

The COMMUNIST REVIEW

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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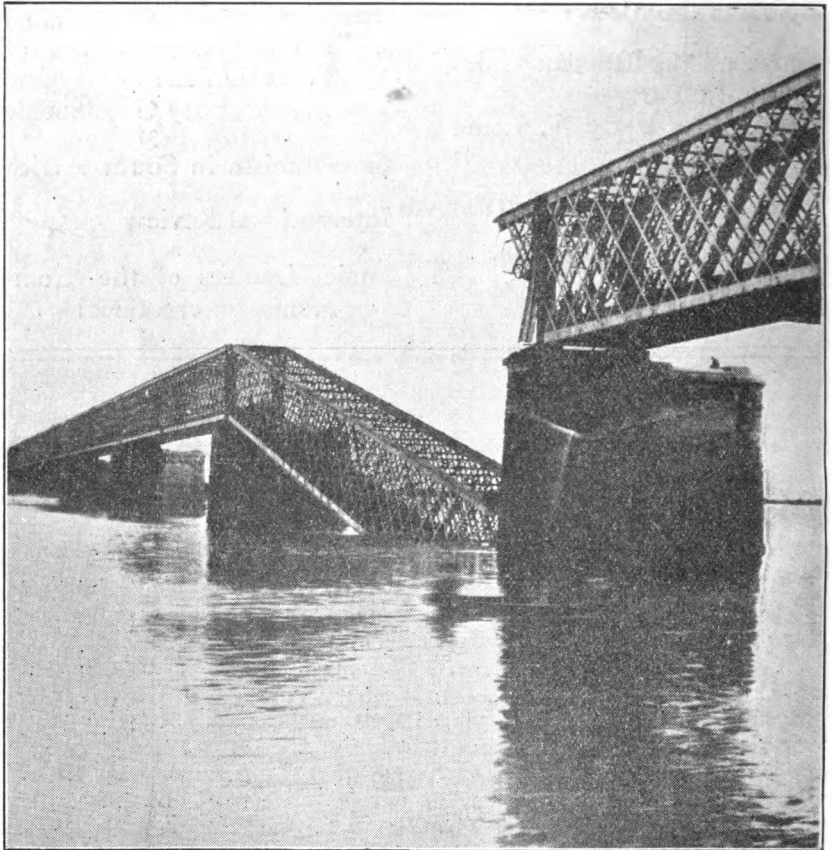
Review of the Month

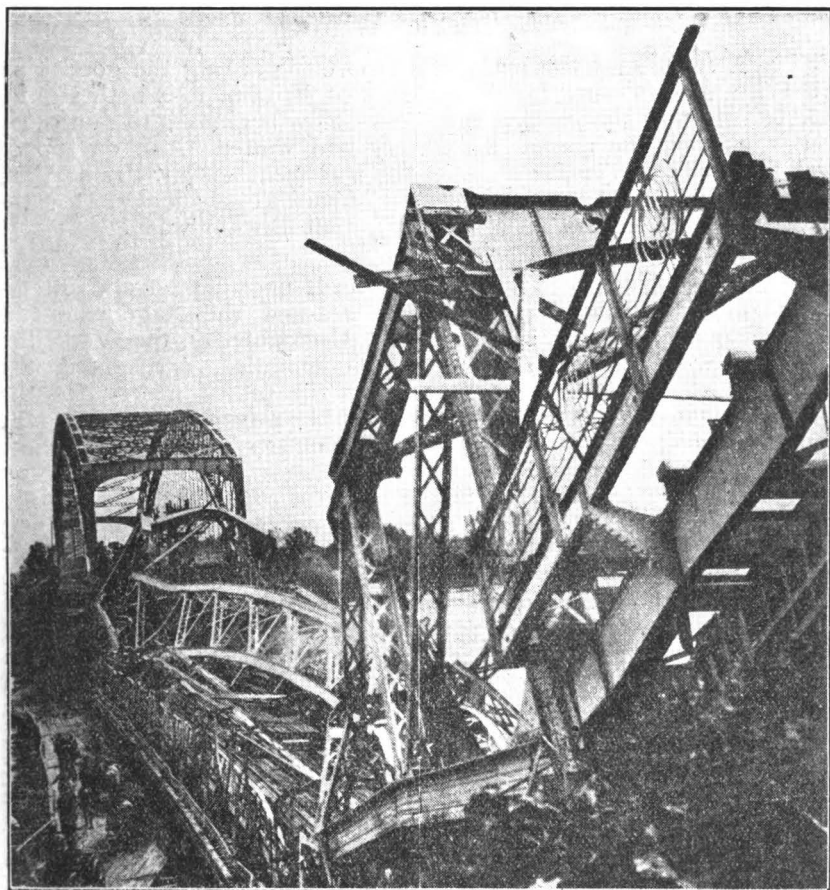
The Third Congress

IN this issue of the COMMUNIST REVIEW we have devoted a great deal of space to several very important statements submitted to the Third Congress of the Communist International, which has just closed at Moscow. The one thing that distinguishes the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International from every other international organisation of Labour is their serious attempt to grapple with every aspect of the class-struggle. The Third Congress critically re-examined the revolutionary tactics which had been elaborated by the first and second Congresses. By doing this the Communist International showed that it was its own most unsparing and relentless critic. This is the best method to adopt in building up an organisation to be at once healthy and virile.

The Russian Famine

THE most serious news which we have received for some time from Russia is that dealing with the famine. It was only to be expected that the reactionary press of this country would seize the opportunity to use the Russian food crisis as something for which the Soviet Government is directly responsible. Need we remind our readers that the British Government spent over one hundred million pounds in a desperately criminal war which had for its aim an attempt to paralyse all Soviet agriculture and to smash Russia's transport system? We publish in this issue a few photographs, out of many hundreds, which clearly show *one* reason why the Soviet Government is handicapped in dealing with the present crisis. The war policy of Winston Churchill which was directed against Russia, in conjunction with the blockade, made it impossible for the Soviet Government to import agricultural machinery, otherwise it could have been in a position to cope with any famine that came along.





Notice to Foreign Press

IN order to make our international survey of the Socialist and Communist movement as comprehensive as possible for the readers of *THE COMMUNIST REVIEW*, we invite the various movements and revolutionary groups, in other countries, to send us a copy of their official journal. We also desire to receive such papers in order to file them in our reference department.

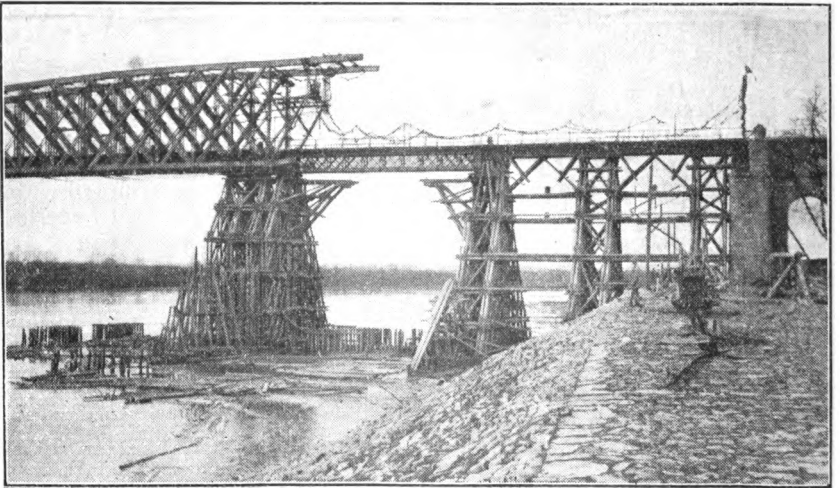
Any Socialist or Communist paper desiring to be put upon our exchange list, might please communicate with the Editor of *THE COMMUNIST REVIEW*, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2.

A Black Winter

DESPITE all the optimistic reports regarding the good time that is in store for the workers of Britain, it is both significant and sinister that the Press is now beginning to cautiously prepare the masses for a very bad winter. And on top of the warnings of the Press comes the statement of Mr. Frank Vanderlip, the well-known American financial authority, to the *Manchester Guardian* (August 2nd), that Britain was "going to have rather a bad time."

The brutal truth is now forcing itself upon honest and intelligent observers that Capitalism has reached the stage where it cannot even feed its own slaves. Undoubtedly the Versailles Treaty, with its reparations and indemnities, accelerated the development of poverty and deepened the pit of misery for the British workers. We must remind the wage-earners that the capitalist and jingo demand for indemnities, which means the intensified exploitation of the German masses, was supported by the Labour Party. The leader of the I.L.P., Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, also outlined an indemnity policy for the imperialists during his recent election campaign in Woolwich. This was one reason, out of many, why the Communist Party opposed him. Members of the I.L.P. who are still doubtful whether MacDonald actually advocated such a reactionary and anti-international policy, as the payment of indemnities, may refer to the columns of an I.L.P. journal, the *Glasgow Forward*, which severely rapped him over the fingers, and exposed his false jingo economics.

We recommend our readers to study the bold declaration of the Communist International, published in this month's COMMUNIST REVIEW, in the statement on "Revolutionary Tactics," where the indemnity theory is cleverly exposed and shown to be an imperialist weapon for the subjugation of the international proletariat.



Thomas the Royalist

THE recent controversy between Northcliffe and Lloyd George, showed the servile position occupied by the monarchy in carrying out the instructions of the Cabinet, as illustrated in the visit of the King to Ireland. The flare-up served to bring several facts to the front. To the working class the most important part of the discussions was *not* that the propertied interests, operating through their control of the State, carry the King in their pocket. Of much greater importance was the declaration by Mr. J. H. Thomas, a leader of the Labour Party, in the House of Commons, that:

If the party to which I belong came into power tomorrow we all believe that His Majesty would accept our advice as he readily accepts that of the present Government.

(Hansard)

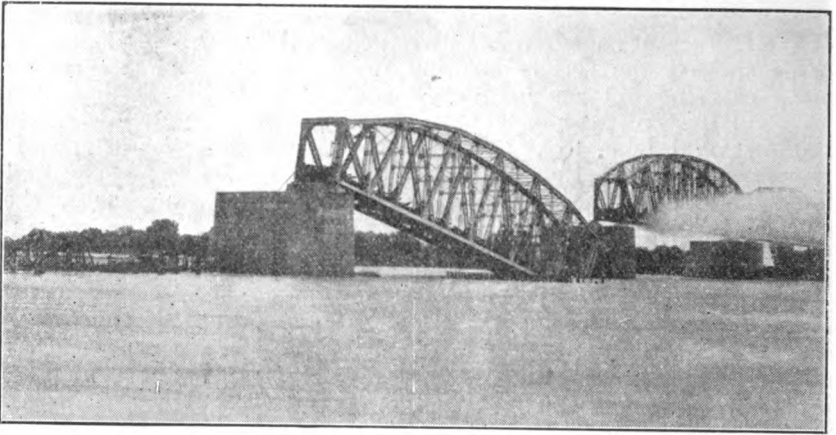
Mr. Thomas also spoke like a true leader of the Second International, and seemed to try and follow in the footsteps of his brilliant colleague, Mrs. Philip Snowden, when he declared that:—

His Majesty recognises no distinction between classes or creeds and he realises that the interests of the whole people are his first and paramount consideration.

(Hansard)

No wonder the hard-faced profiteers and imperialist reactionaries in Parliament cheered the speech of Thomas. No wonder Lord Milner declared that he did not fear the advent of a Labour Government. But where were the bold parliamentarians of the I.L.P., and the daring fighters of the Two-and-a-Half International when Thomas threw the Labour Party at the feet of the King, as a guarantee of its servility? Did the I.L.P. *Labour Leader* denounce Thomas for pledging the betrayal of the Labour Party in advance? Not a word! On this matter the I.L.P. has been criminally and cowardly silent. Not one of its leaders, nor one of its papers dared to repudiate Thomas for praising the Monarchy in the name of Labour. After all, what could we expect? It was the I.L.P. leaders who protected the reactionaries like Thomas and Henderson, etc., by using their *majority control* in the Labour Party N.E.C. to keep the Communists out of that organisation. Their reason for preventing the Communists from entering the Labour Party was because they realised that we would unmask Thomas, Clynes, and the others to the masses.

Thomas, Clynes, and the other Labour reactionaries are the greatest traitors of the working class in this country. They defend capitalism and attack the Communists. And it is the I.L.P. majority in the N.E.C. of the Labour Party who defend these traitors against the well-merited criticism which the Communists would not fail to direct against them were they inside the Labour Party.



True to Breed

MANY members of the working class movement were perhaps amazed to hear a leader of the Labour Party, one who is in the running for the Labour Premiership, deliver a speech in favour of Royalty. It must not be forgotten that Mr. J. H. Thomas—like Adamson, Brace, Clynes, Henderson and Hodge—is a Privy Councillor. In order to become a Privy Councillor one must take an oath, which demands the preservation of the modern social system. For the sake of showing to what depths of treachery the leaders of the Labour Party can descend in their efforts to defend Capitalism, we reproduce the oath which every member of the Privy Council must take:—

PRIVY COUNCILLOR'S OATH.

“You shall swear to be a true and faithful servant unto the King's Majesty, as one of His Majesty's Privy Council. You shall not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted, done, or spoken, against His Majesty's Person, Honour, Crown, or Dignity Royal; but you shall let and withstand the same to the uttermost of your power, and either cause it to be revealed to His Majesty himself, or to such of his Privy Council as shall advertise His Majesty of the same. You shall, in all things to be moved, treated, and debated, in Council faithfully and truly declare your mind and opinion, according to your heart and conscience, and shall keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto you or that shall be treated of secretly in Council. And if any of the said Treaties or Councils shall touch any of the Counsellors, you shall not reveal it unto him, but shall keep the same until such time as by the consent of His Majesty, or of the Council, publication shall be made thereof. You shall to your uttermost be in faith and allegiance unto the King's Majesty; and shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, perminences, and authorities granted unto His Majesty and annexed to the Crown by Acts of Parliament or otherwise, against all Foreign Princes, Persons, Prelates, States or Potentates. And generally in all things you shall do as a faithful and true servant ought to do to His Majesty. So help you God and the Holy Contents of this Book.”

[From *The Governance of England*, pp. 32-33, by Sidney Low.]

Do the MacDonalDs and Snowdens denounce these Labour Leaders? Certainly not. But no language is too slanderous for them to use when talking about the Communist Party or of our valiant comrades in Russia.

The Prize-fighters of the Proletariat

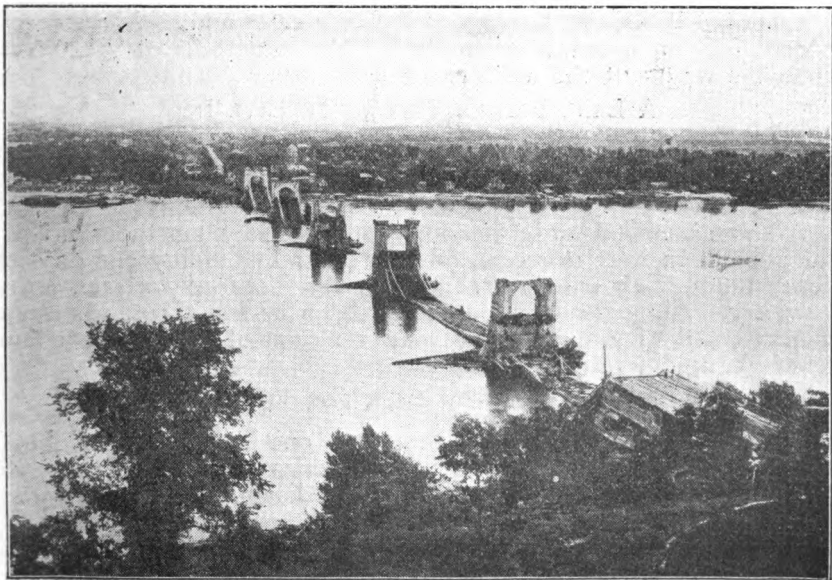
DURING the discussion on the Railways Bills, in Parliament, a motion was moved by a group of railroad magnates demanding compensation for any directors who might be scrapped in consequence of the amalgamation of the various railway companies. Here was a chance for Mr. J. H. Thomas, as the leader of the railwaymen in the House of Commons. Did he rise to the occasion? Let us frankly admit that he played his traditional part in his own characteristic way. He made a speech in which he pleaded for compensation for the *directors!* His actual words, according to *Hansard* (August 1st), were:—

“I want justice done to the director and also to the redundant platelayer. This Clause will give compensation to the director who, at the same time, would be equally as redundant as the platelayer.”

During the debate, an ordinary upholder of Capitalism, Mr. T. Thomson, said that he objected to comparisons being drawn between platelayers and directors. He also contended:—

“When you are dealing with a railway director, you are dealing with a man whose livelihood is not dependent, in the great majority of cases, upon the fees which he gets as a director. . . . I protest against what is nothing more or less than a compensation of vested interests. I submit that there is no comparison between the position of a man whose livelihood is taken away and that of a director who has only two or three years to run.”

When the vote was taken, several Labour Members voted for the directors, including Will Thorne, the famous social-democrat who went to Russia in 1917—in a fur coat presented to him by the present Lord Chancellor—to try and betray the proletarian revolution. No doubt Kautsky will be pleased to hear about the revolutionary and dare-devil activity of the English social-democrats.



Out of their own Mouths

ACCORDING to the July issue of the *Labour Gazette*, a government publication, at the beginning of that month, twenty-three out of every hundred members of those trade unions that make unemployment returns were unemployed.

But—

WE WON THE WAR.

Eighteen out of every hundred persons registered under the National Health Insurance Act were unemployed at the same figures.

But—

WE BEAT THE GERMANS.

Two million, one hundred and seventy-eight thousand British workers were receiving unemployment benefit at this period, and an additional eight hundred and thirty thousand workers were receiving benefit for working systematic short time. Coal miners on strike are not included in any of these figures. But—

THE HUNS ARE PAYING FOR THE WAR.

These figures are greater than any records for any month of any year since the government started keeping records.

During the first six months of this year *seventy-seven million working days were lost in Britain in trade disputes*. Cost of living was 119 per cent. higher than in July, 1914. But—

ISN'T THIS WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

The live register of the unemployment exchanges show at the moment 22,418 disabled ex-service men, and 463,193 non-disabled ex-service men seeking work. But—

WE DON'T WANT TO FIGHT, BUT BY JINGO, IF WE DO!!!

During June, 1921, wages of 1,060,000 workpeople were reduced, making a reduction in the weekly wage bills of £420,000 from the wages of the workers. But it's—

A LAND FIT FOR HEROES TO LIVE IN.

In no case was the working week for any class of workers reduced, but in three cases the working week was increased by 4, 4 and 5½ working hours.

Three hundred and twenty persons in every ten thousand of the population were in receipt of poor law relief in any one day in June, 1921. *This is an increase of over a hundred per cent. on a year ago*. Altogether four hundred and fifty-five thousand, three hundred and fifty-nine persons were in receipt of outdoor poor law relief during this month. But—

THE WORLD IS NOW SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.

During the year 1920, one thousand, one hundred and eighty-four workers were killed in mines and quarries in Great Britain, and 122,061 workers had non-fatal accidents disabling them for more than seven days.

There may be doubts as to who won the war, but the British working class was certainly badly defeated.

Tactics of the Russian Communist Party

VERBATIM REPORT OF LENIN'S FAMOUS SPEECH TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONGRESS.

I.

International Situation

I DO NOT propose to deliver a report, but to limit myself to supplementing the theses, which have been distributed to you, by a few explanations and remarks. In order to establish the tactics of our party, we must commence with a review of the international situation. The economic position of world capitalism, has already been reviewed by the Congress, and I referred to this question in my theses briefly and exclusively from the political standpoint. In reviewing the International position of our Republic, one must take into consideration the fact that, at the present moment, a certain equilibrium of forces seems to have been established, true, of course, of two hostile forces, ready at any moment to commence an armed struggle. Such an unstable position may result in a crisis any day, and for this purpose there is sufficient inflammable material in capitalist countries, as well as in the colonies and semi-colonies. As, however, all the military efforts of the International bourgeoisie to suppress Soviet Russia have ended in failure, we can speak of the establishment of an unstable equilibrium. The bourgeoisie is much stronger than our Republic, and it is only the peculiarities of the situation that prevents it from conducting war against us. During the last few days, however, we have witnessed new attempts at intervention in the Far East, and there is no doubt that such attempts will be repeated in the future. What is important to establish, however, is that we must take advantage of the breathing space of this equilibrium, and to adapt our tactics to the present peculiar situation, without for one moment forgetting the necessity of being prepared for open battle. The approach of this unstable equilibrium signifies for us that the revolutionary movement has advanced a long way ahead, but that during the past year it has not developed along that direct road that we presumed it would. When we made our revolution, we said that either the international revolution would come to our assistance, and in that case victory would be assured, or we will carry on our modest revolutionary work with the firm conviction that even our defeat will clear the road for the next revolution. In spite of our clear understanding that victory for us is impossible without an international revolution, and in spite of all obstacles, we did everything in order to consolidate the Soviet System. We acted, not only for the sake of our own interests, but for the interests of the International Revolution.

Although revolutions have not yet been made in the highly developed capitalist countries, nevertheless, we can assert with

pleasure that they have developed over the whole world; and it is precisely because of that, that the International bourgeoisie cannot suppress us—in spite of being military and economically a hundred times stronger than we are. The revolution is not developing along the direct line that we expected; nevertheless, the prerequisites for it have proved much more numerous and significant than we supposed. Our present task is carefully to prepare revolutions in the capitalist countries and to study the concrete conditions of their development. The more developed and organised is



N. LENIN

the proletariat in the advanced countries, the more care and preparation does history demand of us, and the more energetically must we win the majority of the organised working class to our side. The International bourgeoisie would be absolutely unable to maintain power were it not for the counter-revolutionary support of that section of the working class, which is organised by the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals.

I must also lay emphasis on the significance of the movement in the colonies. All the old parties including the petty bourgeois parties of the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals continue to maintain their sentimental attitude towards

the enslaved colonial and semi-colonial countries. As a matter of fact, from the beginning of the 20th century millions and hundreds of millions, actually the vast majority of the population of the world, have come on the scene as independently operating factors. It is important to emphasise that we were the first to raise the concrete task of preparing and developing this movement. The obstacles to this are tremendous, but progress has been made. The masses of workers and peasants, in spite of their backwardness, will play a great revolutionary part in the future phases of the International Revolution.

