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For the Tenth Anniversary of the Imperialist War.

Against War!

Against the Bourgeoisie! Against the Social-Traitors!

For the World Revolution of the Proletariat!

For Communism!

Ten years have passed since the world bourgeoisie let loose bellish forces of militarism. On August 4th, 1914, the greatest fight which has ever taken place in the history of mankind commenced. The ruling classes and their military strategists expected the war to be over in a few months. But the events which they had conjured up, soon became stronger than themselves. The armies grew in numerical strength and dug themselves into opposing trenches. All the energy and the labour of Europe (and far beyond Europe) were used for war. Things were produced for destruction, and destruction done in order to bring forth new instruments of destruction. An abominable and mad process went on for four years, three months and twenty-six days. It was a true reflex of capitalist society.

Proletarians were busily engaged making engines of destruction. Other proletarians together with peasants used these engines of destruction. Proletarians and peasants of various nations killed each other. When we look back now on all this horror, we cannot help asking ourselves how such madness was possible. But there is another question which is much more important and more acute, it is the question as to whether we are not threatened with a repetition of the same horror.

1.

The military catastrophe was a long time brewing. The enlightened workers foresaw its inevitability and warned the masses about it. The only means to prevent the war, which was approaching, and to make war impossible was — revolutionary action, a revolt of all workers against imperialism, a rising, irrespective even of the brutality of its forms,

would not have caused a hundredth part of the material damage and would not have exacted a thousandth part of the human losses caused by the world-war. But no rising took place. Most of the socialist parties not only failed to call the workers to the revolutionary fight against war, but on the contrary, joined their government and declared that their respective countries were engaged in a righteous war and called upon the workers to support it. It was due entirely to this socialist support of the bourgeoisie that the masses were kept in order and the war could be carried on. It was entirely due to the treachery of the socialist parties that the bourgeoisie could carry on the war for four years. It is also entirely due to the collaboration of the social-patriotic leaders with the militarist butchers that mankind has to mourn for ten million dead and has now many millions of cripples in its midst. It is only due to the flunkeyism of Scheidemann and Ebert, Renaudel and Longuet, Henderson and Vandervelde that the bourgeoisie was enabled to exhaust and lay waste Europe, and destroy the works of centuries.

August 4, 1914, the first day of the imperialist war, the day of the open capitulation of the social-democratic leaders before the bourgeoisie, will remain forever the blackest, the most shameful and evil day in the history of mankind.

Workers and peasants, men and women! Remember the promises made by the ruling classes from the very first days of the war. You were told that this war will guarantee in future a peaceful existence to the people. You were told that as a result of the war the burdens of militarism will be less. You were assured that this was a "war to end war". Such was the language of kings, presidents, bourgeois-ministers and journalists. The same was said to you in different words by the social democrats and by the patriotic trade-union leaders. Now

The constitutional illusions and the hopes of a compromise on the part of the oppressed masses of India cannot be kept up any longer. The parties of National liberal and petty-bourgeois utopian Parties are declining. The revolutionary movement is permeating the country more and more and is effecting considerable sections of the population. What is needed is a strong, centralised revolutionary party capable of controlling this movement and dealing the death-blow to British imperialism.

In dismembered China, the imperialist powers have established their regime under the cloak of a military occupation by mercenary native troops. The efforts of the Chinese people to become united and independent are continually frustrated by the machinations of the Japanese, American and European robbers. MacDonald's ambassador in Peking insisted on the punishment of the Chinese soldier who dared to walk in a part of the town where only the white exploiters are allowed to enjoy the fresh air. The masses of China are reanimated by a just hatred and uncontrollable indignation against their oppressors. Here, as in India, a revolutionary organisation sprung up as a result of frequent and always frustrated attempts at liberation. This organisation is destined to free China from their foreign and home oppressors.

France, which has extended its colonial empire, is making frantic efforts to find reservoirs for its militarism. It draws into its capitalist army not only Arabs, but also Negroes. These coloured races are given a military training, and are not only to be formed into black and yellow regiments for future imperialist wars, but are also to serve as a safe weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution in Europe.

