „Folkets Ret“ (The Peoples Rights) Moide. Editor J. Dale. Weekly.
 43. „Romerikes Blad“ (Romerics Page) Jessheim. Editor J. Halvorsen. Bi-weekly.

F I N L A N D.

1. „Wapaus“. Petrograd. Found 1918. In 1920 the publication was taken over from the Party by the Central Bureau of the Finnish Organisations of R. C. P. Daily.
2. „Kumous“. (Revolution) Magazine. Petrograd. Found 1918. Publication taken over by C. B. of the Finnish Organisations of R. C. P.
3. „Punainen Lippu“ (Red Flag). Was published illegally in Finland. Publication ceased.
4. „Proletari“ (Proletary) a weekly. Found. Nov. 26, 1920. Published illegally.
5. „Viesti“ (Messenger) Magazine. Stockholm. Found. 1918.

LATVIA

1. „Taisla” (The Struggle). Central Organ of the Latvian Communist Party Published 1919—20 Illegally with circulation of 7,000.
2. „Bulletin of Central Committee”. Two issues were published. Circulation 1,000.
3. „Communist”. The underground organ of the Libau Committee of the Party. 36 numbers were issued. Circulation 2,000 copies.
4. „The Batracus Struggle”—underground organ of the Libau Committee of the Party. One number was published.
5. „Bulletin of the Libau Committee”. 5 numbers were published. Circulation 1,000 copies.
6. „Spartak”. Underground organ of the Riga Organisation. 8 issues were published. Circulation 3,000.
7. „Red Corpelon”—underground organ of the Libau Military Organisation. 5 numbers were published. Circulation 3,000 copies.
8. „The Young Spartak”. Organ of the Young Peoples Union. One issue was published. Circulation 1,000 copies.

Lettland and White Russia.

1. „Kommunistas” (The Communist). Organ of the Executive Bureau of the Lettland Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Smolensk.
2. „Kommunistas” (The Communist). Organ of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Lettland and Belorussia. Smolensk.
3. „Stern” (The Star). In Jewish. Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Lettland and White Russia and General Bureaux of the Jewish Sections of White Russia. Minsk Daily.

GERMAN AUSTRIA.

1. „Die Rote Fahne” (The Red Flag). Central Organ of the Communist Party of German Austria. Vienna. Founded 1918. Daily.
2. „Klassenkampf” (Class Struggle) Organ of the Party organisations in province. Vienna. Weekly.
3. „Rätekorrespondenz”. (Soviet Correspondence) Organ of the Communist Fraction of Workers Soviets. Vienna.
4. „Der Rote Soldat”. (The Red Soldier). Published by the Soldiers Group of the Party. Vienna. Twice monthly.
5. „Der Kriegsgefangene” (The War prisoner)—published by the Party.
6. „Die Kommunistische Jugend” (The Communist Youth) Organ of the Union of the Communist Proletarian Youth Vienna. Founded 1919. Circulation 3,000 6,000.
7. „Kommunismus” (Communism) Editions of the Communist International. Vienna. Founded 1920. Editor in Chief Herhardt Eisler. Weekly.
8. „Sowjet” (The Soviet) A Communist monthly. Editor Otto Rausch. Vienna.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

1. „Roodye Pravo”. (Red Rights) Central Organ of the Marxian (left) Czecho-Slovakian Social Democratic Party. Praga. Daily.
2. „Vyetchernie Roodye Pravo”. An evening edition of the above mentioned organ.
3. „Svoboda” (Freedom) Cladno. Editor B. Gulla. Daily.
4. „Ravnost” (Equality) - Brunn. Daily.
5. „Snaga”. Tabor.
6. „Volnost” (Freedom) Nimburg.
7. „Proboj” (The Hide) Laun.
8. „Slovaksko” (Slovakia) Godonin.
9. „Rovno Pravo” (Equal Rights) Nuslez.
10. „Gshikovan”. (Shikov).
11. „Iskra” (The Sparkle) Trebich.
12. „Inji Morava” Smolmo.
13. „Nash Syéver” (Our North) Oosty nad Laaben.
14. „Strage Polzergi”. ML Boleslav.
15. „Strage Lidoo” Kromergige.
16. „Pravda Hudodé”. Ruganberg-Slovakia.
17. „Spravedlivost” (Justice) Rokitsaa.

