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1920

THE TWO INTERNATIONALS

By
R. PALME DUTT

(Secretary, International Section, Labour Research Department)

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LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

34, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.

and

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN

Ruskin House, 40, Museum St.,

London, W.C. 1.

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FOREWORD

THE blow that the war dealt to the Socialist International struck deeper than the mere severance of communications. It exposed latent differences within it which had before only existed in the realm of discussion, and were now translated into the realm of action. Each party was divided into opposing sections; and the difference was not ended by the ending of the war. The period of revolution that succeeded to the period of war replaced the difference by a more intense antagonism; and Socialists were found fighting one another on opposite sides of the revolutionary struggle. The International emerged from the war in two sections, which have now rapidly developed into two opposing Internationals. The quarrel of these two Internationals has become a primary issue in the Socialist and Labour movement in every country; and as information about them is still very scattered, the attempt is here made to bring together some of the main facts and documents concerning each. The old history of the Second International before and during the war is accessible in the various books on the subject; and it is here only the post-war period and the opposition between the two Internationals that is covered in any detail. The introductory account is given without any discussion or expression of opinion on the merits of the issues.

March, 1920.

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The Two Internationals

THE ORIGIN OF THE DIVISION.

UP to the war the Socialist International* united in one organization all the main Socialist and political Labour bodies in every country, from the Fabians to the Bolsheviks. The cause of this unity lay in certain conditions which no longer exist. Before the war the Socialists in every country in Europe were in opposition. No Socialist party had been called on to take up the government of the country, and the revolution was still a phase of the future. Differences between reformists and revolutionaries might run high, but they were still differences of theory. In practice a common opposition to the existing capitalist governments held loosely together the most diverse creeds.

* Known as the "Second" International, to distinguish it from its predecessor of 1864, which broke down after the Franco-German war. The Second International was founded in 1889, and constituted in its modern form of a central International Socialist Bureau in 1900. At the outbreak of war it included twenty-seven countries, with a membership of twelve millions. These were composed of the great Socialist or Labour Parties, which each pursued their particular activities in the various countries along their own lines, and with virtual independence. At periodical intervals, usually of three years, the parties met in an International Socialist Congress to pass resolutions on Socialist policy and general questions. Voting went by national sections on a fixed proportion of votes according to relative importance in the Labour and Socialist movement. In the intervening periods the International Socialist Bureau, consisting of three delegates from each national section, was entrusted with the work of carrying out the decisions of the Congresses and arranging for future Congresses. The International Socialist Bureau usually met once a year, and the continuous business was carried on by an Executive composed of members of the Belgian section working with a secretariat at Brussels. This Executive consisted of Vandervelde (Chairman), Camille Huysmans (Secretary), and two other members of the Belgian section. The expenses of the Bureau were defrayed by contributions from the National Labour and Socialist organizations of the countries affiliated.

The International before the war was thus a loose federation of political parties with no strong central organization.

The War Resolution of the International.

This unity was, of course, in many ways deceptive. There was an undoubted unity of sentiment, but unity of theory was absent. Differences were again and again bridged over by long and ambiguous resolutions couched in a traditional revolutionary phraseology, which was not taken very seriously by the great body of the official parties. The most signal example of this was the resolution on war.

The resolution was the result of a compromise after protracted discussions at the Stuttgart Congress of 1907, and the Copenhagen Congress of 1910. The left wing sections had pressed vainly for a clear-cut anti-war resolution. In this connection it will be remembered that Keir Hardie was especially active as the spokesman of the full anti-war section. In conjunction with the French Socialist, Vaillant, he advocated at the Copenhagen Congress the proposal of a general strike against war. The proposal was rejected by a vote of 131 to 51 as outside the scope of the political International to decide, and referred to the Bureau for further report.

The majority of the speakers recognized the necessity, at any rate under certain conditions, of national defence. But it was not felt possible to allow in an International Socialist Congress any general sanction to the idea of war. The consequent resolution, drafted in the first place by the master of conciliation, Jaurès, and unanimously passed by all the national sections laid down in its fundamental portion the following provisions:

“ If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class in the countries concerned, and of their Parliamentary representatives, with the help of the International Socialist Bureau as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all the means which seem to them most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation.

“ Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the masses of the people from their slumbers, and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination.”

The Outbreak of War.

The unreality of this resolution was revealed as soon as war broke out. The majority of the official parties went in support of their Governments. Sections in each continued in opposition. In the following table the two sides are set out, distinguishing between official parties and smaller groups or sections. On the one side are those that supported their governments in the war with more or less full co-operation. On the other side are those that took up an attitude of criticism and opposition, whether modified or complete. It will be seen that the parties of countries which only entered the war later on are included, but that later modifications within the various parties, such as the victory of the "Minority" in France, are not taken into consideration.

| PRO-WAR. | OPPOSITION. |
|---|---|
| <i>Official Parties.</i> | <i>Official Parties.</i> |
| British Labour Party. | Russia : Social Democrats |
| French Socialist Party. | (Bolshevik and Menshevik). |
| German Social Democratic Party. | ,, Socialist Revolutionaries. |
| Austrian Social Democratic Party. | Serbian Socialist Party. |
| Belgian Labour Party. | Hungarian Social Democratic Party. |
| Australian Labour Party. | Rumanian Socialist Party. |
| South African Labour Party. | American Socialist Party. |
| <i>Sections and Groups.</i> | <i>Sections and Groups.</i> |
| Great Britain : National Socialist Party.* | Great Britain : Independent Labour Party. |
| United States : Social Democratic League.* | ,, British Socialist Party.† |
| Rumanian Labour Party.* | ,, Socialist Labour Party. |
| Bulgarian "Broad" Socialists. | Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists. |
| Russia : Right Wing Socialist Revolutionaries.‡ | South Africa : International Socialist League.* |
| ,, Right Wing Social Democrats.§ | Australian Socialist Party. |
| Italian Socialist Union.* | Canadian Social Democratic Federation. |
| | United States : Socialist Labour Party. |

* Formed since the war.

† After an interval and a split.

‡ "Volia Naroda" Group of Savinkov.

§ "Edinstro" Group of Plekhanov.

The First Alignment : Pacifism v. National Defence.

This was the first alignment of forces. It was not an actual alignment at any given moment of time, because the period at which different countries entered the war varied, and each country, after it had been involved in the war some time, developed centre and leftward tendencies, which became increasingly influential. But it does represent in a rough form, with all the shading and degrees of difference left out, the first stage of the opposition that developed within the International. It will be seen that this opposition has two important characteristics. In the first place it was already an opposition of sections, and not of nations. If the effect of the war had been to divide the International along national lines, the ending of the war would have seen the ending of the division. It was because the difference turned out to be a vital difference in the whole conception of Socialism that the ending of the war only made the division the more open. Fundamentally, Scheidemann, Albert Thomas and Henderson, or Haase, Longuet and Macdonald, or Liebknecht, Lorient and Maclean were nearer to one another in the position they took up in relation to their Government than any of the same grouped according to countries. There were, indeed, already all the conditions present for the later formation of two or more Internationals; and in fact the pacifist Socialist section did form their separate international organization by the second year of the war, while the nationalist Socialists, although naturally prevented from coming together until the war was over, did already in the last period of the war approach one another in negotiations along their own lines.

On the other hand it is equally important to notice that the war-division of the International does not actually coincide with the later division of the Second and Third. The difference between the first alignment and the second are as important as the resemblances. Opposition to the war might take a hundred forms, and only in one form—when it represented a complete break with the present State—did it imply a fundamental difference from the whole of the rest of Socialist theory. Nationalism and pacifism, in fact, were not in themselves the fundamental issues which split the Socialist movement: they were only the first form out of

which the fundamental issues arose. How the later issues grew out of the earlier, and the first alignment gave way to the second, is brought out in the history of the Zimmerwald organization.

Abortive Attempts to Revive the International.

The Zimmerwald Conference was held in September, 1915. It was the first general congress of anti-war Socialists. Previously to that there had been attempts to revive the International along the lines of the existing organization. Attempts had been made by the Italian-Swiss Conference at Lugano, by the American invitation to a conference at Washington, by the Neutral Conference at Copenhagen, and by the meetings of sections of the International Socialist Bureau at the Hague. All these attempts had been made with the official sanction and recognition of the Executive of the Bureau. They had failed because of the difficulties that crippled the official organization of the international Socialist movement during the war. In the first place the Bureau itself had been hit very hard by the war. The acting executive of the Bureau was the Belgian section, and Vandervelde, the chairman, was now a Minister of the Belgian Government. The Bureau had, therefore, to be moved to Holland, and Dutch members were taken on to act for the executive. This aroused a protest from the French section; and, indeed, the continuity of the old International had been seriously impaired. In addition to this weakening of the authority of the Bureau, the majority sections of the official parties were not yet prepared for common international action, but only met in separate inter-allied conferences on each side. Camille Huysmans, as secretary of the Bureau, felt strongly the necessity of waiting for the co-operation of the majority in each country before further action could be taken.

Unofficial Action.

It was at this stage that the anti-war Socialist sections decided not to wait for further action of the Bureau, and proceeded to organize independently. The first of these unofficial conferences was the Women's Socialist Conference at Berne, in March, 1915, which united delegates from the main belligerent countries. The Conference was summoned

by Klara Zetkin, as Secretary to the Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour Organizations, a body which had been constituted before the war for the purpose of holding special congresses of women Socialist and Labour delegates. As this body was part of the regular machinery of the pre-war International, the real beginning of the unofficial movement comes with the holding of the general Zimmerwald Conference of anti-war Socialists in September, 1915. The originating of the Zimmerwald Conference came from the Italian Socialist Party, which decided in May, 1915, to summon an International Socialist Conference on its own initiative. The Italian Socialist Party had from the first taken up a strong anti-war position, a position which they sustained in spite of the decision of the Italian Government to enter the war. Accordingly they issued invitations to all the parties and groups whom they knew to be in sympathy, and a special meeting of the Italian and Swiss Socialists took place at Berne in July to make arrangements for the Conference. With the holding of the Conference in September the unofficial movement took definite shape; for the Conference led to the formation of a permanent committee, known as the "International Socialist Commission," which held together the parties concerned in an unofficial bloc, and received fresh affiliations. Further Conferences were held at Kienthal in April, 1916, and at Stockholm in September, 1917.

The Zimmerwald Coalition.

The formation of the Zimmerwald Commission is the turning point in the history of the division of the International. The opposition had existed before. It now became organized. For this reason the composition of the delegations to Zimmerwald is of supreme importance in the evolution of the opposition movement. The delegations are here set out with the distinction of parties officially represented and unofficial groups within parties :

DELEGATIONS TO ZIMMERWALD.

Official Parties.

| | | |
|---------------|-----|----------------------------|
| Great Britain | ... | Independent Labour Party.* |
| „ | | British Socialist Party.* |

* The British delegates were officially appointed by their parties, but unable to get passports.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|--|
| Italy | ... | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Russia | ... | ... | Bolshevik Social Democrats. |
| " | | | Menshevik Social Democrats. |
| " | | | Socialist Revolutionaries. |
| " | | | Jewish Socialist Bund. |
| Poland | ... | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| " | | | Jewish Socialist Bund. |
| Lithuania | ... | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Lettland | ... | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Rumania | ... | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Bulgaria | ... | ... | " Narrow " Socialist Party. |
| <i>Unofficial Groups.</i> | | | |
| France | ... | ... | Extreme Left Wing of the Socialist Party. |
| | | | Minority Section of the Confederation of Labour.* |
| Germany | ... | ... | Minority Section of the German Socialist Party. |
| Sweden and Norway | ... | ... | Young Socialist Federation. |
| Holland | ... | ... | " De Internationale " Group. |
| Switzerland | ... | ... | Unofficial representatives of the Swiss Socialist Party. |

The proceedings of the Conference covered a series of anti-war resolutions. A joint declaration was issued by the French and German delegates, and a general manifesto, expressive of international working-class solidarity against imperialism on either side, was signed by all the delegates. The signatories included Ledebour and Hoffmann for the German delegation, Merrheim and Bouderon for the French, Lazzari and Modigliani for the Italians, and Lenin, Axelrod and Bobroff for the Russians.

It will be seen that the composition of the Zimmerwald grouping was still mixed, and included Centre Socialists like Modigliani and Axelrod, more purely pacifist Socialists of a type akin to the I.L.P., a Left Wing represented by Ledebour, and an extreme Left represented by Lenin. It was in fact a grouping of anti-war Socialists, and the basis was simply opposition to the war. So long as this was the only common basis, there was no question of a permanent break in the International; and originally there was no such intention. The Zimmerwald Commission was intended merely to stimulate the action of the Bureau and not to replace it. Lenin was almost alone in arguing that a new International

* The French delegates included an official representation of the Metal Workers' Federation, the strongest of the French trade unions.

would be necessary on the ground that the old organization had proved untrustworthy.

The Transition from Zimmerwald.

But this position could not last. Not only did the co-existence of the two organizations, the unofficial Commission and the official Bureau, imply a rivalry which was bound to develop; but the whole logic of the position of the anti-war Socialists inevitably led on to a more fundamental cleavage. Opposition to the war on the part of Socialists, where it was not based upon purely humanitarian non-political reasons, necessarily implied something more than a simple assertion of proletarian solidarity. In a war in which the national existence of each country was endangered or seemed to be endangered, the refusal to help in the work of defence was naturally felt to mean that the Socialist did not recognize his membership of the existing national State or his obligation to defend it. It meant, in fact, the complete break with the existing capitalist State.

Steadily and increasingly this implication came out more clearly in the various parties, and Lenin's standpoint received fresh support. The Zimmerwaldian position began to merge into the full revolutionary position. At the Kienthal Conference held six months later the increasing influence of Lenin's views is manifest in the resolutions passed. There is a marked and striking difference between the resolutions of the Zimmerwald Conference and of the Kienthal Conference. The Zimmerwald manifesto proclaims the solidarity of the proletariat in face of the horrors of a war let loose by Capitalist Imperialism, denounces the action of those Socialists who have put themselves in line with their governments and taken on responsibility for the conduct of the war, and calls on the proletarians of all countries to united action for Peace and Socialism. The International Socialist Bureau is only mentioned in one sentence, where it is stated to have failed in its duty. The cry is throughout for peace, immediate peace, peace without annexations and indemnities, and with full recognition of national rights; and Socialism is only thrown in once or twice, along with Liberty and Fraternity, as a fuller statement of the final object of the struggle. In the Kienthal resolutions a new colouring appears. The patriotic Socialists are still denounced (they now appear for the first time under the title of "Social

Nationalists"), but there is an equally vigorous denunciation of "bourgeois pacifism." The hope of any real peace under capitalism is declared to be an illusion. The only solution is "the conquest of political power and the ownership of capital by the peoples themselves; the real durable peace will be the fruit of triumphant Socialism." The struggle against the war and imperialism is to develop with increasing intensity into a general mass movement against the whole forces of reaction and the economic consequences of the war until it ends in the supreme international struggle for the final triumph of the proletariat. A whole series of resolutions is devoted to the International Socialist Bureau, whose action is denounced in detail.

The Russian Revolution.

Pacifist Socialism was thus passing into revolutionary Socialism, but the decision to break with the old International had not yet been taken. Lenin's view on this point was still in a minority. It was not until the Stockholm Conference of September, 1917, that the decision was finally taken in favour of a new International, and by that time a great deal more had happened.

It was the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, that brought about the final and decisive crisis in the International. The immediate effect of the Russian Revolution was a general impulse towards the International again. The summer of 1917 was filled with the varying fortunes of the attempt to hold a general International Conference at Stockholm. The Stockholm episode is the last stage in the history of the old united International. It represents the last united attempt to revive an International of all the Socialist parties. The invitation had gone forth in the first place from the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee under the auspices of the International Socialist Bureau. It had then been taken up by the Russian Soviet organization. Representatives of both the International Socialist Bureau and the Zimmerwald Commission were in Stockholm with a view to the Conference. All sections were co-operating in the projected meeting. In the end the project failed owing to the refusal of passports by the Entente countries. The official movements were not sufficiently united in desiring the Conference to press the matter further.