The basis of militarism, and the basis of revolution are extending.

IV

At present war is being waged against mankind in a disguised form. For is not the new solution of the question of German reparations — "the Experts' Report" — an application of war methods to the solution of fundamental economic questions? America, whose bulging pockets are full of European gold supported by the military strength of France, dictates to Germany a definite economic regime as a punishment for its defeat. Only charlatans of the worse kind can assert that the decision of the experts is a peaceful democratic and pacifist solution of the question. In reality, the Entente is dictating its decision with a pistol at the head of Germany. We are repeatedly told that the economic revival of Europe is only possible if capitalist forces are given free play. This of course is a condemnation of the idea of socialist economic organisation. We should like to know how the fundamental question of the economic position of Europe can be solved by the continuous military violation of Germany, which not so long ago was the leading capitalist country of Europe.

The only reason why the German bourgeoisie accepted the Experts' Plan is that it hoped, that with the help of foreign capital (and if necessary), with the help of foreign armed forces, it will be able to defeat the German proletariat. Step by step, it is throttling the proletariat, robbing it of all the achievements of the revolution, abolishing the eight-hour day, intensifying production and by means of the technique and the concentration of industry endeavouring to compel German workers once more to go through all the hardships and misery of the epoch of primitive accumulation. By weakening and humiliating the German proletariat, the European bourgeoisie want to hold the sword of Damocles of German competition over the heads of the working class of other countries. Moreover, American capitalists are preparing to "control" Europe with the help of their experts, which means that they want to rule over Europe, just as the American magnates are ruling over scores of trusts and railways. At the same time, American capitalists intend to let the aristocracy of the American working class have a good time by giving them a share of their European profits. This working class aristocracy, led by the arch-traitor, Gompers, is to help them to keep in order the many million strong American proletariat over whose heads they hold the threat of a new immigration wave from ruined Europe.

This monstrous plan for the enslavement of the workers of Europe by Anglo-Saxon capitalists through the medium of French militarism has received the approval of the parties of the Second International. The Entente socialists have been provided with a sanctimonious pacifist excuse for the predatory policy of their

bourgeoisie with whom they work hand in hand. German social democracy hopes that the re-establishment of a firm capitalist democracy will enable it to overcome the communist peril. At the same time, it explains its collaboration with the German bourgeoisie by the necessity to resist pressure from outside. With the hue and cry about communist conspiracies and an international Tcheka, a huge capitalist conspiracy against the workers of Europe and the world is being engineered under our nose. Finance capital is the organiser of this conspiracy. Its General Staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The task of executing the plot has been imposed upon the marshals of the French Stock Exchange. Social democrats and Amsterdam trade unionists are the interpreters, the defenders and the advocates of this conspiracy. Experts in treachery are coming to the assistance of the capitalists experts.

V

If we ask ourselves once more what prevents the workers and peasants even now from rising against the militarism which is crushing them, the inevitable answer is — international social democracy, the mensheviks, the Second International and bureaucracy of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. This is the chief lesson of the imperialist war. Such are the deductions from the events of the last decade.

We, the workers organised in the Communist International, declare this to the whole world. We want to be heard by the workers of all countries. We want our voices to reach every working man and working woman in town and country. We want to sound the revolutionary alarm in the hearts of the oppressed, we want to tell them: the bourgeoisie is preparing a new war, and the social democrats are demoralising you in order to betray you.