II.

Position in Russia

IN order to understand the internal political position of our Republic it is first of all necessary to deal with the relations of classes. The task of socialism is to abolish classes.

Exploiters in the first place consist of large landowners and capitalists. In this case the work of abolition is easy, and may be carried out within several months, if not within several weeks. We expropriated our landlords and capitalists completely. They had no organisation during the war, and were simply vassals to the militant forces and the international bourgeoisie. Now that we have repelled the military attacks of the international counter-revolution, organisations of Russian bourgeoisie have been formed abroad by all Russian counter-revolutionary parties. All these parties from the landlords to the Mensheviks have their connections with the bourgeoisie in all countries from whom they receive money for their press, and we have abroad a "free" press representing everything, from socialist-revolutionist and menshevists, right down to the most avowed reactionaries. All this shows that the consciousness and instinct of the dominating classes are still higher than that of the enslaved classes, although in this respect the Russian Revolution has done more than any other revolution. It will be very instructive for our foreign comrades to observe the manoeuvres of the Russian counter-revolution. In some respects we can learn from our enemies. These counter-revolutionary *emigres* are bold, well organised, have good strategists, and therefore, to observe how they organise would be of great propagandist importance for the working class.

Besides this class of exploiters, there exists in every country, with the exception, perhaps, of England, a class of small producers and small peasantry. One of the greatest questions of the revolution is the struggle against these two classes. In order to emancipate ourselves from these two classes, we must apply other methods than those which we applied to capitalists and landlords. In this case we cannot simply expropriate and disperse them. The significance of the period into which we, in Russia, are entering from the international point of view, and regarding the revolution as a single process, consists in this—that we are confronted with the practical question of solving the relations of the proletariat to the last capitalist class. For Marxists the solution of this question theoretically is easy, but theory is one thing and practice is another.

For the first time in history there is a Soviet State in which there are only two classes, the proletariat and peasantry. The latter represents the large majority of the population and is very backward. The question is: who is to lead this peasantry—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? How did we approach the question? We concluded an alliance with the peasantry. The proletariat will emancipate the peasantry from the exploitation and influence of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry will unite with the proletariat for the purpose of jointly conquering the exploiter. The Mensheviks say: 'We are pure democrats; the peasants are in the majority, and the majority must decide. But as the peasantry is not independent this leads practically to the revival of capitalism.'

When we speak of an alliance, we infer, of course, the consolidation of the proletariat. The first step was towards military unity. The struggle against the exploiters and the land owners was easily understood by the peasantry. The peasants were on our side, and our propaganda easily affected them in spite of their colossal ignorance. This proves that the masses at large, are more easily educated by practical means than by books. This practical education of the peasants was conducted over a tremendous area of Russia with the result that some portions were more fully developed than others. In Siberia and the Ukraine, the counter revolution was temporarily successful, because the peasants supported the bourgeoisie. But it only required a short interval to show the peasants the real state of things.

They learnt by experience that the Constituent Assembly was followed by the white guard, who in turn was superseded by the landowner. The mensheviks also benefit by this alliance, but they do not recognise, that a single alliance is not sufficient. A military alliance is impossible without its economic counterpart, and without its economic unity we could never have beaten the bourgeoisie. Of course this economic unity was very simple, the peasant was given land, which we defended against the landowner for him on the condition that he gave us food. This alliance was somewhat original, and different to the usual relationships between producer and consumer. Our peasants grasped the situation quicker than our heroes of the Two and a half International. This alliance was, of course, primitive and it resulted in many mistakes; but we had to act quickly, we had to organise our food supply. The civil war, meanwhile, cut us off from the granaries of Russia.

Our position was terrible, and it was miraculous how the Russian working class managed to survive in order to reach victory.

III.

The New Policy Towards the Peasants

AFTER the civil war our problem, however, changed. The peasants became independent; we had to take steps to show them that we were prepared to radically change our policy; and we had to show every single peasant that the Bolsheviki wished to alleviate his intolerable condition at any price. Hence we changed our economic policy; we have replaced the requisitions by a food tax. We always said that revolution demands many sacrifices. A revolution differs from an ordinary

fight, because it embraces many hundred times more people, and demands sacrifices not from a single person or even a single party, but from an entire class. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat demands more sacrifice from the proletariat, than has been demanded from any other class in any historic movement. Our industrial policy became more and more fruitful each year, and undoubtedly, as the situation improved, the Russian peasant gained far more from the revolution than the working class. This is absolutely unquestionable. Theoretically, of course, this means that up to a certain period our revolution was bourgeois. Undoubtedly, it would have been a bourgeois and not a social revolution, if the land had not been expropriated and divided. But we were the only party which led the bourgeois revolution to its logical conclusion, and this made the social revolution much easier. The Soviet system which we created is the institute of a Socialist State.

The improvement in the peasants' status, as has oft been repeated, was done at the expense of the working class, resulting from the fact that the Dictatorship was primarily in the hands of the workers. Without this improvement we could not have managed to exist. And now, that the peasant is somewhat worse off, it is our duty to go to his help. This means further sacrifice for the workers, but in the interests of the workers' Dictatorship it is essential that all our energy be exerted in helping the peasant at all cost. Some of our more advanced workers have not grasped this. They are too exhausted.

They regard it as an opportunistic step, a mistake. They say the peasant is our exploiter, he receives all his heart desires whilst the worker starves. Is this not opportunism, they say? But without an alliance with the peasant the political power of the proletariat is untenable. The only way we could approach the peasant was the change to a food tax. Practically it has not been fully tried, but theoretically this is the only possible way of approaching the economy of a Socialist Society, wherein the small peasant forms the majority.

It is true that the food tax means free trade. Free trade signifies freedom to capitalism. We say this quite frankly. But this is a new form of capitalism—State Capitalism.

State Capitalism in a Capitalist Society, and State Capitalism in a Proletarian Society are two entirely different things. In the first case, it means that Capitalism is recognised and controlled by the State, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against the proletariat. In the second case, it is promoted in the interests of the proletariat. With this the question of concessions crops up. It is regarded with suspicion by some sections of the working class. Have we chased our capitalists out—they ask—in order to invite new ones? But in spite of this, economically, it is easily explained to the working class. The seven years war nearly ruined us. The recovery of our industry will take several years. We have now to pay for our backwardness and weakness, because, when we wish to learn we have to pay. At the same time we exist in the midst of capitalist States. We are alone, just now, and until the revolution in highly developed industrial countries has freed us from this we are compelled to pay toll to international capitalism. We will **thus win time, and this means winning everything!**

IV.

Russia and the World Revolution

AT the same time we must not forget the only foundation of our economic policy is the large engineering industry. He who forgets this is not a Communist. We have not only to do this in theory, but we have to set ourselves down to practical problems.

Modern large industry implies the electrification of the country. Sweden, Germany, America, have accomplished this while still under the capitalist régime. We have formed a special commission for that purpose composed of our best economists, and technical forces of our country. We have already worked out the plan of electrification. More than 200 specialists took part in that work. In spite of the fact that nearly all of them were against the Soviet Régime, they nevertheless became interested in the work, having to admit from the point of view of science, that it was the only way to enable the country to emerge from the economic crisis, and to save the peasantry from want and starvation. To accomplish this plan is not so simple, it requires no less than 10 years for its initial work to be carried out. In comparison with Western European countries, what we have managed to do in that direction is insignificant, but the peasant is learning from even that meagre measure. He can see that something new is being achieved, where everyone is not working for himself but where the whole State is working. There is no need to regret that we shall have to pay the capitalists hundreds of millions of kilograms of oil, for their help to electrify our country.

In conclusion, let me say a few words on "pure democracy." As far back as 1884 Engels wrote that the united reaction, not only of the Bourgeoisie, but also of the 'Feudal element,' is grouping round 'pure democracy.' To analyse the Russian social-revolutionists and the mensheviks, not according to their words, but according to their deeds, they represent a purely petty-bourgeois democracy.

The wiser leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie who have now adopted the slogan 'Soviets without Bolsheviks,' present an extremely original spectacle of defence of the Soviet Power by Cadets, against the social-revolutionists. Such is the practical dialectic of our Revolution. The Cadets are defending the Soviets without Bolsheviks, because they fully realise that the social-revolutionists and the mensheviks are the people whom they must now aid in the struggle against us, because they hope to establish their rule on the backs of the social revolutionists and the mensheviks. A dictatorship is a state of acute war, and we are now in such a state. If at the present moment, there is no armed bourgeois expedition against us, it is due to the fact that the broad masses of the working class although not yet under the banner of Communism, nevertheless have advanced so far that they would not permit further intervention. While at war we act in a martial fashion. We do not promise freedom, nor democracy, we do not tell the peasant that he can choose between us. We are ready within limits to grant them concessions, so as to retain power in our hands, and thus lead them to Socialism or to open civil war. All the rest is nonsense, the purest demagoguery.

The Irish Situation

By WM. PAUL

MANY people are perplexed at the recent dramatic turn in the Irish situation. The problem is as tantalising as it is complex and subtle. To thoroughly grasp it a whole series of factors must be carefully analysed and co-ordinated.

I.

The Capitalist North

IN Ireland there are as many conflicting political currents at work as there are different economic interests. It is in the North where there is the greatest opposition against the policy of separation, in any form, from Britain. Economically, the North is dominated by an imperialistic group made up of great land-owners and industrial magnates, who have enlisted the political services of legal luminaries whose careers have been conspicuous only in their venal vassalage to the propertied interests. The linen and engineering products of the North are not sold in any quantity in the Irish market. These are, in the main, exported to those markets which are under the protection and domination of the Union Jack. Thus, the economic interests of the capitalists of Ulster are inseparably entwined with the imperialist interests of Great Britain. The economic needs of the predominating political groups of the North are identical with the needs of British finance-capital.

Finance-capital can only expand its control and extend its interests by means of the State power of the Empire. Finance-capital thus demands the support of a large Empire State to advance its influence, and, likewise, every Empire State demands the support of finance-capital to maintain its power. It is this indispensable and mutual relationship between finance-capital and modern Empire-States which explains why the wealthy political elements in the North of Ireland enthusiastically proclaim their loyal devotion and adhesion to the union with imperialistic Britain.

The purely economic basis of the political attitude of the North has been obscured by religious fanaticism. An examination into the temporal ground-work of religions clearly shows that they reflect definite economic forms and respond to particular class interests. Thus, capitalism, in a general way, presupposes Protestantism, whereas systems of land tenure tend to show a striking partiality for the Catholic Church. While, on the surface, the Irish question would seem to be a conflict between two religious forms, it is in reality a determined struggle between definite economic interests. Men tend to *idealise* their economic interests and aspirations. Many an Irishman, to-day, is fighting heroically and honestly on behalf of a certain religious creed, even carrying its fundamental tenets to the ballot box, without imagining that any other motive is prompting his actions. It is in the North, where

Capitalism is most highly developed, and where, therefore, the potentialities of the class struggle are greatest. It is there that the propertied interests have used religion as a political factor in blinding the working class; and they have used it to create a psychology which finds expression in extreme reaction and blind bigotry.

Whatever compromise takes place regarding the situation between Britain and Ireland, the imperialistic groups of the North will do their utmost to prevent any settlement which will cut them off from the interest of what they call "The Mother Country." But in the North the class struggle cuts across the political and economic interests of the capitalists.

II.

The South

IN the South of Ireland Capitalism is relatively weak, while large financial magnates are scarce, small business men are prolific, particularly the small farmer. These middle-class elements have a traditional hatred for England. And small wonder! It is questionable if history can match the centuries of ruthless outrage which has been the normal conduct of England towards Ireland. The ruling class of Britain became proficient in the art of subduing and crushing native races through the practise which they got by their policy in Ireland. The historic manœuvre of the English merchant class, ever since the days of Cromwell, of ruining other countries by relentlessly paralysing their trade, has been consistently applied against Ireland for hundreds of years. The geographical situation of Ireland gave it many points of vantage for building up considerable commercial relations. It also contained a virile and industrial population living on a fertile land. But every endeavour of the Irish to launch into overseas commerce or to develop their trade was promptly strangled by the jealous propertied interests of England who moulded that country's policy towards Ireland. Not only was Ireland's commercial potentialities crushed, but the pitiless attitude of Britain reacted upon agriculture and practically ruined it, thus causing untold suffering to the peasant masses. It is, therefore, easy to comprehend why the people in the Southern districts of Ireland have been passionate in their hate against England. But this hatred created a psychology which manifested itself by producing an ultra-nationalist movement. Hatred of England reacted by creating a passionate devotion to Ireland.

Up until recent times, the political activities of the Southern Irish were in the hands of the Middle Class Nationalist Party, better known in England as the United Irish League. The members who were sent to the English Parliament were drawn from the middle class. They neither understood nor sympathised with the Labour problem in Ireland. They sat for years in the English House of Commons, and although generally opposed to the Government were extremely unsuccessful in their policy, based as it was upon political compromises.

III.

The Middle Class in Politics

THE middle-class political leaders of Irish nationalism displayed that universal weakness which may be seen in every political movement in the world dominated by the petty-bourgeoisie. The middle class, in the structure of Capitalism, occupy a peculiarly unfortunate economic position, inasmuch as they are continually vacillating between the capitalist class and the proletariat. Suspended between the upper and lower class, and yet being neither of one nor the other, there is created for them a situation of appalling insecurity. This economic insecurity is of a different character from that which haunts the wage worker. Whatever disasters overtake the average labourers—in the shape of unemployment, strikes or lock-outs—these neither alter their economic status nor their class relationship under Capitalism—they remain proletarians. But the economic insecurity of the middle-class man rests upon the fact that any minor industrial crisis may hurl him into *another* class—into the proletariat. Such an occurrence transforms both his economic status and his class relationship within Capitalism. The result of this vacillating economic position produces a peculiar mental outlook—the petty-bourgeois outlook. The most significant thing about this outlook is that it views every aspect of the social question, which deals fundamentally with class interests, in an irresolute and wavering manner. This explains why the middle class, and all those inspired by their ideas, are the greatest compromisers, *par excellence*, in the political world. The political history of the middle class demonstrates that they have never, unaided, *as a class*, carried out any heroic or bold political revolution. While other classes in history have died in great numbers fighting for certain political ideals, the middle class have always sought to reach their political objective by intrigue or compromise. History also demonstrates that the middle class have never, single-handed, put up a determined fight against the political organisation of any other class which they opposed. The middle class have certainly destroyed the political movements of other classes. This destruction, however, was never accomplished by either a heroic class struggle or in open political combat. It was always achieved by insidiously *undermining* their political opponents. The great middle-class political leaders like Gladstone, Chamberlain, or Lloyd George, are shining examples of statesmen who wavered and compromised upon the very principles which were the supposed lodestars of their careers. The same irresolute and undecided type of middle-class leaders may be seen—unfortunately enough—in the Labour movement. The experiences of the last few years demonstrate that where the political instinct of the masses correctly demanded an uncompromising and straightforward struggle against their masters, they were discouraged, even betrayed, at a time when vigorous and bold action was imperatively necessary, by their compromising leaders who had been nurtured on middle-class ideas. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is the rank-and-file movements of Socialism—where the concrete realities of life clearly reveal the economic struggle and where the influence

of the middle class is almost negligible—which have enthusiastically rallied to the fighting and tenacious policy of the Communist International. Conversely, those socialist organisations dominated by the ideology of the middle class—such as the lamentable I.L.P. in this country—enthusiastically embraced the vacillating policy of angelic pacifism, which in action becomes class cowardice. Here and there individual members of the middle class have fought bravely and well, and have thus supplied those exceptional cases which prove every rule. But in every case where this happened, it was only possible because these exceptional individuals cast aside their petty-bourgeois outlook and viewed the world from the standpoint of the interests of the class which they championed.

As a class, the petty-bourgeoisie stand in history the acknowledged and unchallenged masters of political compromise. And unless this is clearly understood it may be difficult to grasp the influence it is at present exerting upon the Irish situation.

IV.

The National War and the Class Struggle in Ireland

EVEN the rise of Sinn Fein in Ireland did not mean, in the beginning, the inauguration of a bold or heroic policy. The leaders like Arthur Griffiths, undoubtedly very brilliant men, had to rely too much upon the middle class to get action of a daring character. Up until the beginning of the war, the Sinn Fein movement was not very powerful. During the transport workers strike in 1913, many of the Sinn Fein leaders were opposed to the demands of the strikers, but the strike introduced a new spirit into the Irish situation. It showed clearly for the first time, in Ireland, that, in addition to the national struggle, there was above all—the *class* struggle.

There were occasional outbursts of fierce class conflict in Ireland prior to the transport workers strike. but these never gave the masses a vision much greater than that of mere land redistribution. With the building up of the Transport Workers' Union, there was a new ideal placed before the Irish proletariat. This was mainly due to the magnificent communist agitation of James Connolly. He ruthlessly exposed the hollow pretensions of the Irish middle class leaders who were striving to get Home Rule. He showed the Irish workers that Home Rule, in itself, could only mean the exploitation of the Irish worker by the Irish capitalist. Connolly did not minimise the importance of the Irish workers agitating for national independence but he was always careful to show that their final aim would have to be for an Irish Workers' Republic. He, therefore, encouraged a vigorous agitation for national independence because he was a clever tactician and realised the value of always creating some ferment of revolt amongst the masses; and he saw the need for continually harassing Great Britain which, to him, was the symbol of world imperialism and reaction. Connolly grouped round him a band of dauntless men, who did not quail during the bold bid for power which was made during the Easter rising. The execution of Connolly opened the flood gate of enthusiasm for Connolly's ideals,

and impelled the Irish workers along the path of Communism. The brutality of the English Government towards Ireland, immediately after the Dublin rising, made thousands of Irish workers realise the truism preached by Connolly, that the imperialist class of Britain would submit to nothing but force. Nor do these workers to this day forget that the English Cabinet which executed the men of Easter week, was led by the notorious Asquith, and that one of his Cabinet colleagues was Arthur Henderson, one of the leaders of the Second International.

The heavy mailed fist of Britain, which has been so much in evidence in Ireland during the past few years, drove the workers, who had been influenced by Connolly, into a working agreement with the more militant elements in the Sinn Fein movement. This was an act of necessity imposed by the sheer need of self-preservation. It gave the Sinn Fein organisation a backbone. It was the proletarian rebels who, in the main, supplied the fighting force, which became the driving power in the Irish Republican army. Here again the influence of Connolly may be seen. It was he who first recruited the workers into the Irish Volunteer army, which he organised as a counter-blast to the armed and bombastic threats of the capitalists of the North.

The fusion of the revolutionary workers with the Sinn Fein movement made it a more vigorous organisation than it had hitherto been. The fusion also transformed the Irish movement for national independence from a respectable middle-class organisation into one pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. Within the space of a few years the old reactionary Nationalist Party—which used to adorn the benches of the House of Commons under the leadership of the late John Redmond—has been swept aside and has been replaced by a new vigorous element which scorns the idea of *begging* for freedom in London, but which has resolutely set itself the task of working out its own emancipation on Irish soil. The new policy led to the appointing of members of Parliament, not to sit in Westminster in London, but to remain in Ireland and attend to their own affairs. This tactic meant that all forms of British administration in Ireland had to be replaced by political institutions set up in Ireland and administered by the Irish rebels themselves.

When the Irish rebels set out to build up their own political and Governmental administrative organs, which were to replace the institutions that the British State had enforced upon Ireland, they actually created a revolutionary crisis. No government dare allow any rebel group to destroy its administrative institutions, because this means that *two powers* are seeking to govern the country. The State can only maintain its prestige by being the sovereign and unchallenged authority in the land. Hence, it was a revolutionary act when the Irish set up *their State*, in opposition to the sovereign power which the English State wielded over Ireland.

Bit by bit, the British administrative institutions were replaced by those created by, and administered through, the Dail Eirrean in Dublin. This struggle in reality led to open war. The British government viewed it as *civil war*, the Irish middle class viewed it as a

national war, in which they were attempting to expel a foreign invader. Viewing it as a civil war the British Government drafted in troops, organised their "black and tan" murdering and plundering brigades, suppressed free speech and the press. They outlawed active rebels and brutally enforced martial law. The history of Ireland during the last few years is the final reply to those labour leaders of the Second International who still fatuously prattle about "democracy." Because it must be remembered that in Ireland the democratic majority of the voters gave their support to the policy which the British State has dismally and ingloriously failed to suppress. Viewing the struggle as a national war, and looking upon England as an alien invader, the Irish rebels set up *their* army and set up *their* institutions, in order to drive the imperialist usurper from the land. And they adopted a system of tactics which ranged from the dislocation of all English institutions to the deliberate destruction of the Dublin Custom House building.

In addition to those in Ireland who viewed the conflict as a *national* one, there are great numbers among the masses, influenced by Connolly, and inspired by the recent rapid spread of Communist ideas, who see in a national war against British Imperialism, a splendid means of also conducting a *class war* against the propertied interests at home and abroad. These elements are striving to free Ireland from all forms of class enslavement. Their ultimate object is not so much an Irish Republic, as it is an *Irish Workers' Republic*. They are influential and have taken their stand beside the dauntless band of heroes who lead the fight in the Republican Army—the Republican *Might*—which has compelled the proud British Government—armed with its tanks, aeroplanes, bombs, and other democratic instruments of persuasion—to seek a truce with the leaders of the Irish Republic. The Connolly section in the Irish struggle has responded with magnificent courage to the defence of Ireland, and have placed their services at the disposal of the Republican leaders. But they are jealous lest their confidence be betrayed, or that the Republican figureheads compromise the situation. The Communists are growing more powerful every day, and it may happen that the petty-bourgeoisie groups in the Sinn Fein movement will yield to British Imperialism rather than yield to the revolutionary demands of the Irish workers. In the measure that the revolutionary proletariat grows strong in Ireland, so in the same measure the middle-class Republicans, fearing that the Governmental power may pass from their hands, may be tempted to seek some sort of compromise alliance with the British Government. Many middle-class elements are losing courage, but the cry of the workers to De Valera is "No compromise."