The failure of the Stockholm project had far-reaching

results, both for the future of the International and for the later development of the Russian Revolution. The revolutionaries felt that they could delay no longer for the sake of unity. To them it seemed that all they had hoped to secure from the March revolution was being lost. The Capitalist Governments had recovered from their first shock and were returning openly to their old Imperialist policies; the secret treaties went unrevised. In Russia the fruits of the revolution seemed to be slipping away from the hands of the workers in spite of the presence of a Socialist Prime Minister, Kerensky; Miliukoff, the middle-class Liberal Foreign Minister, proclaimed his intention of continuing the Tsarist foreign policy of capturing Constantinople; the socialization of the land did not materialize; the calling of the Constituent Assembly was left to the future, and at the end of six months not even the elections had been held. Hopes of peace faded away, and in July a big offensive was forced upon the Army. Finally came the attempt of General Korniloff to march on Petrograd and establish reaction. A period of crisis followed, which resulted in the second or Bolshevik revolution.

The Break Completed.

The revolutionaries had decided after the Stockholm fiasco that they would have to make the break. It would appear from the account given by the French Communist, Souvaine, that the Zimmerwald Commission held a hasty Conference at Stockholm on September 12th, which made the final decision to break away and enter on independent revolutionary action. With the Bolshevik coup in November the action of the revolutionaries had begun.

With this act the break in the International was complete. A wholly different conception of Socialist theory and action from that held by the orthodox parties had now been put into operation, and there was no further possibility of even an appearance of unity. Socialists were now at open war in Russia; and later, as the revolution spread, the same situation was reproduced in Germany, in Austria, in Bavaria, and in Hungary. There was now nothing for it, in the face of such absolute divergence of principles, but the existence of two Internationals. As soon as the Armistice had made more possible the reopening of communications, the two Internationals met and took definite shape.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

THE real history of the Second International goes back to its foundation in 1889 and leaves off in 1914. Since then in the strict and official sense there has been no entry to record. The International Socialist Bureau has not met; no Congress has been held. The organization that has been formed in connection with the Berne Conference and after has never been officially intended to represent or constitute a revival of the Second International. The Berne Conference was simply an *ad hoc* Conference of all kinds of Socialist and Labour bodies, both political and industrial, to deal with post-war questions and express Labour opinion on the peace. It set up an international machinery of an Executive and a Permanent Commission to meet periodically; but this was never intended to constitute an International or to do anything but deal with immediate issues and prepare the way for an early reorganization of the real International. This preparation has been done by the arrangements for a full Congress to meet at Geneva. Until then the Second International continues in abeyance.

The Second International and the Berne International.

Nevertheless, for general purposes the Berne International is commonly spoken of as the Second International without further distinction being made, and its policy and activities spoken of as the policy and activities of the Second International. This is natural because it unites within itself most of the bodies composing the old Second International and acts through the organization and machinery of the secretariat of the Second International under Camille Huysmans. The Berne International is in fact the inheritor of the old united Second International! even though it is not in all respects continuous with it. For this reason, and more particularly because the whole controversy about the Second International has reference really to the doings and point of view of the Berne International, it will be convenient, once the necessary distinction has been made clear, to follow com-

mon usage and refer generally to the Second International without distinguishing between the official body that is at present in abeyance and the acting body that for the time being takes its place.

Some notice may, however, be taken of the extent of the continuity and discontinuity between the two bodies. Under the constitution of the Second International power to summon the periodical Congress rested with the International Socialist Bureau, which consisted of three delegates from each of the twenty-eight countries affiliated, and the executive committee of which was the Belgian Section. The difficulty that this identity of the executive with the Belgian Section created during the war has been already mentioned, and the way in which it was met by the appointment of substitute members of the Executive from the Dutch Section. Even so, however, Vandervelde remained the duly appointed President of the International; and this meant an additional difficulty in the way of the convocation of an International Socialist Congress after the Armistice, since the Belgian Labour Party was against the immediate holding of any international meeting and refused to take part. The actual authorization of the Berne Conference was based on the instructions of the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference of March, 1918, a body which could not, of course, have an official standing in the International; and the arrangements for convoking it were in the hands of a committee appointed by the Inter-Allied Conference, consisting of Henderson, Vandervelde and Albert Thomas in co-operation with Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the Bureau. The composition of that committee would naturally give rise in some quarters to a feeling that the proposed Conference was under the Right Wing of the movement; and certain Left Wing sections, such as the Italians, Serbians and Swiss, refused to take part. In addition, the method of representation was wider and not confined to the affiliated members of the old International, but included both industrial and political Labour bodies. In the case of the British section the separate representation of the Socialist parties was annulled, and the delegation divided in equal proportions between the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The trade union organizations of Germany, Sweden and other

countries also took part. The American Federation of Labour was invited, but refused to come.

Nevertheless the Berne Conference was the first general International Socialist Conference since the war. It did unite all the great national sections (except the Italians and the Russian Bolsheviks) which had constituted the pre-war International. For this reason it did represent a virtual revival of the Second International, and in general public attention it occupied the position of an International Socialist Congress. If the Berne International, and so by implication the Second International, has since come to be associated with the Right Wing of the Socialist movement, it is really the change in general conditions that has brought this about, and above all the changes in the Socialist movement itself.

The Berne Conference, February, 1919.

The delegates to the Berne Conference numbered 102 and came from twenty-six countries. The countries represented comprised :

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Alsace-Lorraine. | Great Britain. |
| Argentina. | Greece. |
| Armenia. | Holland. |
| Bohemia. | Hungary. |
| Bulgaria. | Italy. |
| Canada. | Ireland. |
| Denmark. | Lettland. |
| Esthonia. | Norway. |
| Finland. | Palestine. |
| France. | Poland. |
| Georgia. | Russia. |
| German-Austria. | Spain. |
| Germany. | Sweden. |

In addition, delegates were appointed from Australia and the Ukraine, but arrived too late to take part. In the case of Italy the group represented was the Reformist group and not the official party, and in the case of Bulgaria the Broad Socialists took part, while the Narrow Socialists held off; the Russian delegates represented the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. The Belgian Labour Party and the American Federation of Labour declined to attend, being unwilling to meet the Germans. On the other side the official parties of Italy, Switzerland, Serbia and Rumania considered the Conference too reactionary.

Resolutions on the Peace.

The Conference opened at Berne on February 3rd, 1919, and Branting, the Swedish leader, was elected President. The idea of the Conference had been that it should sit concurrently with the Peace Conference at Versailles in order to give expression to Labour opinion on the questions at issue and the character of the Treaty. For this reason the work of the Conference centred on the immediate questions of the war and the peace. Commissions were appointed on the League of Nations, Territorial questions and the International Labour Charter. All these issued important reports which were adopted by the Conference. The Conference declared in favour of a League of Nations which should (1) be based on a real peace of justice; (2) be constituted of delegates from the Parliaments representing all the parties therein; (3) contain equally all the nations organized on a basis of national self-determination. On territorial questions a resolution was passed affirming the general principle of national self-determination, but leaving the detailed application to subsequent decision. Finally, an International Labour Charter was drawn up to be presented to the Versailles Conference for embodiment in the Peace Treaty. This Charter was drawn up in special co-operation with the trade union representatives at Berne; it laid down clauses for embodiment in the Peace Treaty guaranteeing a minimum standard of life and work for the workers of all countries, and it proposed the establishment of a permanent international commission on labour legislation, consisting of representatives of States in the League and of the International Trade Union Federation in equal numbers.

The Controversy on the War.

All these aspects of the work of the Conference represented broad developments of constructive policy along the lines of thought held by the Labour and Socialist Parties participating in the Conference. On all these questions and in the working out of these reports there was general agreement and co-operation; and the reports, when reached, were submitted subsequently to the official Peace Conference for the consideration of the Governments concerned. In this connection the report on the International Labour Charter was understood to be of special importance and influence in shaping the ultimate official policy. But at the

same time there also arose in the discussions from the first the issues that were dividing the whole Socialist movement, the issues of the war and of Bolshevism. As soon as the Conference began, Albert Thomas proposed that the question of war responsibility of the Socialist Parties should have first place on the agenda, and he further proposed that, in view of the danger threatening Socialism from the new Bolshevist tendencies, the second point on the agenda should be the part of democracy in the establishment of the Socialist order. Accordingly the debate on War Responsibilities took first place on the agenda and occupied the whole of the first two days. The French ex-Majority, that is, the Thomas-Renaudel section, were very emphatic in their demand that the Socialists who had made themselves accomplices of the guilty Governments of Central Europe should be denounced and repudiated by the International. In the end a special commission was appointed, which ultimately secured a new declaration from the German Majority Socialists, and on this basis was able to produce a unanimous report. The report, which was adopted with only one dissentient, declared that the question of immediate responsibility for the war had been made clear by the discussion and by the declaration of the German Majority affirming the revolutionary spirit of New Germany and its complete separation from the old system which was responsible for the war. Beyond this it left "to a future International Congress, convened under normal conditions, the task of formulating the judgment of the International on the world-historic question of responsibility for the war."

The Resolutions on Bolshevism.

On Bolshevism there was not the possibility of the same measure of agreement, although the general feeling of the Conference was clearly condemnatory. The Commission which was appointed to deal with the issue of "Democracy versus Dictatorship" produced two reports: the Branting or Majority resolution, and the Adler-Longuet or Minority resolution. Although the delegations declared their adhesion to one or other of these resolutions, it was agreed not to take a final decisive vote at once, but to remit the question to the agenda of the next Conference and meanwhile to send a special Commission of Enquiry to Russia (the passports for this Commission of Enquiry were never granted). These

resolutions* are thus not final considered judgments; but they are of very great importance as the nearest approach to an official statement of the attitude of the Second International to the principles of the Third. The Branting resolution, which was adopted by the great majority of the Conference, including the British delegation, declares that the Conference "firmly adheres to the principles of democracy," that a dictatorship, especially a dictatorship of only one section of the working class, can only lead to fratricidal war of the workers and the ultimate dictatorship of reaction, and that true Socialism can only be achieved through the means of democracy along lines of methodical development. The Adler-Longuet resolution opposes the placing of any stigma on the Russian Soviet Republic in the absence of sufficient material for passing a judgment, and deprecates the adoption of any resolution which would be inconsistent with free entry into the International of the Socialist and Revolutionary Parties of all countries conscious of their class interests.

The Permanent Commission.

The remaining problem before the Conference was the reconstitution of the International. The Berne Conference was only an *ad hoc* Conference and not a regular International Socialist Congress; but the thread of the Second International had been broken, and it was clear the reconstitution would have to arise from the Berne Conference. This meant that some interim body would have to be set up at once to carry on the immediate international work in hand, and that in addition provision would have to be made for the ultimate reorganization of the regular International. For this double purpose a Permanent Commission was established, to consist of two representatives from each organization, with an Acting Executive of Branting, Henderson and Huysmans. The instructions to this Commission were to continue the work of the Conference, and to take such steps as might be considered necessary for an early reorganization of the International.

The Amsterdam Conference, April, 1919.

The first meeting of the Permanent Commission was held at Berne immediately after the Conference on February 10th; it appointed a delegation to present the resolutions to the

* Appendix A3, page 54.

Official Peace Conference at Paris, and amplified the Executive by the addition of four members (Renaudel, Longuet, MacDonald and Stuart-Bunning) to form a Committee of Action. The second meeting was held at Amsterdam on April 26th, representatives being present from seventeen countries, including Belgium. This was the first occasion that the Belgian Labour Party re-entered into the work of the International. The meeting was mainly concerned with the territorial and nationalist questions which had been left to be settled in detail; and resolutions were passed on the subject of Finland, Georgia, Esthonia, Armenia, the Frontiers of Georgia and Armenia, Hungary, the Ukraine, German-Austria, the Frontiers of Germany and Poland, the Saar Valley, Ireland, the German Colonies, the Jewish Question, Rumanian Persecutions and the Jews of Rumania. In addition to this mass of special work, a resolution was passed on the subject of the League of Nations, reaffirming in greater detail the Berne position in criticism of the proposed Covenant; and, as uneasiness was stated to be felt over the decisions being reached at Paris, the Committee of Action was instructed to go to Paris to interview the Big Four. Outside these decisions in connection with the Peace Treaty, some steps were taken in the reconstitution of the International. The first general Congress after the war was fixed for February 2nd, 1920, and the Committee of Action was instructed to prepare draft statutes for the new International. It was also agreed to make arrangements for the issue of a monthly bulletin and regular reports from all the national sections.

On May 7th the Peace Terms were handed to the German delegates, and the Committee of Action immediately issued a manifesto criticizing them in detail and declaring that "this peace is not our peace."

The Lucerne Conference, August, 1919.

The third meeting of the Permanent Commission was held at Lucerne in August, 1919, and was attended by delegates from nineteen countries. The Lucerne meeting took in hand in greater detail and in a more final form both the questions of the peace and the general political situation and also of the reconstruction of the International. The division which had revealed itself at the Berne Conference in the Branting and Adler-Longuet resolutions now de-

veloped further and took on a clearer expression. On the detail questions of nationalist and other immediate issues joint resolutions were passed with the co-operation of both sections: these dealt with the specific points of the Peace Treaty, and also with a series of issues covering Intervention in Russia, a Commission of Enquiry to Russia, the Hungarian situation, Prisoners of War, Armenian Massacres, the Balkans, Korea, Eastern Galicia, Greece, the Greek Occupation of Asia Minor, India, Bessarabia, the Evacuation by German troops of Lithuania and Lettland, the Independence of Lettland, the Independence of Lithuania, a Commission of Enquiry into Pogroms, and Polish Pogroms. But while there was agreement in the long list of resolutions passed on these subjects, the general political situation provoked separate Majority and Minority Resolutions.

Divisions between the Majority and the Minority.

These Resolutions are not so much conflicting as that the Minority shows a less certain position with regard to the revolutionary movements and the revolutionary outlook. The actual conclusions and demands are virtually the same; but the Minority—which represents the Centre parties of the Longuet, I.L.P. and German Independent type—endeavours to make concessions to the revolutionary point of view. The difference is of importance to trace out in view of the later fissure that developed. It shows itself typically in the attitude to the League of Nations. The Majority regards the League of Nations as “the first effective international organ” even though it “has the appearance of being an organization of capitalist and bourgeois states”: and on that basis proceeds to demand revision in a detailed criticism. The Minority sees in the League “nothing but a League of Governments,” and demands revision without going into details. In the same way on nationalist questions the Majority still feels no hesitation over the process of endless self-determination. The Minority, on the other hand, is beginning to feel qualms over “the Balkanization of Europe and the world” and “the excessive multiplication of small states without economic strength, without the means of culture and without resources for social progress, inevitably abandoned to the cupidity of the great capitalist States.” But in the end the same resolutions on specific nationalist questions are

passed. Again on the question of Russia the Majority confines itself to welcoming in general terms "the new Socialist governments" in Europe and protesting against Allied intervention; the Minority declares that "without pronouncing on the methods of the Russian Bolsheviks it states that there is no doubt that the hatred with which the capitalist governments have pursued them has its origin in their effort to realize a social transformation which is the common aim of all Socialists." And on the general question of Bolshevism the Majority adheres firmly to the aim of "Socialism and Democracy," while adding that the next Congress must consider "the forms of democracy and representative institutions, the place of revolutions in the transformation of Society, the relations between industrial and political organization and mass action, and it must prepare plans for Socialization in view of the struggle upon which the world has now definitely entered between proletarian and capitalist power." The minority is also of opinion that the next Congress must consider "general questions of Socialist tactics, the respective value of democracy and dictatorship, the relations between the political and economic organization of the working classes," but adds further that "it is only on the solid basis of the permanent principles of the International, that is to say, the class-struggle pursued without compromise with the bourgeois parties and action vigorously conducted according to circumstances, that an understanding destined to bear real fruit can be realized among all Socialists throughout the world."

Arrangements for a Geneva Congress.

While these differences were developing that were shortly to produce a crisis in the whole position of the Second International, arrangements were meanwhile being made for the next Congress and the reconstitution of the International. A full Provisional Constitution* had been drafted by the Acting Committee and was now approved by the Lucerne Commission. It was decided to call a General Congress at Geneva on February 2nd, 1920, to which all national sections of the Labour and Socialist movement accepting the principles of the International should be invited. The Congress was to be convoked on the basis of the Provisional

* Appendix A2, page 49.

Statutes adopted by the Permanent Commission at Lucerne, and the Agenda was to deal with (1) the adoption of the Constitution of the International; (2) War responsibility; (3) General Policy of the International, including Peace, Democracy versus Dictatorship, Socialization and Labour Legislation; (4) the Organization of the Press. A special Commission was to report on the question of "Socialistic reorganization" as distinct from the question of the "acquisition of political power"; and a concurrent Conference was to be held of Parliamentary representatives with a view to the formation of a Permanent Commission, and a special Press Conference to consider in particular the establishment of an international telegraphic agency.

