

The COMMUNIST REVIEW

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Review of the Month

A Word About Ourselves

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW is getting into its stride. So great was the demand for the last number that we were compelled to print 4,000 extra copies! With our present circulation the COMMUNIST REVIEW sweeps to the front as the most widely read monthly journal in the British Labour movement. We are pleased to observe that articles from the REVIEW are reprinted in many of the most important revolutionary journals of other countries. The result of this is that we are attracting some of the greatest writers in the Communist International, who have promised to send contributions to our pages.

In this month's issue we publish some very important articles dealing with the international situation. The splendid translation of Rosa Luxemburg's famous speech should settle for all time the childish anarcho-syndicalist prattle that she was an anti-parliamentarian. Rosa Luxemburg, like the leaders of the Communist International, recognised the agitational revolutionary value of combatting and unmasking the capitalist class and its Labourist defenders in the political National Assembly of the bourgeoisie.

Caerphilly

THE entrance of the Communist Party into the political arena in the Caerphilly section of the South Wales coalfield has achieved the result we set out to obtain. We had a much more important mission to perform in this election than merely to obtain votes. The gathering of votes is the beginning and the end, the one and all, of the professional parliamentarians of the Labour Party. It matters nothing to them how they mislead the masses so long as they can scrape in ballots for their candidate. The Communist Party participated in the Caerphilly parliamentary election, not to capture votes, but to spread the principles of Communism, to unmask the treacheries of the Labour Party, to ram home the lessons of the miners' lock-out, and to show the workers the road, the only road, to class power. Our real triumph is not determined by the return of a Communist to the House of Commons, but in the amount of revolutionary and agitational propaganda that we can do during the electoral struggle.

We contested Caerphilly because the Labour Party and Sir Basil Thomson sought to make our organisation an illegal one, and hoped to force us underground and crush us out of existence. Our entrance into the parliamentary struggle demonstrated to the masses that the Communist Party is a legal organisation, which seeks to carry on its many activities in the open where the masses can see it in action and where they can measure and test its work with that of every other Labour group in the country.

As the fight in Caerphilly developed the political issue became ever clearer. During the first few days of the contest the Labour Party and the I.L.P. claimed to be as good Communists as anybody inside the Communist Party. But when we elaborated our revolutionary tactics and explained to the miners that their emancipation could only be achieved by organised *Power*, and not by democracy, the Labour Party retreated so rapidly to the Right that their statements against Communism became more vindictive than those of the capitalist candidates and the open and avowed reactionaries. Another noticeable feature was that the I.L.P. began its campaign by directing all its attention and energy against the capitalist candidate and by treating the Communists with a contemptuous disdain because their influence was considered to be infinitesimal. As the campaign drew to a close, as the literature and speeches of the Communists began to penetrate into the minds of the electors, the I.L.P. concentrated its whole attack upon the Communist Party. Ramsay MacDonald was imported into the constituency to fight the Communists, which he did in the best Horatio Bottomley manner; and the *Labour Leader*, the official organ of the I.L.P. dropped its mask and struck out at the Communists in a manner which eclipsed the reactionary *Morning Post*. During the last days of the contest both the Coalition and the Labour Parties brought every available speaker into the constituency in order to undermine the work of the Communists.

The full power of the trade-union bureaucracy of the official Labour Party was brought to bear upon the *Daily Herald*, which came out with frantic appeals and urged the electors to vote for

the I.L.P. Thus the Communist Party found itself confronted with the organised battalions of reactionary Capital and Labourism. So manifest was it in the constituency that the Communists alone represented the revolutionary standpoint, that the miners dubbed them "the Reds."

Centre of World Reaction

Small wonder that the workers in other countries look upon Britain as the centre, and as the driving force, of international reaction. Britishers have made themselves notorious for their many attacks upon Soviet Russia. British armies have been used to crush every glimmering of national and racial independence in Ireland, Egypt, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. British force and finance have been handed out to buttress and subsidise every reactionary and White Guard conspiracy in the world. And now that the ruling class of Spain is sore pressed by the workers on one hand and by the Moors on the other hand, it is only necessary for the Spanish authorities in London to whisper that they need soldiers, when, lo and behold! thousands of Englishmen roll up to "do their bit" in a struggle which has nothing at all to do with them. So great was the anxiety shown by thousands of Britishers to sell themselves, for a few coppers per day, that many of them waited all night outside of the offices of the Spanish Consulate in order to be enrolled the following morning. The Communist Party issued a manifesto to the men who clamoured to be enrolled as Spain's "Black and Tans"—to be used for the same purpose in Morocco as Britain's "Black and Tans" are used in Ireland. The majority of the men who offered to fight for Spain were unemployed wretches who were willing to face death abroad in the service of a foreign power rather than starve at home. These men, by their eagerness to fight in Morocco, to face death for about 3s. per day, prove that the workers do not lack courage; they have exploded the lie that the unemployed do not want work and would not take jobs if any were found for them. The Communist Party manifesto called upon these men to enter a struggle, not on behalf of a foreign government attempting to enslave certain tribes seeking to attain their freedom, but to take their place in the *class struggle at home* and free themselves from the enslavement of their own masters who are on their own doorstep. Capitalism offers the workers two things—either to fight to enslave the masses of other lands or to fight to free themselves at home.

These be your "Leaders"

TO the treachery of J. H. Thomas, Williams, and Bevin must be added that of Herbert Smith and the other miners' leaders. We now know from the brazen confession of these men at the recent miners' conference that their heart and spirit was not in the struggle during the lock-out. They neither had the will nor the determination to win, and consequently the miners were disastrously defeated. As honest men, their position was clear. When they realised that they could not carry out the demands

of the determined rank and file, then they ought to have resigned and made way for the younger, more active and courageous leaders who would gladly have taken their places. The more we learn about the doings of the leaders connected directly and indirectly with the miners' lockout, the more the truth is forced upon us that one of the most dastardly plots in the history of Labour was planned, organised, and successfully carried out. We are now beginning to comprehend the real depths of the rascality that inspired the careerists in the trade union bureaucracy. Their policy was to so manipulate the miners' lock-out to inevitable defeat that it would serve as a solemn warning to all workers that strikes were played out and that the ballot was the weapon of salvation. This has been the keynote of every speech of every Labour fakir in the country. No sooner were the miners beaten than the I.L.P. leaders declared that the parliamentary ballot was Labour's most potent weapon. And at the recent conference of the National Federation of General Workers, Mr. Clynes declared that

"the belief that the strike weapon could accomplish anything has receded."

A truce between Capital and Labour, a nice quiet and comfortable parliamentary career, is what these people desire. They won't get it. Events are in the process of development, coupled with the activity of the Communist Party, which shall make the "Yellow" trade union and parliamentary leaders realise that their ideal of class harmony is impossible within Capitalism.

Red Week

DURING Red Week it is the sacred class duty of every Communist to do his or her utmost for the Party. Every form of activity should be carried on and a mass attack made upon Capitalism and its Labour apologists. Street-corner meetings, workgate meetings, special distribution of literature, and an intensive effort should be made to get new members. Our members should encourage discussion and expound the Party's policy on every possible occasion. At the close of Red Week we ought to have an increased membership, and a larger circulation for the COMMUNIST and the REVIEW. Red Week is not only a national affair. It is an international effort on the part of the Communists to increase the strength of their battalions and to extend the battle front of the class struggle.

The Whites Against Russia

IN the REVIEW this month we publish the first full and complete statement, regarding all the foul forces of reaction which have been hurled against Soviet Russia, during the past few months. The activities of the Whites are more important and far-reaching than most people in the revolutionary movement imagine. In order that our readers may appreciate the function of military and naval attaches, who are employed by large imperialist States to safeguard their interest in certain parts of the world, we reprint

an important extract from *Hansard* (July 20th, 1921). This demonstrates beyond doubt that the British naval attache at Helsingfors is employed for purposes which the government is either ashamed or afraid to define. It should also be borne in mind that in the report, which we publish elsewhere in the REVIEW, regarding the activities of the Whites, special attention is drawn to the part played in the anti-Soviet plot by the agent of the British government at Helsingfors, who worked hand in hand with those whose one aim in life is to destroy the Communist movement in Russia. We italicise the most important point admitted by Mr. Amery in his reply to the courageous questions put by Commander Kenworthy.

NAVAL ATTACHE, HELSINGFORS.

15. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state what is the combined naval strength in modern units of the navies of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland; whether the importance of these navies necessitates the appointment of a post-captain at £2,555 per annum as naval attache instead of an officer of junior rank; whether an officer of junior rank to captain carried out the duties of naval attache in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Berlin to the satisfaction of their Lordships prior to the war; what naval duties have necessitated the presence of the naval attache at Helsingfors for 85 days during the present year; and how many reports of a purely naval character bearing on Finland have been received from this officer during the present year?

Mr. AMERY: The reply to the first part of the question is:

Armoured ships (special type)	...	...	21
Cruisers	...	...	4
Monitors	...	...	10
Torpedo craft	...	...	135
Submarines	...	...	26
Mining craft	...	...	18

There are also two armoured ships, 19 submarines, and two mining craft, built or building.

The reply to the second part is, in the opinion of the Admiralty, in the affirmative. The selection of officers or attaches is not dependent solely on rank; many other considerations have to be taken into account, and officers of junior rank are and have been employed. This was, as suggested in the third part of the question, the case of St. Petersburg before the war, but not at Paris or Berlin. With regard to the fourth part, the opening-up of the Gulf of Finland to navigation and the extensive mine-sweeping operations now in progress in the adjacent waters make Helsingfors the most convenient centre. *The answer to the last part is thirteen, and I may say that, in addition to his duties as naval adviser to His Majesty's Minister, the Naval Attache has rendered the necessary reports to the Admiralty to the entire satisfaction of the Board. I should like to take this opportunity of deprecating public enquiry in this House as to the duties performed and reports rendered by naval attaches, who are diplomatic representatives and whose work is necessarily of a confidential nature. It is not, generally speaking, in the public interest to answer questions on matters of this kind.*

Lieut.-Commander KENWORTHY:—Is not the employment of a senior officer at £7 a day, in a country where the navy consists of five old torpedo boats, a matter for inquiry in this House, and are not the real duties of this officer the organisation of counter-revolutionary plots in Russia?