The history of Ireland during the past few years does not seem to suggest that there is a powerful and determined Labour movement in the country. This is due to the revolutionaries carrying out their plan that the immediate needs of the class struggle can be best served by throwing all their strength into the national struggle against the British reactionaries. The moment, however, that they realise that the interests of the working class are much more urgent and more important than the national war, then we

shall witness a new development in the Irish situation by the workers resolutely opposing those who are now their middle-class allies. At present, however, the biggest and most dangerous enemy is the British Government.

When the class struggle actually begins in Ireland, it not only will surprise many moderate Sinn Feiners in the South, but it will certainly startle the large capitalists of the North, who fondly imagine that their workers are the most docile and superstitious creatures in the world.

Whatever may happen in the future, there can be nothing but praise for the clever and courageous policy that De Valera and his colleagues have carried out, up to the present time, in their wonderful stand against all the savage measures enforced against Ireland by the most brutal and callous government of recent times. Their present peace parley with the British Government is in reality a triumph for them in so far as it enables the Republicans to rest and re-invigorate their brave forces and to continue, if need be, the most heroic struggle ever waged by a small nation against a cruel and swaggering despotic imperialism.

V.

Lloyd George and Ireland

IT now only remains to explain the reasons that prompted Lloyd George, as the nominal political head of the British Government, to intervene in the Irish situation and to propose a compromise. He is, of all statesmen, the one with least principle, and what he lacks in character and honesty is counterbalanced by a superabundance of shallow, middle-class cunning. He is the unchallenged monarch of brazen prevarication. His guiding political creed is how to hold political power in the interests of the British Federation of Industries. At the present moment, his political future looks very black indeed. He sees every prospect of his Government being smashed, or at the best hopelessly weakened, by the political triumph of the Liberal-Labour Party, led by that enthusiastic monarchist—Mr. J. H. Thomas. The strong card of the Labour Party is the Government's policy in Ireland. Notwithstanding the fact that the Labour Party's attitude on Ireland has been one of characteristic cowardice and stupidity, it, nevertheless, hopes to secure the votes of those who are determined to register their protest against the policy of Lloyd George. The Liberal Party—that shoddy political remnant led by Mr. Asquith, the murderer of James Connolly—hopes to gain a few votes in consequence of the escapades of the Government's "black and tans." No one better realises the common hatred that exists in the country against the Government's Irish Policy than Lloyd George himself. Consequently, as the champion Jeremy Diddler of the present generation, he hopes, by making peaceful overtures to Ireland, to plunge the country into a general election and to make "Peace with Ireland" his party slogan. By adopting such an attitude, he would simply undermine both the Liberal and Labour parties and might return triumphantly to power.

Lloyd George does not intend to give Ireland peace. If he does, it will be because the slaughtering of the Irish will be too expensive to suit the Anti-Waste maniacs of the middle-class union, who see ruin for themselves in the increasing burden of taxation. Never, in his long and tortuous career, has Lloyd George ever taken a strong stand upon any political principle. Being typically middle-class, he meets every problem, not with a view of solving it, but of trying to discover the best way to avoid it. And he meets every demand of labour, and of Ireland, by granting only sufficient as will blunt the edge of their grievance.

No! The British Government will not grant freedom or independence to Ireland; no one knows this more clearly than the rebel proletarians of Ireland who realise that whatever they get will only come as a result of having the *power to take*—by tearing it from the blood-red fist of a rapacious imperialism. They do not forget the words of Connolly, who said:

“Tis Labour’s faith that Labour’s arm
Alone can Labour free.”

We, the Communists of the British Party, have a sacred duty to perform in connection with the Irish question. We must help Ireland in her struggle against Britain. But, above all, when the Irish proletariat decide to take power into their own hands, we must be prepared to render them all the assistance that is humanly possible. And we must promise them, here and now, that whatever cost we may have to pay, our life’s blood will be the test of our comradeship and the price of our solidarity.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that the Communist Review is in the local library

W. Hewlett's Last Speech

(Extract from Communist Congress Report)

Zinoviev: "The next speaker is a 'delegate of the Communist Party of Britain, who is also a member of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and has recently arrived from the field of battle where the miners' strike is in full swing.

"Comrade Hewlett has the floor."

Hewlett: "Comrades. In the name of the British Communist Party, I bring greetings to the Third International, and I want personally to thank you on behalf of the British miners, and I desire to thank especially the Russian miners for the magnificent support they sent to our British miners during their strike. Per-

Readers of our brilliant contemporary, "The Communist," will have read an account of how our comrade Hewlett, one of the delegates of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Moscow Congress, was killed in Russia. Hewlett was one of the most loveable men that ever lived and no one ever served the cause of the working class better than he did. He now lies beside John Reed, beneath the Kremlin's Wall in the Red Square, Moscow.

We reprint his speech made at the opening session of the Third Congress of the Communist International, on June 22nd, at Moscow.

Zinoviev, who was in the chair, introduced comrade Hewlett to the Congress.

haps we in England to-day have less possibility for an open revolutionary demonstration of a real live revolutionary nature in the sense that revolutionary parties have manifested themselves in Europe, but notwithstanding this, as a member of the Communist Party, I am proud of the activities of our party up to date, I promise the Communist comrades to this Congress that there will be nothing left undone, that no stone will be left unturned in England, to force to their knees the most dangerous and imperialistic capitalist class there is in the whole world. I do not think it can be said by anybody that there is a more powerful propertied and reactionary group anywhere in the whole world than the British imperialists. We have the contradiction arising out of the war to destroy imperialism, but which instead developed a

stronger imperialism than ever in England; to-day that contradiction is making itself manifest all over the British Empire, and whilst we feel sure and are sure that sooner or later the same catastrophe will overtake British Imperialism as has overtaken Russian Imperialism, yet the danger is that at this moment British Imperialism will rally its forces and gather itself together until it not only menaces but destroys the peace of the world.

“ It is with considerable reluctance that I speak to a gathering at which so many dauntless Russian comrades are present, because I happen to come from the country that has made itself notoriously infamous for its reactionary imperialism. We can remember with shame the actions of Churchill, Balfour, and Lloyd George, and the part they have played towards the greatest revolution in the world, that of Soviet Russia, and it is with considerable reluctance that we dare face a Russian audience. There is only one compensating fact; whilst we know the activities and whilst we have seen all the activities coming out of the 1917 revolution in Russia, England, on the other hand, has become famous for her Imperialist aggression, but she has also won a bit of fame which should not make the imperialists happy. She should be famous for having clothed the Russian soldiers—thanks to the efforts of Winston Churchill—and that is some compensation, even to British Communists.

“ The last three years have been a period of the most feverish activity on the part of British imperialists to strangle the young Soviet Republic of Russia, and whilst as I previously stated, we may not be able to face, just yet, that same struggle that you faced here in 1917, yet I do wish to assert that the British Communists have already been able to and are largely responsible for preventing a war between England and Soviet Russia at the time when a war was waged against Soviet Russia by Poland, backed by British and French imperialism, and for that alone the activities of the British Communists—in conjunction with the determination shown by our industrial workers—have been justified.

“ I may be expected to refer more to the battle that is being waged in England to-day, than to the general situation. That has been largely covered before. In 1914 the British workers were told all kinds of pretty stories. They were asked to decorate themselves in khaki and to carry on a war to make the world safe for democracy. They were promised, by those who spoke from the military platforms, a new world when the war was over, and everything that would make life better. To-day the class-conscious workers know that one of the greatest crimes, one of the greatest lies ever told by the bourgeoisie, was told then. What did they see? A new world being built by these people? I just want to give you a brief picture. March 31st last saw the commencement of the greatest battle in the history of the British working class. We were promised many things which many of us never expected to receive, but even we were surprised when on the 31st of March, one and a quarter million men were thrown upon the streets, locked out by the British bourgeoisie. They told the country which they had promised nationalisation—and they had promised the workers almost everything—they told the country that this huge reduction

in wages must take place in order for capitalism to re-establish itself. I want you to recognise, comrades, that we have in England 1,260,000 workers in the mines, and the mines are owned by just over 9,000* out of our more than 40,000,000 people. It may be interesting for some of you to know these figures. During the sitting of the Commission on the nationalisation of mines, it was shown that in the four years from 1914 to 1918 the coal-owners in England took out no less than £160,000,000 of money. The whole capital invested was taken plus £25,000,000, and yet these British people were trying to crush Russia, and are still attempting to crush the militant masses, and are even attacking the revolutionists in Germany. We want all the comrades here to recognise the world wide importance of England in politics, and to understand the world-wide importance of England in the revolutionary movement. It must be recognised what a gigantic octopus we, the British workers, have to face, and how much we must depend on the **workers of other countries.**

“ I want to make a further statement: Unless the workers of Europe and the world unite and come closer and closer together with the British workers, then British imperialism will re-establish itself and become more stable than ever. **There can be no two ways about it.** If you want to get the full significance of what that means, you have only to take into consideration that Britain is an island, and that the colonial question means more to England than to any other country in the world. British imperialism has gone around the world, and into every corner of it. India, Africa, Egypt, Ireland, all these countries which are colonies—and when we take into consideration their international relationship—the British Communist movement may be understood only then. England is an island which can no more move forward to complete revolution without the colonies than the Empire can exist without them. English Communists can no more move forward into a revolution without the rest of the world than they can fly. And we of the British delegation are extremely anxious that this fact shall be taken into consideration, and that in view of the trend of the world struggle to-day, you will remember the need for co-operation and a closer relationship between communists everywhere.

“ I want just briefly to refer to the activities of the Communist Party. It has been in existence for a little under twelve months. And in that time many of our comrades have been arrested and are now serving from three months and upwards in prison. That is not much, we grant, when taking into consideration many of the other factors and the longer terms of imprisonment you in Russia suffered before the revolution. But when considered in view of the length of time the party has been in existence, and when you realise what a binding force our organisation has become to all **revolutionary elements in Britain,** we feel a little proud of its activities and achievements. In England one of the great traditions is the hundreds of years of parliaments they talk about. That is one of the huge forces that has got to be broken down by the Communist Party. But that question is rapidly being brought to a solution.

“ I want to add a word about the great betrayal of the miners. The Communist Party had in England a number of members whom it deemed its best men. It took an intelligent estimate of their work and gave them positions of trust. They were working in the midst of the great struggle and one of these comrades who was decorated in Russia last year betrayed us. Need I tell you that we immediately expelled him? I mention only Thomas and Williams, and I say with shame that they left the miners to fight alone, to fight a losing fight. But the latest information we have received is that the miners are still fighting and will continue to fight. And, comrades, I am glad to hear that our American comrades gave Thomas a cool reception when he went there.

“ But all these Mensheviki, and social-patriots, and those who betrayed the movement, shall be cleaned out of the ranks of the conscious working class.

“ In conclusion, comrades, I pledge my word and the word of the Communist Party of Great Britain, I pledge the revolutionary masses moving forward towards the workers' revolution of the world, that the British Communists will move forward and will not lay down their arms until the battle is won, and until the proletariat has triumphed over the whole world.

“ All honour to the Russian revolution! All honour to the Communist Parties of the world, and to the proletarians of the world! ”

Those interested in industrial problems should read

THE WORKER

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Weekly

Revolutionary Tactics

This historic statement was placed before the Third Congress of the Communist International by the Bureau of the Russian Delegation, and was signed by Zinoviev, Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Radek, and Kamenev.

I.

Definition of the Problem

THE new international labour organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal:—the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realisation of Socialism as the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth.” This definition of the aims of the Communist International, laid down in the statutes, distinctively defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organising the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment, the attitude to be assumed toward the proletarianised, petty-bourgeois elements, the way and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power and destroying them, and finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship, *per se*, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation: either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a number of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties has come into being, none of which, however, outside of Russia, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

II.

On the Eve of New Battles

THE world revolution, the decay of capitalism, the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, and the growth of its organisation into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The varying sharpness of the antagonism, the difference in their social structure and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, offered no reason to presume that the world war would end in the immediate victory of the world revolution. On the contrary, the Communists declared, while

the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was making for an epoch of social revolution, *i.e.*, of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining, activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labour organisations and labour parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions, which, established by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, were turned into organs for counter-revolutionary agitation and paralysed the proletariat during the war, and continued these practices after the war had ended. This made it easy for the world bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilisation, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat, during the sham prosperity of the years 1919 and 1920, of a possible improvement of their conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919 and 1920.

The universal economic crisis, which began in the middle of 1920, and has since seized the entire world in its talons by increasing unemployment on every hand, is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world, even capitalistically, that is, on the basis of exploitation. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments—all these facts show that the moribund capitalistic world is tumbling headlong into new world wars. Even the league of nations, the international trust of the victor-states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social-democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the labouring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle, the illusion that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat, is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization farces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavoured to keep the working class back from the attack in March, 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has made room for *Sinnesation*, namely, the subjection of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian government, led by the Social-Democrat, Severing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie, for the reduction of the wages of all German workers. In England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air.

Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government employs military force to support the lock-out of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no question in France of any systematic economic reconstruction. In fact, the reparation of the ruined regions in Northern France, as far as it is being accomplished, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy, the bourgeoisie, aided by the white bands of the Fascisti, is waging an offensive against the working class. In every country bourgeois democracy has removed its mask—in the old states as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic ruins. White guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' lock-out; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, ejection of the Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-Law in the United States; white terror in Yugo-Slavia, Roumania, Finland, Hungary and the Balkan States; anti-communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos: to lengthen working hours and reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam trade union international. And yet, while these may succeed in temporarily retarding the awakening of the labouring masses to new strife and to the approach of new revolutionary waves, they cannot stem the tide. Even now we see the German Proletariat preparing for the counter-attack, and the English miners valiantly persisting for weeks in their battle against the mine-owning capitalists, in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders. We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat with respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group, is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the erection of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social-patriots and the centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialistic piracy. In Czecho-Slovakia the political December strike is going on, embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organisation, while a Czecho-Slovakian Communist mass party is being formed. What may be expected is *not* the waning of the star of the world revolution, *not* the ebb of its waves, but on the contrary: the aggravation of social antagonism and social struggles, and the transition to open civil war.

III.

The Important Task of the Present

IN view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence among the most important portions of the working class, in short, the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary situation, economic and political, wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the shape of a big

strike, a colonial upheaval, a new war, or even a big parliamentary crisis), the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism. This is true, particularly in such countries where, owing to the mighty organization of finance capital, large strata of workers are being corrupted by capitalism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and unambiguously devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the struggle of the labouring masses, of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great revolutionary communist mass parties, waiving the idea of the formation of small Communist sects for the attainment of influence upon the working class solely by agitation and propaganda. In the very first year of its existence the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies, by calling upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to fight the reactionary trade union bureaucracy from within, in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of its struggle. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International called upon the Communist parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilise every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat. We instructed them to use the free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they be, and to forge them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering ground for Communism. At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies, by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggle of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the justness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics it has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries not only from the open reformists, but also from the centrists. The erection by the centrist elements of a Two-and-a-Half International, steering towards a moderation of policy regarding the world-revolution on the eve of further great battles, and combining openly with the Scheidemans, Jouhaux's and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, will only make the battleground more easily surveyable for the proletarian masses, and merely facilitate the struggle. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International, German Communism, which, in the struggles of January and March, 1919, represented only a political tendency, grew into a great revolutionary mass party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has obliged the trade union bureaucracy to taint itself with the odium of having brought about a split in these organisations. In Tchecko-Slovakia, the Communists have succeeded in rallying to their colours the majority of the politically organised workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not for a moment lost its contact with the masses, but has, on the contrary, greatly augmented

its influence. In France the Communists secured the majority of the Socialist Party. In Britain, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the tactics of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly, and the growing influence of the Communists has forced the social-traitors to attempt to close the doors of the Labour Party against them. The sectarian groups, on the contrary, have been unable to attain even the slightest success on their paths. The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and the erection of separate communist industrial unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way.

IV.

The Situation in the Communist International

THE Communist International has not made progress along the road of creating communist mass-parties everywhere. Nay, in two of the most important countries of victorious capitalism there is yet everything to be done in this direction.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances there was a lack of any broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are still before the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, is very favourable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalised labour movement and its becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of barbarous persecution, forcing it into unlegalised existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the United Communist Party of America to the fact that the unlegalised organisation must not only form the ground for the collection and crystallisation of active communist forces, but that it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their unlegalised condition into the open, among the wide masses; that it is further their duty to find the means and form to unite these masses politically, through public activity, into the struggle against American capitalism.

The English Communist movement has fallen short of becoming the Party of the masses as yet, despite the concentration of their forces. The continued disorganization of English industry, the unprecedented activity of the strike movement, the growing discontent among the widest masses of the people with Lloyd George's régime, the possibility of a Labour and Liberal victory at the next General Election—all these circumstances open new revolutionary perspectives in Britain's development, and confronts the Communists there with questions of the utmost import.

The first and foremost task of the English Communist Party is to become the Party of the masses. The English Communists must take the firmest stand upon the actually existing and ever

developing mass-movement, permeating all its concrete manifestations and converting desultory and partial demands of the workers into the point of issue for their own untiring agitation and propaganda.

The mighty strike movement puts to the test the ability, reliability, steadfastness and conscientiousness of the trade unionist apparatus and leaders in the eyes of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. Under these circumstances the work of the Communists within the trade unions becomes of decisive importance. No party influence from the outside can compare with the influence which is exercised by communist groups working in factories, mills, etc., where they come in daily contact with the masses, and where they can influence the workers by persistently unmasking and discrediting the traitors and betrayers of trade unionism, which in England more than in any other country has become the political tool of capitalism.

While in other countries the task of the communist parties which have become mass-parties consists in seizing to a great extent the initiative in mass action, the task of the Communist Party in England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses, on the basis of their actual experience of present-day mass actions, that the communists can correctly and courageously realise the interests, needs, and sentiments of these masses.

The communist mass-parties of Middle and Western Europe are in the process of evolving the necessary methods of agitation and propaganda, in the process of evolving the methods of organization which would correspond to the nature of their struggle, and in the process of transition from communist propaganda and agitation to action. This process is hindered by the fact that in a number of countries the revolutionisation of the workers, in going over to the communist camp, took place under the guidance of leaders who either have failed to overcome their centrist tendencies and are incapable of conducting a real popular communist agitation and propaganda, or are simply afraid because they know that this agitation and propaganda will lead the workers to revolutionary struggles.

These centrist tendencies have caused a split in the party in Italy. The Party and trade union leaders of the Serrati group, instead of transforming the spontaneous action of the working class, and their growing activity, into the conscious struggle for power for which the situation was ripe in Italy, allowed these movements to become stranded. And because they were afraid of the struggle, they were compelled to dilute their communist propaganda and agitation and lead it into the straits of centrism. In this manner they have strengthened the influence of the centrists, like Turatti and Troyes in the Party, and like d'Aragona in the trade unions. Because they didn't differ from the centrists either in word or in deed, they wouldn't part from their company. They preferred to part company with the communists. The Serrati policy, while on the one hand increasing the influence of the reformists, on the other hand increased the influence of anarchists and syndicalists, among whom the masses, found many leaders in the struggle against

capital, and introduced anti-parliamentary, radicalistic, tendencies within the Party. The split at Livorno, the forming of the Italian Communist Party, the rallying of all the really communist elements on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International into a united Communist Party will make of Communism a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbroken, unbent front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school, while at the same time succeeding in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counter-revolutionary Fascisti, in consolidating their movements, and in converting their spontaneous actions into a carefully planned struggle.

In France, where first the chauvinist poison of "national defence" and where the noise of Victory was stronger than in any other country, the reaction against war developed much slower than in the other countries. This enabled the French Socialist Party, especially its majority, to evolve in the direction of Communism, even before being confronted by the development of events with questions of resolute revolutionary action. The French Communist Party will be able to make the best and fullest use of these great advantages in as much as it will be able to liquidate in its own ranks—particularly among the leading circles—the remnants of national-pacifist and parliamentary-reformist ideology. The Party must reach the masses and their most oppressed strata in a far larger degree than has been done in the past, or is being done at present; it must give clear, complete and uncompromising expression to the sufferings and needs of these masses. In its parliamentary activity the Party must decisively break with all the ugly, lie-sodden formalities of French parliamentarism, which have been deliberately nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to muzzle, intimidate, and hypnotise the representatives of the working class. The communist parliamentarians must tear from every question its national-democratic, republican, traditionally revolutionary veil, and present it point-blank as a question of class-interest and irreconcilable class-struggle.

The agitation in the press must assume a more concentrated, strenuous and energetic character. It must not dissolve itself in the changeable and variable political situations and combinations of the day. It must draw the same revolutionary fundamental conclusions from all events, big and small, bringing them home to the most backward working masses. Only by such a truly revolutionary attitude will the Communist Party avoid the appearance—as well as the reality—of being a mere left-wing of that radical Longuet block which with ever-increasing energy and success places itself at the services of bourgeois society, to protect the latter against those upheavals which are made inevitable in France by the sheer logic of events. These decisive revolutionary events may come sooner or they may come later, but a determined revolutionary Communist Party can even now, during the preparatory stage, inspired by a revolutionary will, mobilise the working masses on economic and political grounds, broadening and clarifying all their present struggles.

The attempts of revolutionarily impatient and politically inexperienced elements to apply extreme methods, which by their very nature are methods of decisive proletarian revolution, upon simple questions (*e.g.*, the calling upon the recruits of the year 1919 to resist mobilisation, the proposal for the forcible prevention of the occupation of Luxemburg, etc.), contain elements of most dangerous adventurism, and if applied would put off for a long time the real revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of power. That adventurism, which by its very nature, forms no clear conception of the purposes of mass-action and the difficulties in the way, and instead of the birth of revolution merely brings sickly and oftentimes deadly premature travail. It is the duty of the French Communist Party, and indeed, of any other party, to reject such highly dangerous methods.

To increase the union of the Party with the masses means above all the closer alliance with the workers' organizations. The task does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work, but that the truly revolutionary communist elements within the unions give them that direction which answers the general interests of the proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of power. In view of these considerations, it is the duty of the French Communist Party to criticise in a friendly but firm and unmistakeable manner those anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which reject the Proletarian Dictatorship; who do not admit the necessity of uniting its vanguard in a centralized leading organization—the Communist Party—and also those transitory syndicalist tendencies which under the cloak of the Charter of Amiens, drawn up eight years previous to the war, now refuse to give any clear and outspoken answer to the fundamental questions of the new, *post-bellum* epoch.