New Developments.

The Lucerne Conference broke up on August 9th, 1919, and the Geneva Congress was to meet on February 2nd, 1920. But meanwhile developments had been taking place which brought about a change in the situation. In March, 1919, the Third International had been founded, a month after the Berne Conference. This meant that the revolutionary Communists had set themselves in definite opposition to the Second International; and the influence of their position was beginning to make itself felt in many countries. Some countries, such as Italy and Norway, went over definitely to the Third International. In other countries Left sections of the Socialists of varying strength went over. In other countries fierce controversies arose, and all kinds of half-way positions and uncertain movements developed. The Conference of the Swiss Party voted for leaving the Second and joining the Third, and then on a ballot vote rescinded the latter decision, but remained out of the Second. Hungary went into the Third during the Communist régime and went out again during the White régime. In Scandinavia two Labour Congresses were held, a minority one at Stockholm for the Third, and a majority one at Copenhagen for the Second. Spain decided to send delegates to Geneva, but with instructions to demand the purging of the Second and an approach to the Third. America lost the greater part of its membership to the Communists, and the remainder repudiated the Second and decided on a ballot on the question of affiliation to the Third. But the situation became still more serious when the move-

ment began to affect the leading countries of the Second International, Great Britain, France and Germany. The German Independents at their Congress at Leipzig in December threw over the Second and demanded a new revolutionary International, failing which they would join the Third. Among the French Socialists it became clear that there would be every prospect of secession from the Second at their Strasbourg Congress in February. The British Left Wing Societies were caught in a strong current of feeling in the direction of the Third.

The Geneva Congress Postponed.

In the face of this developing situation it became doubtful whether the proposed General Congress at Geneva in February could be held with any chance of real success. The intention for the Geneva Congress had been that it should be the first full International Socialist Congress after the war held under normal conditions. There was now every prospect that it would be only a partial Congress held in the midst of a storm. Postponement until conditions were more settled seemed inevitable. On the other hand there was the danger that postponement would suggest the appearance of a retreat before the Third International's offensive. Macdonald insisted that postponement would be equivalent to an admission that the Second International was dead. But the general feeling was that postponement could not be avoided.

On December 20th the Acting Committee met in London and decided to postpone the Geneva Congress until July 31st, 1920.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

ON January 24th, 1919, when the Peace Conference at Paris had just been inaugurated and the Berne Conference had not yet met, a wireless message went out from Moscow to the revolutionary groups of other lands. That message was the first invitation to the Inaugural Conference of the Third or Communist International. The message was only published in a few papers in a mutilated and incomplete form; and it was not until the beginning of April, when the proposed Conference had already been held, that the full text finally appeared in Western countries.* The Third International had already been founded before the general body of Socialists in Europe and America became aware of its existence.

The Invitation to Moscow, January, 1919.

The invitation went out in the name of the Russian Communist Party,† supported by the Communist Parties of

* Appendix B1, page 63.

† This was the name adopted by the Russian Bolsheviks or Majority Social Democrats after the Revolution of 1917. They adopted it to mark themselves off from the conventional "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" Parties that had supported the war and entered into coalitions with capitalist governments. The name "Communist" goes back to the Communist League of the eighteen-forties, for which Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, the basis of modern revolutionary Socialism. Lenin in *The State and Revolution* (p. 83, English translation) gives quotations to show that Marx and Engels emphasized the importance of the term "Communist" as more scientifically correct than the term "Social Democrat." Since then the majority of the revolutionary Socialist Parties in other countries have named themselves Communist, and the term "Communism" is used to designate the principles of Marxian revolutionary Socialism as practised by the Bolsheviks. Care must be taken to distinguish this sense of Communism from the senses in which it has been more generally used in this country, namely (1) the Communist Anarchism of Kropotkin, (2) the conception of the abolition of all personal property, (3) decentralization and a system of loosely associated local communes. Communism corresponds rather to what is often referred to as "scientific Socialism," only with a special emphasis on its revolutionary aspect.

Poland, Hungary, German-Austria, Lettland, Finland and the Balkan Revolutionary Socialist Federation. In addition the name was given of the Socialist Labour Party of America; but its representative, Reinstein, was only a member resident in Russia acting without a mandate from his Party.

The object of the invitation was to summon all the revolutionary Labour and Socialist organizations in sympathy with the aims of Communism to meet in conference and form a Communist International. The basis of representation was wide and included both political and industrial bodies. Thirty-nine organizations or groups were addressed specifically as representing tendencies which were in full accord with the proposed aims of the Third International and therefore able to enter into its organization with full rights. These covered the Communist Parties of Russia, German-Austria, Hungary, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania, White Russia, the Ukraine and Holland, together with the Spartacist Union of Germany, the "Class Struggle" Group of Denmark, and the Young Socialist International represented by Muntzenburg; the Socialist Parties of Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria (the "Narrows"), Serbia and Norway, the Left Socialist Party of Sweden, the British Socialist Party (Maclean tendency) and the Socialist Labour Party in Great Britain, the Socialist Labour Party of America, and the Japanese Socialists represented by Katayama; the "left elements" of the Socialist Parties of Switzerland, France (Loriot tendency), Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Portugal, America, and of the Labour Parties of Belgium and Ireland; and finally revolutionary industrial organizations such as the I.W.W. of America and elsewhere, the Workers' International Industrial Union of America and the revolutionary elements of the French trade union movement and the British shop stewards' movement.

The Platform laid down in the Invitation.

A definite platform for the proposed Third International was laid down in the invitation sent out. This platform was stated to have been drawn up "in agreement with the programme of the Spartacist Union in Germany and of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) in Russia." Fifteen principles are laid down in this platform, which is made to

cover both the general objects and policy of communism and the immediate proposals of international organization. The first six points concern aim and method. The aim is the immediate universal dictatorship of the proletariat in view of the dissolution at present proceeding of the capitalist system of the whole world; this involves (1) the seizure of the governmental power in order to replace it by the apparatus of proletarian power; (2) the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the general arming of the proletariat in order to make the revolution secure; (3) the use of the dictatorship to suppress private property in the means of production and transfer it "to the proletarian State under the Socialist administration of the working class." The method is "the mass-action of the proletariat as far as open conflict with arms against the governmental power of capitalism." The next seven points deal with the relation to other Socialist Parties. The Berne International is condemned as an opportunist combination of disparate groups. These groups are divided into three: (1) The Social-patriots (or the old "majority" sections)—to be fought without mercy, since they always oppose the revolution at the critical moments; (2) the Centre (or the old "minority" sections represented by Kautsky, Longuet or the I.L.P.)—"an organ composed of always hesitant elements incapable of a determined attitude. . . The tactics consist in separating out the revolutionary elements, in a pitiless criticism of its leaders, and in systematically dividing its adherents among themselves"; (3) the revolutionary Left Wing—to be won over into a definite communist bloc: this bloc should include, not only the actual communist organizations, but also the revolutionary industrial and syndicalist elements, and should "rally all the working class groups and organizations which, without having openly joined the Left Revolutionary movement, nevertheless show a tendency towards the Left in their development." The remaining two points outline the scheme for the proposed International, which should be named the Communist International and should form a fighting organ for directing the international communist movement, the fundamental principle of the Communist International being to "subordinate the interests of the movement in each country to the general interests of the International revolution as a whole."

The Moscow Congress, March, 1919.

Upon the basis of this programme and invitation the first International Communist Congress was held at Moscow on March 2nd to 6th, 1919. It was not possible for such a congress, convened under such conditions, to be in any final sense a full and representative gathering. Many delegates were arrested on the way; others that were expected to arrive were prevented by the many difficulties in their path. It was certainly no easy matter for delegates from other countries to make their way to the capital and heart of Soviet Russia. Preparations for the Congress had to be made in the strictest secrecy; and in many cases representation could only be an unofficial representation by individual members of the party who were in Russia. In addition many parties and groups were not yet fully aware of the nature of the proposed International or certain of their attitude towards it. Under the circumstances this first Congress could only be provisional in character, and only a provisional and temporary constitution was drawn up for the proposed International.

Nineteen parties or groups were represented at the Congress with full voting rights: but in the case of one or two of these it is known the delegates were not officially accredited, but only individual members. In addition there were representatives of sixteen organizations in an advisory capacity. The full list, as published, is as follows:—

| <i>Delegates with full voting rights.</i> | <i>Votes.</i> |
|---|---------------|
| Armenia (Communist Party) | 1 |
| Austria " " | 3 |
| Esthonia " " | 1 |
| Finland " " | 3 |
| Germany " " | 5 |
| Hungary " " | 3 |
| Lettland " " | 1 |
| Lithuania " " | 1 |
| Norway (Social Democratic Labour Party) | 3 |
| Poland (Communist Party) | 3 |
| Russia " " | 5 |
| Sweden (Left Socialist Party) | 3 |
| *Switzerland (Social Democratic Party) | 3 |
| Ukraine (Communist Party) | 3 |
| *United States (Socialist Labour Party) | 5 |
| Balkan Revolutionary Socialist Federation | 3 |
| Communist Party of German Colonies in Russia | 1 |
| Group of Oriental Nationalities in Russia | 1 |
| Left Zimmerwaldians | 5 |

* Not officially accredited.

Advisory Representatives of Groups in the following Countries :

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Azerbaijan. | Holland. |
| Bulgaria. | Jugoslavia. |
| China. | Korea. |
| Czecho-Slovakia. | Persia. |
| France (represented by Sadoul). | Switzerland. |
| Georgia. | Turkestan. |
| Great Britain (represented by Fineberg). | Turkey. |
| | United States. |

International Socialist Commission (i.e., the Zimmerwald
Commission represented by the secretary, Balabanoff).

The Work of the Moscow Congress.

The business of the Congress as set down in the order of the day covered :

- (1) Presentation of reports.
- (2) Programme of the Communist International.
- (3) Bourgeois democracy and dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (4) Attitude towards the Socialist Parties and the Berne Conference.
- (5) The international situation and the policy of the Allies.
- (6) Election of committee and organization.

The main work of the Congress divides into two parts. In the first place an elaborate Manifesto and Programme was prepared and adopted, which sets forth the full policy and outlook of the Communist International. This Manifesto was issued on March 10th under the names of Rakovsky, Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and Platten. The document is of extreme importance as the one authoritative statement of the position of the Third International.* A full summary of the principles expressed in it is given in the next chapter.

The Liquidation of the Zimmerwald Organizations.

The other important work was the establishment of the provisional constitution of the Third International. It was decided to merge the Zimmerwald organization into the new International, and for this purpose the dissolution of the Zimmerwald organization was finally carried out in so far as it could be carried out by individual members of it and by the secretary of the Commission. To effect this the fol-

* Appendix B3, page 68.

lowing "Declaration of Participators in the Zimmerwald Conference" was issued:

"The Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences were significant at the time when it was important to unite all the elements of the proletariat, who were ready to protest in one way or another against imperialistic murder. But, together with decided communistic elements, the Zimmerwald agreement or coalition embraced elements of the Centre, pacifists and wavering elements. These elements of the Centre, as the Berne Conference shows, now join the Social patriots in fighting against the revolutionary proletariat, and in this way Zimmerwald is used in the interest of reaction.

"At the same time the Communist stream is gathering force in many countries, and a conflict with the Centre elements, who check the development of the Socialist revolution, has become one of the most urgent tasks of the revolutionary proletariat.

"The Zimmerwald Union or Coalition has outlived its purpose. All that was really revolutionary in it goes over to the Communist International.

"The subjoined signatories and participators in the Zimmerwald arrangement declare that they consider the Zimmerwald organization as liquidated, and they beg the Bureau of the Zimmerwald Conference to hand over all its documents to the Executive Committee of the Third International.

"C. RAKOVSKY.

"N. LENIN.

"C. ZINOVIEV.

"L. TROTSKY.

"FRITZ PLATTEN."

In response to this declaration the Congress passed the following resolution:

"After receiving the explanation of the secretary of the Zimmerwald International Socialist Conference, Comrade Balabanoff, and the declaration of the participators in the Zimmerwald Conference, Comrades Rakovsky, Platten, Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev, the first Congress of the Communist International resolves that the Zimmerwald agreement be considered as liquidated."

The Constitution of the Third International.

After the ground had been thus cleared, the necessary provisional arrangements were made for the constitution of the Third International. These arrangements only covered in detail the immediate appointment of an Executive Committee and the method of its working, and of additional elections to it, and left the final fixing of the constitution of the Third International to the next full Congress, for which no date was fixed. The provisions passed ran as follows :

“ In order to be able to begin work without delay, the Congress at once proceeds to elect the necessary organs of administration, in the belief that a constitution in conformity with its aims should be given to the Communist International on the proposal of the Bureau at the next Congress.

“ The guidance or management of the Communist International will be confided to an Executive Committee to consist of one representative each of the Communist Parties in the most important countries.

“ The parties in Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Federation, Switzerland and Scandinavia shall forthwith send their representatives to the first Executive Committee.

“ Comrades of the country in which the Executive Committee is located shall assume the burden of work until the arrival of representatives from abroad.

“ The Executive Committee shall elect a Bureau of five persons.”

There was some dispute at first as to whether the formation of the Third International should be immediately decided at the Congress then sitting. Doubts were expressed whether such action would not be premature and ought not to await a more representative Congress. The German Communists, represented by Albrecht, opposed the immediate formation of the new International on the ground that not all Socialist parties had had the opportunity to send delegates to the Conference or to make known their attitude towards the Second. But the prevailing opinion was that the decisive step of founding the new International would serve to crystallize the situation and would stimulate the hesitating parties to make their choice. In the end the

provisional statutes were passed with general agreement, and the German Communists gave their adhesion.

The final break had been made and the Third International was in being. The new International had been created as a deliberate challenge to the main body of the existing Socialist Parties. What were the principles that underlay this challenge?

THE THEORY OF THE COMMUNISTS *

THE theory of the Communists is something very old and very new. It is as old as the Communist Manifesto of 1847; and for those Socialists to whom Marx's *Capital* is the Bible of Socialism the Communist Manifesto is its Shorter Catechism. But like most revivals of older things it came upon the modern Socialist world with the force of a new discovery. It has been the subject of endless discussion and much disputed interpretation: and as the principles involved in it form the whole substance of the controversy between the two Internationals, it is inevitably necessary to make some attempt to restate them briefly so far as that can be done with any confidence. For this purpose the basis has been confined in the main to the two principal sources which would be generally agreed to form authoritative expositions of modern communist theory, the Moscow Manifesto and the various writings of Lenin. Upon this basis the fundamental outlines of communism as a political philosophy may be set out as follows:

(1) The Theory of the Capitalist State and Political Democracy.

The theory of the Communists begins with an analysis of the modern state as a machinery of class rule. The typical developed form of this machinery in capitalist society is held to be political democracy. The ground for this is that political democracy serves to overthrow the last strongholds of pre-capitalist privilege and allow free play for the forces of capitalism, while at the same time covering the reality of the "bourgeois dictatorship" with an appearance of popular consent which is rendered unreal by the capitalist control of the social structure. Political democracy cannot

* In this chapter the attempt is made to summarize as briefly as possible the Communist theory which forms the basis of the Third International. For the criticisms of this theory the reader should study the Memorandum of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, printed on p. 57.

affect the reality of social exploitation because (a) whatever party comes to power must keep the machinery going—“The King’s Government must be carried on,” (b) no party that is fundamentally revolutionary can come to power in face of the capitalist control of all the vehicles of political life and thought; the revolutionary socialist must either remain in a permanent minority or else compromise and dilute his programme and become “practical” in order to obtain power. The main strength of this argument lies in its appeal to the familiar facts of the present régime, and its insistence that the existing abuse of the Parliamentary system is not accidental—“the wickedness of Mr. Lloyd George”—but inherent. The case of the communist is strengthened by his claim that the only suggested remedy of the political democrat is propaganda and education, the main organs of which are admittedly in the hands of the capitalist.

(2) The Theory of the Breakdown of the Capitalist State and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Since the conception of securing a majority of socialists in a capitalist country represents a failure to appreciate the character of capitalist society, what is the method of the communist? It is generally said that the communist stands for action by a “militant minority.” This would seem to be a misapprehension based on the greater familiarity in this country with the doctrines of the French syndicalists. The doctrine of the “militant minority” is really a Blanquist notion opposed by communism. The communist rejects equally the “futility of the minority” and the “illusion of the majority.” In point of fact he does not think in terms of “minority” and “majority” at all, which he would regard as meaningless and archaic categories like the old-fashioned classification of states into the rule of “the one,” “the few” and “the many.” He thinks in terms of classes, and would only point out incidentally that the proletariat is the majority.