The Pinks Against Russia

ALL over the capitalist world the blood-thirsty and reactionary upholders of capitalist imperialism, who attempt to crush out Communism by the most barbarous methods ever used in history, are known as the *Whites*. Behind the Whites are the sentimental leaders of moderate Socialism who are equally ferocious in their hatred against Soviet Russia. Their part in the general attack upon Russia and Communism is to supply poison gas in the shape of using their press to circulate lies against Sovietism—these people are known as the “Yellows,” or the Pinks. In reality there is little to differentiate the Whites from the Pinks so far as tactics are concerned. The Whites are frankly brutal, but the Pinks are generally pacifists whose brutality is the more insidious in so far as they claim that they speak on behalf of Labour. The Whites are people drawn from the propertied interests, and many of them have lost their lives and money fighting Soviet Russia. The Pinks, however, make money and careers as a result of their attack upon the Russian proletariat. The I.L.P. is typically a Pink Party. In its lying campaign against Russia, it uses language identical with that of the out and out reactionaries. In the election address of the capitalist candidate for Caerphilly, it refers to:—

“Sovietism, which has produced such tragic results in ruined, unhappy Russia.”

In the same election, and dealing with the same theme, it was left for the I.L.P. to use similar language by stating:—

“But even if the Russian experiment had been as successful for Russia as it has been, in the main, disastrous, it could not be attempted in this country.”—*Labour Leader*, August 18th, 1921.

The part which we have italicised shows that there is no difference whatever in the attitude of the I.L.P. and the Coalition Party. And yet the I.L.P. whined during the whole election at Caerphilly because they claimed that the Communist Party candidate would split their vote. Wm. Gallacher told them, during the election, that the I.L.P. and the Coalition would split the capitalist-reform vote between them.

Those interested in industrial problems should read

THE WORKER

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Weekly

Guns, Bombs and Benzine

By NORMAN MATSON

THE northern agricultural province of Reggio Emilia was until a few weeks ago the shining example of the practical, constructive genius of Italian socialism. It was as good as 100 per cent. socialist. In 1919 there were 43,000 socialist votes against 20,000 split between the bourgeoisie parties and the pro-peasant Catholic party. Last fall 38 of the 45 municipal governments went Socialist. The red flag flew in every town of Reggio Emilia. The powerful peasant co-operatives did all the buying, selling, and banking. In a word, the Socialist organization controlled Reggio Emilia economically and politically. And there was peace, and the peasants after their six or eight hours' work in the field gathered in the co-operative cafés of the little towns to discuss politics, production and distribution—the revolution, which was obviously just round the corner. There was for the Reggio Emilians one personality greater than all others. This was Lenin. His quizzical face—one might imagine a bit ironical in this instance—hung where King Victor's had been; his likeness in plaster stood in hundreds of homes between the figures of Saint Cappone and Saint Lambrusco, patron saints of the province. Lenin! He was great in Emilia . . . because he gave the land to the Russian peasants.

The province did not believe in violence. Its weapons were political and economic—the vote and the boycott—this latter a terrific weapon in the hands of compactly organized Italian peasants. The landowner who by violation of peasant regulations earned the punishment of isolation by boycott seldom had the heart to try it again. But there was no violence. The producers had captured the province by peaceful means, and they were managing it peacefully; the party was so strong that there seemed to be no element of opposition. The bourgeois—the employing landowners—were members of the Party, perforce. The white reaction hit the neighbouring provinces of Bologna and Ferrara long before it appeared in Reggio Emilia. In those two provinces the extremists were powerful. Emilia felt that they were reaping pretty much what they sowed. Certainly the reaction would never come to them.

The Fascisti Takes The Province

But last March the first *Fascio* (local or post) of the fascisti was organized in the province. And a few weeks later a cyclone hit Reggio Emilia—a destroying gale of violence. Reggio Emilia all but went down before it. It could hardly do otherwise. It was fat picking, and the *fascisti* went their sadistic limit. They struck with bewildering rapidity at the nerve centres of the great Socialist organization—burned the Chambers of Labour; destroyed the press; sacked and burned co-operatives; made scores and scores

of bonfires of the card-filing system, account books, correspondence; they beat and shot leaders and the more militant of the rank and file. And finally they made open assaults on the municipalities—assaults which continue. “Resign, get out of town, or feel the anger of the *fascisti!*” So read the letters to the Socialist officials. More than a third of the 38 administrations have already resigned. The tri-colour is flying from one end of the province to the other. And the moderate Socialist Party—party of the tremendous majority of the Emilians—decided to abstain from voting at the general election. A few hundred *fascisti* did it. A few hundred young men with bombs and guns and benzine and automobiles—and the assurance that the armed might of the National Government was at their backs. Students, ex-officers, nired fighters who learned how to shoot in the war, and sons of landowners disciplined by the peasants. They received their orders from “higher up,” from national headquarters in Milano, and their funds came from those who got the cream of the war. They swagger through the province now, singing their inevitable hymn to “Youth.”

Now the province of Reggio Emilia built a great, efficient, beneficent organization in peace. The only criticism its enemies can make is that it was too efficient. Listen to the local leader of the *Fascio*—who goes to Parliament, his little minority having smashed the majority organization: “True, there was not in Emilia violence as violence was known in Bologna or Ferrara, but there was ‘red tyranny,’ the ‘tyranny of collectivism.’ We instead have re-established ‘individual initiative’ in the province! It is true that the Socialist organization worked well—economically! But it had no other claim on a great many of its followers. It filled their material needs but not their spiritual needs!” The peaceful efforts of the Reggio Emilians got them nothing, or rather they got it worse than almost any other province.

It is precisely here that the Communists and Socialists differ. Both use much the same terminology; one belongs to the Third International, the other wants to get back in. But the Communists accuse the older leaders of not preparing the proletariat for the defence of its gains. The older leaders build a Reggio Emilia organization that can stand only during times of peace. It fattens the organizations for the Nationalist slaying, so to speak. The Communists, the scatter-brained, impatient extremists, want to advance just so fast as they can consolidate their gains; just so fast as they can arm themselves adequately to defend themselves from the violence they declare inevitable. The Socialists used to cry “Inevitable? *Ma che!* Look at Reggio Emilia!”

“Just look at Reggio Emilia,” say the Communists to-day.

(From *The Liberator*).

Revelations Regarding the Origin of the 1914 War

By RENE MARCHAND

[We have often wondered if the Russian revolutionaries had discovered, in the archives of the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs, any more documents or secret treaties like those that they flung in the face of Europe immediately after the Bolshevik revolution. An examination of these archives has been proceeding; and one of those who have been doing this most valuable work is René Marchand, who will soon publish the results of his discoveries in a large volume, the preface to which we give below.

René Marchand is a strange figure thrown up by the whirlpool of revolution. For a long time he was in Russia as correspondent for the *Figaro* and the *Petit Parisien*; he was the friend and adviser of M.M. Poincaré and Albert Thomas. The crimes of the French Government's policy won him over to the revolutionary spirit and drove him into the ranks of the Bolsheviks. Our readers will not have forgotten his own story of his conversion: "Why I support Bolshevism" (published by Communist Party; price 9d.). The book that he will soon publish is certain to create a stir throughout the whole world. It will throw a cleansing light into the dark corners in which the world-wide butchery of 1914-1918 was hatched.]

Preface to Origin of 1914 War

WHEN, at Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky proclaimed the right of free peoples to govern themselves, in defiance of German Imperialism and in spite of the din and bitter clamour of the world war, immortal pages were added to the history of mankind. And these other pages that I have studied—alas! they also belong to that history, for they have been written with red-hot irons on the tortured bodies of men.

Many people have spoken of secret diplomacy, of imperialism, militarism, and the lust for loot; but even the most determined enemies of these forces have failed to plumb the lowest depths of the abyss from which they spring. The Anti-Militarists have doubtless obeyed—at least, in the vast majority of cases—one of those irresistible instincts which come to guide the masses in the great and historic epochs of the world, or have reacted suddenly against war, weary of the sight of butcheries and ruin. But they have not known fully the causes of these horrors, nor seen clearly and completely the terrible system that still holds the world, bled white by its crimes, caught fast in its innumerable tentacles.

I, when I was a journalist living amongst ambassadors, felt occasionally in the years before the war a vague and momentary uneasiness, at times like that of M. Delcasse's mission to Russia. But never had I even suspected that a huge mechanism was working steadily, getting ready, with all the certainty and exactitude of clockwork to drive us into a catastrophe, at the moment determined by the calculations of those who had set it going. And I had always thought myself more or less "well-informed" as to what was happening and as to the atmosphere in which I lived!

On August 2nd, 1914, like most Frenchmen, I sincerely believed that France claimed me, France "brutally attacked," France, whose "faithful" government could naturally only have desired and worked for peace. The very phrases of the letter that I felt, I ought to write as late as 1918 to the President of the Republic, when, angered by the inhuman and un-French policy of our official agents and their campaign against the Russian Revolution, I refused to admit that it was possible that they could be acting according to the orders of the French Government—the phrases of that letter are proof that I believed in the good faith of that Government.

The Tsarist Archives

MY amazement, therefore, will be realised when later I was given the opportunity to look over part, now classified, of the archives of the old Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and began to read documents which, from the very first line, brutally roused again doubts that had been sleeping and answered loudly old questionings that I had till then too easily forgotten. Those papers flung me right into the heart of things of which at first I wished, I confess, that I could always have remained ignorant!