Working men and women! Take heed, think and take count among yourselves. A few weeks ago in Vienna, the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International discussed with the leaders of the Second International the question of the war. The organisation, which is headed by Jouhaux, Grassmann, MacDonald, Ebert, Noske, Vandervelde and Co., was compelled to concentrate its attention on the question of war, only because the war peril again confronts us. And the whole world is given to understand that these gentlemen promised to make war by every means at their disposal, including the general strike. Will you really allow yourselves to be deceived by a contemptible force in which the same actors perform before for the second time the same treacherous part? Do you remember that at the Basle International Congress in 1912, we made even more solemn pledges than now not to shrink by any means to prevent war, and that very soon after this congress they became the most ardent and trusted supporters of the bourgeois bourgeoisie. In the post-war period they served capitalism in the capacity of Ministers or loyal members of parliament and patriotic trade-union leaders. They have prevented and prevent even purely economic strikes. They vote war credits. And after that, they pledge themselves to make war on us. Is it likely that Ramsay MacDonald, who with the working bourgeoisie constructs tanks and aeroplanes at the bidding of the bourgeoisie, will call a strike as soon as the bourgeoisie sets these aeroplanes, tanks and cruisers into motion. Is it likely that Vandervelde, who helped his king to carry on the war, who affixed his signature to the Versailles Peace Treaty, call upon the Belgian workers to rise when the Belgian bourgeoisie will deem it necessary to plunge into war for the execution of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty? Is it likely that Blum and Jouhaux, the leaders of patriotic socialism and unionism in France, who to-day are supporting the occupation of the Ruhr, will call a general strike to-morrow, if the bourgeoisie is compelled to maintain the occupation by the use of arms? The murderer is still standing by his victim, his hand is still dripping with his victim's blood, and yet he is calling upon the people blind enough and mad enough to believe him?

Workers and oppressed of the world, take heed, look at you and think. On the tenth anniversary of the war, the social democrats are organising a travesty of a fight for protest against the peril of war, which will be nothing but a farce. They want to divert your attention, to lull you into a false security, so as to be able to tie your hand and foot and throw

to the moloch of militarism. Do not believe them, expose them. Confront them at every meeting with the question: will they want to fight against war, why do they vote war credits and for the bourgeois government, and why do they support the capitalist State?

The experiences of the last ten years must not be lost. During that period we had occasion to watch pacifists, both socialist and bourgeois, in all parts of the world. There is nothing to choose between them. Did we not have the example of American pacifists, who during the first part of the war, shed pious tears over the bloodthirsty evil doers of Europe, and subsequently helped Wilson to deal the final blow at Europe, in order to enable capitalist America to get fat and strong at its expense? Did not we see the French pacifists, radicals and socialists at work in the Masonic Lodges preaching the brotherhood of man, and after August 4, 1924, preaching the dismemberment of Germany? Have we not had enough of German socialists like Kautsky, Hilferding and others of that ilk who during peace time are waiting for war with tears in their eyes, and during war time are hoping for peace. These cowards even clutched at Wilson, just as they are clutching now at the mildly imperialist notes of Ramsay MacDonald who is practicing his pacifism on the backs of the people of Germany. Together with the French bourgeois pacifist Herriot, MacDonald has re-introduced Entente control over the disarmament of Germany, while continuing at the same time to strengthen and increase the armament of Great Britain. Pacifists are for peace during peace time; but in war time they give whole hearted support to their governments. On an international scale they crawl before the strong and mighty and help them to crush the weak. Socialist pacifists have been completely demoralised by this decade of wars and revolutionary convulsions. There is nothing left of their former naivete. To-day they are sharp business men closely connected with the ruling financial and military clique of every country; they are deliberately using pacifist phraseology for the deception of simpletons.

To-day the main pacifist field of action is opposition to revolution, and particularly to the Red Army. Pacifists are against revolutionary violence, rebellions and civil war. But the bourgeoisie is armed, and the working class is not. By fighting against the arming of the workers, pacifists support capitalist militarism, and thereby pave the path for future wars. All the more disgusting are their references to humanity and culture. When pacifists are confronted with the accusation that they support the militarism of their respective bourgeoisie, they invariably refer to the Red Army. They mean to infer that the existence of the Red Army, which was created by the workers of Russia for defence against imperialism, is a justification for the armaments of the capitalist States for the purpose of annexations and for crushing the revolution. Pacifists remained silent when the armed force of France, Great Britain, the U. S. A. and other countries occupied Odessa, Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok. But they were very indignant over the violence of revolutionaries against their oppressors. To-day the excuse of the pacifists is — that there is no longer military intervention and that one bourgeois State after the other is compelled to recognise the Soviet Republic. But it would be foolish indeed to imagine that the danger of war no longer exists for the workers' and peasants' State. The growth of Communist Parties consolidates the international position of the Soviet Union, but on the other hand, it alarms and exasperates the imperialists. If the revolutionary storm were imminent, it would drive them into a military intervention on a very large scale.