To what, then, does the communist look for the overthrow of capitalism since he rejects the action of either a minority or a majority political party? The answer is that he looks to capitalism itself, and the development of the proletariat which it creates within it. The capitalist state,

for all its apparent strength, is unstable because (a) the capitalist economy upon which it is based fails increasingly to meet the needs of production and develops crises, wars and disturbances on a constantly enlarging scale; (b) the exploited masses become increasingly conscious and active as a class, the more capitalism develops, and finally are driven under stress of the general crisis that arises to rebel against the whole régime and substitute their own power. It is here that the function of the communist arises. The workers as a whole rebel against a régime of which they feel the pricks, without any pre-conceived doctrinaire theory. It is the business of the communist to guide their movement into its realization in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In so far as the rising is merely a blind and instinctive movement, it means only chaos and disorder, and not revolution. This is the moment of danger, when the capitalist economy is collapsing and the workers are in open revolt, in which the whole order of civilization is in danger of destruction unless the necessary change which the economic conditions demand is carried out immediately, decisively and fundamentally. Attempts at compromise only prolong the struggle and the confusion: the policies of the two classes are diametrically opposed in every sphere, and one or the other system must in practice prevail. This is the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat which implies (a) the setting up of working-class institutions as the ruling power; (b) the principle of all rights to the workers and no rights to any but workers; (c) the execution of this system to the exclusion of any conceptions of "liberty" which militate against it and therefore represent capitalist interests. Against the "ideologies" of "liberty," "democracy," "individual rights," etc., which have always formed the historical cover of capitalist activity and can only mean, so long as capitalism lasts, the free rule of capital, must be set the concrete principle of the proletarian state as the social first principle from which all others derive. Nevertheless the dictatorship of the proletariat has this difference from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that, while the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is designed to maintain the class structure of society, the dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily involves the abolition of class division and consequently its own abolition.

(3) **The Theory of the Transference from the Proletarian State to Communist Society.**

One of the most frequent criticisms against the Communist is that he dreams of a "catastrophic" revolution by which Socialism may be realized overnight; and it is again and again pointed out that the building up of a whole new social order must of necessity be laborious and prolonged. This criticism is, however, probably based on a misconception. As a matter of fact the communist would be the first to agree upon the point, and the real issue is entirely different. What the communist insists on is that the transference of power must take place first before the socialist reconstruction can begin, or the reconstruction will not be socialist. The transference of power must be a definite act because in practice one or the other class must rule the policy of the State: but this transference of power is only the political revolution, and the real work of the building up of a communist society only then begins. But if the work of the social change is attempted and begun while the power is still in capitalist hands, then all the specific efforts made only work out in an entirely different direction; and the communist would call to mind socialist criticisms of the Liberal Social Legislation of 1906-14.

The proletarian State, therefore, as exemplified in Soviet Russia is not intended by the communist to represent a socialist society or in any sense a final form of organization. It is at its best only a State in which the working class is at last free to carry out the task of proletarian social reconstruction. It is still a State, that is, an organ of class-rule; and in reality it represents the embattled organization of the workers to carry out the fight against capitalism, first in the actual field of war against the united armies of capitalism, and then in the field of industry—just as Russia is hurrying now after defeating her internal and external foes to the task of industrial reconstruction—to defeat capitalism there, too, and establish a system of communist production and social organization. The task is a long one; and so long as that task remains and the struggle with capitalism continues, the State, as the organ of power and the instrument of that struggle, continues in being, but when the struggle is completed and class-divisions and conflicts have given way to a process of communist produc-

tion and distribution, the need for the State as an organ of power disappears, the State "withers away," and the "government of men" gives place to the "administration of things." The Soviets, having passed successively through the phases of weapons of the revolution and organs of government, become simply co-operative bodies in the economic sphere. This is the transference from the proletarian State to communist society, which forms the final stage in communist theory.

THE PROPOSED LEFT WING CONFERENCE.

THE Third International had been constituted in March, 1919. The subsequent period saw a series of decisions on the part of different parties in various countries which led to a position of crisis in the whole international Socialist movement. Various parties and groups which had not been present at the Moscow Congress declared their adhesion to the Third International; and others which had been represented, but without a formal previous decision, ratified their adhesion. In addition other parties belonging to the Second came to special decisions in favour of approaches to the Third or of secession from the Second. The twelve months following on the Moscow Congress thus represent a kind of developing invasion on the part of the Third International, with occasional set-backs. The general course of this advancing movement may be rapidly outlined.

The Party Decisions : March, 1919, to March, 1920.

In the following list the series of party decisions is set out in order. It should be observed that this list covers only those decisions where a change of policy has been adopted, and would therefore be misleading if taken as an indication of the general policy and tendency of the international socialist movement as a whole. Many parties, such as the British, Belgian, Dutch, Swedish, Argentine, German Majority, etc., remain convinced adherents of the Second, and therefore no question of a decision on their part arises.

- 1919.
- | | |
|-------|--|
| March | The Italian Socialist Party decided to affiliate to the Third by an executive vote of 10 to 3. |
| April | The French Socialist Party voted at their Easter Congress : 270 for the Third, 757 for the Second without reservation, 894 for remaining in the Second, but aiming at a united revolutionary international to include the elements of the Third. |
| May | The Norwegian Labour Party decided on affiliation to the Third. The Bulgarian " Narrow " Social Democrats ratified their adhesion to the Third, and renamed themselves Communist Party. |

1919.

June

The Greek Socialist Labour Party decided to secede from the Second, and instructed their Central Committee to take steps to enter the Third.

The Swedish Left Socialist Party ratified their adhesion to the Third.

The Hungarian Communist Party combined with the Social Democrats and affiliated to the Third.

The Dutch Social Democratic Party renamed itself Communist and joined the Third.

August

The Swiss Social Democratic Party voted 459 to 1 for seceding from the Second and 318 to 117 in favour of joining the Third, subject to a referendum.

The Hungarian Social Democrats separated from the Communists and re-entered the Second.

Sept.

The Swiss Social Democratic referendum resulted in a majority against joining the Third of 14,384 to 8,599.

The American Socialist Party decided to hold a referendum on joining the Third or remaining outside either International.

Oct.

The British Socialist Party decided to join the Third by a vote of 98 branches to 4.

The Italian Syndicalist Union joined the Third.

The Austrian Social Democratic Congress expressed dissatisfaction with either International, but decided to send delegates to Geneva.

Dec.

The German Independent Socialist Party decided to secede from the Second and approach other revolutionary parties with a view to forming a united International with the Third.

The Spanish General Confederation of Labour joined the Third.

The Spanish Socialist Party voted 14,010 in favour of sending delegates to Geneva with instructions to demand the purification of the Second and unity with the Third, against 12,497 for immediate adhesion to the Third.

The Acting Committee of the Berne International postponed the Geneva Congress from February to July.

1920.

Jan.

The American Socialist Party referendum ended in favour of joining the Third.

The Scottish Divisional Conference of the I.L.P. voted in favour of affiliation to the Third by 158 to 28.

Mar.

The French Socialist Party Congress decided to secede from the Second by 4,330 votes to 337, and passed a motion in favour of the Reconstruction of a revolutionary International by 3,031 votes against 1,621 for immediate adhesion to the Third.

The Centre Movement.

It will be seen that in this Leftward movement of the various Socialist groups two sections revealed themselves. One section definitely adopted the Communist platform and

entered the Communist International. This section contained the Italians and some smaller groups. The other section was much larger and less definite; and the movement of this larger group, containing several of the leading parties, became known in some quarters as the movement towards a Fourth International.* This section was quite definitely dissatisfied with the Second International as it was being reconstituted, but was not prepared to be tied down to the Communist doctrine or enter the Third International without further parley. It looked with suspicion on the "dictatorship of Moscow" and regarded the existing Third as a premature and unrepresentative organization. What it desired was a united International on a revolutionary basis. The nature of this basis was not clear; the German Independents put forward the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system; the French Socialists demanded the class struggle and no coalition with the bourgeoisie; the British Independent Labour Party, which was officially anti-communist, favoured freedom of action for each party. The conception of the nature and purpose of the new grouping was equally varied; the German Independents were quite prepared and resolved to enter the Third, but wished to gather round them sufficient parties in doing so to be able to enter as equals and not as if in a surrender; the French Socialists, as led by Longuet, were less concerned with the principles of the Third than with the establishment of a united International of all the revolutionary elements and held the conception of entering the Third in a body as a means to this end; the British Independent Labour Party did not so much put forward the viewpoint of entering the Third—the National Administrative Council had just issued a memorandum against Communism—but were rather concerned with a coming together of Leftward elements towards a reuniting of the International. What was in common between these different elements was that all these bodies, the German Independent Socialists, the French Socialists, the British Independent Labour Party, and also the Swiss, Spanish, Austrian and American Socialists, were all dissatisfied with either

* The title is not strictly accurate as a description of what was intended to be a uniting movement, but it has been frequently used in this connection, both by supporters of the proposal, such as Ledebour, and by its opponents.

of the existing Internationals and wished for a united revolutionary International to replace both the Second and the Third.

The Negotiations for a Left Wing Conference.

The first proposal of a Conference of these Leftward bodies to afford a fresh start for the International after what were felt to be the false starts of Berne and Moscow was put forward by various groups among the Swiss Socialists in the autumn of 1919. Previously to that several parties, including the Swiss and the American, had taken a position of aloofness from either of the existing Internationals; and the Austrian Socialists at their Conference in October had expressed dissatisfaction with either International and the desire for a reconstituted body.

The real beginning of the new Movement, however, came with the decision of the German Independent Socialist Congress at Leipzig in December. They decided to invite the other left wing parties to form a bloc with a view to joining up with the Third International. In January, 1920, an invitation went out from the German Independents in pursuance of the decision of the Congress. The invitation was generally approved in principle by the parties concerned; but doubts were expressed whether Germany would be the best meeting place, and it was suggested that the convening of the Conference should be in the hands of the Swiss. Accordingly in January an informal meeting was held in Switzerland of Frossard, secretary of the French party, and Crispian, Chairman of the German Independents, together with Robert Grimm, who had been Chairman of the Zimmerwald organization, for the Swiss. At this conference, according to Frossard's report, general agreement was reached, and the scheme was well under way. On February 12th, the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party addressed a letter to the Swiss Socialist Party, of which copies were sent to the French, Italian, Spanish, Austrian, American and German Independent Parties, formally asking the Swiss to convene a Conference of the character proposed with a view to helping to "bring into existence one all-inclusive International, allowing the fullest autonomy and freedom of action and liberty of tactics to each party connected with it."

Important support was given to the proposal by the French

Socialist Party Congress at Strasbourg on February 25th to March 1st. The international issue formed the dominating question of the Congress, and the advocates of both the Second and the Third were defeated. The resolution that was passed was a resolution for the "Reconstruction of the International" proposed by Longuet, Cachin, Frossard and others.* By this resolution the French Party welcomed the German Independents' proposals and resolved to request the Swiss Party "to summon to a preliminary conference delegates from the parties which are resolved to maintain their policy on the basis of the traditional principles of Socialism in order to enter into negotiations with the parties constituting the Third International."

The Attitude of the Third International.

The attitude of the Third International towards the proposed new grouping was not immediately made manifest, but intimations of hostility soon began to appear. The intention of Longuet had been, according to his own declaration, to effect a united entry of Left Parties into the Third in order to change its character and control. The Third, however, according to all its programme so far, was only prepared to receive organizations which would genuinely accept its communist programme. A manifesto appeared from Zinoviev, President of the Third International, addressed to the French Socialists with reference to the Strasbourg Congress, which, while welcoming the proposal to disaffiliate from the Second, called on all the communist elements in France to form themselves in a single definitely communist organization.† A fuller manifesto appeared from the newly-established West European Secretariat of the Third International.‡ The genuineness and authority of this manifesto is not yet certain; as the document was only published in the German Majority Socialist organ *Vor-*

* Appendix C2, page 85.

† Appendix C3, page 89.

‡ The West European Secretariat of the Third International was established at a Conference in December, 1919, at which delegates were present from parties in Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, Rumania, and Great Britain. At a further Conference at Amsterdam in February, 1920, which was attended by delegates from Holland, Germany, Russia, Hungary, Belgium, Great Britain and America, it was decided to mark off this Secretariat as a Central European Secretariat, and set up a new West European Secretariat at Amsterdam. There is also a South European Bureau of the Third International.

wärts from its Basel correspondent, and the authority of the West European Secretariat is not final. The text is not altogether coherent. But if genuine, the manifesto represents a definite refusal on the part of the Third International to negotiate with reformist parties such as the Austrian, Swedish, Dutch, the British I.L.P. or the French Socialists under their existing leadership; consideration is only to be given to the Swiss Socialists, to the German Independents, and to the French Socialists if the revolutionaries gain control.

The position became clearer by the time of the French Strasbourg Congress. At this Congress Longuet declared that he had just received from the official bureau of the Third International at Christiania a telegram summarizing Lenin's reply to the "Reconstruction" proposals which Longuet was sponsoring. In this letter, which was published in *The Communist International*, Lenin condemned the "Reconstructors" and added that entry into the Third International was dependent on full recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and expulsion from the party of Right Wing Socialists like Thomas, Sembat and Bracke.

In confirmation of this a letter was received by the French Socialists from Serrati on behalf of the Italian Socialist Party which declared that the Italian Socialist Party had decided not to take part in the proposed conference. On the other hand it was stated at the Strasbourg Congress that Radek, the well-known communist and a member of the Executive of the Communist International, had promised to use his influence in favour of the proposal. It would therefore appear that the situation is not yet settled at the time of writing, but that, so far as indications go at present, the Third International is likely to be hostile to the whole proposal. In that case the proposed Conference would in point of fact be a Centre Conference, and the new grouping, if it did not enter simply into the Third, would have to found a new and additional International, which might as a matter of fact take the form of a reconstitution of the Second International.

THE POSITION OF THE NATIONAL PARTIES

IN a large number of countries the division between the two Internationals is straightforward. Either the main Socialist Party is affiliated to the Second and a communist group to the Third, or the main Party to the Third and a reformist group to the Second. But in certain countries there have developed special situations or a special alignment of forces which need fuller statement. These special developments may be briefly summarized under the various countries.

Great Britain.—There is no single Communist Party in Great Britain. A number of different organizations take their stand on the basis of the Third International: these include (1) the British Socialist Party, (2) the Socialist Labour Party, (3) the Workers' Socialist Federation, (4) the South Wales Socialist Society. Negotiations have taken place for unifying these into a single Communist Party, but so far without effect. In addition to these societies, the Workers' Committee movement has recently affiliated to the Third.

On the other side the affiliated bodies to the Second International are constituted, on the basis of the Berne representation, in the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. Previous representation had been on the basis of separate representation of the Labour Party and of the Socialist Societies (the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society and the British Socialist Party). At the Southport Conference of the Labour Party in June, 1919, it was decided to revert to the practice of separate representation of the Socialist Societies. The present affiliation, therefore, consists of the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society and the National Socialist Party.

Two of the Socialist Societies occupy a special position. The British Socialist Party has withdrawn from the Second

to join the Third, but remains inside the Labour Party, which is affiliated to the Second. The Independent Labour Party is at present affiliated to the Second, but a strong movement towards the Third has developed among the rank and file, and the Party is at present co-operating in the movement for a Left Wing Conference.

France.—Since the unification of 1906, the French Socialist Party has contained in one organization all the different Socialist tendencies; and the Communists form, not a separate party (apart from the small group led by Péricat), but a militant minority within the general party. Three main sections have developed over the question of the International, and these sections follow essentially the same broad lines of division that developed over the war. The Right Wing, led by Renaudel, which supported the war and constituted the majority until 1918, stood for the Second International; the Left Wing and the Centre, under Longuet and Cachin, which supported independent Socialist action during the war and constituted the minority section until, in July, 1918, it became the majority and took over the leadership of the Party, stood for the reconciliation of the Internationals on a revolutionary basis; the extreme Left under Loriot, which opposed the war and participated in the Zimmerwald movement, stood for the Third International. At the 1919 National Congress in Easter a vote was taken on the question of the Internationals, and revealed the Party in a half-way position. 270 votes were given for joining the Third; 757 for remaining in the Second without qualification; the majority resolution, which received 894 votes, declared for adherence at present to the Second, while maintaining fraternal relations, as far as material circumstances permit, with the Third, and advocating the immediate purification of the Second and the re-establishment in full vigour of the principles of the class struggle and unrelenting opposition to the bourgeois parties and governments.