But when this first moment of dejection had passed, I went on, patiently, with the examination of these secret papers, although I found the work to be morally cruel and painful to me. And to-day I address these pages to all decent people—whatever party they belong to—to all those who still believe, as I myself perhaps might always have believed, in the silly tale about German militarism having flung itself, one fine day, upon a peace-loving France; to all those who do not see behind this obvious fact which, in reality, is simply the final stage of a whole social epoch, of an entire "civilisation," the monstrous gallows built up steadily and implacably by world-imperialism, the overthrow of which is the vital question of to-day. For, make no mistake: all your dead friends and all your ruined homes, have changed nothing and cannot change the pre-war position; so long as the same causes exist, the same effects are to be expected, *and you must expect them*. You must expect the repetition of the things that you believe the Treaty of Versailles has charmed away: that Treaty is in reality simply the consecration of the continued existence of the thing that gave it birth, of war, that will continue to live when the Treaty is dead, triumphing over your corpses and your ruined towns!

I dedicate these pages also to those—and in truth they are numerous—who still believe cheerfully in the political programmes of *bourgeois* parties, in the value of promises made in these programmes to the electors, and in the supreme power of parliaments of elected representatives, and do not see that complete power to decide peace or war is in the hands of uncontrolled individual politicians.

I had at first thought of giving only a few isolated documents which were more particularly striking. On reflection, I decided to

enlarge the scope of my work; I have done as much as I could possibly do. The reader will find, in the following order, very long and numerous quotations, and even in some places, almost a complete series of documents, giving the impression of a complete whole.

For the Pre-War Period

THE secret political correspondence (far more detailed than the telegrams) of M. Isvolsky, the Russian Ambassador in Paris from 1911 up to the war, and the detailed report* given to the Tsar by M. Sazonof, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Period of the War

THE telegrams from M. Isvolsky, the stenographic reports of several conferences that took place at Petrograd, and various documents found in the pigeon-holes of the old Ministry for Foreign Affairs, dealing with the diplomatic activities of the Allied Cabinets during the war, and with the tentative attempts of the neutrals to mediate between the combatants.

The Veil is Torn

WHOWER reads these pages will thus see raised the veil which, but for the Russian proletarian revolution, would have continued to hide for a long time yet the true working of the imperialist régime. And, in the light of this revelation of a past and present of hidden transactions, of unsated ambitions, of treachery and blackmail, he will understand fully the blood-blackened comedy which is being played above his head, and he will be able at last to speak with complete knowledge of the causes of the war.

He will see how, logically and inevitably, the Agadir crisis (to go no further back, for the sequence is never broken) brought on the war in Tripoli, how Tripoli caused the Balkan war, and how the Balkan war inflamed the greed of the Austrians and Germans. Then, when the greed of these Powers came into competition with that of their rivals, the world-war came.

He will see, *under all these affairs*, the intrigues of groups of bankers, the true levers of the "aspirations of the peoples," and the press controlled by these groups, and charged by them with the task of *informing* each nation, that is to say, of *deceiving* it, and asked by it each day for the news it must have to keep its old

*NOTE.—These reports, of which I have given the complete series, show in a striking fashion the progressive and implacable development of the rival imperialisms, lit up by the crude glare of financial intrigues and of the lust for profit and power. The rival imperialisms are seen dragging little by little into their webs all those surrounding them, and thus prefiguring clearly the world-war for the division of the earth, coldly calculated, studied, and decided upon beforehand, with its outbreak possible at any moment, and only depending on the brutal will of whichever imperialism could allow itself the luxury of the formality, necessarily rather disagreeable, of a declaration of war.

beliefs. He will read in so many words, for example, how, thanks to the "skilful" distribution of subsidies through the intermediary of the French Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Finances, the Russian Ambassador managed to get as much support from French public opinion during the Balkan crisis as had previously been obtained, by the same methods, by Count Klevenbueller, the Austrian Ambassador. He will even read with amazement that this same Russian Ambassador ended up by being rather frightened at the too "enthusiastic" tone of the French press, and that in 1912 the French military circles demanded explanations from Russia, through M. Millerand, of the reasons for the Russian indifference and apathy in face of Austrian preparations for war against Serbia. That is what was called, if you remember the sort of thing that was said at that time, "advising Russia to be moderate."

Imperialism at Work

HE will hear the King of England, in 1912, translating into violent words the anger of British imperialism, threatened in its naval predominance by the furious building up of a navy by the imperialism of Germany, cry to M. Sazonof at Balmoral: "We shall sink every single German merchant ship that we get hold of!"

He will see the foul underground financial dealings that lay beneath the questions of Persia and China: also the especially shameless intrigues and cold calculations of the "Great Powers" (that is to say, of the great capitalist trusts become imperialisms at war for the hegemony of the world) savagely stirring up the brutal greed of the newly-capitalist Balkans, and driving the nations that had been Allies into a second Balkan war for the division of the booty gained from Turkey in the first.

He will see on each and every side, from one end to the other, that even when peace is talked of, war is meant, or such an extension of peace as will give time to prepare better for war, war that had become necessary for imperialism, arrived at its highest point. He will see, in this question of foreign policy, the only one that is vital and ultimate for him, because it is the only one that touches so closely his life and the future of the soil from which he gains his livelihood by his labour—he will see that there is, underneath the different formulæ and the *purely superficial differences of the political parties*, a pitiless continuity in criminal irresponsibility. He will read the letter from the Russian Ambassador in Paris in which he says, with perfect justice, in reference to one of the innumerable crises in the French Cabinet, that "the more changes there are, the more things remain unchanged." And in fact M. Isvolsky, as far as tangible and positive results are concerned, could feel just as happy about MM. Caillaux, Doumergue or de Selves, as about MM. Poincaré, Millerand, Barthou, Jonnart, etc., etc. And it could not be otherwise for, as he rightly says in one of his letters, "It is the financial groups that are all-powerful over the Government, not the Government over them."

The reader will learn, not without some interest, that it was M. Doumergue who, in 1916, in exposing for the first time the French

list of peace demands limited to Alsace-Lorraine, used the French "liberty of action" in the Rhineland to bargain with the Petrograd Cabinet. This question of the Rhine had already been touched upon in 1914 by M. Paléologue. He will also learn, not without a shiver up the back, that on the personal ambition or the injured vanity of politicians, who are in power to-day and gone to-morrow, or on some other cause of equal national importance, depends the terms of a Note which, received and answered in writing, becomes a *secret engagement* between *two peoples*! He will also learn that it rests entirely with an ambassador to set at variance *nation and nation*, or to shape their relations to his own taste, by giving in a report, by tendentious or inexact interpretation, decisive import to phrases spoken in the buzz of conversation, after dinner or at a tea-party, or even by a systematic arrangement of the facts to build up combinations that may please his fancy.

Between Allies

THE reader will find in a report sent on February 21st, 1917, to the Tsar by Pokrovsky, the last Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, the most damning piece of self-criticism that could be made by imperialism. He will find, after a careful exposition of the reasons why the "agreements reached with the Allies touching Constantinople and the Straits, are in danger of remaining scraps of paper," and might have to wait for their realisation until a new "kindling of a European war" (*sic*) if they are not confirmed by the "map of the fronts at the moment of the opening of peace negotiations"—a very precise definition of what was meant by "war until victory." It was not exactly, it seems, until the "triumph of right and justice," in the name of which the capitalists engaged in the struggle called to their slaves to go on being killed in the trenches, but until, as the Russian minister emphasises, "the realisation by each Power of all its own ambitions." This goes so far that, he makes it clear, if in the course of the fighting it happens that the French and English gain sufficient successes on the western front to give them results that are satisfactory from their point of view, "there would not be much hope of seeing them continue the war for the conquest by Russia of Constantinople and the Straits"!

The reader will see the Parisian Cabinet decoding the Italian code, and the Tsarist Secret Service decoding the telegrams of Allied Ambassadors to their Governments. He will learn of the knaveries, unexampled in their brilliance, of the Cabinet of Rome, in the realisation of the vast plans of Italian imperialism; and finally he will discover the bribes and bargains which had for recompense the entry of Italy and Roumania into the war, and the diplomatic efforts made by the imperialist States at war to drag in with them the peoples that had remained outside the conflict. And he will realise that in no country, for any of these crimes, have any of the politicians concerned been accused of having "plotted against the safety of the State"! He will realise that this honour has been reserved up till now for those who committed the crime of approving the speeches made at Brest-Litovsk, before the agony of mankind, by Trotsky. . . .

Delcassé's Extraordinary Powers

WHEN I first saw the letter from Isvolsky that informs Sazonof of the extraordinary powers given to M. Delcassé and of the "unlimited competence" of the latter in military matters, I remembered the strange atmosphere of the French Embassy in Petrograd in those days, and the activity of M. Sabatier d'Espéyran, Secretary to the Embassy, whose mission it was to make the Russian press "deliver the goods." He managed this task with such remarkable keenness that the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs ended by being worried by the over-warlike attitude of his own organs, in whose columns he missed with astonishment the touch of his information bureau.

The Petrograd press had understood too well the scope of M. Delcassé's mission (even going so far as to make him, in addition, the temporary Russian foreign minister) who had only come to Russia to "complete the work that he had been carrying out in all the various countries in turn," and in which he had managed specially to take "a decisive step during his recent transference to the Ministry of Marine."

As to this work itself, it was never quite made definite at the time what it was, but the formulæ repeated to the point of boredom then, in the room where journalists were received was: "Russia must understand (it was the time of the affair of the German military instructors at Constantinople) that she cannot decide the question of Constantinople at Vienna, but only at Berlin"; or again: "Russia has the same real enemy as we, it is Germany, and not Austria, as is wrongly believed." This was explicit enough.