18. „Az Igu Garda”. (The Young Guard) Organ of the Union of the Communist Youth of Slovakia; Kozich; Bi-monthly.

HUNGARY.

1. „The Red Gazette” (In Hungarian language). Organ of the Hungarian Communist Party. Vienna. Was published daily, from June 1920 weekly.
2. „Proletar” (The Proletarian) Hungarian Organ of the Communist International. Vienna. Founded in July 1920. Weekly.
3. „Az Igu Proletar” (The young Proletarian) Organ of the Union of Youth. Published as a bi-monthly. (Illegally).
4. „Ertesito”. (Information Leaflet). Organ of the Union of the Youth. Published illegally bi-monthly.

BULGARIA.

1. „Rabotnichesky Wiestnik” (The Workers Messenger). Central Organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Sofia. Circulation 25,500—30,000. Daily.
 2. „Novo Wremye” (The New Times) Bi-monthly. Theoretical party magazin 6,000 subscribers.
 3. „Krasnyi Smyech” (Red Laugh) a humorous weekly. Circulation 6,000.
 4. „Solaki Vestnik” (The Village Messenger). Organ for communist propaganda in villages. Circulation 8,000.
 5. „Party Correspondence”.
 6. „Drougartche” a monthly child magazine.
 7. „Biblioteka Drougartche”—monthly publication for proletarian youth.
- The general circulation of the last three organs is 20,000.
8. „Ravenstvo” (Equality). Communist newspaper for women. Circulation 6,250.
 9. „Mladejka Pravda” (The Youth's Truth). Organ of the young Peoples Communist Union. Sofia. Circulation 5,800. bi-monthly.
 10. „Osvobozhdenie” Organ of Communist propaganda amongst emigrants of Macedonia, Frakia and Dobrudja. Circulation 5,000.
 11. „Outchitselskaja Iskra” (Teachers Spark). Organ of Teacher Communist organisation. 4,300 subscribers.
 12. „Sloujatschi” (The employee). Organ of Communist organisation of State, country and municipal employees. 2,500 subscribers.
 13. „Invalid Boretz” (Wounded Soldier). Organ of Communist organisation of invalids. 2,018 subscribers.

JUGO-SLAVIA.

1. „Radnitchke Nivinyé” (Workers' Gazette) Central organ of the Communist Party of Jugo-Slavia. Editor Sema Markowitz, Belgrade. Circulation 14,000. Daily.
2. „Zrvena Sastava” (Red Flag). Organ of the Union of the Communist Youth of Jugo-Slavia. Belgrade. Circulation 6,000. Bi-monthly.
3. „Ednakost” (Equality). Organ of the womens Communist movement. Belgrade. Bi-monthly. Circulation 5,000.
4. „Boudoutchnost” (The Future) Childrens magazine. Belgrade. Bi-monthly. Circulation 5,000.
5. „Borjba” (The Struggle). Theoretic magazine.
6. „Radnick” (The Worker). Cragosevatz. Weekly. Circulation—5,000.
7. „Outchitselskaya borjba” (Teachers Struggle). Cragosevatz. Monthly. Circulation—3,000.
8. „Norodnaya Volja” (Peoples Freedom). Pojaga. Circulation—2,000.
9. „Sotsialistitchka Zoria”. (The Socialist Dawn) Skopje. Bi-weekly. Circulation—3,000.
10. „Glass Slobodye” (Voice of Freedom) Sarajev. Daily. Circulation 5,000.
11. „Narodnyi Glas” (The Peoples Voice). A weekly for Peasants. Bania Louka. Circulation 3,000.
12. „Nova Istina” (The New Truth) Sagreb. (Agram). Weekly. Circulation—8,000. After the party congress in Boudkovar remained „socialist”.
13. „Proletta” (The Proletarian). Virovititsa. Weekly. Circulation 1,000.
14. „Radnitchka List” (The Workers Leaflet). Novy Sad Bi-weekly. Circulation 6,000.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

15. „Radnitchka Kitch“ (The Workers Word). Osek. Daily. Circulation 2,000.
16. „Radnitchka Straja“ (The Workers Guard). Voukovar. Weekly. Circulation—2,000 copies.
17. „Nashyl Zapysakyi“ (Our Notes). Lubliana. Monthly. Circulation 2,000 copies.
18. „Redetchi Prapor“ (The Red Flag) in Slavonic language, Lubliana. Circulation from 4,500—5,000 copies.
19. „Osloboshdénye“ (Deliverance). Sniatze. Weekly. Circulation—4,000 copies.