Recently the German authorities, exasperated by the communist peril, were ready to imperil the friendly relations between Germany and the Soviet Republics. This is an augury of further developments. Between the capitalist world and the Soviet Republic there can be only agreements, but not reconciliation. As the government of MacDonald and Herriot will have to make room at a given moment for a more open and definite action, the agreements of the capitalist countries with the Soviet Union can, nay even must be violated at a given moment by new interventions. That is why the Red Army and the Red Navy are absolutely necessary. They protect and guard the biggest place of the revolution. If the Soviet Republic were to fail, the bourgeoisie would feel safe for many decades to come. There would be no obstacle in the way of the capitalist offensive against the proletariat. But this will not happen, for the workers

and peasants of the Soviet Union are armed. The Red Army is the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the rebels!

VI

At this period of sharp decline in the development of the productive forces of Europe, military technique indefatigably continues its work. Guns of incredibly long range, are being manufactured. Machine guns and automatic rifles exceed the power of infantry fire many times. Dynamite is giving way to poison gases. Aviation, combined with chemicals, prodigiously increase the areas of the destructive action of war. The difference between the military and the civil population is effaced. Coast fortifications and island bases can no longer be defended. Mighty aggregations of humanity, like Paris and London, are open to destruction from above. The terrors of the last war are as the play of lightning on a summer's eve, as compared with the thunder-bolts of the approaching storm. All the technical power of capitalist society, and all its social barbarity, the insolubility of its contradictions, embittering the ruling classes against each other, and all together against the proletariat, are like an accumulation of a mass of poisonous and explosive substances, hanging over the head of ill-fated humanity. A new war would mean first of all, the mass ruin of the peasants and farmers, the depopulation and desolation of the countryside, the conversion of the land, cultivated by long generations of peasantry, into waste desert and cemeteries. For Europe, as a whole, it would mean the destruction of civilisation, the wreck of all the hopes of liberation for which several generations of workers have already fought.

Everything that is being done to-day in human society — in the realm of economics, politics, science, or art — is of secondary importance in connection with the gigantic task of finding some way to prevent a new war and thus to save humanity from degeneration and ruin. This can be done only by the workers under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. No repressive measures, no forces of militarism will avail, if the workers present a united front against war. The machines of murder are harmless, until they are set in action by a human being. And the overwhelming majority of these human beings are workers and peasants. This is you, workers! On you depends the fate of war, and consequently, your own fate.

The struggle against militarism cannot be put off until war actually breaks out, for then it is already too late. The struggle against war must be carried on right now, immediately, from day to day. The first requirement of such a struggle is to refuse confidence and support to the bourgeois governments, to vote against the budget. Any socialist who enters a bourgeois ministry, any deputy who helps a bourgeois government to collect its taxes, or who draws the workers and peasants into military service — is a traitor and a villain. There can be no place for such a person in the ranks of the working class. We must drive from the trade unions every leader who directly or indirectly aids, justifies, or supports militarism. We must clean the proletarian organizations of political strike-breakers. We must remind all workers men and women of how the last war was prepared, and how the Social Democrats for four years helped imperialism to destroy the workers and peasants. We must appeal tirelessly to the youth of town and country. The inhuman appeal of their fathers and older brothers during the imperialist war must be transformed in the worker and peasant youth to a burning hatred of the perpetrators of the war. It is necessary that the youth enter the capitalist armies with an inward determination to direct their arms not against their brother-proletarians, but against their class enemy, the bourgeoisie. We must labour tirelessly to break down those artificial walls which exist between the army and the working class. We must maintain a close connection with the barracks. We must see that the word of truth reaches every soldier. We must unite the class conscious soldiers into small groups. We must establish a revolutionary organisation on an iron foundation from the most courageous and devoted of the proletarian fighters. We must direct our attention to the military factories. In each of these there must be a strong militant nucleus, which will be capable at the decisive moment of carrying with them all the working masses. The bourgeoisie fear neither pacifist preaching, nor the Social Democrats' threat of a general strike. But the bourgeoisie tremble with hatred