And, while Sabatier d'Espéyran was making these astounding declarations, M. Delcassé was working in his private room, with the door locked, over the maps of the Balkans and of Africa. Often he would decode personally telegrams that were secret even to his collaborators. Then came his departure, his "mission" ended; and the agitation of the last moment, when Sabatier announced to the journalists that "the Ambassador had been given by his Majesty the Grand Cordon of the Order of St. Andrew! And that confirmation of this magnificent news seemed to be rather long in arriving!"

The beaming face of M. Paléologue, I remembered also, those last terrible days before the war, and the declaration of war itself. I was unable to bring myself at once, I remembered, to the idea that, this time, all was over, for I felt instinctively that to give up all hope would be too horrible. I was still searching for the latest possible news, in spite of everything, no longer for my paper, but for myself, when I was met at the foot of the staircase by M. Paléologue, that finished product of the school of Metternich, a wary and subtle diplomat, always greedy for petty intrigues, palace revolutions, and serious political discussions, in boxes at the opera. His face beaming, rubbing his hands together, he said: "Excellent, excellent! Luxemburg has been invaded; conditions never were better." And restraining with difficulty the tears that were in my eyes, I fought down the terror that filled me at the

inner feeling that this was a *catastrophe*, and decided to think that I should not be a good Frenchman if I did not realise that really "the occasion" had never "been better."

While putting together these documents I felt these old wounds re-open, and tears came to me again. But this time I did not restrain them.

And it is now time to understand that the war has not at all resulted in the suppression of German militarism, for the destruction of which we were bidden to continue to spend ourselves until the end. The war has only momentarily weakened this militarism, only turned it aside from the world hegemony to which imperialism strove and of which it is the expression, and side by side with this it has developed and drawn out British imperialism, which, with its satellites, aspires now to the same world-hegemony, for the self-same reasons. There is thus nothing changed, absolutely nothing. We have simply assisted in the breaking of the "balance" in which the life of the world had, somehow or other, been able to drag on, in spite of the struggle between the two imperialisms in question. And now we are seeking a new balance of power, that is to say, a new re-grouping of the imperialist States, big and little, with a view to the continuation of the struggle for the overlordship of the earth. In this struggle, which must necessarily and obviously be marked by new butcheries very shortly, any sort of combination is possible; but these technical combinations have interest only for the financiers and their agents; for us, the reality under them is all that matters, and that reality is the continuance of the pre-war period, of the struggle for the hegemony of the world. What will be the background for the outbreak of the new war, Europe or Asia? In whose train will France be dragged? In which camp will Germany be? Will Europe always play the principal rôle, or will it become a satellite of greater Powers? These are the questions, I repeat, which face the secret diplomats of the great French financial groups, whose way of working can be clearly seen in these pages.

But to us two things are clear: We shall go on being the victims, and it will always be so, so long as the fate of the peoples rests in the hands of the exploiters of big business.

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

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Progress of the Revolution in South America

By DAVID RAMSAY

I.

Rise of the Argentine Labour Movement

IT is astonishing, in view of the importance of South America as a vital economic factor, how little is known in England of the Labour movement in that part of the world. South America conjures up in the minds of the average picture theatre habitués scenes that exhibit lawlessness, cowardice and utter immorality. The North American capitalist knows how to prepare public "opinion" for the attack which they hope to be able to make on the independence of the Southern Republics, if and when the Governments of those countries fail to satisfy Wall Street's demands for markets for United States products.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the picture of Latin America as shown on the screen and portrayed by films. The Mexicans, for example, have a national history comparable for heroic struggle and only equalled by ancient Greece, Switzerland and Ireland. Indeed, there are many points of similarity between Mexico and Ireland, and principal amongst those is the association of the sense of exploitation with the dominance of foreign capital. The working class of both countries have yet to fully realise that there is no difference between their own ruling class and the ruling classes of the dominant countries, excepting in strength. But in both Mexico and Ireland the workers *will* fight when they realise the true nature of the class struggle. And recent examples go to prove that the Mexicans and the Irish are temperamentally more ready for Communism than the workers in most other countries, although the national struggle for independence obscures the real issue at the present moment.

It is in the Argentine Republic that the class struggle is most highly developed, and it is quite in line with Communist theories that this should be so. The importance of the Argentine as a food-raising centre has attracted to that country an enormous amount of foreign capital. Huge companies exploit practically all the vast territory capable of supporting cattle and raising cereals, with the result that the peasantry as a mass are truly proletarian—absolutely propertyless and at the mercy of a mere handful of men both foreign and native.

The town labourers are generally immigrants from Italy and Spain, or the sons of immigrants. For a long time (not now) the Argentine threw open its doors to all and sundry, with the result that among those immigrants there were many political refugees of the most advanced type. Some were anarchists, and developing

conditions afforded them ideal opportunities of studying and expounding capitalist evolution. The title "Anarchist-Communist" given to the advanced labour movement is very largely a traditional one. The whole tendency to-day is in the direction of Communist thought—and Communist tactics must of necessity be generally accepted as the struggle intensifies. The lessons of the Russian revolution have not been lost on the thoughtful among the working class.

In a country free from conservative tradition, and such is the Argentine, the development of capitalist and working class organisation was, of necessity, very rapid. Fortunately for the workers, perhaps, the intrigues of foreign capital for concessions and the amount of bribery used, created a situation which made the business of politics so profitable that political solidarity was slow in rising among the native capitalists and landowners. Their strength on the political field was largely dissipated by the struggles of semi-professional politicians for power, and the various bidders for public support for a long time maintained a democratic pose. During this time the anarchist element was busy, and organisation on the industrial field proceeded apace.

Public disgust of professional politicians gave to the Social Democratically-minded section an opportunity to bring into existence a comparatively strong quasi-Marxian political party. For some time this organisation attracted to itself a considerable amount of working class support, but the bids of its petit bourgeois leaders for the votes of the middle class—accompanied by the usual treachery to the militant workers—soon opened the eyes of the class conscious to its real nature. Unfortunately, the true lesson was missed altogether by the responsible leaders, and led to the repudiation of political activity entirely, and a complete misunderstanding as to the real function of a political organisation. To-day, the working class as a whole is outside the political party, and the smallness of the Argentine Communist Party is eloquent of the immense harm done to the movement by the treachery of place-hunting Judas Iscariots. Our young and sincere comrades of the new party have much work to do before they can prove how different they are to the traitors who ran the Argentine Socialist Party.

Industrial Organisation

INDUSTRIAL organisation has proceeded along syndicalist lines, and to-day practically the whole of the organised workers are affiliated to one or other of two great federations. These are known respectively as "La Federacion Obrero Regional de la Argentina (Quinta)," and "La Federacion Obrero Regional de la Argentina (Decima)"; the first *from* the beginning was openly revolutionary; the second reformist. There are hopes entertained of the speedy amalgamation of these bodies as a result of the demands by the members of the reformist organisation for a more revolutionary policy. The new and consolidated organisation will carry on the tradition of the rebel body, with modifications to suit the requirements of the struggle of to-day. Both bodies were represented at the Congress of the Red Trade Union International, and doubtless the atmosphere of practical revolutionary

activity in Russia will have had the effect of showing the stupidity of dividing the working class in its fight against capitalism; and at the same time complete the education of the anarchist leaders in class war tactics. A short survey of their past activities will indicate what the possibilities will be if these surmises prove correct.

During the war, a May-day demonstration took place in Buenos Aires. An unusually large number took part in the demonstration owing to the fact that prices were soaring higher every day and discontent was rampant. In spite of the strained feeling, the demonstration was orderly and peaceful, but in a moment of panic the chief of the police ordered his men to disperse the crowd. This they proceeded to do in the usual brutal way, favoured by the police of all countries, and some of the demonstrators were killed and many injured. "Brave" British workers would have gone home and sent a deputation to their local member of Parliament to raise a question in the House about it. The "cowardly" Latins raised hell instead, called a general strike, and for a time the city of Buenos Aires was in their hands. The panic-stricken police fled the city, business closed down entirely, and had there been in existence an organisation capable of dealing with the situation, the authorities would have been hard put to it to dislodge the workers from their position. As it was the initiative passed from the workers to the master class, and the insurrection was suppressed with the savagery characteristic of our capitalist masters everywhere.

An indication of the tenacity which can be shown by the Argentine workers is afforded by the Mihanovich strike. The Mihanovich Company are large ship-owners, ship-builders and repairers, and over eighteen months ago a strike commenced. When overtures for peace took place, Mihanovitch absolutely refused to discharge the few blacklegs he had engaged on the grounds that he had made certain promises to them which he was in honour bound to carry out. The men replied that his honour was already so stained that an extra smear or two would not be noticeable, and in any case they had a rooted objection to working alongside "carneros." So the strike continued for *fifteen months*, and so solid was it that not a ship sailed up or down the River Plate flying the Mihanovich flag, and not a repair shop did a stroke of work. The Government had eventually to intervene before a settlement was arrived at.

The strike of cowboys and farm labourers, followed by their open revolt when troops were sent to quell rioting, is a remarkable example of the preparedness of the country workers for the revolution. The armed forces of the Republic failed to intimidate the strikers, who simply retreated in face of the superior weight of arms in perfect order, driving all the cattle in front of them and attacking their class enemies by any and every means. When last heard of they were firmly entrenched in a forest area, with enough food to last out a considerable time. They have the advantage of being equipped with small arms and horses, and as riders and shots are without equal. Whatever happens, the town proletariat can now count on their comrades in the country districts for solid support.

One of the most revolutionary syndicates in the Argentine is the Waiters Union! When one compares that statement with the position of waiters in this country it seems almost incredible. The tipping system prevails over there as elsewhere, but this fact has enabled the waiters to demonstrate in an admirable way what is possible by organisation. Obviously no café or restaurant returns in the shape of tips a weekly sum that approximates to a standard which would ensure that equal work would have equal remuneration. It is to the credit of the Buenos Aires waiters that they have come to an arrangement, and enforced it on the employers, to transfer waiters at regular intervals to all the cafés in rotation, so that all have an equal chance of earning over a given period a similar sum of money. One wonders if such an arrangement could ever be put into practice in London. Between the waiters and the chauffeurs the Argentine bourgeoisie are never certain when their comforts are going to be interfered with. The chauffeurs seldom work more than a month on end without a strike.