ROUMANIA.

1. „Tineretul Socialist“ (The Socialist Youth) Organ of the Social Democratic union of Young People. Bucharest. Bi-monthly.

GREECE.

1. „Ergaticos Agon“ (Workers Struggle). Official Organ of the Greek Socialist Workers Party (Communist). Athens. Weekly. Circulation 6,000 copies.
2. „Ridzospastia“ (Radical) based on the party platform. Athens. Daily 10,000 copies.
3. „Avanti“ (Forward) in Jewish-Spanish language. organ of the Labour Bureau. Saloniki. Circulation 2,000.
4. „Foni ton Ergaton“ (The Voice of Labour). Organ of the Party and the Labour Bureau. Saloniki. Circulation 2,000.
5. „Ergatimos“ (Labour). Party weekly. Kavala. Circulation 3,000.

GEORGIA.

1. „Communist“. Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Tiflis. Founded in October 1920. Daily. Temporary editor M. Saganis.
2. „Achali Communist“ in Georgian language. Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Tiflis. Editor Suchoashvili.

U. S. A. M. E. R. I. C. A.

1. „The Communist“. Official Organ of the United Communist Party. Founded 1920. Published bi-monthly in English, Hungarian, Jewish, Lettish, Polish, Russian, Finnish, Croatian languages.

2. „The Class Struggle“. Theoretic Magazine Monthly.
 3. „Voice of Labour“.
 4. „The Communist“. The Organ of the Communist Party of America. Published bi-monthly underground. Circulation 8,000 copies.
 5. „Novy Mir“. Organ of the Communist Party of America. Founded by L. Detsch in 1912. In 1916—1917 the Russian Bolsheviks took part in it, from the beginning of 1920 went into a half-legal existence and from June has been published illegally.
 6. „Rote Fahne“. (The Red Flag) Yiddish Organ of the Communist Party of America. Underground. Circulation 3,000.
- Besides the above mentioned papers, the Communist Party of America is publishing underground papers in Lettish, Ukrain and Polish languages, each one of which has a circulation of about 10,000 copies.

7. „The Communist Unity“ published from the middle of January by a group of active Communists of both parties. Published simultaneously in Russian, English and Yiddish. Circulation 5,000.

The following Communist inclined magazines are published openly:

8. „The Workers Challenge“. New York. Circulation 5,000.
9. „The Toller“. Organ of the Communist Party, Ohio. Cleveland. Editor—Elmer Allison. Weekly. Circulation 15,000.
10. „The Liberator“. Monthly magazine. Published instead of „Massee“. Edited by Max Eastman with collaboration of John Reed and Robert Minor.
11. „Der Proletarier“ (The Proletarian) in Yiddish. Magazine with illustrations. New York. Published by the Proletarian Publishing Association. Circulation 7,000.
12. „Der Kampf“. (The Struggle) in Yiddish. Weekly.
13. „Molot“ in Ukrainian. Weekly.
14. „Soviet Russia“. Weekly, dedicated to spread the truth about Russia. Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. New York. Founded Nov. 1919.

Since the gigantic growth of the universal Communist press makes rather difficult to give a full account of all the publications, we expect that this will be an encouragement to all the Sections of the III International to send the information of the historic development, circulation and present situation of the Communist press all over the world.