and fear at the news of the formation of each little illegal nucleus on the railroads, in the military factories, and especially in the army and fleet. The bourgeoisie know that there is not a single worker or peasant or soldier who wants war, and that it is only their lack of organisation and self confidence which forces them to go submissively to war. The bourgeoisie know that a small but strong nucleus in each regiment may place a decisive role at the decisive moment. This is the reason that every capitalist government, whatever its democratic guise, persecutes mercilessly all real revolutionary work, and this is the reason that it is the duty of every revolutionist to increase his efforts in this direction ten-fold. Only that party which from day to day carries on an unremitting struggle against the bourgeoisie; that party which rallies the workers to the struggle; which has learned to hate the domination of capital; which infects the masses with this hatred; which prepares the necessary forces and means for the combat; which establishes bases of support for the evolution in the barracks — only such a party can really fight against war. The Communist Parties of every country may be such a directing force. The militant association of all these parties constitutes the Communist International. We, the delegates of this International, gathered together for the fifth time for our world Congress in Moscow, which has been made free by the efforts of the workers and peasants, address to you, workers of all lands, these words of reminder, of warning, and of summons!

Victory is only possible if there is a will to victory, and a faith in victory. Victory can only be attained by rallying around the party which is eager for victory, and can lead you to victory.

Workers! Let the question of war be the touchstone by which you test the loyalty of parties and leaders. Truly the workers have been hoaxed long enough by the words, the phrases, the promises, the bombastic lies of the demagogues. Demand action, examine the facts. Down with the charlatans of pacifism who in time of peace carry on a wordy war against war, but at the first sound of shot are transformed into chauvinist jackals. Down with those socialists who rail against the oppression of the bourgeoisie in the newspapers and at meetings, and then in the hour of difficulty for the bourgeoisie, become their staunchest supporters. Down with the yellow Amsterdam trade unionists who take their orders from the bourgeois ministers and the magnates of capital. Down with those traitors who vote the money for war, who help to build capitalist armies to defend the bourgeoisie state, who support colonial slavery, and thus prepare new wars. Down with the Menshevik leaders of political and trade union organisations. Drive them away, expose them, boycott them, force them out of the ranks of the working class. Watch them sharply, size them up, place no confidence in their words, but examine their deeds — and you will become convinced that there is only one party which is ready to lead you into battle and able to guarantee victory — the Communist Party. Look at Russia in this vast but backward country, the revolutionary Party created by the genius of Lenin was able not only to overthrow its own bourgeoisie, but to defend the government of the workers against innumerable enemies. In the face of enormous difficulties, consequent on the backwardness of the country, the low cultural level, and the enormity of the destruction produced by two successive wars, the workers and peasants are erecting stone by stone the structure of the Socialist commonwealth.

You, the proletariat of England and America, could accomplish incomparably more in this direction than the proletariat of Russia, for you are more numerous, and your country is richer. In order that you may be an invincible force, you need only to realise your own strength, and to apply it properly. The International Communist Party will teach you to do this. Follow it!

And you, despoiled and oppressed peasants, come into our great union. The Peasants' International founded last year is devoting its forces wholly to the struggle against militarism and against the dangers of a new war.

Peasants of Europe! Farmers of America! Tillers of the soil in every land! Your farms, the lives of your sons are at stake! Arise, unite, join with the revolutionary working class! There is no other course for you, no other salvation!

The women — sisters, wives and mothers — less noticeably perhaps than the men — but no less painfully, are weighed

down by the monstrous burden of militarism and war. The destruction of the workers' family, the ruination of the farmers' homesteads, the four years of war, transformed the working woman into a beast of burden for capital. The war has left a terrible imprint on the hearts of mothers, wives and sisters. After all that the working woman has experienced during these years, she must be in the first ranks in the struggle against war and capital.