For some time—it may still be the case—the river tug-boats were controlled so that neither owners nor captains could select their crews. The union did that for them. The stevedores paid wages for extra strong gangs *and* for a delegate to accompany them. If a sack of flour or anything else they were loading weighed by even half a kilo more than was considered just, double pay was demanded. Coaling gangs who found the temperature was a degree above normal also claimed double pay or more. And they were always ready to fight for the seamen as well, without reference to nationality. An example of this is the case of the "Martha Washington," an American vessel. A row took place between the mate of this steamer and a Spanish fireman. The mate's revolver went off (he claimed, accidentally), and the union demanded that he should be punished for injuring the fireman. The authorities refused to interfere—so the ship could not discharge.

There was a terrible row over this incident. The American Consul entered a vigorous protest, and it looked likely to be an international case. Then an attempt was made to employ "free" labour, but the union was too strong. The carters butted in with a sympathetic strike, and even picketed the main roads to the city so effectually that nothing could enter or leave without their consent. The freezing establishments closed down and paper factories also. Masters and mates of ships in Buenos Aires have learnt their lesson, and are likely to think twice before over-asserting their authority.

Then came the great national fiesta of the 25th of May (Independence Day). On the eve of this holiday the chauffeurs came out on strike and published a manifesto denouncing the fiesta as one for the bourgeoisie only, since the workers had nothing to celebrate. Most of the business houses had subscribed handsomely to the Patriotic League's fund for the fiesta, and they wanted their money's worth. At a general meeting it was resolved that the government would take no action in the meantime to secure the working of all ships, and to restrain the unions generally, free labour would be organised.

Accordingly, free labour gangs were sent down to the docks, but to avoid trouble all access to the docks was denied to both free and federated labour alike, and those whose duties of office were to visit ships had first to get a special permit. Thus, although no one would accept responsibility for this state of affairs, the government itself shut down the harbour. This could not continue, and after trying to arrange a compromise, the government issued a decree stating that all qualified labourers were to be allowed to work. This conveyed no meaning except that things were to remain as before, the qualification being interpreted as meaning only union labourers. An excited meeting was held at the Stock Exchange, and the Minister of Finance, himself a member of the Exchange, was compelled to go to the president and get the admission, before witnesses, that the decree was intended to allow all and sundry to work in the docks. So some "free" labourers were sent down, shooting up commenced, and the police found it convenient to disappear from the scene. Another indignation meeting was held in the Exchange, and the business men threatened to close down all commerce. Then the government summoned up courage to act—troops appeared on the scene, and all the union offices were raided and closed and the leaders locked up. *They are now free!*

III.

The Future

ENOUGH has now been written to show what material there is in the Argentine for revolution. It also shows how energy can be dissipated in sporadic movements which are not under centralised Communist control. The Argentine Workers' Federation has to rest for the moment before it will have the power to act again in such a decisive fashion. The workers are exhausted with the long continued struggle, but should be in the proper state of mind for accepting the lessons of the struggles and preparing for the final attack. There exist in the Argentine leaders who are fully alive to their responsibilities in this matter, men of courage, resource and imagination. They know all that is to be known of the international aspect of the fight, and are working so that the rebels in the Argentine will realise that they are a section of a world-wide army—shock battalions it may be—who in a moment of international crisis may be able, at the exact moment, to turn the scales against the common enemy. Efforts are being made to link up effectively the workers of the other and less developed South American Republics, and when that is organised, if only eighty per cent. join hands, a quarter of the world's food supply will be in the hands and at the disposal of the working class. Consider the effect of a workers' blockade of food supplies in the event of a war on Russia, or an attack on the workers of other countries in revolt against their masters. It is in this direction that Argentine labour can best assist at present. A revolution in the Argentine might be swamped by the invasion of foreign troops, and can best be safeguarded after the world situation develops further.

IV.

Uruguayan Republic

THE Uruguayan Republic (lying on the other side of the River Plate from Argentina) presents a peculiar study to the social student. There the class war is not in the same advanced stage as in the Argentine. For one thing, the bourgeoisie are not very strong, business being as yet in a comparatively undeveloped state; and then there is the "Red Party," which is in power. The Red Party (so-called because of its colours, not its principles) is a very radical or advanced liberal organisation led by the usual professional politician. Its claim to power is based on the support of the masses, and under the present government the Republic has developed into the freest political entity in the world at the present moment, speaking in the capitalist sense. The reformist socialist party has never had a chance against this government owing to the willingness of the present holders of office to introduce and carry through legislation of the kind advocated by, say, the I.L.P.

For example, there is an eight hours day law that is rigidly enforced. There are laws governing the employment of women and children, which are in advance of those of most countries. There is a minimum wage law which covers practically all industries, and the law is administered by men who have the confidence of the workers. This year there comes before the legislature a Bill to absolutely ensure the payment of the minimum wage, inasmuch as the promoters desire the setting up of government pay offices, through which all employers must pay their men. This Bill is expected to pass, and will do much to stop the possibility of workers (there are such) willing to sign for larger sums than they actually receive for the sake of being favoured in slack times. Then there are the divorce laws, which allow of divorce without court proceedings of any kind, and without payment of any fees. The mutual consent of the parties involved is sufficient after a short lapse of time for the martial knot to be untied. And this in a nominally Roman Catholic country! Political offences are not sufficient to prevent people having right of entry to the Republic, and the President has personally intervened to save well-known revolutionaries being imprisoned in other South American countries. The President put the position very succinctly once when he said that the only difference between his party and the reformist socialists was that they put their theories into practice, and the others merely talked about them. Needless to say, however, all those reforms have not materially benefitted the workers—they have merely obscured the real issue. There is room for a real Communist Party in Uruguay, but none for the compromisers.

Industrially, the workers are not so well organised nor so revolutionary as are the Argentinos. The syndicalist organisations are controlled, and not very effectively, by anarchist officials. Efforts are being made to ensure the affiliation of the unions with the R.T.U.I., and a comrade left the republic to attend the Congress.

There he will meet other South American delegates, and the result of their common experiences in Soviet Russia will pave the way for the great South American alliance of labour which will eventually place the workers in power. Here, as in the Argentine, there is need for political education.

In Chile

IN the Chilean Republic there is still much work to do before the Labour movement is even on the level with the average European one. The only really revolutionary organisation there is the I.W.W. with a membership almost entirely confined to the Port workers. The comrades in this organisation have had a terrific struggle to maintain their organisation intact in face of the attacks made upon them by the present government, which is wholly re-actionary. An attempt was recently made to entirely suppress the I.W.W. Their headquarters were raided, officials arrested, and the documents seized. In spite of this, they have managed to carry on, and there is a possibility that the government will fail to carry out its design. Other organisations of the workers are mainly reformist in outlook, and the officials are given to dabbling in politics through capitalist institutions. In the north, the position is better, and the unions have decided to throw in their lot with the Chilean Socialist Party, inside of which there are comrades who work for the complete acceptance of the position of the Third International. There have been reports of the application of this party to the International, and if this is so, hopes can safely be entertained of a great advance on the present situation on the political field. Politically, Chile is particularly corrupt, so much so that practically every office under the State has its definite price, and the number of votes that a candidate for Congress gets depends on his ability or willingness to spend the necessary cash. Whatever the sum expended, there are ways and means of getting it all back again, with profits exceeding anything that is ordinarily extracted from business investments.

The country workers are usually entirely illiterate, and this makes written propaganda very difficult. Their condition is not very far removed from serfdom, being paid in kind and tied by various conditions to the soil. They are on the same mental level of the peasantry of this country in the time of the Henrys, and seem really to believe that their masters are different kinds of creatures to themselves. Propaganda carried on against the land-owners is looked upon as sacrilege, and there is always great danger of being informed against by the slaves themselves. In the towns the patriotic spirit is maintained by constant talk about the danger of invasion by Peru, and an army out of all proportion to the size of the population is kept in existence. Development in labour organisation seems to be arrested in this part of the world as compared to the Argentine, probably largely because of the geographical position, which does not lend itself to a constant influx of fresh blood and ideas from Europe. There are, however, signs of an awakening even here, as the workers are feeling the

effect of high prices and low wages, and becoming more and more receptive to new ideas. History teaches that the French peasants despite their ignorance, like the Russian peasants, instinctively moved towards the revolution.

VI.

Brazil

BRAZIL is much more advanced, although there are great difficulties in the way of carrying on educational work among the masses. There has been recently a great wave of reactionary effort on the part of the government to suppress Communist propaganda, and many of the comrades who were not born in Brazil have been deported. It is to the shame of British sailors that although South American seamen refused to assist in the deportations, these were generally carried out by shipping them on British vessels. The comrades in Brazil appeal to seamen of all countries to refuse to carry deportees whose crime was that of urging the Brazilian workers to organise for the overthrow of the master class.

Owing to the difficulty of the revolutionary syndicalists of centralising their movement in face of the repression by the government, a movement somewhat similar to the Shop Stewards is being initiated, and is meeting with considerable success. The leaders of this movement favour affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, and many of them are likely to prove themselves among the best. They have had a hard experience which has considerably helped to an understanding of the tactics which should be pursued, and, like the Argentine comrades, are working for the unification of the whole of the labour forces in South America. There is no Communist Party in Brazil—in fact, there are no political parties of any kind there as we understand the word. Candidates are chosen by those who hold power, and their candidates never lose an election, in spite of obvious bitter opposition in many cases to their being given office. It has been suggested that the fact of the government controlling the counting of the votes has something to do with this. Even I.L.P.er's and Labour Party enthusiasts recognise this possibility—in Brazil. There is room, however, for a Communist Party, even if the work will have to be carried on underground until it finds its strength, and the unification of all the Communist elements in the country is work that has the support of influential men in the movement.