The amalgamation of the revolutionary syndicalistic groups within the unions with the Communist elements as a whole is an indispensable preliminary condition for every real and serious struggle of the French proletariat.

To make harmless and remove those adventurous tendencies, and to overcome the nebulous principles and organised separatism of the revolutionary syndicalists, it is imperatively necessary that the Party itself—as already said—should by a true revolutionary handling of every question of daily life and struggle make itself the irresistible centre of gravitation for the working masses of France.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the workers in the course of two and a half years have freed themselves from a great deal of reformist and nationalistic illusions. In September of last year the majority of the social-democratic workers broke away from their reformist leaders. In December already a million workers out of Czecho-Slovakia's three and a half-million industrial workers stood in the midst of revolutionary mass-action against the Czecho-Slovak capitalist government. In May, of this year, the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party of 350,000 members was formed, in addition to the German-Bohemian Communist Party which numbers 60,000 members. The

communists thus, not only represent a great portion of the Czecho-Slovak proletariat, but also of the entire population of the country. The Czecho-Slovak Party now stands before the task of gaining the adherence of even wider working masses through real communist agitation, to train them by clear and uncompromising communist propaganda, to form a solid front by a union of the workers of all the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia, against the nationalists who are the main instrument of the bourgeoisie in Czecho-Slovakia, and to make the proletarian force thus created, strong and invincible in all its future struggles against the oppressive tendencies of capitalism and the government. The quickness with which the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party will master these tasks depends upon the clearness and determination with which it will do away with all centrist traditions and moods which found their expression in the Smeral policy. By following the advice given by their imprisoned comrades, Munsh, Kuls, Sabototsky, and by the Communist International, and by conducting such a policy as will educate and revolutionize the masses, it will be able to organize and equip them for action and a victorious consummation.

The United Communist Party of Germany, formed by a union of the Spartakusbund with the left Independent working masses, although already a mass-party, stands before the great task of raising and strengthening its influence among the workers, winning the proletarian mass-organizations—the trade unions—and dispelling the influence of the social-democratic party and of the trade unionist bureaucracy. This main task demands that the Party base its whole agitation—propaganda and organisation work—upon acquiring the sympathies of the majority of the workers, without which in the presence of strongly organised capital no communist victory in Germany can be either thought of or accomplished. For this task the Party is not quite ripe as yet, both regarding the scope of its agitation and its contents. Nor did it know how to consistently continue the road it had started upon when it published the "Open Letter," the road of opposing the practical interests of the Proletariat to the treacherous policy of the social-democratic parties and the trade unionist bureaucracy. Its press and its organisation are still rather too strongly marked by the stamp of scattered associations, not of militant organs and solid organisation. Those centrist tendencies which manifested themselves in the organisation, and which are unsubdued as yet, forced the Party to the necessity of throwing the gauntlet without due preparation for the battle, and on the other hand rather obscured the necessity of close spiritual association with the non-communist masses. The problems of action which are soon to confront the United German Communist Party, through the process of disintegration of German economy, and through the offensive started by capital against the very economic existence of the working masses, can be solved only if the Party will not consider the problems of agitation and organisation as opposed to those of action and deeds, but will rather make its agitation a real popular force, building its organisation in such a manner that the Party by its close association with the masses shall develop the ability to constantly and carefully weigh the military situation and carefully prepare for the struggles.

The parties of the Communist International only become revolutionary mass-parties, if they overcome the remnants and traditions of opportunism in their ranks by seeking close association with the struggling toilers, drawing their problems from the practical struggles of the proletariat, which act as an antidote to opportunistic clouding of irreconcilable social contrasts, rejecting all revolutionary catch-phrases which obstruct the view into the real co-relation of the contending forces and which permit them overlook the difficulties of the struggle. The communist parties have arisen from the breaking up of the old social-democratic parties. This break-up resulted from the fact that these parties have betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the war and have continued the betrayal after the war, by alliances with the bourgeoisie or, by conducting a tame policy and shirking the class fight. The fundamentals of the Communist Party form the basis upon which the working masses can reunite, because they express the necessities of the proletarian struggle. It is because of this fact, that the social democratic parties and tendencies seek the division of the proletariat—while the communist parties are a uniting and rallying force. In Germany, it was the centrists who broke away from the majority of their Party after the latter had embraced the flag of communism. Fearing the uniting influence of Communism, the German social-democrats and independent social-democrats, in league with the social-democratic trade unions, refused to join with the communists in common actions for the defence of the simplest interests of the proletariat. In Czecho-Slovakia again it was the social-democrats who fled the old party on perceiving the triumph of Communism. In France the Longuet group seceded from the majority of the French socialist workers, while the Communist party acts as a rallying ground for socialist and syndicalist workers. In England it was the reformists and the centrists who drove the communists out of the Labour Party, and who refused to permit the Communist Party to affiliate with it for fear of their influence; and even now they continue sabotaging the unification of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. The Communist Parties thus become the standard-bearers of the unifying process of the proletariat, on the basis of the struggle for its interests, and from this consciousness of their rôle they draw and will gather new forces.

V.

Part Struggles and Part Demands

THE development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda and agitation. In all proletarian mass organisations they must constitute the vanguard, they must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life. Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. The Communists must prove that they are able to lead in the practical struggle of the proletariat, and by promoting these

conflicts, the Communists will succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation, as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism; that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a pre-requisite for the achievement of such betterment, and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, at a time when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well-fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social-democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their programs. The demand for socialisation or nationalisation of the most important industries, is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalisation alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavoured to divert the workers from the real and alive struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which once an illusion, has now become open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the program of the nationalisation of the coal, or any other industry, is based on the Lassallian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development may lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against mere capitalist blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution. For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfilment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is, not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather, whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the great proletarian masses, and if they are convinced that they cannot exist without the realisation of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is:—the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat, for demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, which organise the proletariat, and which form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if certain groups of the masses have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, and as the needs clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realise that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realisation of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the communist parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the part struggles of isolated groups of workers are gradually merging into a general struggle of labour *versus* capital, so the communist party must also alter its watchword, which should be—"uncompromising overthrow of the adversary." In formulating their part demands the communist parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organise the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be utilised to focus and stimulate the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organisation of social economy under capitalism, but of an organisation fighting against capitalism through the workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees, and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfil this rôle only if they are born in an economic struggle, waged in the interests of the masses of workers, and provided they succeed in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat, including the communist party, the revolutionary workers, and those trade unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such part demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these part struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should

lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to part demands are and how divorced from the needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organisations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating part demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to muster, or else they have been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organised workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social-Democrats, the independents and official trade union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed, considering them mere objects of state and trade union charity, and despising them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat** The communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable them to actively support, under favourable circumstances, the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive. In a word, the unemployed must be transformed from a mere reserve army of industry into an active army of the Revolution.

The Communist parties, in energetically supporting the unemployed workers (now low down in the scale of labour) must do so in the interests of the proletariat as a class, and thus prevent them from being betrayed by the counter-revolutionary leaders in the interests of the labour aristocracy. The more workers who are unemployed, or only partly employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labour aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests of the masses. Those who plead the interests of labour aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed, or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counter-revolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the

*A German term denoting the "tramp" element in the lowest ranks of the masses.

representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognising those common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labour aristocracy.

VI.

Preparing for the Struggle

THE character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with wide masses of workers, and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is—the conquest of power. The Communist press must not consist of organs which publish theoretical proofs that communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not consist in debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the ruthless unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses. Our organising work in the trade unions, as well as in the party organisations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight, that the Party will be able to fulfil its task, when the time for drastic action will have arrived.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticising the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the communist parties must do their utmost to make the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests. In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organised in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist parties to endeavour, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat. Should non-communist parties be pressed into this struggle it will become the duty of communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communistic elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict

as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. Refer to the open letter of the V.K.P.D.*, which may provide an example of the prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavour to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of world Revolution, its rôle consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and International bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty of the Communist Party to take the initiative and lead the masses to the attack, after careful political and, if possible, organisational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers, would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that, in the event of retreat, it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic, and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order

The attitude of the Communist Party on the question of offence and defence depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is, that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organisation and readiness to fight. This fighting spirit and the will to attack, must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever-growing misery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the very material basis of Society itself—upon which alone Communism can be erected—and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

*This was an open letter, drawn up by the United German Communist Party and addressed to the whole Labour of Germany, appealing for joint action on the immediate needs of the masses.

VII.

The Lesson of the March Struggle in Germany

THE action of last March was forced upon the V.K.P.D. (United German Communist Party) by the Government's attack upon the proletariat of Middle Germany.

In stoutly defending the workers of Middle Germany, the V.K.P.D. has shown itself to be the Party of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. In this first great struggle, which it had to sustain immediately after its formation, the V.K.P.D. committed a number of mistakes, of which the chief one was that they did not clearly understand the defensive nature of the struggle, but by the call for the attack gave the opportunity to the unscrupulous enemies of the proletariat—the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D.—to denounce the K.A.P.D. (German Communist Labour Party) in the eyes of the proletariat as the aggressor. This mistake was further amplified by a number of Party theorists who represented the offensive as the principal means of the campaign of the K.A.P.D. on that occasion. This mistake has already been repudiated by the official party organs, notably by its chairman, Comrade Brandler. The Congress of the Communist International considers the March action of the K.A.P.D. as a step forward. It is of the opinion, that in order to ensure greater success for its mass actions, the K.A.P.D. must in the future better adapt their battle-cry to the actual situation, giving the most careful study to the situation and conducting their actions in the most uniform manner.

For the purpose of carefully weighing the possibilities of the struggle, the K.A.P.D. must attentively listen to the voices which point out the difficulties of the actions and carefully examine their reasons for urging caution. But as soon as an action is decided upon by the Party authorities, all comrades must submit to the decisions of the Party and carry out the action. Criticism of the action must commence only after its completion and be practised only within the party organisations, giving due consideration to the situation wherein the Party had found itself in the face of the enemy. Since Levi did disregard these self-understood demands of party discipline and the conditions of party criticism, the Congress approves his expulsion from the Party, and declares it inadmissible for any members of the Communist International to co-operate politically with him.

VIII.

The Forms and Means of Direct Action

THE forms and means of action, its extent, and the question of the offensive or defensive, are bound up with certain conditions which cannot be created at will. The experience of the revolution has shown us various forms of partial actions.

1. The partial actions on the part of sections of the proletariat (the action of miners, railway men, etc., in Germany, and of land workers in England, etc.).

2. The partial actions of the whole proletariat for limited objects (the action in the days of Kapp Putsch, the action of the English miners against the military intervention of the British Government in the Russo-Polish war).

These partial actions may extend over separate districts, over whole countries and over a series of countries simultaneously. All these forms of action will in all countries be intermingled in the course of the revolution. The Communist Party cannot discard actions which are limited to a certain area, but it must strive to turn every important local proletarian action into a universal struggle. Just as we are bound to raise the whole working class in defence of the struggling workers in a single branch industry wherever possible, we are also bound to rouse the workers of all the industrial centres to lend their help to the struggling workers of a whole district or area. The experience of revolution teaches us that the greater the area of the struggle, the greater the prospect of victory. The bourgeoisie relies, in its struggle against the rising world revolution, partly on the white guard organisations, and partly on the fact that the working class is scattered, and that its front is built up very slowly. The greater the number of workers who join in the battle, the greater the fighting area, the more must the enemy divide and scatter his forces. Even when the other sections of workers, who are anxious to help the oppressed part of the proletariat are temporarily not in a position to support it with all their might, their very movement forces the capitalist to divide his forces, for the latter are unable to fathom to what extent the other part of the proletariat will be able to take part in the struggle and render it more acute.

In the course of the past year, during which we saw the ever-increasing arrogance of the capitalist offensive against the workers, we observed that the bourgeoisie in all countries, not satisfied with the normal activity of its state organs, created legal and semi-legal though state-protected white-guards organisations, which played a decisive part in every big economic or industrial conflict.

In Germany it is the Orgesch, backed by the government, which includes all party colourings from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

In Italy it is the Fascisti, whose depredations effected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces.

In England—to combat the miners during the recent lockout—the Lloyd George government appealed for volunteers, whose task it was to defend property and so-called “free labour,” by means of blacklegging upon the masses involved in the dispute.

In France the leading semi-official newspaper *Temps*, inspired by the Millerand clique, conducts a vigorous campaign for the reinforcement of the already existing *Civic Leagues*, and for the introduction of Fascisti methods to French soil.

The organisations of strike-breakers and cut-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now

acquired a new force in the so-called *American Legion*, made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows quite well through its leading governments, that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for the possession of power.

In the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive it is the duty of the communists not only to take the advanced posts and lead those engaged in the struggle to a complete understanding of the fundamental revolutionary tasks, but it is also their duty, relying upon the best and most active elements among the workers, to create their own labour legions and militant organisations which will resist the pacifists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will get them out of the strike-breaking habit.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question. It must organise a thorough-going educational and communicational service which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenal; the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties; and work out all the necessary details of defence and counter-attack.

The Communist Party must in this manner influence the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the proletariat to conquer the power of state.

With regard to the acts of the white terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not to be deceived, during crises, by a hypocritical appeal to their leniency by the enemy, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers. And in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilised by agitation, by political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages. Individual acts of terrorism, may demonstrate the revolutionary rancour of the masses, and however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic flunkeys, these must be condemned because such deeds will not raise the workers to a higher level of organisation, or make them better prepared to face the struggle. Acts of sabotage are only justified when used for the purpose of hindering the despatch of enemy troops against the workers, or for conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat.

IX.

The Relation to the Semi-Proletarian Elements

IN Western Europe there is no other important class besides the proletariat, which might become a determining factor in the world revolution. But it is different in Russia, where the peasantry, owing to the war and lack of land, were predestined to become a determining revolutionary fighting element in conjunction with the industrial working class. But even in Western Europe a part of the peasantry, a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns, the numerous so-called, "new middle-class," the office workers etc., are sinking into ever worse conditions of life. Under the pressure of the high cost of living, housing difficulties, and the insecurity of their positions, these elements are beginning to pass through a process of fermentation, which draws them out of their political inactivity, and drags them into the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated countries, the bankruptcy of pacifism and social reform in the victorious countries, drives a part of these middle-class elements into the camp of open counter-revolution, and others into the revolutionary camp. The Communist Party is bound to bestow increasing attention on these elements. The winning over of the small farmers to the ideas of Communism, and the organisation of the agricultural workers, are prerequisite conditions for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. For then we shall be able to bring the revolution from industrial centres down to the country districts, and this will enable us to capture the most important strongholds, and thus solve the food question, that vital question for the revolution. The acquisition of large groups of technical employees and intellectuals would make it easier for the proletarian dictatorship to master the problems of technique and organisation in the transition period from capitalism to Communism. It will cause disintegration in the enemy ranks and will do away with the traditional notion that the workers are isolated. The Communist Parties have to keep alive the fermentation of discontent among the petty-bourgeoisie, in order to utilise them in the most appropriate way, even though they do not lose their petty-bourgeois illusions. Those of the intellectuals and employees who free themselves from these illusions must be taken up in the proletarian ranks, and made use of for the purpose of organising such petty-bourgeois groups.

The economic ruin and consequent disorganisation of national finance, force the bourgeoisie to smash the basic support of its governmental apparatus, owing to the growing impoverishment of the middle and lower officials. The economic movement on the part of these elements affects the very root of bourgeois society, and though this movement may temporarily abate, it will be as impossible for the bourgeois state to preserve this administrative foundation (the officials), as it is impossible for capital to grant fair conditions to its wage slaves while insisting on the preservation of its system of exploitation. The Communist Parties, by espousing the cause of the lower and middle officialdom, and by helping it economically, irrespective of the state of public finance, will do

most effective preliminary work for the destruction of bourgeois institutions and the preparation of the elements requisite for the superstructure of the proletarian state.

X.

International Co-ordination of Action

IN order to break the front of the international counter-revolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International, and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and centralised organisation of the component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy-trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organisation of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machinery. The Congress believes that the Communist International action must not confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world-wide scale, as advocated by the Two-and-a-half International, and launched by certain sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes acuter, Communist International must strive to co-ordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. *The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces.* But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonise the forms of organisation and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The Communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions, to prevent not only the importation of black-legs, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to plunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counter-revolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. **It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realise that they are playing the part of watch-dogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them.** It is the duty of the French Communist Party to make the French nation conscious of the fact that by suffering the formation of a French army of

occupation, and tolerating its permeation by a nationalistic spirit, it forges its own chains. In occupied territories troops are being drilled, in order to be subsequently let loose against the working class, and to murder it in cold blood. The French Communist Party is faced by the special problem of the presence of black troops in France and the occupied territories. The French comrades are thus able to approach these colonial slaves, to explain to them that they are serving their oppressors and exploiters, to rouse them to a fight against the regime of the colonisers, and to establish connections with the colonial peoples through this medium. The German Communist Party must clearly explain to the German workers, that no struggle against spoliation by Entente capital is possible without the overthrow of the German capitalist government, which in spite of all its outbursts against the Entente, is the task-master and agent of the Entente capital. The V.K.P. of Germany will only be able to induce the workers of France to fight their imperialism if it takes up the dauntless, ruthless, struggle against the German Government and thereby proves that it is not anxious to provide a loop-hole for bankrupt German imperialism, but wishes to clear the ruins of German imperialism out of the way.

The Communist International, which denounced the indemnity demands of the Entente capitalism as a campaign spoliation directed against the workers of the vanquished countries, and which brand-marked the cowardly capitulation to Bourse interests by the Longuet followers in France, and which denounced the Independents in Germany who were pleading that this spoliation be done in a gentler fashion and less painfully for the workers, now indicates to the French and to the German proletariat that the only way to the reconstruction of the devastated provinces, to the indemnification of the widows and orphans, is by calling the proletariat of both countries to the common struggle against their exploiters.

The German working class can help Russia in its hard struggle, if by a victorious combat it will precipitate the union of agricultural Russia with industrial Germany.

It is the duty of Communist Parties in all countries which are taking part in the subjugation and partition of Turkey, to do their best toward revolutionising the armies used for this work. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must strain all the efforts of their mass organisations to hasten their victory. The victory of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Serbia would cause the downfall of the shameful Horthy régime in Hungary; would facilitate the liquidation of Roumanian Boyar rule; and would create an economic basis for the Italian Revolution and protect it against a blockade by England. The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries. Not only must they act resolutely against any attacks on Soviet Russia, but they must also struggle to do away with all the obstacles placed by capitalist States in the way of Russia's communications with the world markets, and of all other nations. If Soviet Russia succeeds in reconstructing economic life, in mitigating the terrible misery caused by the three years of imperialist war and three years of civil war, only when Soviet Russia will have contrived to raise

the efficiency of the masses of its population, will it be in a position, in the future, to assist the western proletarian States with food and raw material, and protect them against being enslaved by American Capital. The International political task of the Communist International consists not in demonstrations on special occasions, but in the permanent increase of the international relations of the Communists, in their ceaseless struggle in close formation. It is impossible to foretell at what front the proletariat will succeed in breaking the capitalist lines—whether it will be in capitalist Germany, with its workers who are most cruelly oppressed by their own and the Entente bourgeoisie, and who are faced by the alternative of either winning or dying, or in the agrarian south-west; or it may be in Italy, where the decay of the bourgeoisie has reached an advanced stage. It is therefore the duty of the Communist International to intensify its efforts on all sectors of the workers' world-front, and it is the duty of the Communist Parties to support, with all their means, the decisive battles of each section of the Communist International. This must be achieved by immediately widening and deepening all internal conflicts in every other country, as soon as a great struggle breaks out in any one country.

XI.

The Decline of the Second and Two-and-a-Half International

THE third year of the Communist International witnesses the further decline of Social Democratic Parties, and the decrease of influence together with the unmasking of the reformist Trade Union leaders. During the last year, however, these moderate Socialist elements have attempted to re-organise themselves, and proceeded to attack the Communist International. In England the leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions proved, during the coal strike, that they consider their only task to be the premeditated destruction of the workers' front, which is in the process of formation, and the conscious defence of capital against labour. The breakdown of the Triple Alliance is proof that the reformist Trade Union leaders do not even wish to struggle for the improvement of the labour conditions within the limits of the present capitalist system.

In Germany, the Social-Democratic Party, after withdrawing from the Government, proved that it was no longer able to carry on ordinary agitational opposition of the pre-war kind. Its every oppositional action was carefully contemplated not to elicit any struggles of the working class. Although apparently in the opposition in the Reichstag, social-democracy organised a campaign in Prussia against the Middle-German miners, for the confessed purpose of provoking an armed combat before the Communist battle-front could be organised. In the face of the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie to the Entente, in the face of the undeniable fact that the German bourgeoisie is only able to carry out the dictates of the Entente by making the living conditions of the German

proletariat absolutely unbearable, the German social-democracy re-entered the Government in order to aid the bourgeoisie in turning the German proletarians into helots. In Czecho-Slovakia, social-democracy is mobilising the military and police, to deprive the Communist workers of their houses and institutions. By its policy of prevarication, the Polish Socialist Party is abetting Pilsudsky in the organisation of his predatory campaign against Soviet Russia. It lends its services to the Government by throwing thousands of Communists into prison and, attempts to drive them out of the trade unions, in which they are gaining more and more hold, in spite of all persecutions. The Belgian Socialists retain their seats in a government that is participating in the enslavement of the German people.

The centrist parties and groups of the Two-and-a-half International are no less crass examples of counter-revolutionary organisations. The German Independents brusquely refused to respond to the appeal of the German Communist Party for unity of action, in spite of all differences, in the battle against the impoverishment of the working class. During the March revolt they took a decided stand on the side of the white guard movement against the Middle German workers, only to raise a hypocritical howl about the white terror, after they had aided in securing a victory for it; they denounced the proletarian vanguard, before the eyes of the bourgeoisie, as thieving, plundering, "gutter" proletarians. Although they pledged themselves, at the Congress of Halle, to support Soviet Russia, their press is replete with calumny against that country. They stepped into the ranks of the entire counter-revolutionary congregation, from Wrangel and Miliukov to Burtseff, by supporting the Kronstadt revolt against the Soviet Republic, a revolt that signified the commencement of a new policy of international counter-revolution against Soviet Russia. This revolt was organised to overthrow the Communist Party of Russia and thus to destroy the soul, heart, marrow, and the nervous system of the Soviet Republic, in order to sweep away its corpse. The French Longuetists joined the German Independents in this campaign, thus publicly joining the French counter-revolutionary forces, who have proved to be the sponsors of this new policy against Russia. In Italy the tactics of the centrists, of Serrati and D'Aragona, the policy of avoiding any struggle, has revived the courage of the bourgeoisie and enabled it to control the life of Italy by means of its white Fascisti guards.