Working women! Peasant women! Your place is with us we summon you, and we expect you.

The revolutionary education of the colonial peoples has become a question of life and death for the proletariat. If the bourgeoisie strive to support and perpetuate the oppression of the proletariat through colonial oppression, then we, on our side, must bring about a revolt in the colonies to support the revolt of the proletariat.

National and race prejudices are the fruit of slavery and the sustenance of slavery. Chauvinism open or concealed, is the best prop of militarism and the surest means for the preparation of future wars. It is necessary to declare a merciless struggle against national prejudices and race superiority. Not only direct hostility, and a scorn and derision, but the patronising condescending attitude of the white people toward the yellow or black races, must be sharply condemned by the workers as a despicable breach of solidarity, as the worst kind of scabbing. We must teach the colonial workers to regard the white workers as their brothers. And to bring this about, the white proletariat must adopt a brotherly attitude toward the coloured population of the colonies.

Proletariat of Europe! More attention must be given to the colonial question, greater efforts, must be expended in revolutionary work in the colonies. In the very place where the bourgeoisie are hoping to find the most dependable support, we must deal our heaviest blows.

Colonial workers! Slaves of imperialism! Brothers! Arise to the struggle for independence! The Communist International is with you!

Our immediate and pressing task in the struggle against war is at the present time the struggle against that treaty of the capitalist tyrants which goes by the harmless name of the "Experts' Plan". And here, as everywhere, the first blow must be directed against the Social Democracy. They frighten the workers with the formidable forces of America, they demand from them submission and obedience. They predict the ruin of Europe, and first of all of Germany if they should fail to submit to American capital. We, the Communists, say to the workers of Europe — Your only salvation is in an unremitting war against the plan of the experts, against its promulgators and supporters. You must clear the Social Democrats from your road, you must overthrow the bourgeoisie, you must take power into your own hands, you must unite the various sections of the economic structure of Europe, and direct them along the road to Socialism. If Soviet Russia has been able to defend herself victoriously for so many years against the capitalists of Europe and America, certainly the victory of the European proletariat is also assured if they, on seizing power, unite the European countries into a Soviet Federation, into a workers' and peasants' United States of Europe. Thus not only will European culture be rescued from decline and decay, not only will freedom and independence be guaranteed to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but a mortal blow will be dealt to the world autocracy of American capital. The revolutionary movement in America will receive a great impetus. The European Socialist Federation will thus become the cornerstone of the world socialist republic. Only then will human beings be able to think and act like real human beings only then will world economy be established on a basis of solidarity and reason, and world relations be transformed into the fraternal exchange of material and spiritual wealth between the separate peoples and continents. War will be a thing of the past, since there will be no longer any reason for it. The armies and soldiers will disappear. All the efforts of human beings will be directed toward the enrichment of our earth toward the improvement and adornment of human life.

Such is the task of the Communist International — a huge task, but not an impossible one. The road to its realisation was indicated by Marx and Engels. It is the road of fierce struggle in each country against the national bourgeoisie, it is the road of combining the forces of the proletariat of all countries for the seizure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whoever tells you there is another road is lying

to you. The Communist International serves the interests of the proletariat in that it speaks the truth. Let that truth resound throughout the world like the tocsin of the revolutionary struggle! Against war — against the bourgeoisie — against social treachery.

For the World Revolution of the Proletariat — for Communism!

The Presidium of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

Signed: Zinoviev, Chairman; Clara Zetkin; Stalin, Bucharin, Trotzky (Russia); Thaelmann, Gebhardt (Germany); Treint, Sellier (France); Bordiga (Italy); Smeral, Muna (Czecho-Slovakia); Kolarov (Balkans); Kraevsky (Poland); Katayama (Japan); Roy (India); Stewart (Great Britain); Dunne (America); Secretariat: Piatnitsky, MacManus, Neurath, Doriot, Stirner.