The foregoing account of the position in South America has been written in the hope that attention will be directed to the possibilities of the situation over there. It should be the work of the R.T.U.I. to help in completing the organisation of the workers into one compact whole. All the assistance possible should be given our comrades in the task of educating the working class of South America into an understanding of the international situation as it affects the proletarian movement. Propaganda is carried on over there at a great risk, and in many instances the punishment meted out to revolutionaries caught doing this work

is exceptionally severe. But there is no fear of the comrades shirking the task. What is wanted is help from those more fortunately situated, and constant communication between Europe and America, so that when crises do arise, full advantage can be taken of what organisation does exist to make it still more difficult for capitalism to carry on. If the political movement has received very little attention, that is simply because at this stage the Communist Parties are only feeling their way towards working class support. Their opportunities will come with the development of the fight and the examples afforded in other countries of the paramount importance of organising Communists, as such, so that their influence will be felt and their leadership recognised when the great day arrives.

Revolutionary Socialism in Action

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

A Speech delivered in Berlin on December 30th, 1918, at the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League).

(Translated by EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL).

I.

Back to the Communist Manifesto

COMRADES! Our task to-day is to discuss and adopt a programme. In undertaking this task we are not actuated solely by the consideration that yesterday we founded a new party and that a new party must formulate a programme. Great historical movements have been the determining causes of to-day's deliberations. The time has arrived when the entire Socialist programme of the proletariat has to be established upon a new foundation. We are faced with a position similar to that which was faced by Marx and Engels when they wrote the Communist Manifesto seventy years ago. As you all know, the Communist Manifesto dealt with Socialism, with the realisation of the aims of Socialism, as the immediate task of the proletarian revolution. This was the idea represented by Marx and Engels in the revolution of 1848; it was thus, likewise, that they conceived the basis for proletarian action in the international field. In common with all the leading spirits in the working-class movement, both Marx and Engels then believed that the immediate introduction of Socialism was at hand. All that was necessary was to bring about a political revolution, to seize the political power of the state, and Socialism would then immediately pass from the realm of thought to the realm of flesh and blood. Subsequently, as you are aware, Marx and Engels undertook a thoroughgoing revision of this outlook. In the joint preface to the re-issue of the Communist Manifesto in the year 1872, we find the following passage: "No special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of section two. That passage would, in many respects, be differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry during the last twenty-five years and of the accompanying improved and extended organisation of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that the 'working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes.' "

What is the actual wording of the passage thus declared to be out of date? It runs as follows:

“ The proletariat will use its political supremacy : to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie ; to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class ; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

“ Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production ; by measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

“ The measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

“ Nevertheless, in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable :

“ 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all land rents to public purposes.

“ 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

“ 3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.

“ 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

“ 5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

“ 6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

“ 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state : the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally, in accordance with a concerted plan.

“ 8. Equal obligation upon all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

“ 9. Co-ordination of agriculture with manufacturing industries : gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of the population throughout the rural areas.

“ 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.”

With a few trifling variations, these, as you know, are the tasks that confront us to-day. It is by such measures that we shall have to realise Socialism. Between the day when the above programme was formulated, and the present hour, there have intervened seventy years of capitalist development, and the historical evolutionary process has brought us back to the standpoint which Marx and Engels had in 1872 abandoned as erroneous. At that time there were excellent reasons for believing that their earlier views had been wrong. The further evolution of capital has, however, resulted in this, that what was error in 1872 has become truth to-day, so that it is our immediate objective to fulfil what Marx and Engels thought they would have to fulfil in the year 1848. But between that point of development, that beginning in the year 1848, and our own views and our immediate task, there lies the whole evolution, not only of capitalism, but in addition of the Socialist labour movement. Above

all, there have intervened the aforesaid developments in Germany as the leading land of the modern proletariat. This working-class evolution has taken a peculiar form. When, after the disillusionments of 1848, Marx and Engels had given up the idea that the proletariat could immediately realise Socialism, there came into existence in all countries Socialist parties inspired with very different aims. The immediate objective of these parties was declared to be detail work, the petty daily struggle in the political and industrial fields. Thus, by degrees, would proletarian armies be formed, and these armies would be ready to realise Socialism when capitalist development had matured. The Socialist programme was thereby established upon an utterly different foundation, and in Germany the change took a peculiarly typical form. Down to the collapse of August 4, 1914, the German social democracy took its stand upon the Erfurt programme, and by this programme the so-called immediate minimal aims were placed in the foreground, whilst Socialism was no more than a distant guiding star. Far more important, however, than what is written in a programme, is the way in which that programme is interpreted in action. From this point of view, great importance must be attached to one of the historical documents of the German labour movement, to the preface written by Friedrich Engels for the 1895 re-issue of Marx's *Class Struggles in France*. It is not merely upon historical grounds that I now reopen this question. The matter is one of extreme actuality. It has become our urgent duty to-day to replace our programme upon the foundation laid by Marx and Engels in 1848. In view of the changes effected since then by the historical process of development, it is incumbent upon us to undertake a deliberate revision of the views that guided the German social democracy down to the collapse of August 4th. Upon such a revision we are officially engaged to-day.

How did Engels envisage the question in that celebrated preface to the *Class Struggles in France*, composed by him in 1895, twelve years after the death of Marx? First of all, looking back upon the year 1848, he showed that the belief that the Socialist revolution was imminent had become obsolete. He continued as follows:

“History has shown that we were all mistaken in holding such a belief. It has shown that the state of economic evolution upon the Continent was then far from being ripe for the abolition of capitalist production. This has been proved by the economic revolution which since 1848 has taken place all over the continent. Large-scale industry has been established in France, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and of late Russia. Germany has become a manufacturing country of the first rank. All these changes have taken place upon a capitalist foundation, a foundation which in the year 1848 still had to undergo an enormous extension.”

After summing up the changes which had occurred in the intervening period, Engels turned to consider the immediate tasks of the German Social Democratic Party. “As Marx had predicted,” he wrote, “the war of 1870-71 and the fall of the Commune shifted the centre of gravity of the European labour movement from France to Germany. Many years had naturally to elapse ere France could recover from the blood-letting of May, 1871. In Germany, on the other hand, manufacturing industry was developing by leaps and

bounds, in the forcing-house atmosphere produced by the influx of the French milliards. Even more rapid and more enduring was the growth of social democracy. Thanks to the agreement in virtue of which the German workers have been able to avail themselves of the universal [male] suffrage introduced in 1866, the astounding growth of the party has been demonstrated to all the world by the testimony of figures whose significance no one can deny.

Thereupon followed the famous enumeration, showing the growth of the party vote in election after election until the figures swelled to millions. From this progress Engels drew the following conclusion: "The successful employment of the parliamentary vote entailed the acceptance of an entirely new tactic by the proletariat, and this new method has undergone rapid development. It has been realised that the political institutions in which the dominion of the bourgeoisie is incorporated offer a fulcrum whereby the proletariat can work for the overthrow of these very political institutions. The social democrats have participated in the elections to the various diets, to municipal councils, and to industrial courts. Wherever the proletariat could secure an effective voice, the occupation of these electoral strongholds by the bourgeoisie has been contested. Consequently, the bourgeoisie and the government have become much more alarmed at the constitutional than at the unconstitutional activities of the workers, dreading the results of elections far more than they dread the results of rebellion." Engels appends a detailed criticism of the illusion that under modern capitalist conditions the proletariat can possibly expect to effect anything for the revolution by street fighting. It seems to me, however, seeing that to-day we are in the midst of a revolution, a revolution characterised by street fighting and all that this entails, that it is time to shake ourselves free of the views which have guided the official policy of the German social democracy down to our own day, of the views which share responsibility for what happened on August 4th, 1914. (Hear! hear!)

I do not mean to imply that, on account of these utterances, Engels must share personal responsibility for the whole course of Socialist evolution in Germany. I merely draw your attention to one of the classical pieces of evidence of the opinions prevailing in the German social democracy—opinions which proved fatal to the movement. In this preface Engels demonstrated, as an expert in military science, that it was a pure illusion to believe that the workers could, in the existing state of military technique and of industry, and in view of the characteristics of the great towns of to-day, successfully bring about a revolution by street fighting. Two important conclusions were drawn from this reasoning. In the first place, the parliamentary struggle was counterposed to direct revolutionary action by the proletariat, and the former was indicated as the only practical way of carrying on the class struggle. Parliamentarism, and nothing but parliamentarism, was the logical sequel of this criticism. Secondly, the whole military machine, the most powerful organisation in the class state, the entire body of proletarians in military uniform, was declared on apriori grounds to be absolutely inaccessible in Socialist influences. When Engels' preface declares that, owing to the modern development of gigantic