Although centrism and social democracy differ only in phraseology, the union of both in a single International has not yet taken place. In fact, the centrist parties united last February in an international association of their own, with a separate political platform and constitution. This shoddy Two and a half International is attempting to oscillate, on paper, between the policies of democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It not only lends practical service to the capitalists in every country by nurturing a spirit of irresolution in the working class, but in the face of the destruction caused by the world bourgeoisie, in face of the subjugation of a large part of the world by the victorious capitalist states of the

Entente, it concocts plans for the bourgeoisie as to the best means of executing its exploitation projects without unloosing the revolutionary forces of the proletarian masses. The only distinction between the Two and a half International and the Second International resides in the fact that, besides their common fear of the power of capital, the former is absolutely afraid to lose the last vestiges of its influence upon the still un-class-conscious, though in spirit revolutionary masses, by a clear formulation of its standpoint. The political sameness of character of the reformists and centrists is revealed in their common defence of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. By uniting with the reformists and trade union bureaucrats in the battle against Communism wherever they still possess any influence in the trade unions, by responding to the attempts at revolutionising the trade unions by expelling the Communists, and by splits in the trade unions, the centrists prove that in common with the social democrats, they are resolute opponents of the proletarian struggle and peacemakers of the counter-revolution.

It is the task of the Communist International to wage relentless war against the Two-and-a-half International as well as against the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Only by means of such an unrelenting struggle, daily proving to the masses that the social-democratic and centrists are not only unwilling to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but are afraid to struggle for the simplest and most urgent needs of the working class, will it be possible for the Communist International to liberate the working class from the grip of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie. It cannot wage this struggle successfully except by nipping in the bud every centristic tendency or inclination in its own ranks, by giving constant daily evidence of its being the International of Communist deeds, not of Communist phrases or theories. The Communist International is the only organisation of the world-proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles. Our task consists in so improving its internal cohesion, its international leadership, and its activity, that it will, in reality, attain the aim it has set itself in its statutes:— "The organising of united action by the proletarians of all countries, aspiring toward the same goal, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic."

FOR THE BUREAU OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION:

G. Zinoviev,
N. Lenin,
L. Trotsky,

N. Bucharin,
K. Radek,
L. Kamenev.

Why are YOU not a member of
the Party?

The Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions

(THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE YELLOW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL).

By G. ZINOVIEV

This comprehensive statement by the President of the Communist International was submitted to the Communist International Congress

I.

No Politics in the Union

THE bourgeoisie is holding the working class in subjection, not only by means of violence, but also by the most refined deception. The school, the church, parliament, art, literature, the daily press—all of them represent powerful means of deceiving the working masses, and of imbuing the proletariat with the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

One of the bourgeois ideas, which the ruling classes have succeeded in inculcating among the working masses, is the idea of trade union neutrality, that is, the idea of the non-political and non-party character of the trade unions.

For the last decades of modern history, and especially after the close of the imperialist war, the trade-unions throughout Europe and in America have become the largest proletarian organisations, in some countries almost embracing the entire working class.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the near future of the capitalist system depends on the extent to which the trade unions are going to free themselves from middle-class influences. Hence their frantic efforts and that of their myrmidons, the social-democrats, throughout the world, to keep the trade unions at any price in the thralldom of bourgeois social-democratic ideas.

The bourgeoisie cannot very well invite the trade unions, quite openly, to support the bourgeois parties. It is, therefore, urging them not to support any party, especially the revolutionary communist party, but this in reality means that the trade unions must not support the party advocating communism.

The doctrine of neutrality (or of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions) is not of recent growth. For decades this bourgeois idea has been inculcated in the trade unions of Great Britain, Germany, America, and other countries by the representatives of the priest-ridden Christian trade unions, as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois Hirsch-Duncker trade unions. The same idea was preached by the leaders of the pacific and old-fashioned British trade unions; the representatives of the so-called free trade unions of Germany; and by many representatives of syndicalism. Legien, Gompers, Jouhaux, etc., have been preaching neutrality to the trade unions for decades. But in reality the trade

unions have never been and could never be neutral. Not only is neutrality harmful to the trade unions, it cannot positively be maintained. In the struggle between capital and labour no mass organisation of workers can remain neutral. Consequently, it is impossible for the trade unions to remain neutral in their relations to the bourgeois parties and to the party of the proletariat. This the leaders of the bourgeoisie know full well. But just as it is imperative for them that the masses should believe in an after life, it is imperative for them that the trade unions should maintain neutrality with regard to politics and above all with regard to the workmen's Communist Party. For the exploitation of, and the mastery over the workers, the bourgeoisie needs not only the priest, the policeman and the general, but also the trade union bureaucrats, the "leaders" who preach to the workers neutrality and non-participation in political struggles.

The fallacy of the neutrality idea had become more and more apparent to the advanced proletariat of Europe and America even before the imperialist war. This fallacy became still more apparent as the class contrasts became more acute. When the imperialist mass-murders began in good earnest, the old trade union leaders were obliged to drop the mask of neutrality and to side quite openly with their respective bourgeoisie.

During the imperialist war those social-democrats and trade unionists who had been preaching neutrality to the trade unionists for many years, while driving the workers into the service of the most dastardly murder policy, these recent advocates of neutrality, unblushingly assumed the rôle of agents for certain political parties, not, of course, the parties of the working class, but for those of the bourgeoisie.

After the imperialist war these same social-democratic and trade union leaders have again been trying to put on the mask of trade union neutrality, etc. Now that the abnormal war conditions are at an end, these agents of capitalism are trying to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and want to lure away the workers from the path of revolution to the only path which is profitable for the bourgeoisie.

Economics and politics are closely connected together. This connection becomes especially evident in such epochs as the present. There is not a single important question of political life which affects the political Labour movement but also reacts on the trade unions, and *vice versa*. If the French imperialistic government orders the mobilisation of a certain class for the occupation of the Ruhr basin and for the strangulation of Germany in general, can it be said that this purely political question does not concern the French trade unions? Can a truly revolutionary French trade unionist remain neutral, and take up a non-political attitude on such a question? Or to use another illustration—if there is in England a purely economic struggle as the late lock-out of the miners, can the Communist Party declare that this does not concern it—that it is a purely trade union question? At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative

for the solution of the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral, which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie?

Despite the numberless political parties in Europe and America, these may be divided into three groups with regard to their nature:—(1) Parties of the bourgeoisie. (2) Parties of the petty bourgeoisie, chiefly the social-democrats; and (3) The party of the proletariat. All trade unions which proclaim themselves to be non-party, and declare their neutrality with regard to the above-mentioned party groups, are practically supporting the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

II.

Neutrality in Practice

THE Amsterdam Trade Union International represents the organisation in which the Second International and Second-and-a-Half International meet each other and join hands. The whole international bourgeoisie looks upon this organisation with assurance and confidence. The principal idea of the Amsterdam Trade Union International is the idea of the neutrality of Trade Unions. It is not mere chance that this watchword is used by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats, as well as by the Right Wing Trade Unionists to unite the wide masses of workers in Western Europe and America. While the political Second International openly took the side of the bourgeoisie and experienced a complete collapse, a certain success may be noted in regard to the Amsterdam International Trade Union that wants to act under cover of the idea of neutrality.

Under the flag of neutrality the Amsterdam Trade Union International undertakes the execution of the dirtiest and most difficult commissions of the bourgeoisie. The strangling of the miners in England was accomplished by the well-known J. H. Thomas, who is connected with the Second International, and one of the best known leaders of the Amsterdam Yellow Trade Union International. The decrease of wages and the organised plundering of the German workers for the sins of Wilhelm and the German Imperialists, etc., is made possible by the efforts of Noske, Hoersing, Albert Thomas, Jouheaux, J. H. Thomas, Wissel, Bauer, and Robert Schmidt—all leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. They all manage to proclaim with the same breath the neutrality of the trade unions in the political struggle and at the same time act as ministers of bourgeois governments.

At the present moment the Amsterdam Trade Union International represents the chief support of International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight

against the wrong idea of non-political and non-party character of the Trade Unions cannot fight successfully against this capitalist fortress. In order to decide upon the most efficient fighting methods to be used against the Yellow Amsterdam International, it will be necessary to clearly and definitely ascertain the mutual relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions of each country.

III.

The Party and the Unions

THE Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It clearly recognises the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke, and consciously accepts the Communist programme.

The Trade Unions represent mass organisation of the proletariat which develops into organisations uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry. They include not only the conscious communists but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who through the lessons taught by their life's experience are gradually educated to understand communism. The part played by the trade unions before all power is secured by the proletariat is different in many respects from the part it plays while this power is being secured and after it has been accomplished. But throughout the different periods the trade unions represent a wider organisation, uniting a greater mass of people than the party; and the relations between the party and the unions must be the same as between the centre and the periphery. Prior to the securing of power the truly proletarian trade unions have to organise the workers principally on an economic basis to fight for the improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely defeated. Their principal object, however, must be the organisation of the proletarian mass fight against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

During this revolution the truly revolutionary trade unions conjointly with the party organise the masses for the immediate attack on the forts of capitalism and undertake the laying of a foundation for a social revolution.

After the power has been secured by the proletariat the trade unions must concentrate the greatest part of their activity to the organisation of the economic conditions on a socialist basis.

During all these three phases of the campaign, the trade unions must support the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, which takes the lead throughout the proletarian fight.

In order to achieve this end the communists, together with all sympathising elements, must organise communist units within the trade unions, which must be completely under the control of the Communist Party.

The tactics adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in regard to the formation of communist units in every trade union, have been proven to be correct and have yielded splendid results during the course of last year in Germany, England, France, Italy, and a number of other countries. The

principles of the Communist International, respecting the participation of communists in the trade union movement, must not be influenced by the circumstance that considerable numbers of politically inexperienced workers have lately left the "free" social democratic trade unions, not expecting to have any direct advantage from membership in the same (as has lately been the case in Germany). It is the task of the communists to explain to the proletarians, that they will not find salvation in leaving the old trade unions before creating new ones, as this will only turn the proletariat into a disconnected mob. They must be told that it is necessary to revolutionise the trade unions, to expel the spirit of reformism together with the treacherous reformist leaders, and thus convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat.

IV.

Unity of Forces

THESE considerations will define the mutual relations to be established between the Communist International on the one hand, and the International Council of Red Trade Unions, on the other.

The task of the Communist International is not only to direct the political struggle of the proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, but to guide its entire struggle for liberation, whatever form it may acquire. The Communist International must be not only the arithmetical total of the central organisations of the Communist Parties of different countries. The Communist International must stimulate and co-ordinate the work throughout the class struggle of all proletarian organisations, and work within the purely political organisations, trade unions, the Soviet, and cultural organisations, etc.

Quite unlike the Yellow International, the International Council of Red Trade Unions will in no wise adopt the point of view of non-partyism or neutrality. Any organisation which would wish to remain neutral with regard to the Second, the "Two-and-a-half," or the Third International, must unavoidably become a pawn in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The programme of action of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions which the Communist International will lay before its first Congress will be defended, in reality, by the communist parties alone, and by the Communist International. On these grounds alone, if we are to succeed in carrying out the new revolutionary tasks of the trade unions, the red trade unions will have to work hand in hand and in close contact with the Communist Party, and the International Council of Red Trade Unions will have to bring each step of its work into agreement with the work of the Communist International.

The prejudices of neutrality, of "independence," of non-party and non-political tactics, with which certain revolutionary syndicalists of France, Spain, Italy, and other countries are infected, are objectively nothing more than a tribute paid to bourgeois ideas. The Red Trade Unions cannot conquer the Yellow Amsterdam International, and consequently capitalism, without

repudiating the bourgeois ideas of independence and neutrality once for all. From the point of view of economising forces and concentrating blows, the formation of a single, united proletarian International would unite in its ranks political parties and all other forms of labour organisations. The future will undoubtedly belong to this type of organisation. However, in the present transitional period, given the actual variety of trade unions in the different countries, it is unavoidably necessary to create an International Association of Red Trade Unions, which will on the whole stand for the platform of the Communist International, but which will admit members much more freely than is done by the Communist International.

The Third Congress of the Communist International promises its support to the International Council of Red Trade Unions which is to be organised on these lines. To bring about a closer union between the Communist International and the International Council of Red Trade Unions, the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes that it should be represented by three members on the Executive of the International Council of Red Trade Unions and *vice versa*.

The programme of action which in the opinion of the Communist International should be accepted by the Constituent World Congress of Red Trade Unions runs approximately as follows :

V.

Programme of Policy

DURING the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and persevere on winning over to their side the majority of workers in all labour unions. They must not be discouraged by the present reactionary tendency of the labour unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the unions and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resistance.

The real test of the strength of every communist party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labour unions. The Party must learn how to influence the unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist units of the union are subject to the control of the party, not the labour union as a whole. If the communist units persevere; if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be gladly and readily accepted by the unions.

In France the labour unions are now passing through a wholesome period of fermentation. The working class is regaining strength after a crisis in the movement and is learning to recognise and punish the past treachery of the reformist socialists and trade unionists. Many of the revolutionary trade unionists of France are still unwilling to take part in a political fight, and are prejudiced against the idea of a political proletarian party. They still pay reverence to the idea of neutrality as expressed in the well known *Charte d'Amiens* of 1906. The point of view of this fraction of the revolutionary trade unionists may be regarded as a source of

great danger for the movement. If this fraction should gain control of the majority in the unions, it would not know what to do with this majority. It would be helpless against the agents of capitalism, the Jouhaux and the Dumoulin.

The revolutionary trade unionists of France will remain without definite lines of demarcation as long as the Communist Party itself lacks such lines. The Communist Party of France must strive to work in friendly co-operation with the best elements of revolutionary trade unionism. It is, however, essential that the party should only rely solely upon its own elements. Sections should be formed wherever three communists are to be found in a trade union branch. The party must at once undertake a campaign against neutrality. It must point out in a friendly but decided manner the defects of such a policy in revolutionary trade unionism. This is the only possible way to revolutionise the trade union movement in France and to establish close co-operation between it and the party.

In Italy the situation is very peculiar. The majority of the trade union members are revolutionary, but the leadership of the Conf. del Lavoro is in the hands of reformists and centrists whose sympathies are with Amsterdam. The first task of the Italian Communists will be to organise a persevering daily struggle in every section in the trade unions; to endeavour systematically and patiently to expose the treachery and indecision of these leaders; and to wrest the trade unions from their control. In regard to the revolutionary trade union elements of Italy, the Italian Communists will have to adopt the same measures as the Communists in France.

In Spain we have a strong revolutionary trade-union movement, which still lacks a clearly defined final purpose, and a young and relatively weak Communist Party. In view of the existing conditions, the party must do everything possible to secure a firm foothold in the Trade Unions. It must support the unions in word and deed, and exercise a clarifying influence on the whole trade union movement. It must likewise establish friendly relations with the unions and make every effort to organise the class struggle in common.

Important developments are taking place in the British trade union movement, which is rapidly becoming more and more revolutionary. The mass movement is growing, and the influence of the old trade union leaders is on the wane. The Party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great Trade Unions (miners, etc.). Every member of the Party must work actively in some trade union, and must endeavour to make Communism popular through active and persevering work. Every effort must be made to get into closer contact with the masses.

The same process is taking place in America, although at a slower rate. Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labour. On the contrary, they should get into the old trade unions in order to revolutionise them. Co-operation with the best sections of the I.W.W. is imperative; this does not, however, preclude an educational campaign against the prejudices of the I.W.W.

In Japan a great trade union movement has rapidly come into being, but it lacks an enlightened leadership. The communistic elements of Japan must support this movement and use every effort to direct it in Marxian channels.

In Tchekho-Slovakia, our party is backed by the majority of the working class, but the trade union movement is, to a great extent, still in the hands of the social patriots. This is because the party itself has lacked organisation and clearly defined principles. The party must make a great effort to put an end to these conditions, and to get control of the leadership of the trade unions.

In Austria and Belgium the social patriots have with great cunning succeeded in getting control of the trade union movement. The trade union movement is the chief field for revolutionary action in these countries. That is why it should have received more attention from the Communist Parties.

In Norway the party which has the majority of the workers behind it, must become more influential over the trade union movement.

In Sweden the Party has not only to contend with reformism, but also with petty bourgeois tendencies in the socialist movement.

In Germany the Party is gradually getting control of the trade union movement. On no account should concessions be made to the partisans of the "Leave the Trade Unions" movement.

This would play into the hands of the social-patriots. All attempts to expel communists from the Unions must be met by constant and energetic resistance if we are to win over to Communism the majority of the organised workers.

VI.

Programme of Action

THE acute economical crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the overproduction of goods combined with an actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages and the throwing of the workers far backwards; the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other—impose new problems on the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new aggressive economic policy for the Trade Unions is necessary in order to parry the attack of capital, strengthen the old position, and to pass over to the offensive.

2. The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is direct action of revolutionary masses and their organisations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of factories, uprisings, and other revolutionary activity,

which tend to unite the working class in the fight for socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and to stimulate the fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The last year of the struggle has shown, with a particular vividness, the inability of strictly trade union organisations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produce a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union, to an organisation of trade unions for the struggle for control of production. “One union for one industry”—this is the militant motto in the organisation structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way, putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories, mills, etc., and also before district and regional conference, as well as before the national congresses.

4. Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself, such as money collectors, representatives, proxies, and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given enterprise, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the International of Red Trade Unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party, and the casting aside of the broad non-party rank and file workers should be severely condemned. This should only be a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meeting, as well as committee of action and their rank and file members.

5. The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee—is the maintenance of the workers, discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed and the communists should approach these workers and explain to them at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist régime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6. By closing down their mills and factories; by curtailing the workers' hours; the capitalists are able to clear out of their establishments all revolutionary workers and at the same time maintain those reactionary labourers who are thus used as a lever to lower wages, to increase the working day, and to assist in depriving the masses of the right to strike. Lock-outs are becoming more and more definitely the form of direct action on the part of the

employers. For this purpose special controlling committees, composed of workers, should be instituted with regard to raw material, orders, in order to verify the quantities of available raw material, necessary for the production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling committees must investigate in a most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given enterprise and other concerns, and the practical task of abolishing the commercial mastery should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7. One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of a reduction of wages and standard of life should be the taking hold, by the workers, of the factories and mills and proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners.

Owing to the lack of goods it is highly important to proceed with production and the workers should therefore oppose the pre-meditated closing down of factories and mills by the owners. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle—the seizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other ways of pressure upon capital. When taking hold of the mills, etc., the management of the same should be conferred to factories and workshops committees and a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

8. The economical struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labour conditions to a much higher degree compared with pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class during the period of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of the labour conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration. The revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious capitalists of different nations; but solely from that of the preservation and the defence of the living labour force.

9. The tendency of reducing wages adopted by capitalists during an economic crisis should be met by the revolutionary trade unions in their endeavours to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts. The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns, and others, should be drawn in at once in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance from a separate intermittent strike up to a general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale are in such a case not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10. The trade unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organise international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international

scale is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The trade unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world, choosing the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only in the case of real revolutionary class-conscious trade unions, on an international scale, being formed, and having nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11. The belief in the absolute value of binding contracts and agreements between Labour and Capital, propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. Such a policy is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective compacts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude toward such agreements only shows that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply inrooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions without rejecting as a rule the contract stipulation must realise its relative value and clearly define the methods to abolish these stipulations when they cease to be profitable to the working class.

12. The struggle of the labour organisations against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to the national and local conditions, should utilise all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organised special detachments for the struggle against scabbing and for counter action, as well as the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white guard organisations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascists in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organisation consisting of ex-commissioned and non-commissioned officers in France and in England—all these organisations pursue the aim of disorganising and forestalling all the actions of the workers for the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to materially destroy their organisations and kill the leaders of the labour movement. The organisation of special strike militia and special self-defence detachments, is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13. These militant organisations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and all strike breaking organisations, but take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products transported to their respective factory, and all other enterprises, and the Union of Transport Workers ought to play a specially prominent part in this case; the task of stopping the transportation of freight has fallen on their shoulders, can be realised by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14. All the economical struggles of the working class should gather around the slogan of the control over the industry, which control ought to be realised as soon as possible without waiting for

the ruling class and the government to prevent an initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all attempts of the ruling classes and reformists to establish intermediary labour affiliations and intermediary control committees, when that control is operated directly by the workers themselves, only then the results will be definitive. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft which the leaders of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialisation of industry is done with the sole aim to withdraw the attention of the working class from revolutionary action and the social revolution.

15. In order to withdraw the workers from their direct problem and instil in them the petty bourgeois aspirations, the middle-class minded trade union leaders advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of an insignificant part of wealth created by them, which is called additional wages. This slogan, only meant for the demoralisation of the workers, should be met by severe and rigorous criticism: "Not the participation in the profits, but the entire elimination of capitalistic profit" is the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16. While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labour conditions, the elevation of the living standard of the masses and the establishment of the workers' control, it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the limits of the capitalistic forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions, while wrenching concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, and forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve the social question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike and every small conflict should be guided by the above-mentioned principle. The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

17. Every economical struggle is also a political one, that is a general class struggle. Such a struggle can only be adequately organised, no matter what large element of workers it may comprise in each respective country, and carried through for the greatest benefit of the entire working class only then, when the revolutionary trade unions will act in perfect unity with the Communist Party in each respective country. To divide the theory and the practice of the struggle of the working class into two distinct parts is extremely detrimental especially at the present moment. Every uprising requires the maximum concentration of forces which is only possible by exerting the greatest revolutionary energy, it must not be divided into two separate policies, some for the Communist Party and some for the Red Trade Unions—such a policy is doomed to failure in advance. Therefore unity of action and the organic connection between the Communist Party and the Trade Unions is the preliminary condition leading to success in the struggle against capitalism.