CONTENTS:

	Page.	Page.
The Third Congress of the Communist International.—By A. Rosmer	5	tional and of the Provisional Council of the Inter- national of Trade Unions 116
Role and Significance of the Third Congress.—By J. Frits. The World Congress of the Communist International.—A Manifesto by the Executive Committee of the Com- munist International	10 18	Report of the Condition and Work in Britain of the Shop Stewards' Movement 118
A Year of Struggle.—By G. Zinoviev	16	Documents of the International Communist Movement.
The Downfall of P. Lecl.—By Karl Radek	20	Rules for Underground Party Work.—A leaflet by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America 119
Withdrawal of Five Members of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany.—A Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International	30	Resolution of the Irish Citizen Army 120
The Foundation of the Two and a Half International.— By Karl Radek	31	The Activities of the Communist International.
The Levy on Farm Produce.—By N. Lenin	43	Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Proletariat of all Countries Against the Yoke of the Entente 121
Economic Basis of Imperialism in the United States of North America.—By E. Wurga	5	To the Third Congress of the Communist International. A list of organizations invited to the World Congress 122
The Marine Transport Workers.—By Tom Barker	66	The Sections of the Communist Interna- tional.
On the Policy of the K. A. P. D.—By L. Trotsky	71	Activities of the English Communists after their Union at Leeds 123
Revolutionary Problems in America.—By Wm. D. Haywood. The Third International and the Intellectuals.—By A. Lenacharsky	77 81	List of the Organizations, declaring themselves in favour of the Third International 126
The Japanese Labourer.—By Sen Katayama	85	The International Communist Women Movement.
P. A. Kropotkin.—By J. Novomirsky	90	To all Communist Parties 145
The Opposition to the Social Revolution in Britain.— By Tom Quelch	93	Questions to the delegates to the Second International Conference to the Communist Woman 146
One of the Aims of French Communism.—By Ellen Brion. Revolutionary Movement in South Africa.—by a Delegate of the League	100 108	Bibliography.
The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.		Press of the Communist International 147
The Labour Unions in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.—By A. Lozovsky	107	
Industrial Workers of the World.—By V. Lossieff	111	
To the Workers of Great Britain.—A Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist Interna-		

Illustrations:

- The Funeral of Comrade Sielt, between pages 20 and 21.
- Comrade Brandler, between pages 24 and 25.
- Wm. D. Haywood, between pages 78 and 79.
- P. A. Kropotkin, between pages 90 and 91.

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

Art. 3. All parties joining the Communist International shall be called: "Communist Party of such and such country (branch of the Communist International)."

Art. 4. The highest organ of the Communist International is a World Congress of all the parties and organisations constituting it. The World Congress shall be convened as a rule not less than once a year. The World Congress alone is empowered to modify the programme of the Communist International

The World Congress discusses and passes resolutions on the most important questions of programme and tactics connected with the work of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes for each party and organisation at the World Congress shall be determined by special resolutions of the Congress.

Art. 5. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International during the periods between the Congresses of the Communist International and which is accountable to the World Congress only.

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

Art. 7. An Extraordinary World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by decision of the Executive Committee, or at the request of one half of the parties forming part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

Art. 8. The chief burden of the work in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lies on the Party of the country in which the Executive Committee resides, as decreed by the World Congress. The Party of that country shall have five representatives in the Executive Committee with a decisive vote. Besides this from ten to twelve of the largest Communist Parties shall each have one representative with a decisive vote on the Executive Committee; the list of such representatives shall be confirmed by the World Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organisations, members of the Communist International, shall be entitled to send to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

Art. 9. The Executive Committee shall direct the whole work of the Communist International from Congress to Congress and it shall publish in not less than four languages a Central Organ of the Communist International ("Communist International"); it shall issue the necessary proclamations in the name of the Communist International and give binding directions to all Parties and organisations, constituting the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Third International is entitled to demand from the affiliated Parties the expulsion of such groups and persons who have violated the international discipline, and also to expel from the Communist International the parties which violate the resolutions of the World Congress. These parties have a right to appeal to the World Congress.

In case of need the Communist International shall organise in different countries its own technical and other offices completely subordinated to the Executive Committee. The

representatives of the Executive Committee shall carry out their political tasks in closest contact with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the given country.

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

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

Art. 12. The general conditions in all Europe and America compel the Communists of all the world to form illegal Communist organisations parallel with the lawful ones. The Executive Committee shall be bound to see that this should be carried out everywhere.

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

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

Art. 15. The International Union of Communist Youth is a fully empowered member of the Communist International and subordinated to its Executive Committee. One representative of the International Union of Communist Youth shall be delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a right of a decisive vote. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be entitled to delegate one representative with the right of a decisive vote to the executive organ of the International Union of Communist Youth.

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

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

THE 30th STATS TYPOGRAPHY
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