By the 1920 Congress at Strasbourg in February conditions had developed very much further. The Left Wing under Loriot had formed a "Committee for the Third International," which had carried on a vigorous propaganda; while the Centre had finally thrown over hopes of the Second International and had formed a "Committee for the Reconstruction of the International" which produced an elaborate

resolution demanding secession from the Second and the formation of a new, united and revolutionary International. This resolution,* signed among others by Longuet, Cachin, Mayeras, Faure and Frossard, declared the attempted revival of the Second International at Berne a failure, and refused to continue in an International where the Germans were only represented by the Majority Socialists, the accomplices of Kaiserdom and counter-revolution. It expressed a wish to enter into relations with the Third, while at the same time keeping in contact with the working-class movements of England and America; and accordingly it welcomed the proposal of the German Independents to hold a new general Conference, and invited the Swiss Party to organize such a Conference.

In the voting at the Strasbourg Congress the supporters of the Second International were heavily defeated. Thereon Renaudel and the Right Wing joined forces with Longuet in supporting the "Reconstruction" resolution, only with an amendment, moved by Léon Blum, which suppressed the clauses condemning socialist participation in the government during the war. The final voting was as follows:—

| | |
|---|-------|
| (i) For seceding from the Second International ... | 4,330 |
| Against | 337 |
| (ii) For the "Reconstruction" resolution | 2,299 |
| For the "Reconstruction" resolution with the Blum Amendment | 732 |
| Total for the "Reconstruction" resolution ... | 3,031 |
| For immediate adhesion to the Third Inter- national | 1,621 |

Germany.—The Official Social Democratic Party, or Majority Socialists, are affiliated to the Second International.

The Communist Party or Parties, founded in December, 1918, out of the pre-revolutionary Spartacist Group, are affiliated to the Third International. A split developed in the Congress of October, 1919, over the question of the parliamentary weapon and action within the existing trade unions. The Central Committee or Majority, which obtained 31 votes at the October Congress, was in favour of such action. The Opposition, which obtained 18 votes, was against participation in elections, and stood for the One

* Appendix C2, page 85.

Big Union type of industrial organization. Both groups remain in contact with the Third International.

The Independent Socialist Party, which was founded in 1917 out of the elements opposed to the war policy of the Majority Socialists, was affiliated to the Second International until December, 1918. The Party contained varying strands of opinion from the supporters of a full Soviet system to constitutionalists like Bernstein and Kautsky. Finally, at the Leipzig Conference in December, 1918, the Left Wing gained general control, and the Party declared for a programme based on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system. Three resolutions were put forward on the question of the International. The Right Wing motion, put forward by Hilferding, declared dissatisfaction with either of the existing Internationals, and demanded a united revolutionary International on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The extreme Left motion of Stoecker demanded immediate adherence to the Third. The Left and Centre motion of Ledebour demanded immediate rupture with the Second, and an approach to all revolutionary elements inside or outside the Third. In the end a uniting resolution was drawn up declaring agreement in principle with the Third, and proposing immediate rupture with the Second, and approaches to the other revolutionary parties with a view to joining up with the Third and forming a revolutionary proletarian International. To this the Conference added the amendment that "If the Parties of the other countries should not be willing to enter into the Moscow International with us, the adherence must be undertaken by the German Independent Socialist Party alone." The final voting resulted as follows :

| | | | |
|---|-----|---------|-----|
| For the Stoecker motion | 114 | Against | 169 |
| For the unity resolution and amendment* | 227 | „ | 54 |

Italy.—The Official Socialist Party of Italy refused to take part in the Berne Conference and only sent representatives to report proceedings. As soon as the proposed formation of the Third International was announced, the Executive decided to affiliate by a vote of 10 to 3. The resolution deciding on affiliation ran in its essential parts as follows: "Considering that the International Socialist Bureau is henceforth an instrument of the war policy of the

* Appendix C2, page 84.

pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie, which aims at the mystification of the proletariat, considering that all the efforts towards reawakening the energy of the Socialist proletariat by the action of the International Socialist Bureau, now a hostage of the Imperialist bourgeoisie of the Entente, have been vain; that the alliance constituted at Berne between the Social-patriotic tendencies of Entente Imperialism and that of the Central Empires reveals the reactionary character of all the factions who have been faithless to the agreements arrived at by the International against the capitalist bourgeoisie who hurled the peoples into the war; considering that, as a consequence, it is not possible to conceive of a co-existence in one organization of those who were true to the principles of the International and of those who betrayed it and still oppose the realization of Socialism; considering that the Bureau, instead of providing, as soon as the world conflagration was over, for the immediate convocation of the parties and organizations which adhered to it, lent itself to making a success of the Berne Conference, which was only the caricature of an International Socialist Conference; the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party decides to secede from the International Socialist Bureau and to adhere to and work for the constitution of the Socialist revolutionary International on the basis and the principles laid down by the Russian Communist comrades for the holding of an International Socialist Conference as decided upon at Moscow in January last; they decide further to pursue an active policy towards getting Socialists of all countries who have remained true to the International to adhere to this conception. . . .”

The affiliation to the Third was ratified at the Bologna Congress in October without opposition.

The Italian Socialist Union which was formed during the war out of the Reformist Socialists and other Socialists supporting the war, is affiliated to the Second International.

Spain.—The Spanish Socialist Party, which, like the French, unites all Groups, is at present conditionally affiliated to the Second International. At the special Madrid Congress held in December, 1919, two motions were put forward. One declared for immediate admission to the Third. The other, put forward in the name of Fabra Ribas and Perez Solis, declared that, in view of the fact that the

French and English parties still remained in the Second, the Party should continue for the moment in the Second and send delegates to the Geneva Congress with instructions to demand (1) action against the individuals and sections who had failed in their duty to international Socialism; (2) steps to achieve unity between the elements of the Second and the Third. To this Resolution the Conference added the amendment that if the Geneva Congress should fail to make a real and sincere effort to achieve the unification of the Socialist forces on the basis of the class war, the Party should give its adhesion to the Third International. With this amendment the Ribas-Solis resolution was carried by 14,010 votes to 12,497 for immediate adhesion to the Third.

Switzerland.—The Swiss Social Democratic Party, which, like the Italian, had taken part in the Zimmerwaldian movement, refused, like the Italian, to take part in the Berne Conference. A vote was taken on participation in the Berne Conference, and showed a majority of 238 to 147 against taking part. At the August Congress a resolution to secede from the Second was carried by 459 votes to 1, and a further resolution in favour of adhesion to the Third was carried by 378 votes to 147. It was decided to put the question to a referendum, and the result showed 14,364 votes to 8,599 against joining the Third. The Swiss Party is thus at present, like the German Independents, outside either International.

United States.—The International division has produced a considerable break-up in the American Socialist movement. Before the war there were two main Socialist organizations in America. The Socialist Labour Party, founded in 1874, but first developing its modern character under the leadership of De Leon towards 1895, represented a strict Marxian position. The Socialist Party, founded in 1904, represented an attempt at a less rigid and uncompromising organization.

The Socialist Labour Party stands on the position of the Third International, although it is not certain whether the Party is actually affiliated.

The Socialist Party has suffered a series of divisions. When the war came the Socialist Party took up the anti-war position both before and after American intervention, and a minority broke away to found the Social Democratic League. The Socialist Party appointed delegates to the

Berne Conference with instructions to participate only on condition that (1) the Conference took up the position of the Party on war and imperialism; (2) the Russian comrades were included, failing which they were to "withdraw with any other elements favouring a genuine working-class International." The delegates did not receive passports in time to attend the Conference; but when the news of the proceedings of the Berne Conference came through they disclaimed connection with it and took no part in the further meetings.

Meanwhile a Left Wing movement developed within the Party, which demanded the adoption of a communist basis and affiliation to the Third International. The Methods of the Left Wing movement led to violent controversy within the Party, the suspension by the Executive of many members and sections, and the final break-away of some two-thirds of the membership to form the Communist Party and the Communist Labour Party, both affiliated to the Third International.

The remaining membership of the Socialist Party decided to take a referendum on the question of affiliation to the Third International or remaining outside either. The final results of the referendum went in favour of affiliation by 3,475 to 1,444. The motion in favour of affiliating, however, was qualified by several reservations and stated only that the Party should take its stand with the Third International "not so much because it supports the 'Moscow' programme and methods, but because (a) 'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging world imperialism, (b) 'Moscow' is threatened by the combined capitalist Powers of the world simply because it is proletarian, (c) under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist hopes for many years to come." It is consequently doubtful how far this affiliation is likely to be accepted by the Third International.

APPENDIX A.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

1. List of Affiliated Organizations.

(This list has been communicated by the International Socialist Bureau as containing the latest information in their possession up to February, 1920, and is reproduced with one or two subsequent corrections. It is, of course, provisional and subject to further corrections).

| | | |
|------------------|-----|---|
| Argentina | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Armenia | ... | Armenian Revolutionary Federation "Dashnaktzoutioun." |
| Australia | ... | Labour Party. |
| Austria | ... | Social Democratic Labour Party. |
| Azerbaijan | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| " | | Socialist Revolutionary Party. |
| Belgium | ... | Labour Party. |
| Bulgaria | ... | United Social Democratic Labour Party ("Broad" Socialists). |
| Chile | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Corea | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Czecho-Slovakia | | Czech Social Democratic Labour Party. |
| " | | German Social Democratic Labour Party in Czecho-Slovakia |
| Denmark | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Estonia | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Finland | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Georgia | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| | | Social Democratic Party ("Majority" Socialists). |
| Great Britain... | | Labour Party. |
| " | | Independent Labour Party. |
| " | | Fabian Society. |
| " | | National Socialist Party. |
| Holland | ... | Social Democratic Labour Party. |
| Hungary | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Italy | ... | Italian Socialist Union. |
| Jugoslavia | ... | South Slav Social Democratic Party. |
| " | | Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia |
| Lettland | ... | Social Democratic Labour Party. |

| | | |
|------------|-----|---|
| Lithuania | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Luxembourg | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Palestine | ... | Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation Poalé-Zion. |
| Poland | ... | Socialist Party. Jewish Workers' Bund of Poland. |
| Portugal | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Roumania | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| Russia | ... | Socialist Revolutionary Party. Social Democratic Labour Party ("Menshevik"). |
| " | " | Jewish Workers' Bund of Russia. |
| Spain | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Sweden | ... | Social Democratic Labour Party. |
| Ukraine | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| " | " | Socialist Revolutionary Party. |

2. Provisional Constitution of the Second International.

(This provisional constitution, drafted by the Acting Committee, was approved by the Lucerne Conference. The Conference decided that it should be put in force provisionally and submitted to the Geneva Congress for final sanction).

The International is based on the following principles:—

1. The political and economic organization of the working class for the purpose of abolishing the capitalist form of society and achieving complete freedom for humanity through the conquest of political power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange, that is to say, by the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society.
2. The international union and action of the workers in the struggle against jingoism and imperialism and for the simultaneous suppression of militarism and armaments, with the object of bringing about a real League of Nations, including all peoples master of their own destiny, and maintaining world peace.
3. The representation and defence of the interests of oppressed peoples and subject races.

These principles find three forms of expression in the working-class movement, each at different stages of development, but each necessary: the political, the industrial, and the co-operative. These must, as autonomous bodies, continue to strengthen their national influence and their international unity, and at the same time, as their ultimate aims are common, and as they are aspects of one great world movement, they should

take every opportunity for joint action in an internationalist and revolutionary spirit for the maintenance of the world's peace.

1.—The International is a federation of national sections which include all the Labour and Socialist organizations of any state or nationality whose right to autonomy or independence has been recognized by the Congresses of the International, and which accept the principles contained in the preamble.

2.—The permanent organs of the International are :—

- (a) The Congress.
- (b) The International Council.
- (c) The Executive Committee.
- (d) The Secretariat.

REPRESENTATION OF AND WITHIN NATIONAL SECTIONS.

3.—The national sections themselves decide, according to the Rules of the International, how they shall be represented in the various organs of the International.

They will provide for the equitable representation of minorities. Any party or organization, whether affiliated or not, may appeal from the decision of a national section to the International Council, whose decisions shall be final.

THE CONGRESS.

4.—(a) The Congress shall be the supreme authority of the International.

It shall establish principles for the guidance of the Executive and Council of the International and its affiliated parties and organizations.

An affiliated organization may notify the Executive Committee of any lapse from the principles of which another organization may be guilty. The Executive Committee will make inquiry and refer the result to the next Congress or to a Congress which may be sitting at the time.

(b) The Congress shall be composed of the delegates of the National Sections.

Each affiliated National Section may send to a Congress six delegates or a number of delegates equal to twice the number of votes which have been assigned to it for the time being by the International Council.

A section cannot be represented at a Congress by a member or members of another section.

(c) The Congress shall meet regularly once every two years, and be convened by the Executive Committee, in agreement with the International Council.

The Executive Committee may convene an Extraordinary

Congress at any time, and is obliged to do so on a request made by sections carrying in the aggregate at least one-third of the votes represented in the International.

A Biennial Congress shall be held in August, 1921.

- (d) Invitations to a Congress shall be sent by the Secretary of the International to the Secretaries of the affiliated National Sections, who shall be responsible for the distribution of the invitations in their respective countries.

The names of the delegates to a Biennial Congress together with the delegation fees should be in the possession of the Secretary of the International at least one month before the Congress meets. Their credentials will be examined by the International Council, which shall meet for this purpose on the eve of the Congress and report on them.

- (e) Each National Section or the parties which constitute a National Section affiliated to the International are obliged to prepare a Report to each Biennial Congress on their activities since the previous Congress, and send it to the Secretary so as to reach him not later than the 1st June in the year in which the Biennial Congress meets.

These reports shall be published by the International in French, German and English, and be circulated at the Congress.

A Report of the proceedings of each Congress shall be published in French, German and English.

- (f) Notices of resolutions for the Biennial Congress and nominations for the President, Treasurer, Secretary and the Executive shall reach the Secretary not later than February 15th in the year of the Congress.

- (g) The agenda of the Congress shall be prepared by the International Council from the proposals made by the National Sections, and be issued forthwith to the National Sections.

Further questions shall be placed on the Agenda only in agreement with the International Council or by the decision of the Congress itself.

- (h) The International Council may entrust the examination of any question on the agenda to a special Commission, whose report shall be distributed among the National Sections in good time before the Congress.

The number of Committees which a Congress may appoint shall not exceed six.

- (i) An affiliated National Section in respect of which affiliation fees have not been paid up to and including the preceding financial year, shall not be admitted to a Biennial Congress.

THE TWO INTERNATIONALS

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

- 5.—(a) The International Council continues the work of the Congress.

It shall be composed of two delegates from each National Section, appointed by the National Sections themselves, and the members of the Executive Committee.

- (b) It shall meet at least twice in the interval between two Biennial Congresses, the first time in April, that is to say, eight months after a Congress, and the second time four months before the following Congress. But in the transition period preceding the Congress of August, 1921, the Council shall meet in August, 1920, and April, 1921.
- (c) Meetings of the Council shall be convened by the Secretary, with the consent of the Executive Committee.

Any National Section may propose questions for discussion by the Council.

- (d) Notices of proposals to be placed before the Council shall reach the Secretary not later than six weeks preceding the date for which the Council has been convened.

Other questions may only be placed on the Agenda with the consent of the Executive Committee or the Council itself.

- (e) Four weeks before the Council meets the Secretary shall send the Agenda to the Secretaries of the National Sections.
- (f) The expenses of a member in attending meetings of the Council shall be met out of a common fund according to rules made by the International Council.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

- 6.—(a) The Executive Committee shall be the administrative authority of the International, subject to the control and direction of the Council and Congress.

- (b) It shall be composed of the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the International and six other members.

- (c) It shall meet at least once every three months and shall report to the Council and Congress.

- (d) The travelling expenses of members of the Executive Committee shall be defrayed out of the funds of the International according to rules made by the Council.

- (e) The SECRETARY is the principal administrative officer of the International. He shall be a full time officer at a salary to be fixed by the International Council. He appoints his own staff. In a case of "force majeure" he may supersede the Executive in the execution of the resolutions of the Congress.

He may, with the consent of the Executive, convene an administrative meeting of some, or all, of the national secretaries.