Communism in South Africa

By DAVID IVON JONES

(Presented to the Executive of the Third International on behalf of the International Socialist League, South Africa).

(Continued from last issue).

Rural Movements

THERE is no white labour movement of any kind in the country districts of South Africa, excepting, of course, the attempts at organization in the townships wherever cheap white, coloured and native labour are engaged in local industries. The natives do nearly all the farm labouring. The sons of the Boer farmers, no matter how impecunious they may be, are generally too race-proud to labour on the land. In any case the cheap native labour tends to drive all but white proprietors to the towns. The laws of inheritance are measures of disinheritance. The farms are divided up amongst the children, calling for more intensive culture, to which the Dutch farmers have not been trained, the old system of pasturage enabled the farmer to sit on his stoep and smoke his pipe. Thus the farms fall to those who bring progressive methods of agriculture to bear on the land. There is a considerable class of landless Dutch Afrikanders. They eke out a living on the "bywoning" system, by which they are allowed to occupy a hut and pasture and cultivate a small corner of a farm in return for services to the farmer when called upon: a kind of servitude. But this system is falling into disfavour with the rich farmers. They prefer the "squatting" system, a species of sub-letting to natives on half shares. There is, therefore, a constant stream of landless Dutch to the towns. Large numbers are employed in gangs, called "poor white" gangs, on pay so miserable that they are in a constant state of semi-starvation. These cast-offs from the rural districts, spurned socially and economically by the very class of nationalist farmer whom they follow politically, help to make up the slums of Johannesburg. Vrededorp, the Johannesburg slum district, is a social cesspool where the Dutch, English, Indian, Coloured man, Kaffir and Hottentot all at last find equality in wretchedness, "equally of no account to the capitalist class." It would be hard to find a parallel for Vrededorp in any town in Europe. The rigorous anti-liquor laws, which make it a penal offence to give alcohol to natives in the Transvaal, find their victims in this class. Three-fourths of the white inmates of South African prisons are convicted of selling drink to natives; that last tempting resort of the destitute and miserable.

As a result of the migration to the towns, the urban workers are becoming increasingly Dutch. Before the war the Executive of the Mine Workers' Union was wholly of British descent. Now more than half are Dutch Afrikanders. The tramway systems and semi-skilled services are now largely run by Dutch workers, who soon develop into good trades unionists and loyal agitators for their class, always, of course, within the limits of their colour.

At a local strike on the Simmer Deep mine last year, when both British and Dutch miners stopped work as a protest against the dismissal of a German member of the Union, both sections tacitly dropped their respective nationalisms for the time being; and it was good to see the young Dutch workers, who a week before and perhaps the week after, sported their nationalist green and yellow, on this occasion proudly wearing their bits of Red as the only suitable emblem for such an occasion as a strike. The industrial system is also weaning gradually the Dutch workers from the most violent forms of colour prejudice. The traffic of Dutch workers to and fro is linking up town and country as never before; and the expropriated Dutch of the country districts will soon share in the inevitable change of outlook.

The South African Native

Speaking generally, the South African natives are a race of labourers. The bulk of the race is now found interspersed in white areas. Certain territories are still reserved for their tribal homes, such as Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. In these areas a sort of primitive communism exists as far as the land is concerned. What little government of local matters is required in a society where there is very little property is exercised by the chiefs, petty chiefs, and Headmen, always, of course, under the supervision of the police patrol. The perpetual sunshine renders maize the only prime necessity. Zululand, for example, is a land of free and rolling "savannah" with no property boundaries; dotted with the round straw huts of the Zulus, which are without windows or outlet for smoke, and with only a low hole in the structure to creep in and out. Round the huts are the small patches of maize chiefly dug by hand, or of idombis, a kind of Zulu potato. The natives in their tribal state live very closely to the soil, they and their habitations seem part of it, elemental in their simplicity of life. In Basutoland they are more affluent, owning horses and cattle; and of late an increase in cattle is to be observed in Zululand also, enabling their owners to plough at home instead of going to labour for the whites. In the Transkei, Cape Colony, a system of native small proprietorship was tried, known as the Glen-Grey settlements. But this is an exception to the general scheme of things. A recent clamour from white settlers that Zululand should be opened up for settlement for white farmers was answered by Minister Malan that this was out of the question, as it would increase the cost of native labour for the whole country. This, then, is the function of the native territories, to serve as cheap breeding grounds for black labour—the repositories of the reserve army of native labour—sucking it in or letting it out according to the demands of industry. By means of these territories Capital is relieved of the obligation of paying wages to cover the cost to the labourer of reproducing his kind.

Between the territories and the industrial centres there is a constant traffic to and fro of natives. What draws the native away from his home? The marriage customs are a cause. Wives are worth so many cows, and money must be got to buy them,

But the chief impulse is the hut tax specially levied for the purpose; besides which large numbers are allured to the towns by social instinct and the excitement of town life among so many of their own folk there, so that the first excursion from home in many cases becomes a permanent absence. For the native there is the prospect of learning to read and write; he has a keen desire for education. There is the native church in the towns, either as an adjunct of the white religious bodies or his own Ethiopian church, an institution frowned upon by the white Christians for its lack of respectable guidance in the interpretation of the gospels! There is the allurements of machinery. The native is captivated by a piece of machinery, and will seek out its inmost pulsations and tend it as a god. In the towns also there is freedom from the social interference of the chiefs, even if obtained at the cost of subservience to white society. For native women there is emancipation from the tribal marriage customs; tens of thousands of native women are detribalized by contracting free liaisons in the towns not sanctioned by tribal custom. The chiefs are benignant enough old institutions. But they bewail their disappearing authority, although they are useful to the capitalist for the recruiting of labour. In a prosecution in which we were involved for a Bolshevik leaflet addressed to natives as well as whites, the Crown Prosecutor continually referred to those town natives who no longer own allegiance to the chief as "the hooligan class of native," that is, they are no longer under official control. They have taken the step from tribesman to proletarian.

Outcast and outlawed the native may be, but no "hooligan." In the Transvaal and the Free State Province the native has no vote, no civil and political rights. A breach of labour contract is a penal offence. The natives on the mines work on a system of indenture, generally of one year's duration. They do not live in private dwellings, but are herded into "compounds" adjacent to the mines. Indeed, native housing in the towns is not fit for cattle. Most of the hundreds of thousands of natives who work in the towns are housed in backyards, tin shacks, stable lofts, the best way they can. Their level of existence is inconceivably low. Every native male must carry a passport: one to leave his tribe, another to seek work, a monthly pass while working, another pass when he wants to be out after nine o'clock curfew. A policeman may at all times stop a native and demand his pass. Hence most natives have been to jail at one time or another. This is a mere trifle to him with all the regulations that hem round his daily life. He is paid two or three shillings a day, with or without his ration of mealie meal, as the case may be. A rise of a shilling a day would create a panic on the gold market.

Yet in spite of it all, the Bantu is a happy proletarian. He has lovable qualities. "His joy of life and fortitude under suffering," to quote Lefargue's words on the negro; his communal spirit, his physical vitality, his keen desire to know, despite his intellectual backwardness, make him an object of lurking affection to the whites who come in contact with him.

Moreover, he is no fool. He has a certain naïve wisdom which goes to the root of things. It was the questionings of the Zulus

that led the celebrated Bishop Colenso to change his religious views. Arrested development of the native mind has been a theory very much resorted to by negrophobes. To the exploiters, the less a man has the more must be taken from him. Some bourgeois negrophiles, like Loram the Natal educationalist, have even gone to the pains of disproving this meaningless theory. To us it suffices that the native workers are the producers and are robbed of the products of their labour. The truth is that a radical difference in psychology exists. The native bends to capital, but capital also bends to his primeval instincts. See a gang of natives working on the roads or railways! On every possible pretext they will work in unison, raising and lowering the pick, with rhythmic flourishes thrown in, to the tune of their Zulu chants. Ever and anon the tune or the time changes, in an endless variety from the ancestral repertoire, in perfect harmony and rhythm—impromptu choruses of the wild, charming even the dullest. No gaffer can speed up such a gang. And when the same gang tries to sing a simple Christian hymn it makes a most discordant mess of it. Such is arrested development!

The Native Labour Movement

A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrade S. P. Bunting and accepted by the International Socialist League.

Before the war no trade union movement existed among the native workers, and such a thing as a strike was unknown. The first move in the direction of organised revolt was a strike of native workers on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in December, 1915. It was regarded as a novel affair by the white workers of the mine: but it appears that certain white men who engaged to keep the plant going were sneered at as blacklegs by their white fellow-workers. Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, appeals had been made to the native workers of the Kleinfontein mine to stop working, and it seems to have dawned then on the white workers' intelligence, or some of their most militant leaders like George Mason, that the native was really a kind of a workmate. In 1917, Comrade Bunting and other members of the I.S.L. made an attempt to form a native workers' union. A number of the more industrialized natives of Johannesburg were enrolled into the Union, which was named the "Industrial Workers of Africa" (an echo of the "Industrial Workers of the World"). It held meetings regularly, and the message of working class emancipation was eagerly imbibed for the first time by an ardent little band of native workers who carried the message far and wide to their more backward brethren. A manifesto to the workers of Africa was issued in collaboration with the I.S.L. written in the Zulu and Basuto languages, calling upon the natives to unite against their capitalist oppressors. This leaflet reached a still wider mass of native workers, and was introduced and read to the illiterate labourers in the mine compounds. For the native of Africa, and the white too, for that matter, the question is not yet "irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death." It is the era of

awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on the new power of industrial solidarity, which their very oppressors had put in their hands, had as its aim to draw away the native's hopes from the old tribal exploits with the spear and the assegai as a means of deliverance. The power of the machine dawned upon him. In 1918 the propaganda of the I.W.A., and the pressure of the rising cost of living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers, and a general movement for the tearing up of passports. Hundreds of natives who had burned their passes were jailed every day, and the prisons became full to bursting. Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police. The International Socialist League was charged with inciting to native revolt. Comrades Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe were arrested at the instance of the Botha Government; but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down. He admitted that the evidence of incitement to riot had been invented for him by the Native Affairs Department, and the case collapsed. The moving spirits of the I.W.A. were driven out of Johannesburg by the police, some to find their way to Capetown, where a more permanent movement of native organization has since been formed. It has also spread to Bloemfontein, where Msimang, a young native lawyer, is active in native organization. In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically, and more permanently settled in the European areas. But the greater civil equality does not bring greater freedom to combine. Masabalala, the leader of the Port Elizabeth native workers, was imprisoned last August for his trade union activity. Trade unionism among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end. But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment was that his comrades rose *en masse* and tried to storm the prison. A massacre by the armed police ensued: and the "white agitators of the Rand" blamed as usual.

But the most portentous event so far in the awakening of the native workers was the great strike of native mine workers on the Rand in March, 1920. These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal territories, from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, all are here. For the time being all the old tribal feuds were forgotten, and Zulu and Shangaan came out on strike together irrespective of tribal distinction, to the number of 80,000. Without leaders, without organization, hemmed in their compounds by the armed police, the flame of revolt died down, not without one or two bloody incidents in which the armed thugs of the law distinguished themselves for their savagery. The I.S.L. at the time was engaged in the general elections, printing literature on the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for its five candidates. The white workers were undecided as to their attitude towards the native strikers. The I.S.L. came out with an appeal in *The International* and in thousands of leaflets entitled "Don't Scab," calling upon the white workers to play the game towards the native strikers. These were distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or two were made the object of a prosecution by the police, but released later owing to the difficulty felt, no doubt, of getting at the I.S.L. for propaganda

in the heat of an election. The Capitalist Press, thinking to damage our election prospects, gave still further publicity to our appeal by reproducing it in full as a proof of our criminality! The Mineworkers' Union Executive called upon its members to side with the masters and endeavour to run the mines, and publicly condemned our propaganda. But such is the division of labour in South Africa that whereas either black labour or white labour can stop industry, neither can properly start the wheels going again without the other.

Native Political Leaders

There exists a body known as The Native Congress, with sections functioning in the various Provinces and for the whole Union. This is a loosely organized body composed of the chiefs, native lawyers, native clergymen, and others who eke out a living as agents among their compatriots. This body is patronized and lectured by the Government. It has weekly newspapers in the various provinces: *Abantu Batho* in Johannesburg, *Ilangu Lasa Natal* in Natal, etc. These are subsidized by Government advertisements, which are often withdrawn when the Congress drops the rôle of respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume. It is satisfied with agitation for civil equality and political rights to which its members as a small coterie of educated natives feel they have a special claim. But to obtain these the mass cannot be moved without their moving in a revolutionary manner. Hence the Government is dubious about the Congress, and the Congress draws back timidly from the mass movements of its own people. The native workers of the I.W.A. quickly grasped the difference between their trade union and the Congress, and waged a merciless war of invective at the joint meetings of their Union with the Congress against the black-coated respectables of the Congress. But the growing class organizations of the natives will soon dominate or displace the "Congress." The national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term.

Native Education, etc.

Apart from work done by Christian missions, the natives are thrown largely on their own resources for their education. Reading and writing are not necessary to their industrial function, so they have to acquire these at their own night schools, those who have the ambition. Here is a grand field for Communist activity given the necessary personnel and the money. In the Cape and Natal there are voices heard in favour of education for the natives. Far-seeing bourgeoisie like Sir William Beaumont in Natal are advocates of votes for the native, with education, in order, as he says, that the native may be taught to vote as a good citizen, that is, as a good bourgeois. The mining industry has been wobbling in its attitude towards the educational and civil advancement of the natives, being hindered by political organizations, and the Frankenstein of race prejudice which it has itself conjured up,

from reducing working costs by opening the higher industrial employments to natives and coloured men. In the last few years *The Star*, the Chamber of Mines daily, has incessantly declared in favour of the civil advancement of the natives, vigorously attacking the white unions for their denial of equality of opportunity to the native worker. These appeals, made in the interest of lower working costs, are nevertheless unanswerable in logic from the Labour point of view. The native does not care what the motive may be. He sees in his economic exploiters the champions of his civil rights. Now that the capitalist parties are safely seated in the Government saddle we may look forward to steps being taken to realize the programme. After the native strikes of 1920 the Chamber of Mines issued a newspaper for distribution gratis, printed in the native languages. Its leading articles were chiefly devoted to discrediting the Socialists and white agitators generally. The I.S.L. had under consideration the issuing of a Communist sheet in counterblast, but found itself unable to do this in addition to *The International*. This attempt to debauch the mind of the native workers while it is in the process of awakening is one which the Communist movement is too weak to frustrate; and we can only call the attention of the Third International to the fact.

The I.S.L. and its Task

The International Socialist League, soon after it parted company with the Labour Party, declared for the solidarity of Labour irrespective of race, colour or creed. Imbued with the ideas of De Leon, as popularized in the splendid series of Marxian pamphlets issued by the S.L.P. of America and Great Britain, the League proclaimed the principal of Industrial Unionism, placing in the Parliamentary fight the fight to end parliaments, and to replace them by the class state of the workers functioning through their industrial unions. Therefore craft unions were declared odious as dividing the workers instead of uniting them on the larger basis of industry. And as part of this craft disunity the exclusion of the native workers from part or lot in the Labour Movement was denounced as a crime. To us, the rather mechanical formula of De Leon's Industrial Unionism (which was deemed capable of performing a bloodless revolution by "a lock-out of the capitalist class") was made a living thing by its application to the native workers. Later on the word became flesh in the Soviets, and we no longer worry overmuch about the craft or professional form which the older unions have taken.

The League having thus been captured by the De Leonites, the reform pacifists gave us the cold shoulder, and several slunk back into the Labour Party. The League also formed branches which have had fluctuating success in the Reef towns of Krugersdorp, Benoni, Springs and Germiston, also at Durban and Kimberley. Durban has also had for years a small group calling itself the Social Democratic Party, followers of Hyndman in war and peace. This body refused to link up with the I.S.L. on the excuse that we were only the Labour Party under another name. It was allowed to hold its meetings during the war by an arrangement with the

police that it would leave the war out of its propaganda. At this time the I.S.L. was being mobbed by the organized hooligans of the police and prosecuted for its class war propaganda. This S.D.P. outfit still follows Hyndman in sneering at the Third International and the Russian Revolution, and may justly be put down as of no account. The Social Democratic Federation of Capetown was also unwilling to link up for other reasons. It was composed of pro-warites and anti-warites, and the Jingo and Pacifists remained in peace together. The I.S.L. was reformist because it fought elections, and the "men from the north," as they called us, were accused of trying to sow disunity in the Federation by its neophyte enthusiasm for Karl Marx as the only authority! Comrade Harrison, one of the members of the S.D.F., carried on a valiant open-air propaganda on anti-militarism and what he calls "philosophical anarchy," for which he was repeatedly prosecuted. Latterly a body of young class war enthusiasts broke away from the S.D.F. and formed the Industrial Socialist League. Anti-political, they thought to emphasize the fact by the word "Industrial." It has now proclaimed itself the Communist Party of Africa. The I.S.L. itself also suffered a breakaway of anti-political anarchists for its persistency in fighting elections. This group also formed itself into a "Communist Party" in unison with the Capetown group. The I.S.L. has made attempts since the proclamation of the Moscow theses to unite these groups into the Third International. The reply of the Johannesburg group objected to the twenty-one conditions and "to the dictatorship of Moscow" (meaning the dictatorship of the Marxian principles). Comrade E. J. Brown, a member of the I.S.L. recently expelled from the Belgian Congo for trade union agitation there, has been more successful in Capetown in the matter of unifying the sound revolutionary elements, and forming a group anxious to fight under the banner of the Third International. The I.S.L. waits on these elements to fall into line before definitely transferring itself into the South African Communist Party of the Third International.

The number of Leagues and Parties all claiming to be revolutionary must not be taken as indicating a large revolutionary following. The I.S.L.'s election results have been very meagre indeed. The best poll was that of Comrade Andrews in Benoni in 1917 with 335 votes against 1,200 odd for the successful candidate. Since then the election results in Benoni have dwindled considerably. The mass of voteless native workers makes it impossible for us to win elections in South Africa. The necessity for propaganda, the need to keep the two streams of the proletariat theoretically one, the need to appeal on the political plane on class issues affecting the native, and above all the advisability of opening as far as possible the arena of civil right for the native struggle makes it imperative nevertheless that we fight elections. The League is by far the largest of the groups that I have mentioned, undoubtedly larger than all the rest combined, and the only one of any political significance. Any worker who puts up a fight for class solidarity in the Transvaal Unions is thereby deemed a supporter of the I.S.L. It has a large circle of passive sympathisers, as evidenced by the number that follow its banner in the May Day

procession, in which the trade unions co-operate. Nevertheless the League's membership has never exceeded four hundred at any time. And latterly the number of militants who have emigrated to Europe has weakened our organization. It is denied the support and inspiration of the great mass of the propertiless proletariat on which the European parties are able to draw. The revolutionary movement depends almost entirely on a few advanced spirits drawn from the thin upper crust of Labour aristocracy. Owing to the heavy social disabilities and political backwardness the natives are not able to supply any active militants to the Communist movement. The immediate needs of white trades unionism, in which a number of our members are actively engaged, tends to throw the more difficult task of native emancipation into the background. The white movement dominates our attention, because the native workers' movement moves only spasmodically, and is neglected. It requires a special department, with native linguists and newspapers. All of which require large funds, which are not available. The Jewish community, with its anti-war and pro-Russian sympathies, has given generous support to our funds. But as the revolution clarifies, this support is now confined to the Jewish revolutionaries proper.

It will thus be seen that the I.S.L. has a particularly heavy task falling upon the shoulders of a few militants who have stuck doggedly to it for over five years. The present writer, having also left Africa for the time being, feels it his duty to appeal for some reinforcement to the South African movement, and to urge that it should come more directly under the purview of the Third International. A few missionaries, revolutionists who need a spell of sunshine, would be very welcome. Primitive though they be, the African natives are ripe for the message of the Communist International. Speed the day when they too will march with "the iron battalions of the proletariat."

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I.W.W. Representative Returns from Russia

Submits Interesting Report

CHICAGO.—George Hardy, General Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, who has just returned from a six months' visit to Europe, where he attended the International Conference of Industrial Unions, held in Berlin some months ago, in a report to the thirteenth annual convention of his organisation, now being held here, recommends affiliation with the Industrial International and closer unity between the North American I.W.W. and I.W.W. and other revolutionary labour groups of Latin-America. He declares that no other organisation in the world has the same influence, from a revolutionary standpoint, as the I.W.W.

Touching upon home issues he urges greater efforts among the coloured workers of America and more co-ordination between the various parts of the organisation, from the job branch to the general office. He stresses the importance of industrial education and the carrying on of industrial research to the greatest possible extent, recommending that handbooks giving the facts on the various industries be written.

Hardy was detained in a German jail for a month, incommunicado, because he was without passports. He finally arrived in Russia, where he conferred with Lenin and active union men and visited factories. As a result of his observations in the Soviet republic Hardy reports, in comparing conditions there with conditions in this country, that those who control the economic organisations will control the revolution.

He said he found that in Russia there is a group of workers who believe that the industrial unions are capable of running the industries, irrespective of the government. The I.W.W. Secretary, however, states that the Communists were in the majority on most factory committees, notwithstanding the charge that they know little about factory management.

Of the movement of revolutionary bodies of workers in other countries Hardy has this to say:

“ We have the support of the Italian Syndicalist movement, which is stronger and better organised than our own. The Italian Syndicalists look upon the I.W.W. as a leading revolutionary movement. . . . The Germans are also looking to the I.W.W. and take our papers. The Scandinavian countries have squabbles among themselves as to which is nearest the I.W.W. The Danes say they are, and the difference between the two is that the Danes have a centralised organisation, using the boring-from-within tactics. The Swedes are a federation organisation and decentralised.”

Socialist Unity in South Africa

[We have published, in the columns of the *Communist Review*, the brilliant statement of Comrade D. Ivon Jones upon the development of Communism in South Africa. For the further information of our readers we publish the reply of the Durban S.D.P. to the attempt of the Communists to organise the whole South-African movement upon a revolutionary basis.]

THE Socialist Unity Committee has received the reply of the S.D.P., Durban, to the invitation to link up in a united South African Communist Party. It is as follows:

“ That the Social Democratic Party adheres to its previous decision, namely, that the twenty-one points of the Third International, not being applicable to South African conditions, can in no way be accepted as a basis for Socialist Unity in South Africa.”