armies, it is positively insane to suppose that proletarians can ever stand up against soldiers armed with machine guns and equipped with all the other latest technical devices, the assertion is obviously based upon the assumption that anyone who becomes a soldier, becomes thereby once and for all one of the props of the ruling class. It would be absolutely incomprehensible, in the light of contemporary experience, that so noted a leader as Engels could have committed such a blunder, did we not know the circumstances in which this historical document was composed. For the credit of our two great masters, and especially for the credit of Engels, who died twelve years later than Marx, and was always a faithful champion of his great collaborator's theories and reputation, I must remind you of the well-known fact that the preface in question was written by Engels under strong pressure on the part of the parliamentary group. At that date in Germany, during the early 'nineties after the anti-socialist law had been annulled, there was a strong movement towards the left, the movement of those who wished to save the party from becoming completely absorbed in the parliamentary struggle. Bebel and his associates wished for convincing arguments, backed up by Engels' great authority; they wished for an utterance which would help them to keep a tight hand upon the revolutionary elements. It was characteristic of party conditions at the time that the Socialist parliamentarians should have the decisive word alike in theory and in practice. They assured Engels, who lived abroad and naturally accepted the assurance at its face value, that it was absolutely essential to safeguard the German labour movement from a lapse into anarchism, and in this way they constrained him to write in the tone they wished. Thenceforward the tactics expounded by Engels in 1895 guided the German social democrats in everything they did and in everything they left undone, down to the appropriate finish of August 4th, 1914. The preface was the formal proclamation of the nothing-but-parliamentarism tactic. Engels died the same year, and had therefore no opportunity for studying the practical consequences of his theory. Those who know the works of Marx and Engels, those who are familiarly acquainted with the genuinely revolutionary spirit that inspired all their teachings and all their writings, will feel positively certain that Engels would have been one of the first to protest against the debauch of parliamentarism, against the frittering away of the energies of the labour movement, which was characteristic of Germany during the decades before the war. The fourth of August did not come like thunder out of a clear sky; what happened on the fourth of August was not a chance turn of affairs, but was the logical outcome of all that the German Socialists had been doing day after day for many years. (Hear! hear!) Engels and Marx, had it been possible for them to live on into our own time, would, I am convinced, have protested with the utmost energy, and would have used all the forces at their disposal to keep the party from hurling itself into the abyss. But after Engels' death in 1895, in the theoretical field the leadership of the party passed into the hands of Kautsky. The upshot of this change was that at every annual congress the energetic protests of the left wing against a purely parliamentarist policy, its urgent warnings against the sterility and the danger of such a policy, were stig-

matised as anarchism, anarchising Socialism, or at least anti-Marxism. What passed officially for Marxism became a cloak for all possible kinds of opportunism, for persistent shirking of the revolutionary class struggle, for every conceivable half-measure. Thus the German social democracy, and the labour movement, the trade-union movement as well, were condemned to pine away within the framework of capitalist society. No longer did German Socialists and trade unionists make any serious attempt to overthrow capitalist institutions or to put the capitalist machine out of gear.

II.

New Conditions, New Tasks

BUT we have now reached the point, comrades, when we are able to say that we have rejoined Marx, that we are once more advancing under his flag. If to-day we declare that the immediate task of the proletariat is to make Socialism a living reality and to destroy capitalism root and branch, in saying this we take our stand upon the ground occupied by Marx and Engels in 1848; we adopt a position from which in principle they never moved. It has at length become plain what true Marxism is, and what substitute-Marxism has been. (Applause). I mean the substitute-Marxism which has so long been the official Marxism of the social democracy. You see what Marxism of this sort leads to, the Marxism of those who are the henchmen of Ebert, David, and the rest of them. These are the official representatives of the doctrine which has been trumpeted for decades as Marxism undefiled. But in reality Marxism could not lead in this direction, could not lead Marxists to engage in counter-revolutionary activities side by side with such as Scheidemann. Genuine Marxism turns its weapons against those also who seek to falsify it. Burrowing like a mole beneath the foundations of capitalist society, it has worked so well that the larger half of the German proletariat is marching to-day under our banner, the storm-riding standard of revolution. Even in the opposite camp, even where the counter-revolution still seems to rule, we have adherents and future comrades-in-arms.

Let me repeat, then, that the course of historical evolution has led us back to the point at which Marx and Engels stood in 1848 when they first hoisted the flag of international Socialism. We stand where they stood, but with the advantage that seventy additional years of capitalist development lie behind us. Seventy years ago, to those who reviewed the errors and illusions of 1848, it seemed as if the proletariat had still an interminable distance to traverse before it could hope to realise Socialism. I need hardly say that no serious thinker has ever been inclined to fix upon a definite date for the collapse of capitalism; but after the failures of 1848, the day for that collapse seemed to lie in the distant future. Such a belief, too, can be read in every line of the preface which Engels wrote in 1895. We are now in a position to cast up the account, and we are able to see that the time has really been short in comparison with that occupied by the sequence of class struggles throughout history. The progress of large-scale capitalist development during seventy years has brought us so far that to-day

we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once for all. Nay more, not merely are we to-day in a position to perform this task, not merely is its performance a duty towards the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. (Loud applause). What has the war left of bourgeois society beyond a gigantic rubbish-heap? Formally, of course, all the means of production and most of the instruments of power, practically all the decisive instruments of power, are still in the hands of the dominant classes. We are under no illusions here. But what our rulers will be able to achieve with the powers they possess, over and above frantic attempts to re-establish their system of spoliation through blood and slaughter, will be nothing more than chaos. Matters have reached such a pitch that to-day mankind is faced with two alternatives: it may perish amid chaos; or it may find salvation in Socialism. As the outcome of the great war it is impossible for the capitalist classes to find any issue from their difficulties while they maintain class rule. We now realise the absolute truth of the statement formulated for the first time by Marx and Engels as the scientific basis of Socialism in the great charter of our movement, in the Communist Manifesto. Socialism, they said, will become a historical necessity. Socialism is inevitable, not merely because proletarians are no longer willing to live under the conditions imposed by the capitalist class, but further because, if the proletariat fails to fulfil its duties as a class, if it fails to realise Socialism, we shall crash down together to a common doom. (Prolonged applause).

Here you have the general foundation of the programme we are officially adopting to-day, a draft of which you have all read in the pamphlet *Was will der Spartakusbund?**. Our programme is deliberately opposed to the leading principle of the Erfurt programme; it is deliberately opposed to the separation of the immediate and so-called minimal demands formulated for the political and economic struggle, from the socialist goal regarded as a maximal programme. It is in deliberate opposition to the Erfurt programme that we liquidate the results of seventy years' evolution, that we liquidate, above all, the primary results of the war, saying we know nothing of minimal and maximal programmes; we know only one thing, Socialism; this is the minimum we are going to secure. (Hear! hear!)

I do not propose to discuss the details of our programme. This would take too long, and you will form your own opinions upon matters of detail. The task that devolves upon me is merely to sketch the broad lines wherein our programme is distinguished from what has hitherto been the official programme of the German social democracy. I regard it, however, as of the utmost importance that we should come to an understanding in our estimate of the concrete circumstances of the hour, of the tactics we have to adopt, of the practical measures which must be undertaken, in view of the course of the revolution down to the present time, and in view of the probable lines of further development. We have to judge the political situation from the outlook I have just characterised, from

*English translation, "The German Spartacists: Their Aims and Objects." C.P. pamphlet. Price 2d.

the outlook of those who aim at the immediate realisation of Socialism, of those who are determined to subordinate everything else to that end.

Our congress, the congress of what I may proudly call the only revolutionary Socialist party of the German proletariat, happens to coincide in point of time with a crisis in the development of the German revolution. "Happens to coincide," I say; but in truth the coincidence is no chance matter. We may assert that after the occurrences of the last few days the curtain has gone down upon the first act of the German revolution. We are now in the opening of the second act, and it is our common duty to undertake self-examination and self-criticism. We shall be guided more wisely in the future, and we shall gain additional impetus for further advances, if we study all that we have done and all that we have left undone. Let us, then, carefully scrutinise the events of the first act in the revolution.

The movement began on November 9th. The revolution of November 9th was characterised by inadequacy and weakness. This need not surprise us. The revolution followed four years of war, four years during which, schooled by the social democracy and the trade unions, the German proletariat had behaved with intolerable ignominy and had repudiated its Socialist obligations to an extent unparalleled in any other land. We Marxists, whose guiding principle is a recognition of historical evolution, could hardly expect that in the Germany which had known the terrible spectacle of August 4th, and which during more than four years had reaped the harvest sown on that day, there should suddenly occur on November 9th, 1918, a glorious revolution, inspired with definite class-consciousness, and directed towards a clearly conceived aim. What happened on November 9th was to a very small extent the victory of a new principle; it was little more than a collapse of the extant system of imperialism. (Hear! hear!).

The moment had come for the collapse of imperialism, a colossus with feet of clay, crumbling from within. The sequel of this collapse was a more or less chaotic movement, one practically devoid of reasoned plan. The only source of union, the only persistent and saving principle, was the watchword, "Form workers' and soldiers' councils." Such was the slogan of this revolution, whereby, in spite of the inadequacy and weakness of the opening phases, it immediately established its claim to be numbered among proletarian Socialist revolutions. To those who participated in the revolution of November 9th, and who none the less shower calumnies upon the Russian Bolsheviks, we should never cease to reply with the question: "Where did you learn the alphabet of your revolution? Was it not from the Russians that you learned to ask for workers' and soldiers' councils?" (Applause). Those pygmies who to-day make it one of their chief tasks, as heads of what they falsely term a Socialist government, to join with the imperialists of Britain in a murderous attack upon the Bolsheviks, were then taking their seats as deputies upon the workers' and soldiers' councils, thereby formally admitting that the Russian revolution created the first watchwords for the world revolution. A study of the existing situation enables us to predict with certainty that in whatever

country, after Germany, the proletarian revolution may next break out, the first step will be the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils. (Murmurs of assent). Herein is to be found the tie that unites our movement internationally. This is the motto which distinguishes our revolution utterly from all earlier revolutions, bourgeois revolutions. On November 9th, the first cry of the revolution, as instinctive as the cry of a new-born child, was for workers' and soldiers' councils. This was our common rallying-cry, and it is through the councils that we can alone hope to realise Socialism. But it is characteristic of the contradictory aspects of our revolution, characteristic of the contradictions which attend every revolution, that at the very time when this great, stirring, and instinctive cry was being uttered, the revolution was so inadequate, so feeble, so devoid of initiative, so lacking in clearness as to its own aims, that on November 10th our revolutionists allowed to slip from their grasp nearly half the instruments of power they had seized on November 9th. We learn from this, on the one hand, that our revolution is subject to the prepotent law of historical determinism, a law which guarantees that, despite all difficulties and complications, notwithstanding all our own errors, we shall nevertheless advance step by step towards our goal. On the other hand, we have to recognise, comparing this splendid battle-cry with the paucity of the results practically achieved, we have to recognise that these were no more than the first childish and faltering foot-steps of the revolution, which has many arduous tasks to perform and a long road to travel before the promise of the first watchwords can be fully realised.