- (f) The **TREASURER** is the financial officer of the International. He shall present a statement of Income and Expenditure to each Biennial Congress.
- (g) The **PRESIDENT** presides over the meetings of the Executive and the Council and at the opening session of the Congress.
- (h) The **PRESIDENT**, **SECRETARY**, and **TREASURER** and the six other members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Council meeting held during Congress. They may be chosen from any of the national sections.

VOTING.

7.—Voting at meetings of the Congress and Council shall be by hand, but if three sections demand it, voting shall take place by National Sections according to a scale of votes ranging from 1 to 30 for a section.

This scale shall be drawn up and periodically revised by the International Council. It shall have regard to:—

- (a) The number of paying members in relation to the number of inhabitants;
- (b) The importance of the Nationality;
- (c) The strength of the trades union, co-operative and political organizations;
- (d) The political power of the Socialist or Labour Party or Parties.

The allotment of votes within each section shall be determined by the sections themselves, but if there is disagreement, the International Council, whose decision shall be final, shall determine the allocation of the votes.

PARLIAMENTARY MEETINGS.

8.—The Executive Committee may convene meetings of delegations or parliamentary groups. The Secretary shall act as inter-Parliamentary Secretary.

PRESS.

9.—The Secretary shall establish in the Office of the International a Press Bureau which shall deal, especially, with the organization and distribution of news for the Labour and Socialist Press. It will also publish a Bulletin, in three languages, which shall appear at least once every three months, and shall distribute among the National Sections all the important documents of the affiliated organizations and of the Parliamentary groups.

Each National Section for its part shall undertake to publish at

least every two months a Bulletin which will keep the organizations informed of events in the respective countries.

PERMANENT DELEGATES.

10.—The organizations situated at a great distance from the Office of the International may appoint permanent delegates, who should be consulted by the Executive Committee and the Secretary on all questions of interest to these organizations.

11.—The International Council shall have the right of appointing permanent delegates, who shall take part, in a consultative capacity, in the meetings of the Councils or central Committees of the national sections. These delegates should be members belonging to other national organizations than those to which they are accredited.

FINANCE.

12.—The financial year of the International shall end on December 31st.

Each National Section affiliated to the International shall contribute annually to the funds of the International not less than £20 for each vote allotted to the section by the Council. These affiliation fees shall become payable on January 1st each year.

In order to meet the expense of organization and the publication of the Report of proceedings, a Congress delegation fee of £2 shall be paid in respect of each delegate to a Congress by the National Section which he represents.

3. Resolutions on Democracy and Dictatorship drawn up at the Berne Conference.

(a) The Resolution of the Commission.

The Conference hails the great political revolutions which, in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, have destroyed the old régimes of imperialism and militarism and overthrown their Governments.

The Conference urges the workers and Socialists of these countries to develop democratic and republican institutions which will enable them to bring about the great Socialist transformation. In these momentous times, when the problem of the Socialist reconstruction of the world is more than ever before a burning question, the working classes should make up their minds, unanimously and unmistakably, about the method of their emancipation.

In full agreement with all previous Congresses of the International, the Berne Conference firmly adheres to the principles

of Democracy. A reorganized society more and more permeated with Socialism, cannot be realized, much less permanently established, unless it rests upon triumphs of Democracy and is rooted in the principles of liberty.

Those institutions which constitute Democracy—freedom of speech and of the Press, the right of assembly, universal suffrage, a government responsible to Parliament, with arrangements guaranteeing popular co-operation and respect for the wishes of the people, the right of association, etc.—these also provide the working classes with the means of carrying on the class struggle.

Owing to certain recent events, the Conference desires to make absolutely clear the constructive character of the Socialist programme. True socialization implies methodical development in the different branches of economic activity under the control of the democracy. The arbitrary taking over of a few concerns by small groups of workers is not Socialism, it is merely Capitalism with numerous shareholders.

Since, in the opinion of the Conference, effective socialist development is only possible under democratic law, it is essential to eliminate at once any method of socialization which has no prospect of gaining the support of the majority of the people.

A dictatorship of this character would be all the more dangerous if it were based upon the support of only one section of the working class. The inevitable consequence of such a régime would be the paralysis of working-class strength through fratricidal war. The inevitable end would be the dictatorship of reaction.

The Russian delegates have proposed that a commission composed of representatives of all Socialist tendencies should be appointed by the Conference to visit Russia for the purpose of making an impartial report to the International on the political and economic situation there. The Conference fully realizes the difficulties involved in such a task; nevertheless, considering the general interest Socialists of all countries have in exact knowledge of the facts bearing on these popular upheavals, the Conference authorizes the Permanent Commission to arrange for a delegation to be sent to Russia on this mission.

The Conference decides to put the question of Bolshevism on the agenda of the next Conference, and recommends the Permanent Commission to carry out the necessary preparatory work.

The Conference, however, desires to call immediate attention to the fact that the famine and misery which the war has brought to the whole world, and more especially to the defeated countries, was bound to lead to social disorganization.

Instead of using Bolshevism as a bogey and denouncing under this term every revolt of working people reduced to the lowest depths of despair, Governments should face their own responsibili-

ties. Counter revolutionary forces are already at work everywhere. The Conference warns those who now hold the fate of the world in their hands, against the dangers of an imperialistic policy, and of a policy of military or economic enslavement of the peoples.

It calls upon Socialists throughout the world to close their ranks, not to deliver up the peoples to international reaction, but to do their utmost to ensure that Socialism and Democracy, which are inseparable, shall triumph everywhere.

(This resolution was adopted by the delegations from Sweden, Germany, Russia, Esthonia, Letland, Georgia, Alsace, Argentine, Denmark, Bulgaria, Armenia, Hungary, Finland, Great Britain, Canada, by the French and Italian minorities, by half the delegation from German Austria, and later also by the Ukrainian delegation.)

(b) **The "Adler-Longuet" Resolution.**

The leading idea of the policy which we have resolutely and tirelessly pursued throughout the whole course of the war, was the reconstitution of the international front of the conscious revolutionary proletariat. This same fundamental principle also determined our attitude towards the Berne Conference.

We maintain that this Conference runs the risk of provoking grave criticism, not because of what is contained in its resolutions, but because certain commonplace truths have been expressed too late, not during the war, but after the war is over.

On the other hand, the resolution on Democracy and Dictatorship gives cause for most serious objections. The same men who have passively or actively hindered international action for four and a half years, who have thought it their duty to abstain from any international meeting, now eagerly utilize the Conference for a course of action which will inevitably increase the difficulties of the International.

We warn the working classes against any kind of stigma which may be applied to the Russian Soviet Republic. We have not sufficient material for a judgment. One thing only we do know with certainty, that the shameful campaign of lying in which the Press and agencies of the Central Empires and the Entente have competed with each other during the war, continues unchanged to-day.

We do not wish, by passing premature judgment on political methods, to be the victims of the manœuvres and interested calumnies of bourgeois governments. To our great regret, we are unable to rely solely on the information received from those Russian delegates present at the Conference, who represent only a minority of the Russian working class. We do not cast the slightest doubt on their good faith, but we must demand that the

International remain true to its old principle of hearing both sides before coming to a decision. The Berne Conference is but a first feeble attempt at an international assembly. Whole parties, such as the Italian, Serbian, Rumanian, and Swiss, are standing aside! Others are taking part reluctantly.

We have warned you against any decision which would make the meeting of the working classes of all countries more difficult in the future. We desire to reserve free entry into the International for the Socialist and Revolutionary Parties of all countries conscious of their class interests.

The majority of the Commission have not listened to our warnings. We do not wish to be parties to any action against the International and we cannot be bound by the resolution as a whole, since certain paragraphs can be exploited by the bourgeoisie.

(This resolution was adopted by Holland, Norway, Ireland, Spain, the French majority, by half the German-Austrian delegation, and by one Greek delegate.)

(c) Memorandum of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain on Socialism and Government.

(This memorandum was prepared for submission to the Geneva Congress of the Second International in the name of the Independent Labour Party, and was published in the "Labour Leader" of December 18th, 1919.)

The political questions which Bolshevism has raised may be summarized as follows:

1. Is a revolutionary dictatorship of the Proletariat necessary as a transition from Capitalism to Socialism?
2. Is the Soviet form of Government the only form which will enable the proletariat to exercise political power?

Upon these questions the Independent Labour Party submits the following observations:

I.

The Independent Labour Party deals primarily with British political conditions whilst maintaining that the political and historical developments and genius of each country will determine the exact form which the transition will take.

THE DECLINE OF THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT.

The Party has to record that in Great Britain the authority of Parliament has seriously declined owing

(a) To the fact that the Conservative reactionaries supported the threatened rebellion in Ulster against Parliament in 1913-14.

(b) To the deterioration of politics in Great Britain under the influence of Mr. Lloyd George, as was seen at the election in December, 1918.

(c) To the predominance of the Executive, especially since the war, and the corresponding refusal of the House of Commons to discuss important questions concerning the welfare of the country.

(d) From the point of view of Democracy, the most serious result is that the House of Commons is now felt to respond too slowly to the real needs and wishes of the nation, and some of the more hasty spirits of the working class, which in its workshops and at its fireside continues to experience its economic and other grievances, are disposed to turn to "direct action" and other forms of extra-Parliamentary pressure for protection.

On these points our conclusions are :

(1) Elections as now fought give a maximum opportunity to the reaction to raise false and senseless issues, and draw the minds of the people from the real issues.

(2) Majorities are too easily secured by the manipulations of the Press, which steadily deteriorates in its honesty, and becomes more and more difficult to combat by the creation of a Press of our own. In other words, majorities are too easily made by the minorities which possess capital and hold in their possession the means by which the public mind is influenced.

(3) Even in Great Britain, in consequence, democratic government—meaning by that Parliamentary Government—is more on its trial to-day than ever it was since it was instituted.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

The conclusions, however, raise the question of what then ought to be our attitude to democracy?

Upon that, the Independent Labour Party's position is as follows :—

(1) The above conclusions prove a great weakness in democracy, and a great handicap to Socialist Parliamentary effort; but

(a) It is impossible to govern a country except by majorities, or by a continued rule of force—e.g., an autocracy, an oligarchic tyranny, or a military dictatorship.

(b) The weakness lies in the bad education of democracy and the imperfect state of Socialist propaganda.

(c) It almost disappears when real issues can be brought before the people owing to, say, high prices, the Russian intervention, etc. Thus recent by-elections show a more hopeful working of Democracy, and a consequent return to confidence in it.

(2) The weakness of the Socialist Movement cannot be made good by Revolution, which with a dictatorship may succeed for a time, but which in the end has to base itself on public acceptance.

(3) Therefore, the revealed weaknesses of democracy can be overcome only by persistent education and propaganda, and by the strenuous activities of the Socialist and Labour groups in the various Parliaments.

A revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat need not be necessary from the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, but whether it has to be resorted to or not depends solely upon the policy of the capitalists themselves and not upon the political necessities of Socialism. Socialists ought not to allow capitalist interests and designs to divert Socialist propaganda and methods. That in most politically democratic countries will only strengthen the hands of the reaction, and in countries well equipped with modern military weapons will only lead to massacre not to revolution.

II

The Soviet form of Government is not the best form for an industrial democracy, though it may be a very efficient revolutionary form.

Its claims are :

(1) That it makes political issues correspond to industrial needs ; and

(2) That it eliminates the parasitic bourgeoisie from the State.

But :

(1) It narrows political issues at the same time till they are falsified. If the Soviets are to administer in the general interests of the industrial community, they must be elected by the bodies representing that interest and not by mere trade or professional interest. Otherwise the electors vote for a man as an engineer, or a miner, etc., and he governs as a citizen. The Soviet form eludes, but does not solve the problem. The Socialist elector whose intelligence is equal to building up the Socialist State must vote as a citizen and not merely as a workman belonging to a certain trade, and with a full knowledge of all that Socialism means.

(2) The direct representation of industrial interests should be provided for by industrial bodies representative of the workshops, mines, etc., which should have a large measure of power in determining legislation, and be in the closest touch with State administration, but which should not be a basis of a political constitution.

(3) The Soviet system necessitates a method of indirect election so that the central governing authority has no direct responsibility to the people for its acts.

(4) The elimination of the bourgeois parasitic class will take place by economic means as we approach to Socialism, and it cannot be done effectually in any other way. What has happened in Russia has been done in a country where economic structure was smashed by war and by revolution, and under famine conditions, and how it would have worked under any other conditions it is impossible to say.

(5) It is short-sighted policy to follow on the lines pursued in revolutionary Russia for three main reasons:—

(a) We do not know the facts in sufficient detail.

(b) The Soviet system seems itself to be undergoing changes of some importance owing to experience in its working.

(c) The conditions under which it has been established are altogether abnormal.

On this point again the I.L.P. strives to adapt Parliamentary system to the needs of democracy, and to supplement it with what industrial organization is necessary to keep Parliament in vital touch with proletarian life.

It is necessary for the International Socialist movement when it lays down policies which have to guide it for years to come, to look further ahead than these present times which are disturbed by the after-effects of the war. During a revolution there must be a revolutionary organization, but International Socialism must not assume that such an organization should be adopted as the ordinary structure of government. Therefore, whilst it should refuse to condemn revolutionary governments for departing from the rules and policies which must characterize the working of the Socialist State, the International ought to make it clear to the whole world that Socialism under normal conditions is not to be worked by the methods which revolutions may make temporarily necessary.

In the view of the Independent Labour Party the political experiences of the past five years in particular have undoubtedly shown that Parliamentary democracy cannot exist unless means are taken to unite, in a much closer way than has hitherto been done, the machinery of Government with the industrial organization of the working class. The Party is considering the possibility of the creation of representative Industrial Councils with

large powers for the control of labour conditions in the workshop and with definite advisory authority both in fiscal administration and legislation.

The party, however, sees no reason for departing from its old position that until Socialist propaganda influences public opinion, and until Socialists are chosen as representatives on public bodies, no secure basis for the Socialist State can be laid; and, further, that the election of Socialists to Parliament remains the best guarantee that the working classes can have that Parliament will be influenced by their views.

III.

DIRECT ACTION.

The question of "Direct Action" is being widely discussed in Great Britain to-day. Its more thorough advocates claim that Parliamentary Action has not only failed, but must always fail; its more thorough opponents condemn it as being "unconstitutional" and anti-Parliamentary.

The position of the Independent Labour Party is neither the one nor the other. Its view is that to the Socialist the relative merits of industrial and political action must be considered not for the purpose of abandoning the one or the other, but of giving to each its proper place in a full attack all along the line by democracy upon capitalism. The I.L.P. is insistently pointing out that "Direct Action" for political purposes is essentially different in its nature from "Direct Action" for industrial purposes, and that the risks of failure of the former are so great that its political practicability is slight. The threats and the fears of "Direct Action," taken along with a general state of working class unsettlement such as exists to-day, do, however, add materially to the influences which curb the policy of reactionary governments. The Party, therefore, rejects "Direct Action" as a substitute for Parliamentary Action, but considers it as one of the several weapons which the reaction may compel the working classes to use. Thus used it may be regarded as a means of restoring representative government and not of destroying it.

APPENDIX B.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

1. List of Affiliated Organizations.

(This list contains the organizations which are known or reported to be affiliated to the Third International or to have declared their adhesion. In many cases these organizations only represent small groups. The list is necessarily provisional, and many of the items are subject to correction owing to doubtful or incomplete information.)

| | | |
|---------------|-----|---|
| Argentina | ... | Communist Party. |
| Armenia | ... | " " |
| Australia | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Austria | ... | Communist Party. |
| Belgium | ... | " " |
| Brazil | ... | " " |
| Bulgaria | ... | " " (former "Narrow" Socialist Party). |
| China | ... | Socialist Workers' Party. |
| Corea | ... | Labour Group. |
| Denmark | ... | Left Social Democratic Party. |
| Esthonia | ... | Communist Party. |
| Finland | ... | " " |
| Georgia | ... | " " |
| Germany | ... | " " (former Spartacist Union). |
| Great Britain | ... | British Socialist Party. |
| " | | Socialist Labour Party. |
| " | | Workers' Socialist Federation. |
| " | | South Wales Socialist Society. |
| " | | National Workers' Committee Organization. |
| Greece | ... | Socialist Labour Party. |
| Holland | ... | Communist Party (former Social Democratic Party). |
| Hungary | ... | Communist Labour Party. |
| Italy | ... | Official Socialist Party. |
| " | | Syndicalist Union. |
| Japan | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Jugoslavia | ... | Socialist Labour Party (containing the former Serbian Socialist Party). |

| | | |
|---------------|-----|--|
| Lettland | ... | Communist Party. |
| Lithuania | ... | " " |
| Mexico | ... | " " |
| Norway | ... | Labour Party. |
| Persia ... | ... | Communist Party. |
| Poland... | ... | " " |
| Rumania | ... | " " (former Social Democratic Party). |
| Russia | ... | Communist Party (former Bolshevik Social Democratic Labour Party). |
| South Africa | ... | International Socialist League. |
| Sweden | ... | Left Socialist Party. |
| Turkestan | ... | Communist Party. |
| Ukraine | ... | " " |
| United States | | Socialist Labour Party. |
| " | | Communist Party. |
| " | | Communist Labour Party. |

2. Invitation to the Moscow Congress.

(This Appeal was issued from Moscow by wireless on January 24th, 1919. The full text of the Appeal, translated from the "Isviestia," was issued by the Russian Information Bureau in Paris and published in "Humanité," April 5th, 1919).