The reasons given for this decision are as follows:

“ The conditions of affiliation to the Third International are expressed in what is familiarly known as the Twenty-one Points. In our opinion, as far as they are calculated to apply to South Africa, they are impracticable.

“ Their spirit, as well as their practicability, might have, with little dispute, been applicable and justifiable in Russia prior to the Russian Revolution, but, while there is room for doubt as to the wisdom of their applicability to Russia to-day, there is no room for doubt as to, not only their impracticability in South Africa, but their being a menace and a hindrance to intelligent socialist propaganda and organisation.

“ The spirit of the 21 points, and the policy they represent, is not only hostile to the spirit, principle and policy of the Social Democratic Party, but they are foreign to the spirit and temperament of the people of South Africa.

“ Unlike the Russian people, we have been accustomed to a degree of liberty, with the result that a spirit and temperament, fundamentally different to the Russian, has developed amongst us. To ignore this fact is to throw away our opportunity for intelligent socialist propaganda.

“ Socialist propaganda can only be effective by dealing with our people and our institutions as we find them in South Africa, and not as they might be somewhere else.

“ The Third International demands agitation be carried on in the country districts. To apply this to South Africa is to play with the seriousness of our work.

“ It demands the denouncing of hypocritical and false social pacifism. Surely it is our business to explain why our opinions are right, and where the opinions of our opponents are wrong? Merely to denounce is to prove nothing.

“ It demands ruptures within trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., because of its disagreement with their policy, and the influence of individuals who are not in agreement with the Third International. Such demands are not only unnecessary and ill-advised in South Africa, but they can only have the effect of creating a hooliganism within the whole of the working class movement. The most conscious enemies of the trade unions, etc., could not have devised a better scheme for smashing the only effective organisations the workers have.

“ The Third International demands that these things be done quickly and without discussion. In making this demand the Third International is asking us to give up the thing we value most—the right to our opinion, and to advise when we think necessary.

“ The Third International demands the expulsion of Imperialists from the Colonies. It might as well, and with more logic, demand that they be expelled from the face of the earth. It is asking us to waste our time.

“ The Third International demands that its members fight the trade unions who are associated with the Amsterdam Trade Union International. When one considers this demand in conjunction with its other demands, and the spirit that is embodied in them, it is easy to predict that it must add to the already many difficulties that stand between the existing organisations and complete unity.

“ The Third International demands that its members carry on a secret propaganda amongst the military forces. There is no necessity for such secrecy in South Africa. This demand makes it quite clear that those responsible for the 21 conditions had ever in their minds the conditions in Russia prior to the Revolution.

“ It demands that there shall be periodical house cleanings of the Party to get rid of bourgeois and special interest elements. No one will deny that there should be no place for the self-seeker in the socialist movement, but, while no amount of rules and regulations can eliminate that element, nor keep the movement pure, it means constant suspicion, distrust, strife, and the stifling of all personal generosity within any movement imbued with the spirit of the Third International as implied in its 21 points.

“ The contents, spirit and methods of the 21 conditions can in no way be calculated to inspire to self-reliance the believers and followers of the Third International.

“ Its aim, perhaps unconsciously, is bureaucratic—authority centralised in the hands of officials—and must eventually become almost, if not entirely, unapproachable by any one single nation, and will make possible a dictatorship of the proletariat—not a

dictatorship 'by' the proletariat as many believe—which is contrary to the tenets and spirit of democracy as we understand it.

“ The references, contained in the 21 points, to individuals whom it disagrees with, and the spirit of those references, disqualifies the Third International as a body competent to advise and inspire the international working class.

“ As a result of our experience we have no hesitation in stating that, at least, the European workers of South Africa will neither take their lead from, nor accept the spirit of, the 21 points. They are not only not applicable to South Africa, but they are also not desirable.

“ If we are to judge of the penalties for disagreement with the Third International by the spirit of its 21 conditions, then democracy is safer, with all our difficulties, for the development of its individuality under existing conditions, than it is likely to be under the dictatorship of Moscow.

“ The religion of the Third International, and the spirit of the 21 conditions, is hate. It condemns but does not explain. It deals with conditions that have no existence, at least in South Africa. It provides for a dictatorship that means dragooning the people into a particular groove which will prevent the making of a backward proletariat into an intelligent democracy.

“ We are convinced that South African Socialist Unity can never be effectively brought about on the basis of the Twenty-one conditions of the Third International. The elements of dissention already exist amongst them who have declared whole-heartedly for it. For instance, Comrade Harrison, representing the United Communist Party of Capetown, proposed that the Twenty-one Points of the Third International be accepted unreservedly and objected to any tampering with them, yet, later in the day, he told the conference that he was a philosophical anarchist, and would not tolerate a dictatorship of any kind or form. There is no need for us to furnish further proof for our contention.

“ In conclusion, while we are of opinion that the twenty-one conditions of the Third International will become historical, in the sense that they are a fair index of the feeling of millions of men and women in every part of the world who have been, and are being, crushed as a result of the private ownership of the means of life and the class rule which arises from it, but they will never be more than a monument to remind posterity of our inability and failure to appreciate the conditions necessary to a Social Revolution.

“ As a result of the discussion on Socialist Unity, we are strengthened in our conviction that the policy of the Social Democratic Party affords the most effective means for taking part with the workers in the class struggle, which is going on now, as well as helping them to interpret it, without losing in any way its identity as a party working consciously for Socialism, or weakening in its conception of the Class War.

“ For the above reasons the Social Democratic Party can neither accept the letter nor the spirit of the **Twenty-one Conditions**

of the Third International as a basis for Socialist Unity in South Africa.

“ On behalf of the Durban Social Democratic Party, I am,

“ Fraternally yours,

“ J. RONBECK,

“ *Hon. Secretary.*”

Argentine

SINCE the exclusion from the Socialist Party of the Argentine of the left wing, the Communist Party has reached a total of 4,000 active and disciplined members. The Young Communist League has made splendid progress, and the membership numbers 2,000. The group of Communist students at the universities is affiliated to the League, and is producing a university review called *Insurrexit*. Many of the teachers in the ordinary schools are also in sympathy with the movement.

In the Trade Union movement of the Argentine, two Federations of Unions exist. One is called the “ Federation of the Fifth Congress,” because it holds to the principles laid down at the Fifth Trade Union Congress; it is essentially a Communist-Anarchist body. Its leaders are, in reality, only radical in their speeches, while the masses are instinctively revolutionary. The approximate number of its members may be estimated at 20,000 to 24,000. The other Federation, with a membership of about 90,000, is known as the Federation of the Tenth Congress, and is a reformist body. In practice, although it is entirely reformist, it is more advanced than the Swiss Syndical Union. The bureaucrats of the Yellow Trade Unions managed by a cunning stratagem, at the last Congress of the Federation, to avoid having to answer the proposals of the Communists, leading towards the change from Amsterdam to Moscow. All the same they were not able to avoid the formation of a unification committee of the two Federations, and of those groups which are not affiliated to either (about 40,000 workers in all), amongst whom are the Union of Motor Drivers, 15,000 strong. In this committee, elected directly by the Congress, the Communists are in a majority.

This result was achieved by the intense activity of the Communists, in spite of the fact that they were in a minority. The committee will work towards unification while looking forward to adhesion to the Red Trade Union International.

Avant Garde, 4th July, 1921.

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Germany

The Organisation of the German Communist

TO be a Communist in Germany means to be subjected to a most severe discipline and a crushing load of work. The details of the organisation of the Party have already been published. The following instructions have been given to the leaders of the smallest bodies, the groups of ten, and published in the German Communist press:—

“Comrades who are leaders of groups of ten ought to know thoroughly all the members of their group, in order to value them at their correct worth. Each individual has qualities and powers that can be useful to the party. Above all it is necessary to avoid those who cannot keep their mouths shut.

“You should go often to visit comrades who do not seem to be keen enough. If you do not succeed at once, you must not lose your courage—or your temper.

“You can confide in comrades who are discreet and do their jobs quietly, but with talkers you must be quiet.

“Do not consider yourself as being above the others. You are simply the responsible member of a group which must give all the abilities of all its comrades to the cause.

“Do not forget that the group of ten ought to be the cell in which the work of the party struggle must be organised. Your group must become a single unit.

“Every member ought to have definite work to do for the Party. In the tasks that affect the Party as a whole every member ought to participate. When the Party summons its members, all your little group ought to be present, punctually.

“If your group preserves discipline and is at the right place at the right moment, it is a sign that it is valuable and that you are a model leader.”

Humanité.

The Trial of Holtz

THE police and the military guards made the trial of Holtz an occasion for a real military parade. It was as if we were back again in the times of William II., on the day of a military review.

In the hall of the court there was a tightly-packed crowd, mostly consisting of gentlemen with monocles and pretty ladies longing for a new sensation.

Holtz's lawyer went to the prison to accompany him to the Court, in order to see that he was not killed “while attempting to escape” on the way, as was the fate of Liebnecht, Sylt, and so many others. Holtz came into Court at half-past nine, wearing the blue shirt that is worn by convicts.

He pleaded guilty proudly to the numerous charges brought against him, denying only the accusation of murder. In the details of the other charges he pointed out several inexactitudes. "I am not here," he said, "as the accused, but as the accuser of the bourgeois society of which you (turning towards the judges) are the representatives. You have called me here not in the name of justice, but in the interests of the bourgeoisie."

"Do you admit," asked the presiding judge, "that you took part in the rising in March?" "Of course," was the reply; "it was my duty as a revolutionary."

"Do you admit having signed an appeal inciting the people to set fire to every corner of towns that the government troops tried to occupy?"

"Yes!"—the word comes sharp and vigorous. Holtz shows openly his hatred of the bourgeoisie, in every line and movement of his body.

When the judge insinuated that the March insurrection was brought about by Moscow, Holtz replied: "Neither the Russian Communist Party nor the German aroused the insurrection. The workers were angered by the provocative actions of Hoersling. The German Communist Party limited itself to supporting the movement, which it was its duty to do. As to the Russian Communist Party, it had absolutely nothing to do with the outbreak of the movement."

"But Levy, who was the President of the German Communist Party, says the opposite."

"And that is why he is no longer a member of the Communist Party!"

Later there came the hearing of the doctors, during which Holtz's whole life was passed in review. The son of a peasant, he was a shepherd when a boy. At about the age of eighteen he went to England, where he educated himself at a Polytechnic, while earning his living by washing cabs at night.

He was conscripted during the war, and suffered an injury to his head due to a fall from his horse. While suffering from this injury he attempted to commit suicide; the prison doctor tried to prove by this that he was not responsible for his actions.

Later he explained how he came to join the Communist Party. While president of the Union of Unemployed he was hunted by the police, and a price was put on his head. He had to live in Germany, under a false name. After the Kapp "putsch" he fled to Czecho-Slovakia. For some months he was without lodgings. "I lived," he said, "amongst thousands of families of workers, who would share their last crust with me. The misery I saw amongst them, and their generosity made me the Communist that I am."

The judge tried to cut short a witness who was speaking of the brutalities and the assassinations committed by the police.

"That's right!" cried Holtz. "The jury is not interested in the murder of workers. It is not I who ought to be sitting here in

the dock, it is the murderers of the workers. But they take no risks. They can do what they like."

And suddenly the position seemed reversed. The accused became in truth the accuser. In vehement words he branded the course of the reaction. A cold shiver ran through the court. And the judge, feeling that things were going wrong, hurried up the end of the session.

Humanité, 20th June, 1921.

Switzerland

The Single Front of the Proletariat

THE idea of the constitution of a united front of the Swiss proletariat penetrates more and more into the organised masses, in spite of the violent campaign that the reformist T.U. Bureaucracy is leading against the Communists and this united front.

The first act of the Committee of Action, elected by the Olten-Trimbach Conference, in which the Socialist Party and the Swiss Syndical Union refused to assist, but at which were represented eleven workers' unions, and seven Federations, was to send out a new letter to the workers' organisations. This letter asked them to discuss amongst themselves the question of a united front, and the immediate convocation of a Congress of the Swiss Trade Union Council. The Committee of Action bases this convocation of Congress on Art. 5 of the Statutes of the U.S.S., which holds "that a third of the Federations affiliated, or a third of the T.U. groups comprising at least one-fifth of the members of the U.S.S. can demand the calling of an extraordinary Congress."

The Socialist papers and most of those of the T.U. Federations have violently opposed this calling of Congress. Their only argument, and a feeble one at that, is that the expense that such a Congress would entail would be 50,000 francs. (The truth is that the Reformist Socialists and Trade Unionists fear that the masses threatened everywhere by a reduction in wages, might arrive by instinct at the idea of a united front).

It must be pointed out that the members of the Socialist Party are not unanimously opposed to a united front. At Geneva the party was divided on this subject. At Saint Gall, in the Volkstimme a Socialist has made his party very indignant by suggesting that the united front was already realised by the General Strike of November, 1918. At Zurich the Party is equally divided.

In spite of the virulent campaign against the Communists the Congress will take place. The Committee of Action has already assembled the number of votes necessary for the calling of the Extraordinary Congress; thirty Workers' Unions and seven Federations have already pronounced in favour. The Committee of Action is now occupied in putting together the propositions. In a first meeting it was unanimously agreed that a complete change in tactics should respond to the present economic situation. The

creation of fighting funds, central and local, becomes a necessity. A member of the Committee has been charged with formulating the attitude to be adopted, and the consequent tactics and organisation arising therefrom. At the next meeting the Committee will discuss this report, and will present a complete order of the day of the Extraordinary Congress, and the demand for the calling of this conference to the Committee of the U.S.S.

While the organised masses leave it and pass it by, the Trade Union bureaucracy becomes exasperated. The Journal of the Woodworkers' Federation, published a grave declaration. It says that the Syndical Union should have taken the decision to sabotage the convocation of this Congress.

In any case, sabotage has already commenced. In a recent article appearing in *La Lutte Syndicale*, entitled "An Indispensable Divorce," Achille Gropierre calls for a split within the Trade Unions.

But the Committee of Action is taking all necessary measures so that sabotage may be prevented, and so that the Congress assembles legally and in an atmosphere of sanity.

Humanité, 23rd June, 1921.

The Criminal Laws in Switzerland

THE commencement of the so-called preventive arrests, which is but a foretaste of the Criminal Laws the Federal Council is preparing, was discussed recently by the National Council.

It gave place to a lively incident between our comrade Fritz Platten, who made a telling speech in condemnation of these arrests, and Emile Ryser, who lately joined the International Labour Office, directed by Albert Thomas.

Comrade Fritz Platten said: "Capitalists and Communists are separated by a whole world. The reactionary measures, dictated by the desire of maintaining the privileges of the bourgeois class—or, to put it briefly, the Capitalist State—show us that *any means are good enough* for this "democracy" in order to subjugate the proletariat and to prevent it rising against the oppression of which it is the victim.

"Will these rash measures be sufficient to calm or quell the revolution that surges in the Communist masses? No. *Neither dragooning measures nor even prison will prevent us from acting.* Our liberty of movement which they are trying to take away is as necessary as ever. Whatever will be impossible for us to obtain legally, we will obtain illegally if we are obliged to. We shall then work *secretly*. We shall reach the proletarian masses individually, in the workshops—everywhere. Will they be able to stop this activity? No. Unless they place a policeman at the side of every worker.

"The sympathies of the proletariat for us communists will be the more firm and all the more vigorous as the repression waxes stronger.

We will fight with all our forces the "initiative," termed preventive arrests, as we will do any legal project aimed at the Communists.

“ This departure called ‘ preventive arrests,’ ” adds Platten, “ is the first action of the Swiss Fascisti. It would be naïve to think that these laws, even admitting their origin, will frighten us. *Quite on the contrary, they will stimulate the class war, and will point out to the masses the necessity for overthrowing the present bourgeois organisation, and replacing it by the dictatorship of the Proletariat, and new economic measures.* We know that it is impossible for us to persuade the bourgeoisie of the need for an immediate change in our economic status. It is for the proletarians to attend to this need, by a fight to the finish, even if it means the adoption of the same illegal methods the bourgeoisie wants to use against us.

“ *Our methods of combat will depend on the attitude of the capitalist power.* ”

To the argument of individual liberty, handed out by the bourgeoisie, Platten replied :

“ What do you mean by liberty? The liberty to exploit the proletarian masses in order to enrich yourselves, while from time to time casting them a bone to gnaw ?

“ If those who are half-starved by your fault acquire some of your effects in order to win back a particle of what is due to them, you cast them into gaol.

“ Your conceptions of bourgeois liberty are translated by the laws of exception, and by prison. That is the reflex of your sentimentality. The democracy you invoke is nothing but pure exploitation. *Hypocrites!* ”

During the course of his speech, Platten made some highly justifiable remarks on the Socialist Party, on the manner in which the latter lead “ the fight,” and developed the revolutionary conception of the Communist Party. Ryser, Albert Thomas’s right-hand man believing himself watched, then began speaking by insulting the Communists and Platten in particular, thus placing himself clearly on the side of the bourgeoisie.

After having traced the history of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal movements, Ryser declared that it was since the “ . . . unknown elements ” had slipped into the ranks of the workers that division had commenced.

“ We perceived in our ranks people who although doing very little work agitate the masses. Monsieur Platten is one of those. *To-day we do not know whether the money he possesses comes from Berne or from Moscow.* In any case, we have nothing in common with these people.”

“ From Berne ” implies that the bourgeois agent, Ryser, considers our Comrade Platten as an agent provocateur in the pay of the Swiss Police.

The Socialist Press, with the exception of *La Sentinelle*, of Cheux-de-Fonds, have disassociated themselves with the words of Ryser. Grimm, in the *Berner Tagwacht* has declared that it was more honest to be in the service of the revolutionary party (Platten is one of the Secretaries of the S.C.P.), than to be like Ryser, in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

THE "INITIATIVE" IS REJECTED.

The National Council has been unanimous in rejecting the initiative of preventive anests. But it must not be concluded that the Swiss bourgeoisie is opposed to the Criminal Laws. It has rejected this measure because the Federal Council has prepared a revision of the penal code, in which will be introduced laws even stricter than those proposed in the "initiative." The debate on the actual Criminal Laws will continue after the Federal Council has sent its message to the National Council, and to the State Council.

Humanité, 29th July.

Spain

The White Terror in Spain

THE Spanish C.G.T. has sent the following appeal to the Spanish comrades working in France, and to all the workers. "We wish to make clear to everyone the circumstances in which three of our comrades have been treacherously assassinated. The three comrades were Boal, Secretary of the Confederation, Felin, the treasurer, and Dominguez. They had been imprisoned since March in the "Carcel Modelo" (the modern Bastille) at Barcelona. Here are the facts as to their murder:

On the 17th of June, the Mayor of Barcelona, while going towards his home, was set upon in James I. Street by three unknown men, who fired several revolver shots at him, wounding him slightly in several places. None of the men were arrested.

The Chief of Police, Arlegui, had already declared before witness that "for each bourgeois attacked and for each member of the free trade unions (that is to say, of the yellow, or more correctly, of the police unions), three of your people will die."

The attack on the Mayor took place at mid-day. At mid-night Boal and his two comrades were asked to sign the roll of those about to be set at liberty. They did so at once, but contrary to custom ten policemen were put in charge of them, instead of their being set free at once. They were taken to the Prefecture of Police, and there beaten brutally, until it was impossible to recognise them. The criminal cowardice of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie did not end there. Each of the victims, as he left the Prefecture, was followed by two policemen, who forced them to separate after they had gone a few hundred yards.

And a few moments later several shots were heard. They were echoed by those in a neighbouring street, and followed later other shots in a third street.

When the authorities were ready, they sent to find out what was happening. Their agents were able to announce that our three comrades were dead. The bullets which struck them had been fired from behind, and had come out through their faces.

We have returned to the days of the Torquemada! When will this new Inquisition end? How far will these wild beasts go in their hateful tyranny?

What words could be strong enough to brand these deeds and mark our sorrow and our hate?

Workers of the world, help us in our fight against this barbarism!

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

La Vie Ouvriere, 1st July, 1921.

Roumania

Communists and Social-Democrats

AT the Congress of the Roumanian Socialist Party, which took place some time ago, 432 delegates voted for the Communists and 111 for the Social-Democrats and the Independents. Two took part, but voted for neither one nor the other.

Immediately after this Communist victory in Roumania the government ordered the arrest of the whole Congress, and the closing down of the Peoples House. All documents and brochures were seized. The Social-Democratic representative Gregorowicz, from the Bukowina, dared not demand of the government, in the name of the workers (who it is true are not behind him) that the People's House should be put at the disposition of the existing Party. After the arrest of the Congress, the Social-Democrats and the Independents had the courage to call the workers of Bucarest to a meeting to demonstrate against the Communists.

Only 200 to 300 workers went to the great hall in the Via Karol. The working class has shown by that, that it no longer intends following the Social-patriotic monarchists of Roumania. The Roumanian working class protests energetically against the infamous White Terror, which rages in the country. Hundreds of comrades are the victims of this White Terror, and perish in the prisons. The Roumanian proletariat is to-day betrayed by the greater part of its leaders. The great reactionary papers wage a ferocious campaign in articles of several columns, paid for by the capitalists, against the Roumanian proletariat.

The only thing left for the Roumanian workers after the treason of their leaders, is the hope that they have in the international proletariat, which they hope will come to their aid in the fight against Roumanian reaction.

L'Avant Garde, 23rd June.

'Order' Reigns in Roumania

WE have spoken above of the arrest of all the delegates to the last Congress of the Roumanian Socialist Party, following on its adhesion to the Moscow International. The Party which henceforth will be called the Socialist-Communist Party of Roumania (R.S.C.I.) was declared illegal in order to justify the reactionary measures directed against the whole working class.

The Trades Union organs themselves have been dissolved, as a danger to the constitution. The capitalist press and the ministers in the Parliamentary Tribune have decreed the death of the Revolutionary movement in Roumania. They want to stifle Bolshevism in its embryo form.

Eppur si muove! At Kishineff (Bessarabia) 50 Communists have been discovered implicated in a "plot"; at Tighima 15; and a certain number at Bender. At Bairamcea the local college has been closed by the police, the head master, several professors, all the pupils, and even the priest having been arrested; they all were part of a "vast communistic organisation." These discoveries have not been without dramatic echoes. At Tighima a young communist at the moment of his arrest cut his throat in order to escape the inevitable torture that awaited him. Four others were shot, "Just as they were trying to escape."

Justice in all these cases is exceedingly summary. It employs means whose savagery recalls the inquisition. The unhappy victims "avow" all the absurdities of which the judges and courts-martial accuse them.

Beneath such a barbarous expression it is not to be wondered at that the workers have resorted to desperate means of fight and vengeance. They blow up munition dumps and railway junctions (like Bessarabskaia, for example) throw bombs into the security-police stations, and put out of use the boilers in the factories. The prisons and fortresses are overflowing with Communists, men and women, amongst whom are the E.C. of the Party, the Parliamentary group, all the Congress Delegates, the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and nearly all the committees and sections of the provincial unions.

The Deputy, Dragon, who dared to ask the Government the reasons for such repression, received from the Minister of the Interior, M. Argetoyanon, the following reply: "*If you also adhere to Moscow you will be imprisoned in Fort Tiliwa before to-night like the rest.*"

The Social-Democrats Support the Bourgeoisie

At so difficult a moment for the proletariat and the peasants of Roumania the Social-Democrats cringe before the bourgeoisie. These traitors to the Revolution like corpse plunderers on the field of battle, have thrown themselves on the debris of the socialist and T.U. organisations in order to gain the fruits of the efforts and battles of those who are actually imprisoned. They have reunited at Czernowitz, a conference of the Bukowina Social-Democratic Party, in which they have endeavoured to create an atmosphere favourable to their programme.

And while the courts-martial prepare new communist processes, the Social-Democrats, those faithful agents of the bourgeoisie, prepare a general congress! at Ploesti for the definite constitution of their pan-Rouman Party. At the same time in order to foist themselves on the T.U. organisations, they have arranged in the same town and on the same date, a neutral conference. . . so as

to "regroup all salaried workers in the Trade Unions without fixing for them a determined political attitude . . ."

It is officially announced that the Minister of the Interior has authorised the assemblies of Trade Unions at Bucharest, in order to give them the opportunity of voting for the Social-Democratic Conference, which will take place during July at Ploesti. It is needless to remark that the Congress openly enjoys the support of the Government. The explanation of this fact is simple. After the arrest of the militant Communists the government has sought by all methods of seduction to exercise a pressure on the Trade Unions. It says to them: "Either rally to the Social-Democrats or you will be forbidden collective activity."

Bucharest, June 18th, 1921.

Poland

The Disintegration of the Polish Socialist Party

THE infamous treason of the Polish Socialist Party becomes more and more evident to its members. It disgusts them profoundly as well as the honest members of the administration. No month passes but where one cannot trace the course of a process of irresistible dissolution. We have before us two documents relating to this question.

One is a public declaration of the Deputy to the Seün, Lancucki, on the subject of his resignation from the P.P.S., along with his fraction in the Seün. It indicates why he, a sincere Socialist, has for a long time not been in agreement with the ideology of the P.P.S., above all with its tactics, which deny the necessity for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the final aims of socialism. But he kept silent, hoping that the conference of the Party would bring a change, and that the chiefs would repent when they observed that the masses had no more confidence in the tactics adopted up till then by the P.P.S.

He did nothing, on the other hand, the E.C. of the P.P.S. ordered the party to be purged of doubtful elements:—

"What must be understood by doubtful elements?" asks Lancucki, ironically: "Would they be those who are members of the Party but who, have nothing of the Socialist about them? Or perhaps the members of the Party who belong to the defensive (that is to say, the political police)? Are you going to purify the party of those people? No! the Party is to be purged of sincere Socialists, who give themselves completely to the Cause, solely because they are not in accord with the tactics of collaboration of the Party heads."

Lancucki's patience was at an end, he no longer wished to constrain his revolutionary conscience, which made him retire from the P.P.S., and join the Communist Party, and recently, for the first time, as a Communist Deputy, on the occasion of a discussion on the project of amnesty in the Seün, he made an impressive speech against the bourgeoisie, and its government.

The second document is an energetic appeal to the Comrades of the Party belonging to an opposition group in the P.P.S., that has

marched with Lancucki, and has decided to fight the policy of treason of the leaders of the P.P.S.

Here are enumerated the outrages committed against the workers by the "Socialist" Government of Goraczewski, as well as by the coalition Government whose Vice-President was Dazyński. The hypocrisy and charlatanism of the leaders of the P.P.S., with their defence of democracy, is pitilessly demonstrated as "a pretext for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"; their nationalist incitements supporting the annexationist desires of Imperialism under the mask of national independence in the Ukraine, in White Russia, in Galicia, in Upper Silesia, and in the Teschen Territory are stigmatised.

The Polish proletariat is here inflicted with a great task. Poland is bordered on the East by Soviet Russia. So long as reaction masters Poland, the Social Revolution will be unable to develop, its development is only possible with the conquering of power by the Polish proletariat. The fight against the National Bourgeoisie for the Polish Social Revolution can only be waged when the whole proletariat is united under the revolutionary banners. But in marching with the White Guards in the defamation of Soviet Russia, the leaders of the P.P.S. destroy this unity of the workers, sow hate against the advance-guard of the working class, and are not even frightened at the destruction of the trades unions.

It has gone so far, that it is only the P.P.S. that the Minister Shulski has allowed to hold demonstrations. He has thus shown that he considers it as the support of the present Polish bourgeois government.

"We cannot permit—it is said by way of conclusion—that a Socialist Party be in the service of the propertied classes. We demand that a stop be put to the distinction of the revolutionary workers' movement. In face of the Bourgeoisie we must form a united front of the working class assembled around the standard of the social revolution. We ask you, comrades, to oppose strongly this policy of compromise of the leaders of the P.P.S. We call you to the fight for the Polish Soviet Republic, for the power of the working class, and for the revolutionary union of all proletarians."

Humanité, 9th July, 1921.

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has had some artistic advertisement cards made which draw attention to the REVIEW. These are particularly suitable for branch rooms, workmen's clubs, factories, meetings, literature depots, etc. Anyone who wishes one of these cards should send their name and address to

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW
16 King Street, Covent Garden
London, W.C. 2

Some Leaders of the Communist International

MANY students of the Socialist movement are only acquainted with the names, and pictures, of the leaders of the almost defunct Second International. They know about Kautsky, Longuet, Turati, Albert Thomas, etc., but they do not know very much about the new leaders of the revolutionary movement who are rapidly coming to the front. We, therefore, reproduce a few portraits of one or two of the active spirits in the Communist International.

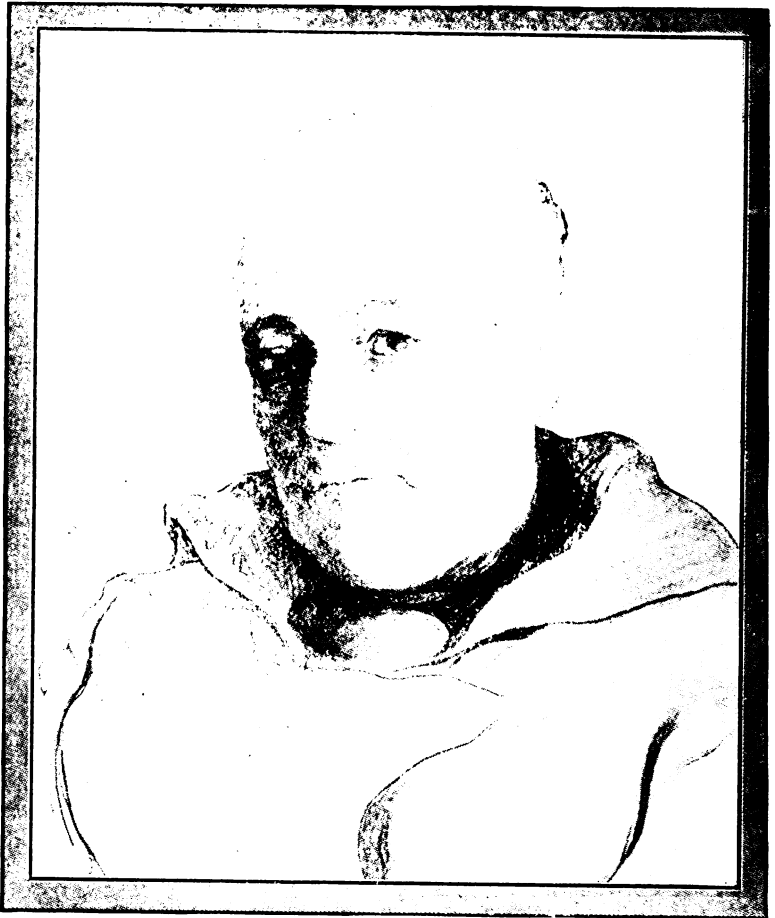
Karl Radek



T. B.
1920-

RADEK, although a young man, is one of the most active fighters in the Russian Communist Party. He is considered to be one of the greatest students of international politics in the world. His articles in the Russian Press are a series of exposures of the imperialistic ambitions of the great capitalist States. He foretells, with an almost miraculous accuracy, what Britain, France and Germany shall do in order to consolidate their power and safeguard the economic interests of their great financiers.

Everyone in Moscow knows Radek. He is easily picked out in a crowd by the number of books and newspapers that he carries. During debates and conferences Radek seems to be completely absorbed in his newspapers, but an indiscreet statement by any delegate brings him immediately to his feet. He is an extremely able and brilliant critic of the shortcomings of the revolutionary movement in Great Britain.



Clara Zetkin

OUR Comrade Zetkin is one of the most respected women fighters in the international working class movement. For an old woman her energy is miraculously amazing, and no one doubts her heroism. She has always been an enthusiastic revolutionary Marxian. Her great anti-militarist fight in Germany during the war, side by side with Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht, and Rost Luxemburg, is known to everyone who has taken any little interest in the history of the revolutionary movement. It was this dauntless quartette of fearless Communists who began the publication of the famous letters of Spartacus, which had such an influence over the militant proletariat, and which laid the foundation of the present (K.A.P.D.) United Communist Party of Germany.

One of the big discussions at the Congress developed round the attitude of Comrade Zetkin during the Communist rising in Germany last March.



Bordiga

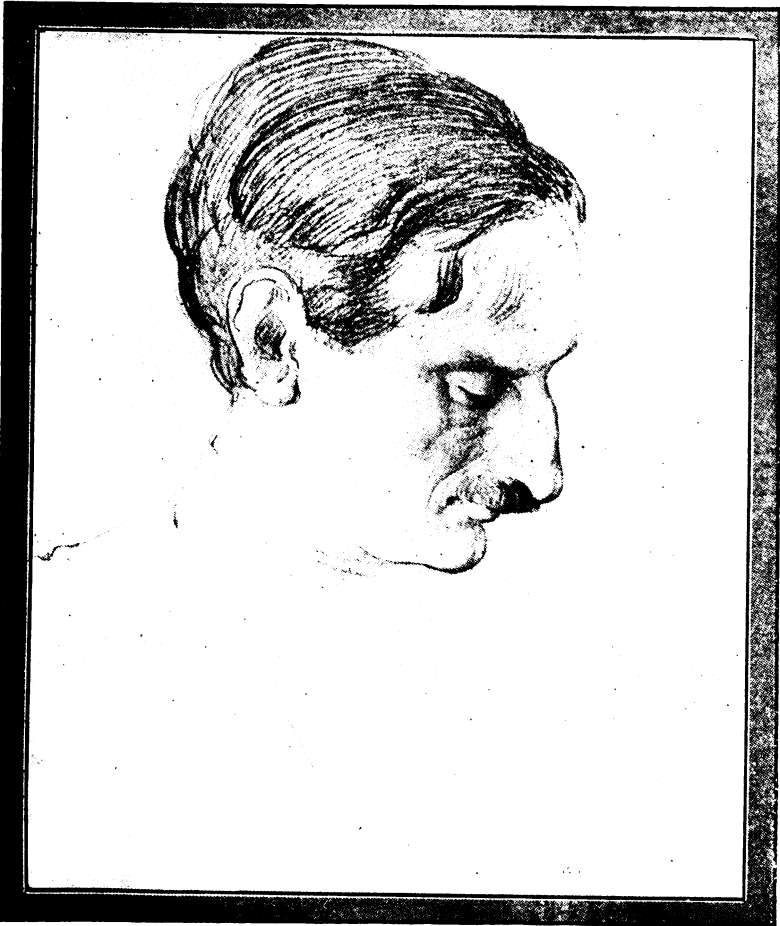
IT is generally assumed by superficial Labourists in this country that the Communist International is a movement directed from Moscow. It is perfectly true that the Communist International Executive—or the “Comintern” as the Russians, who have a passion for abbreviating long words, call it—has its headquarters in Moscow and it is also a fact that the last three International Congresses have been held in Russia. This, however, is because the European “Democracies” which are based on “free speech” and the “freedom of Assembly” would not permit the Communist International to meet in any of their cities. Thus the Congresses, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, are compelled to go to “terror-ridden” Russia.

Comrade Bordiga, whose portrait we publish, is a young working engineer of Italy, and is one of the most energetic members of the Communist Party in that country.



Zinoviev

ZINOVIEV is the President of the Communist International. He is also at the head of the Soviet Administration of Petrograd. The strain of the terrific work of the past few years is telling upon him, and he looked very ill during the recent International Congress at Moscow. He is a splendid organiser and Petrograd is considered to be the best organised city in Russia. His great fight at Hallé last year, at the Congress of the German Independent Socialist Party, where he was matched against all the intellectuals of the German movement, was one of the greatest platform struggles in political history.



Rosmer

COMRADE ROSMER is a member of the French Communist Party. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and is a most active worker in the Red Trade Union Bureau. Although not a robust man, Rosmer is a tireless worker. He is one of a little French group, at present situated in Moscow, which includes Jaques Sadoul, Henri Gilbeaux, and Rène Marchand. These three Frenchmen are recent converts to Communism. They visited Russia as opponents of Bolshevism, but were staggered when they discovered the official Communist policy of the Allies in Moscow. Sadoul was in the French Military Mission in Russia, and protested against the savagery of the plots of his government directed against the Soviets. Rène Marchand is a well-known French journalist; he was until recently a conservative and a regular contributor to *Figaro* and *Le Petit Parisien*.



Bela Kun

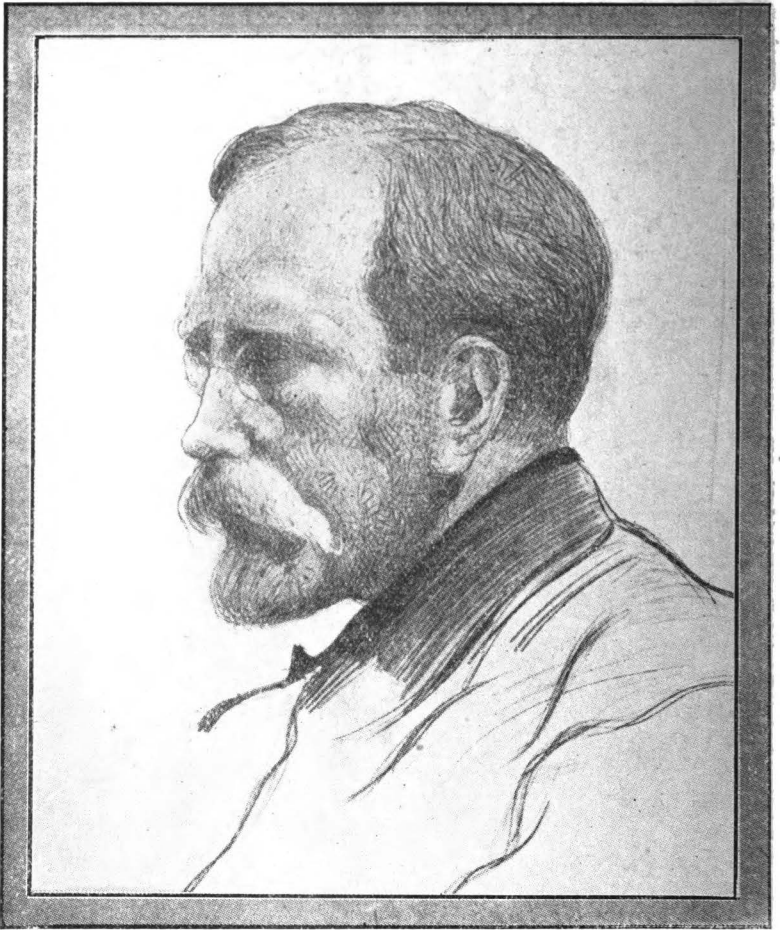
EVERYONE knows that Bela Kun was the head of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic. The failure of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was directly due to the concentration of allied force which was hurled against it. Indirectly the failure of the Hungarian Communist to retain power was occasioned by the cowardice of the centrist Socialists in Austria who, with a little courage, could easily have carried through a revolution and placed political power in the hands of the masses. The effect of this upon Germany at that time, and upon other countries in Central Europe, would have been indescribable. It would have expanded the revolutionary battlefield; it would have absolutely destroyed and un-nerved the international reactionaries; it would have rallied millions of peasants and workers to the red flag; and it might have been possible to have linked a series of Soviet Republics right up to Russia.



Balabanoff

SINCE the Russian Revolution the Soviet has given every encouragement to women to take their place, side by side with the men, in the administrative affairs of the country.

The Russian revolutionary movement has always been very fortunate in so far as some of its best fighters have been women. Comrade Balabanoff is a fearless fighter, and she is well known to the working class of Italy, where she lived for some time. Balabanoff, like her woman comrade, Kollontai, is a splendid linguist. The women comrades of the Communist International are going to organise a special women's section inside the Communist Parties of the various countries. During the recent Congress in Moscow a special conference for women was held which was attended by active women comrades from all lands.



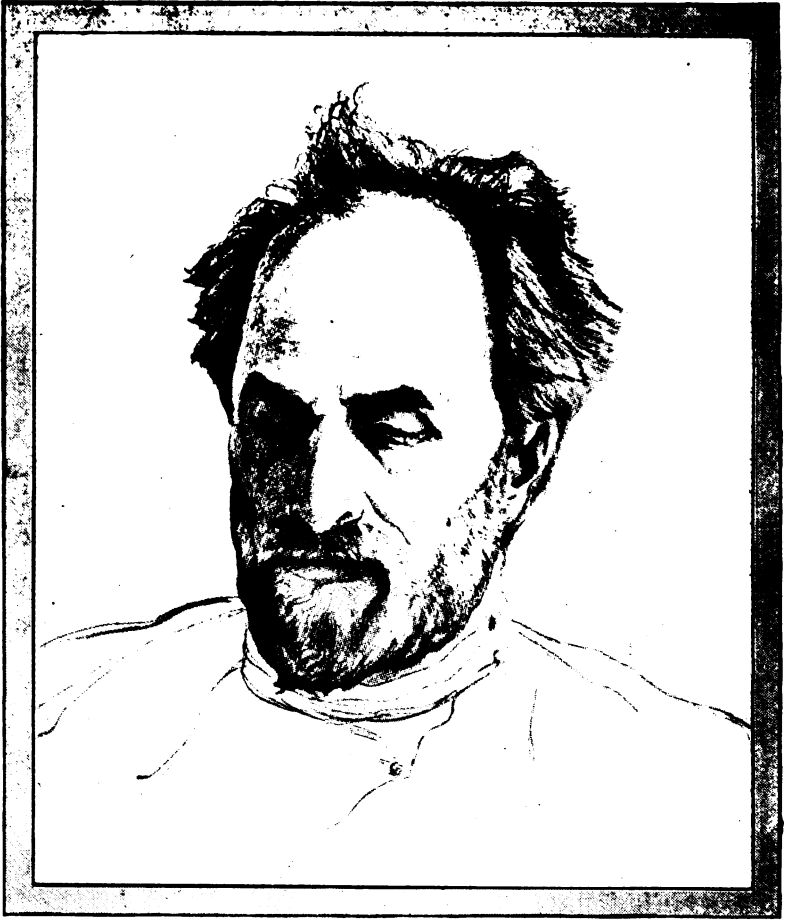
Kameneff

COMRADE KAMENEFF is well known in England. He came here last year on the Soviet Peace delegation, and left the country after a flare-up with Lloyd George. The English Press, in its usual servile manner, printed Lloyd George's statement, but gave a garbled and senseless report of Kameneff's speech. We can assure our readers, however, that Kameneff gave the Prime Minister a very uncomfortable time. The head of the British Government, which had spent over one hundred million pounds in its attempt to crush the Soviets, which had privately subsidised every White Guard murder gang in Russia, and which deliberately forged Soviet newspapers in order to provide "authentic" copy for the English Press campaign against Bolshevism—this government protested against Kameneff interfering in *their* internal affairs! Kameneff is the Chairman of the Moscow Soviet.



Losovsky

ALTHOUGH Comrade Losovsky is not so well known as Lenin, Trotsky, and other prominent members of the Russian Communist Party, he is, nevertheless, one of the finest agitators in the Communist International. He now replaces Tomski as leader of the Red Trade Union International because he is a specialist on industrial organisation. Losovsky is a brilliant speaker and good organiser. He was the head of the Russian Trade Union Delegation which was sent to Britain, but which was not permitted to land in this country. This incident vividly illustrated the pretentiousness of modern democracy which our sentimental friends of the Labour Party are so enthusiastic about. It may be remembered that the Soviet Government invited a British delegation to visit Russia. They even welcomed such avowed enemies of revolutionary socialism as Mrs. Snowden, Tom Shaw, M. P., Haden Guest, and other reactionaries of the British Labour movement.



Makaradze

COMRADE MAKARADZE is one of the leaders of the Georgian Communist Party which transformed Georgia into one of the Federated Soviet Republics. The leaders of the I.L.P. were rather enthusiastic about the "Independent" Republic of Georgia until it set up a Soviet Republic, and declared for the Proletarian Dictatorship. It did not matter to people like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that the "Independent" State of Georgia—with its whole retinue of moderate, Menshevik, Socialists—was simply a subsidised tool in the hands of the Allied States to be used against Soviet Russia. Mr. MacDonald, after his return from Georgia last year, wrote an article in which he outlined a policy to be adopted by the government which, strangely enough, coincided with the reactionary and imperialistic designs of Earl Curzon, working on behalf of the oil interests