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL TO THE WORLD'S COMMUNISTS.

DEAR COMRADES,—

The under-signed parties and organizations are of opinion that the convocation of the first Congress of the new Revolutionary International is imperatively necessary. During the war and the revolution, not only did the complete failure of the old Socialist and Social Democratic Parties and, consequently, that of the Second International, become finally known, but the incapacity for revolutionary action of the middle sections of the old Social Democracy known as the "Centre," was also revealed. At the same time, the outlines of the true Revolutionary International have now been clearly defined. The rapid and enormous progress of the world revolution, incessantly raising new problems, the danger which this revolution runs of being strangled by the Alliance of capitalist States organized against the Revolution under the hypocritical flag of the "League of Nations," the attempts of the traitorous Socialist Parties to come to an understanding amongst themselves and after mutual pardons, to assist their Governments and their bourgeoisie to deceive the working class once more; and finally, the enormous Revolu-

tionary experience which has been gained and the progress of the Revolution internationally—all these considerations compel us to take the initiative in placing on the Agenda an enquiry into the convocation of the International Congress of revolutionary proletarian working-class parties.

In our opinion the new International should be based on the acceptance of the following propositions which we give as our platform and which have been drawn up in agreement with the programme of the Spartacist Union in Germany and of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) in Russia.

OBJECTS AND TACTICS.

- I.—This is the epoch of the decomposition and break-up of the world capitalist system, which will mean the break-up of European culture in general if capitalism, with its irreconcilable antagonisms, is not destroyed.
- II.—The present task of the working class is the immediate seizure of State power. This seizure of power consists in the suppression of the bourgeois Governmental machine and the organization of a proletarian Governmental machine.
- III.—This new Governmental machine should embody the Dictatorship of the working class (in certain places the dictatorship of the semi-proletariat of the countryside, the poor peasants); it should therefore be the tool of the systematic suppression and expropriation of the exploiting classes.

The model of the proletarian State should not be a false bourgeois democracy, which is a hypocritical form of the domination of financial oligarchy with its purely formal equality, but a proletarian democracy which will allow of the realization of liberty for the working masses; not parliamentarism, but the self-government of the masses through the intermediary of their elective organs; not capitalist bureaucracy, but administrative organs created by the people themselves; giving them real participation in the administration of the country and in the constructive socialist task. - The concrete form of this is the power of the Soviets or of similar organizations.

- IV.—The dictatorship of the proletariat should also be the lever of the immediate expropriation of capital and the suppression of the right of private property in the means of production, which should be transformed into the property of the whole nation. The socialization of large scale industry, and its organizing centres, the banks; the confiscation of the property of the landed proprietors and the socialization of capitalist agricultural production (includ-

ing the socialization and thus the suppression of private property, the transfer of the property to the proletarian State and the establishment of Socialist administration by the working class) the monopoly of large trading operations; the socialization of the large houses in the towns and the country castles, the introduction of administration by the worker and the centralization of economic functions in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship—here is the most essential task of the day.

V.—With the object of securing the defence of the Socialist Revolution against its enemies at home and abroad and bringing help to the other national sections of the proletariat in battle, it is necessary to disarm completely the bourgeoisie and their agents, and to arm the whole working class without exception.

VI.—The world situation at the present moment requires the maximum of contact between the various parts of the Revolutionary proletariat, and also the consolidation of the countries where the Socialist Revolution is already victorious.

VII.—The principal method of the struggle consists in the action of the proletarian masses, even to open armed conflict with the power of the capitalist State.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE "SOCIALIST" PARTIES.

VIII.—The old International is divided into three principal groups: the avowed Social-Chauvinists who throughout the imperialist war of 1914-18 supported their bourgeoisie in changing the working class into the executioner of the international Revolution; the "Centre," with Kautsky as its theoretical exponent, which is an association of changeable elements, incapable of any settled policy, and sometimes even of really treacherous elements; and, finally, the revolutionary left wing.

IX.—As regards the Socialist-Chauvinists who, even in the moments of greatest stress, are fighting against the proletarian revolution with arms in their hands, only a fight without mercy is acceptable.

As for the "Centre" we must separate out the more revolutionary elements, criticize it relentlessly and unmask its leaders. At a certain stage of development it is absolutely necessary to be clearly separated from the "Centrists" from the point of view of organization.

X.—It is necessary to form a block with those sections of the revolutionary Labour movement which, without having ever been in the Socialist Parties, take their stand in general, from the point of view of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the power of the Soviets; at the head of

these are the Syndicalist elements in the Labour movement.

XI.—It is important, finally, to rally all the working-class groups and organizations which without having openly joined the Left Revolutionary movement nevertheless show a tendency towards the Left in their development.

XII.—Practically, we propose that a representative of the following parties, groups and tendencies will take part in the Third International with full rights. These are parties which accept its point of view in its entirety.

1. Spartacist Union (Germany);
2. Communist Party (Bolshevik Party, Russia);
3. do. of German Austria;
4. do. of Hungary;
5. do. of Poland;
6. do. of Finland;
7. do. of Esthonia;
8. do. of Lettland;
9. do. of Lithuania;
10. do. of White Russia;
11. do. of Ukraine;
12. The Revolutionary elements in the Czech Social Democracy;
13. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party "Narrows";
14. The Roumanian Social Democratic Party;
15. The Serbian Social Democratic Party (Left Wing);
16. The Left Swedish Social Democratic Party;
17. The Norwegian Social Democratic Party;
18. The "Class Struggle" Group of Denmark;
19. The Communist Party of Holland;
20. The Revolutionary elements in the Belgian Labour Party;
- 21 and 22. The groups and organizations of the Socialist and Trades Union movement in France which agree on fundamental questions with Loriot;
23. The Left Social Democrats of Switzerland;
24. The Italian Socialist Party;
25. Left elements in the Spanish Socialist Party;
26. do. do. Portuguese do. do.
27. The British Socialist Party; (especially the tendency represented by MacLean);
28. The Socialist Labour Party (England);
29. I.W.W. (England);
30. I.W. of Great Britain;
31. The Revolutionary elements of the Shop Stewards movement in England;

32. The Revolutionary elements of the Irish Labour Organizations;
33. The Socialist Labour Party (America);
34. The Left elements of the American Socialist Party (in particular, the tendency represented by Debs, as well as the tendency represented by the Socialist Propaganda League);
35. I.W.W. of America;
36. I.W.W. of Australia;
37. Workers' International Industrial Union (America);
38. The Socialists groups of Tokio and Yokohama represented by Comrade Katayama;
39. The Young Socialist International represented by Comrade Muntzenberg.

XIII.—The basis of the Third International is given by the fact that in different parts of Europe there are being formed groups and organizations of people of the same opinion and an identical programme, and making use, on the whole, of the same tactical methods. Such are in the first place the Spartacists in Germany and the Communist Parties in a number of other countries.

XIV.—The Congress should create a fighting organ which will establish a constant liaison and direct the movement in a methodical manner by becoming the centre of the Communist International, but subordinating the interests of the movement in each country to the general interests of the International revolution as a whole.

The concrete forms of the organization, representation, &c., will be elaborated by the Congress.

XV.—The Congress should take the name of the First Congress of the Communist International, and the separate Parties will constitute its sections.

Marx and Engels had previously thought that, theoretically, the name of "Social Democrat" is false. The shameful break up of the Social Democratic International requires delimitation even on this point. Finally, the principal nucleus of the great movement has already been constituted by a series of Parties, which have accepted this name.

Taking the above explanation into consideration we propose to the friendly Parties and organizations that they should put on the Agenda the discussion of the question of the convocation of the Communist International Congress.

1. *For the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party; LENIN, TROTSKY.*

2. *For the Foreign Bureau of the Polish Communist Labour Party*; KARSKY.
3. *For the Foreign Bureau of the Hungarian Communist Party*; ROUDNIANSKY.
4. *For the Foreign Bureau of the German-Austrian Communist Party*; DOUDA.
5. *For the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lettish Communist Party*; ROZINE.
6. *For the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party*; SIROLA.
7. *For the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation of the Balkans*; RAKOVSKI.
8. *For the Socialist Labour Party of America*; REINSTEIN.

3. Manifesto of the Communist International.

*(Manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919. Issued March 10th and signed C. RAKOVSKY, N. LENIN, G. ZINOVIEV, LEON TROTSKY, FRITZ PLATTEN.)**

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES :

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party proclaimed its programme in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Even at that early time, when communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was pursued by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades communism has travelled a hard road; of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We, communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the programme proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary

* The text of the Manifesto is very uncertain, having suffered apparently from expurgation by censors, errors in transmission, and careless translation. The text here printed, for which only approximate accuracy can be claimed, is a collection made by R. W. Postgate for his forthcoming book on "Bolshevik Theory," and printed by his permission. Sources used are: The Neutral Press Supplement to the War Office Review of the Foreign Press: Wireless Text: Text in American "Truth": translation by Ida Ferguson.

experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to unite the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I. Now that Europe is covered with burning ruins, the most ruthless of the incendiaries are searching for someone to blame for the war, aided by their professors, politicians, journalists, social patriots and other supporters of the bourgeoisie.

For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitability of the imperialist war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the congress of Basel, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, are still continuing their revelations about the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, to-day, in vulgar sycophancy, join with the Socialists of the Entente countries in accusing as the arch-criminal the deposed German monarch whom they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and to gain the goodwill of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable villainess.

Up to the very outbreak of war British diplomacy preserved a mysterious secrecy. Civil authorities were careful not to have it known that they intended to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, doubtless so as not to alarm the Berlin Government and put off the war. London wanted war; hence their action to make Berlin and Vienna build their hopes on English neutrality, while Paris and Petrograd were sure of England's intervention.

The war, which had been prepared for decades, broke out through direct and conscious provocation by Great Britain. The British Government reckoned on giving support to France and

Russia until they were exhausted and at the same time had crushed Germany, their mortal enemy. But the strength of the German military machine proved too formidable and forced a real and not merely an apparent intervention in the war by England. The military superiority of Germany also caused the Washington Government to give up its apparent neutrality. The United States assumed, in regard to Europe, the same part that England had played in former wars and has tried to play in the last, i.e., the plan of weakening one side by the help of the other by joining in military operations with the sole aim of securing for themselves all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake, on the American tombola method, was not high, but it was the last, and he won.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into degrading torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. Thereby the academic quarrel among Socialists over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the undermining of capitalism through Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavoured for decades to gather together from all countries of the earth real and apparent facts to prove the increasing well being of the working class.

But we are faced to-day with the harrowing reality of impoverishment which is no longer merely a social problem, but a physiological and biological one. This catastrophe of an imperialist war has with one swoop swept away all the gains of experts and of Parliamentary struggles. It has also come into being from the inner tendencies of capitalism as well as from the economic bargains and political compromises now engulfed in a sea of blood.

Finance-capital, which flung mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production has been completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as the medium and regulator of capitalist commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economics during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating rôle out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Rumania, of coal from Donetz, of

cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat—all those basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as the complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not the State alone but itself also, it can no longer fulfil its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who, before the war, exhorted the workers, in the name of a gradual transition into Socialism, to be temperate; who during the war, asked for submission in the name of "civil peace" and defence of the Fatherland, now again demands of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of economic life, so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition or to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is what shall be the future mainstay of state production, the Imperialist State or the State of the victorious proletariat? In other words, shall the whole of working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under the name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy, here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property, but which arises from the needs of the hungry masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose will mobilize all materials and forces, introduce the universal duty to labour, establish the régime of industrial discipline, and in this way heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and raise humanity to now undreamt-of heights.

II. The national State, which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalist evolution, has become too narrow for the develop-

ment of the productive forces. This is making more and more untenable the position of the small States, adjacent to the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. Those small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic, buffer States. They, too, have their ruling gangs, their imperialist pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely the continuous opposition between the two imperialist camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled those smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical "points" of the Wilson programme. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Tsarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied Imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente imperialists, exactly as the imperialists of the Central powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and makes the smallest and weakest peoples able freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

III. The last war, after all a war to gain colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent—what for?—for the right to remain slaves of England or France? Never did capitalist rule show

itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed in Bombay the greatest labour strike in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain answered with armoured cars.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson programme, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm-name of the colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can come only through liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation, but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalist Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalist whirlpool, and Socialist Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of Socialist economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of Proletarian Dictatorship will also be the hour of your liberation!

IV. The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalist development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian elements, as well as the slum-proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the

régime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farms, as well as in the cities, are hindered by capitalism in the historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French winegrower who has been ruined by the adulterations practised by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been thrust aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the régime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of Parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace now.

If the financial-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind Parliamentary votes then the bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain its ends all the traditions and attainments of capitalist technique; lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life and death struggle with capitalism that it should follow lamb-like the demands of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In a realm of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation, but also the institutions of political democracy are scattered and bleeding, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is provided by the workers' soviets. The old parties, the old Unions have proved incapable, in the person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out, the task which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. The indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

V. Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils (Soviets) will be formed. To fortify these Soviets, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Soviets the working class can counteract the disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these Soviets the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Soviets gain the support of the majority of the labouring population. By means of these Soviets the working class, once attaining power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in Soviet Russia.

The collapse of the Imperialist State, in all forms from Tsarism to extreme Democracy goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by Imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasant against the landowner, of the labourer against the capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldiers against their commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialist war which pitted nation against nation, has passed, and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against civil war and the Red Terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the labouring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is FORCED UPON the labouring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in any case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the

proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the labourer and the formation of a communist army as a protector of the rule of the proletariat, and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

VI. Conscious of the world historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized Socialist movement for an international union. The foundation stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian war, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to national Labour Parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized a Second International. But during this period the centre of gravity of the labour movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism, to the narrow compass of the national State and national industries. Decades of organizing and labour reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the programme of social revolution but denied it in substance.

They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois State. The opportunist character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the Labour Parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a deathblow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary programme any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International by showing that above the consolidated labour masses there stood Labour parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois State.

This includes not only the social patriots who to-day are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as chosen confidential advisers and reliable hangmen of the working-class, but also the hazy, fickle and irresolute Socialist Centre which is to-day trying to revive the Second International, i.e., the narrowness, opportunism and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present majority of the Socialist Party in France, the Menshevik group in Russia, the Independent Labour Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which

the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear, as before, with proposals of compromise and conciliation and thereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent Official Socialist Parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babœuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletarians, so the Third International is the International of open mass action, of the revolutionary realization, the INTERNATIONAL OF DEEDS. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries: In the war against Imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, the bourgeois State and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—UNITE!

Under the standard of the Workmen's Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, proletarians of all countries, UNITE!

PROGRAMME.

The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of Capitalism—its internal disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer—that is the picture of world conditions to-day.

Humanity, whose whole culture now lies in ruins, forces the danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" can exist no longer. The ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of Commun-

ism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the "League of Nations" and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the Capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalist army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's machinery of government: disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of working-men; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of all-proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary Government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. The victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State machine. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them into accord with its work.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the opposition of the despoilers of labour, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favoured position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is

broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organization and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a CLASSLESS Communist Commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declaration of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand the Soviet type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Soviet power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible. Bourgeois democracy, with its Parliamentary system uses words to induce belief in popular participation in Government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of the reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Soviet system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils' Soviets draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the Government. The Soviet system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its Parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the Government into legislative and executive powers, and through Parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Soviet system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislature and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all, this union is fostered by the fact that in the Soviet system

elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Soviet system brings true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favoured in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the semi-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the Communistic structure.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

The breakdown of the capitalist order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalist basis. Wage-wars of the working men—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old régime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the Proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best and only means by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all production to a systematic plan. As the first steps—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches

of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labour will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the Socialist organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following methods are to be considered; the Socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all Bourgeois State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important rôle in the production epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organizations and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will reverse the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labour be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' soviets and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Soviets must constantly build up the entire administrative organization

into a more centralized structure, but, on the other hand, constantly draw ever-increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

THE WAY OF VICTORY.

The Revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the Communist revolution, in which rôle the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre, who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the danger of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian action—all those demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the International revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalist criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defence of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and Finland. Now the Entente States unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid

barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—they have lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself at any price. The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle!

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTIC CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE WORKERS' SOVIETS!

APPENDIX C.

THE PROPOSED LEFT-WING CONFERENCE.

1. List of Organizations not affiliated to either the Second or Third International.

| | | |
|------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| France ... | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Germany ... | ... | Independent Socialist Party. |
| Ireland ... | ... | Labour Party. |
| Portugal ... | ... | Socialist Party. |
| Switzerland ... | ... | Social Democratic Party. |
| United States... | ... | Socialist Party. |

2. (a) Resolution of the German Independent Socialist Party at the Leipzig Congress, December, 1919.

" This Congress declares that one of the most important tasks of the Independent Socialist Party is the ruthless prosecution of the working-class struggle to the exclusion of any policy which aims solely at the realization of reforms within the Capitalist State. This Congress, therefore, decides to break with the Second International. All participation in the Geneva Congress is accordingly rejected by the Independent Socialist Party. The German Independent Socialist Party is in agreement with the Third International in the conception of realizing Socialism by the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon the Councils' system. There is room for an effective working-class International by the union of our party with the Third International and the revolutionary parties of the other countries. For this purpose the Congress instructs the Central Committee to enter into immediate negotiations with these parties on the basis of the programme adopted by the Party in order to bring about this union and so, in conjunction with the Third International, to bring about a clearly defined and effective working-class International which shall prove a decisive weapon of world revolution in the working-class struggle for emancipation from the chains of international capitalism. If the parties of the other countries should not be willing to enter into the Moscow International with us, adherence must be undertaken by the German Independent Socialist Party alone."

(b) **Resolution of the French Socialist Party at the Strasbourg Congress, February-March, 1920.**

The Second International, founded in 1889 at the Congress of Paris on the principle of the class struggle, and reconstituted after various attempts at the Congress of Amsterdam in 1904, was torn aside by the war, which it had struggled to prevent, from the work of Socialist organization and education to which it was dedicated.

In common with the whole human race, of which it was the highest expression, the Second International has been shattered by the war both materially and morally. Certain of its sections have brought upon themselves still further weakness and damage by consenting to share power with the capitalist class through a manifest failure to understand the principles upon which it was founded.

The Socialist Party declares that, as at present constituted, the Second International no longer corresponds to the revolutionary situation which is manifest in the majority of States and which demands a new International of action. The Second International in any case no longer unites more than a portion of the Socialist workers of the world.

Over against this International has been set up the Third International, constituted at Moscow in March, 1919, which takes its stand upon the full and unqualified programme of the class struggle as it was formulated in the Communist Manifesto and in the Amsterdam resolution of 1904—both fundamental documents of any Socialist movement and activity. To this new International belong, in addition to the majority of the Russian Socialists, the Socialists of Italy, Norway, Serbia and Rumania, and various sections in Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, America and England.

Three important organizations have withdrawn from the Second International, the Swiss Socialist Party, the American Socialist Party and the German Independent Socialist Party. This last, at its Congress in December, 1919, decided to enter into negotiations with the revolutionary socialist groups of Western Europe and approach the Third International with the bloc thus formed: if it should not succeed in constituting this group, it was none the less to give its adhesion to the Third International.

The French Socialist Party takes note of the decision of the Independent Socialists, who have, alike during the war and since the revolution of November, 1918, worthily upheld the revolutionary and international traditions of the German working class, and accordingly declares that it cannot remain within an international organization in which Germany is no longer represented save by the Socialist accomplices of the Kaiser and

of the counter-revolutionary machinations of Scheidemann and Noske.

In addition it considers that the present dispersion of the world forces of the proletariat cannot continue without endangering the working-class revolution. Since the attempts to reform the Second International which it made in conjunction with the Left Wing at Berne and Lucerne appear to be henceforth doomed to utter failure, the Party declares its conviction of the urgent necessity of re-grouping the revolutionary socialist forces founded on the traditional principles of international socialism.

It is impossible, thanks to the Capitalist Governments of the Entente, to obtain a detailed knowledge or consequently to pass a final judgment on the whole work and all the acts of the Russian Revolution. But the French Socialist Party, always at one with every movement of working-class emancipation, is of opinion that none of the fundamental declarations of the Moscow International is in conflict with the essential principles of Socialism: that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat—intended to secure the passage from capitalist society and the Socialist régime—is at the basis of every revolutionary conception, and that the institution of workers' councils is manifestly one of the most effective means to bring about this seizure of power.

But it further believes that the Socialist Parties of Western and Central Europe, which will be called upon to take the direction of affairs in their hands, and have to deal with countries representing an advanced industrial development, must take the fullest account of the existing working-class organizations, the trade unions and the co-operative societies, and of the suitable conditions for the adaptation of these organizations to their economic environment on the morrow of the Revolution. Therefore it declares that a conference should take place between these Socialist Parties and the parties belonging to the Third International.

The Parties which decide to enter this new grouping must first of all condemn, as the Moscow International has done, all collaboration of any kind with the capitalist class and in particular the participation in the coalition governments which during the war and after the war have formed the administration in most European countries.

The French Socialist Party is in the fullest agreement with the suggestion of the German Independents, and proclaims its desire to work for the reconstitution of Socialist unity all over the world by the fusion of all the elements in the Second International which have remained faithful to the principle of the class struggle along with the constituent members of the Third International.

It proclaims at once its eagerness to demonstrate its active sympathy with the Russian Revolution and at the same time its anxiety to remain in the closest unity with the struggle of the working classes of the great industrial countries, made under their own special historical and economic conditions, and in particular of the working classes of England and America.

In order to cut short the unhappy situation in which all conscientious Socialists have found themselves through the temporary break-up of the International, the Party decides to act without delay and requests the Swiss Party to summon to a preliminary conference delegates from the parties which are resolved to maintain their policy on the basis of the traditional principles of Socialism, in order to enter into negotiations with the parties constituting the Third International.

Signed among others by Berta, Bestel, Boureau, Marcel Cachin, Fanny Clar, Caussy, Delépine, Amédée Dunois, Dupont, Farinet, Paul Faure, Féretti, L. O. Frossard, Eugène Frot, Gourdeaux, Grandvallet, Joly, Pierre Lainé, citoyenne Leiciagne, Lerch, Le Troquer, Paul Louis, Jean Longuet, Lussy, Maurice Maurin, Mayéras, Morizet, Mouret, Mauranges, Palicot, Pécher, Philippe (Saint-Denis), citoyenne Marianne Rauze, Rebersat, Daniel Renoult, Louis Sellier, Servantier, Tomasi, Uhry, Verfeuil, Zoretti.

(c) Letter of the National Administrative Council of the British Independent Labour Party to the Swiss Socialist Party, February, 1920.

DEAR COMRADES,—

The National Council of the Independent Labour Party has had under consideration the resolution upon the International and the Program of Action agreed to at the Conference of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in December last, and consequent upon that, the invitation of the Central Committee addressed to us, as to other parties, to participate in a discussion with regard to the International.

Deeply concerned at the situation regarding the International, my Council welcomes the suggestion. It considers, however, neither Germany nor Austria would be a suitable venue for the holding of such a gathering, and we doubt whether it would be possible to hold it in Great Britain. Otherwise we should have been most happy to endeavour to arrange for a meeting in London, and to extend a hearty welcome to the various delegations.

I am, therefore, asked to approach the Executive of the Swiss Party to inquire if our Swiss comrades would be disposed to take the initiative in calling such a meeting as we have sug-

gested. It appears to us that a country which was able to remain neutral during the war, and whose Socialist Party has such fine traditions of independence and effective service as your own, would be the most convenient for the holding of the meeting we have in mind.

The Independent Labour Party does not feel that the best interests of Socialism can be served by the establishment and maintenance of two, three, or perhaps four international organizations. Without in any way prejudging the question of affiliation to the International (Second) or the adherence of Parties to the Moscow International (Third), we emphasize that the prospect of the continuance of the division is of the most profound importance to the world Socialist movement, and believe that it should be possible to bring into existence one all-inclusive International, allowing the fullest autonomy and freedom of action and liberty of tactics to each party connected with it.

In view of the decision taken by the Italian Party to adhere to the Third International; in view of the decision of your party to remain unattached to either the Second or Third International; in view of the decision of the German Independents to bring about a *rapprochement* of the Moscow International with the various revolutionary parties of Europe, and the discussions in the French and Spanish Parties, the Independent Labour Party would urge that a consultative meeting of representatives from all these parties should be held with a view to arriving at a common understanding.

As one of the parties which remained outside and unrelated to its Government during the war, we are deeply concerned that the independence of organized Socialism shall be maintained apart from the Bourgeois and Capitalist Governments of to-day, and insistently assert the need for an International organization having a direct relation to the needs of the movement and the moment.

Our sole desire is to secure the effective organization in one great International—leaving the various countries to decide for themselves their method of application of the Socialist principles—of all parties which accept the foundation principles of Socialism as embodied in the collective ownership and use of land and capital, so that the State or community (including municipalities and industrial organizations) may carry on the public services and general industry and provision of wealth for the common welfare and happiness of all.

Holding these views, we do most urgently request that your Executive will consider the desirability of arranging for a consultation of official representatives of those parties who are in accord with the suggestion herein contained.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretaries of the

parties in France, Italy, Spain, Austria and America, and to the Independent Socialists of Germany, and also for information to the Secretariat of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, and the Secretariat of the Third International at Amsterdam. With fraternal greetings, yours faithfully,

FRANCIS JOHNSON, Secretary.

3. (a) **Manifesto of Zinoviev, President of the Third International, to the French Socialists, January, 1920.**

(From a telegram received from Stockholm February 1st, and published in "*La Vie Ouvrière*," February 6th, 1920.)

The Committee of the Communist International sends a message of welcome to the French workers who are revolting more and more against the ideas of the Social Patriots and of the Independents and who are freeing themselves from the bourgeois modifications of the principle of communism.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses the hope that the oppression under which the working masses of France are suffering will drive the Strasbourg Congress to separate itself from the Second International, that Yellow organization which finds in Noske, the German Gallifet, one of its most perfect representatives, and which possesses in France similar agents of the capitalist class.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls on all the communist elements in France to unite themselves in a single organization and to declare open war on all the traitors to the cause of the working class.

Long live the revolutionary working class of France! May all the partisans of the Second International be driven out of its ranks!

Long live the Republic of the working class!

ZINOVIEV,

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

(b) **Reported Manifesto of the West European Secretariat of the Third International.**

(This manifesto was published in the German Majority Socialist organ, "*Vorwärts*," of January 29th, 1920, with the following introductory note:—"Our Basel correspondent writes: 'The West European Secretariat of the Communist International issues a significant manifesto in reply to the attempt made by the German Independents and the French Longuet Socialists to unite in a new International—outside both the Second and the Third

Internationals,—the parties standing on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.'")

The Executive Committee welcomes the decision by which the Independents adopt as their basis the dictatorship of the proletariat and the council system. This decision is welcomed as a victory of the proletarian elements of the Independent Socialist Party over the opportunist and Right Wing Leaders who are working for a compromise with the bourgeoisie. But there is inconsistency in the rejection of the resolution which expressed the self-evident proposition that bourgeois force must be met by proletarian force. Dictatorship which renounces the use of force is a knife without handle or blade. Such a conception of dictatorship is in practice a mere playing at dictatorship, and the experiences of the Revolutions in Munich and Hungary have fully demonstrated the dangers of such a policy.

The decision of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany to leave the Second "Yellow" International without entering the Third can only be treated as a decision indicating internal discord: there were no grounds for it either of principle or of tactics; it was merely prompted by the sense of injured party honour and the fear of the Moscow International determining their policy.

If it is the intention of the Independent Socialist Party to invite the German-Austrian, Swedish and Dutch Social Democratic Parties, the French Socialist Party, and the Independent Labour Party of England, then the governing body of the Third International declares that it categorically declines all negotiations with these parties, because they stand in practice on the basis of opportunism and coalition with the bourgeoisie. The English Independent Labour Party is reformist and repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat. There remain only two parties with whom to negotiate, the French and the Swiss Socialist Parties. The French Socialist Party has a wing which is wholly reformist; any negotiation with its Centre is in practice impossible so long as it remains under the influence of Thomas and Renaudel. If the French workers succeed in compelling their leaders to abandon their wavering policy and enter into the revolutionary fight, then the moment will have arrived for negotiations between the Communist International and the French Socialist Party. The Swiss Socialist Party has decided by referendum in favour of withdrawal from the Second, but not of entry into the Third, though expressing the wish for the unity of all revolutionary elements. The easiest way for the wish of the Swiss Socialists to be realized would be for them to come to an understanding with the Independent Socialist Party as to the conditions under which they will enter the only existing

international union of revolutionary parties, the Communist International. But it is to be supposed that the conditions which the Swiss Socialist Party would put forward for their entry into the Third International will be different from those of the German Independents. Therefore the issue for the German Independents is to decide whether they will enter the Third International. For this purpose no general international negotiations are necessary; all that would be needed is negotiations between the Independent Socialist Party and the Third International. But the adhesion of the Independent Socialist Party and the Third International will only be accomplished quickly and in accordance with the revolutionary spirit of the Independent Socialist workers, if it is treated, not as a concern of the leaders in secret conference, but as a public concern of the masses.

NOTES ON BOOKS.

GENERAL.

There is no standard work on the Socialist International as a whole. The accounts in the regular Histories of Socialism are very meagre—

Kirkup and Pease: A History of Socialism. A. and C. Black: 1913.

S. P. Orth: Socialism and Democracy in Europe. Williams and Norgate: 1913.

The summaries in *The Labour Year Books* for 1916 and 1919 are useful for reformers. A general account of the International by R. W. Postgate is shortly to be published in the International series to be issued from the Swarthmore Press.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE WAR.

A. W. Humphrey: International Socialism and the War. King: 1915.

This goes up to Christmas, 1914.

W. E. Walling: The Socialists and the War. Holt: 1915.

This goes up to April, 1915, and is fully documented.

R. W. Postgate: The International during the War. The Herald: 1918.

This goes up to the summer of 1918 and deals mainly with Stockholm.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Labour Party Annual Report: 1919. The Labour Party: 1920.

The documents of the Berne International up to the Lucerne meeting are reprinted, together with a brief account.

C. Huysmans: The Policy of the International. Allen and Unwin: 1916.

A defence of the policy of the International Socialist Bureau at the outbreak of the war.

N. Lenin: The Collapse of the Second International. Socialist Labour Press.

An attack on the policy of the majority of the official parties in the Second International.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

B. Souvarine: La Troisième Internationale. "Clarté," Rue Feydeau, Paris: 1919

A propagandist pamphlet of thirty-four pages.

No general account of the Third International has yet appeared, and reference must be made to the numerous bulletins and periodicals of the Third International issued from the various Bureaux and independently in most European countries. Of these the most important is "*L'Internationale Communiste*" issued in Moscow, an English translation of which will shortly be available. The Italian "*Comunismo*" (16 via S. Damiano, Milan) is also well-informed and a "*Bulletin of the West European Secretariat*" is issued from Amsterdam (Amsterdamscher Presbureau, 23 Leidschestraat, Amsterdam). The most useful periodicals for the general reader are "*Le Phare*," a critical monthly with valuable documents and reports (27 rue P. H. Mathey, Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland) and the weekly "*La Nouvelle Internationale*" (9 rue du Marché, Geneva).

THE THEORETICAL CONTROVERSY.

N. Lenin: The State and Revolution. British Socialist Party and Socialist Labour Party: 1919.

The most important modern statement of communism in relation to Marxism.

N. Lenin: Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Workers' Socialist Federation.

Theses presented to the Moscow Congress, 1919.

K. Kautsky: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. National Labour Press: 1919.

The standard criticism of communism by the leading theorist of the old German Social Democracy.

J. R. Macdonald: Parliament and Revolution. National Labour Press: 1919.

A criticism by an experienced Parliamentarian of communism as applied to British conditions.