The weeks that have elapsed between November 9th and the present day have been weeks filled with multiform illusions. The primary illusion of the workers and soldiers who made the revolution was their belief in the possibility of unity under the banner of what passes by the name of Socialism. What could be more characteristic of the internal weakness of the revolution of November 9th than the fact that at the very outset the leadership passed in no small part into the hands of persons who a few hours before the revolution broke out had regarded it as their chief duty to issue warnings against revolution—(hear! hear!)—to attempt to make revolution impossible—into the hands of such as Ebert, Scheidemann, and Haase. One of the leading ideas of the revolution of November 9th was that of uniting the various Socialist trends. The union was to be effected by acclamation. This was an illusion which had to be bloodily avenged, and the events of the last few days have brought a bitter awakening from our dreams; but the self-deception was universal, affecting the Ebert and Scheidemann groups and affecting the bourgeoisie no less than ourselves. Another illusion was that affecting the bourgeoisie during this opening act of the revolution. They believed that by means of the Ebert-Haase combination, by means of the so-called Socialist government, they would really be able to bridle the proletarian masses and to strangle the Socialist revolution. Yet another illusion was that from which the members of the Ebert-Scheidemann government suffered when they believed that with the aid of the soldiers returned from the front they would be able to hold down the workers and to curb all manifestations of the Socialist class

struggle. Such were the multifarious illusions which explain recent occurrences. One and all, they have now been dissipated. It has been plainly proved that the union between Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann under the banner of "Socialism" serves merely as a fig-leaf for the decent veiling of a counter-revolutionary policy. We ourselves, as always happens in revolutions, have been cured of our self-deceptions. There is a definite revolutionary procedure whereby the popular mind can be freed from illusion, but, unfortunately, the cure involves that the people must be blooded. In revolutionary Germany, events have followed the course characteristic of all revolutions. The bloodshed in Chaussee Street on December 6th, the massacre of December 24th, brought the truth home to the broad masses of the people. Through these occurrences they came to realise that what passes by the name of a Socialist government is a government representing the counter-revolution. They came to realise that any one who continues to tolerate such a state of affairs is working against the proletariat and against Socialism. (Applause).

Vanished, likewise, is the illusion cherished by Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann & Co., that with the aid of soldiers from the front they will be able for ever to keep the workers in subjection. What has been the effect of the experiences of December 6th and 24th? There has been obvious of late a profound disillusionment among the soldiery. The men begin to look with a critical eye upon those who have used them as cannon-fodder against the Socialist proletariat. Herein we see once more the working of the law that the Socialist revolution undergoes a determined objective development, a law in accordance with which the battalions of the labour movement gradually learn through bitter experience to recognise the true path of revolution. Fresh bodies of soldiers have been brought to Berlin, new detachments of cannon-fodder, additional forces for the subjection of Socialist proletarians—with the result that, from barrack after barrack, there comes a demand for the pamphlets and leaflets of the Spartacus Group. This marks the close of the first act. The hopes of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would be able to rule the proletariat with the aid of reactionary elements among the soldiery, have already to a large extent been frustrated. What they have to expect within the very near future is an increasing development of definite revolutionary trends within the barracks. Thereby the army of the fighting proletariat will be augmented, and correspondingly the forces of the counter-revolutionists will dwindle. In consequence of these changes, yet another illusion will have to go, the illusion that animates the bourgeoisie, the dominant class. If you read the newspapers of the last few days, the newspapers issued since the incidents of December 24th, you cannot fail to perceive plain manifestations of disillusionment conjoined with indignation, both due to the fact that the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, those who sit in the seats of the mighty, have proved inefficient. (Hear! hear!)

It had been expected of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would prove themselves strong men, successful lion-tamers. But what have they achieved? They have suppressed a couple of trifling disturbances, and as a sequel the hydra of revolution has

raised its head more resolutely than ever. Thus disillusionment is mutual, nay universal. The workers have completely lost the illusion which had led them to believe that a union between Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann would amount to a Socialist government. Ebert and Scheidemann have lost the illusion which had led them to imagine that with the aid of proletarians in military uniform they could permanently keep down proletarians in civilian dress. The members of the middle class have lost the illusion that, through the instrumentality of Ebert, Scheidemann and Haase, they can humbug the entire Socialist revolution of Germany as to the ends it desires. All these things have a merely negative force, and there remains from them nothing but the rags and tatters of destroyed illusions. But it is in truth a great gain for the proletariat that naught beyond these rags and tatters remains from the first phase of the revolution, for there is nothing so destructive as illusion, whereas nothing can be of greater use to the revolution than naked truth. I may appropriately recall the words of one of our classical writers, a man who was no proletarian revolutionary, but a revolutionary spirit nurtured in the middle class. I refer to Lessing, and quote a passage which has always aroused my sympathetic interest: "I do not know whether it be a duty to sacrifice happiness and life to truth. . . . But this much I know, that it is our duty, if we desire to teach truth, to teach it wholly or not at all, to teach it clearly and bluntly, unenigmatically, unreservedly, inspired with full confidence in its powers. . . . The cruder an error, the shorter and more direct is the path leading to truth. But a highly refined error is likely to keep us permanently estranged from truth, and will do so all the more readily in proportion as we find it difficult to realise that it is an error. . . . One who thinks of conveying to mankind truth masked and rouged, may be truth's pimp, but has never been truth's lover." Comrades, Messrs. Haase, Dittmann, etc., have wished to bring us the revolution, to introduce Socialism, covered with a mask, smeared with rouge; they have thus shown themselves to be the pimps of the counter-revolution. To-day these concealments have been discarded, and what was offered is disclosed in the brutal and sturdy lineaments of Messrs. Ebert and Scheidemann. To-day the dullest among us can make no mistake. What is offered is the counter-revolution in all its repulsive nudity.

The first act is over. What are the subsequent possibilities? There is, of course, no question of prophecy. We can only hope to deduce the logical consequences of what has already happened, and thus to draw conclusions as to the probabilities of the future, in order that we may adapt our tactics to these probabilities. Whither does the road seem to lead? Some indications are given by the latest utterances of the Ebert-Scheidemann government, utterances free from ambiguity. What is likely to be done by this so-called Socialist government now that, as I have shown, all illusions have been dispelled? Day by day the government loses increasingly the support of the broad masses of the proletariat. In addition to the petty bourgeoisie there stand behind it no more than poor remnants from among the workers, and as regards these last it is extremely dubious whether they will long continue to lend any aid to Ebert and Scheidemann. More and more, too, the government

is losing the support of the army, for the soldiers have entered upon the path of self-examination and self-criticism. The effects of this process may seem slow at first, but it will lead irresistibly to their acquiring a thoroughgoing Socialist mentality. As for the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Scheidemann have lost credit in this quarter too, for they have not shown themselves strong enough. What can they do? They will soon make an end of the comedy of Socialist policy. When you read these gentlemen's new programme you will see that they are steaming under forced draught into the second phase, that of the declared counter-revolution, or, as I may even say, the restoration of pre-existent, pre-revolutionary conditions.

What is the programme of the new government? It proposes the election of a president, who is to have a position intermediate between that of the king of England and that of the president of the United States. (Hear! hear!) He is to be, as it were, King Ebert. In the second place they propose to re-establish the federal council. You may read to-day the independently formulated demands of the South German governments, demands which emphasise the federal character of the German realm. The re-establishment of the good old federal council, in conjunction, naturally, with that of its appendage, the German Reichstag, is now a question of a few weeks only. Comrades, Ebert and Scheidemann are moving in this way towards the simple restoration of the conditions that obtained prior to November 9th. But therewith they have entered upon a steep declivity, and are likely ere long to find themselves lying with broken limbs at the bottom of the abyss. For by the ninth of November the re-establishment of the conditions that had existed prior to the ninth of November had already become out of date, and to-day Germany is miles from such a possibility. In order to secure support from the only class whose class interests the government really represents, in order to secure support from the bourgeoisie—a support which has in fact been withdrawn owing to recent occurrences—Ebert and Scheidemann will be compelled to pursue an increasingly counter-revolutionary policy. The demands of the South German states, as published to-day in the Berlin newspapers, give frank expression to the wish to secure “enhanced safety” for the German realm. In plain language, this means that they desire the declaration of a state of siege against “anarchist, disorderly, and Bolshevist” elements; that is to say, against Socialists. By the pressure of circumstances, Ebert and Scheidemann will be constrained to the expedient of dictatorship, with or without the declaration of a state of siege. Thus, as an outcome of the previous course of development, by the mere logic of events and through the operation of the forces which control Ebert and Scheidemann, there will ensue during the second act of the revolution a much more pronounced opposition of tendencies and a greatly accentuated class struggle. (Hear! hear!) This intensification of conflict will arise, not merely because the political influences I have already enumerated, dispelling all illusions, will lead to a declared hand-to-hand fight between the revolution and the counter-revolution; but in addition because the flames of a new fire are spreading upward from the depths, the flames of the economic struggle.

III.

Lessons of the November Revolution

IT was typical of the first period of the revolution down to December 24th, that the revolution remained exclusively political. Hence the infantile character, the inadequacy, the half-heartedness, the aimlessness, of this revolution. Such was the first stage of a revolutionary transformation whose main objective lies in the economic field, whose main purpose it is to secure a fundamental change in economic conditions. Its steps were as uncertain as those of a child groping its way without knowing whither it is going; for at this stage, I repeat, the revolution had a purely political stamp. But within the last two or three weeks a number of strikes have broken out quite spontaneously. Now, I regard it as the very essence of this revolution that strikes will become more and more extensive, until they constitute at last the focus of the revolution. (Applause). Thus we shall have an economic revolution, and therewith a Socialist revolution. The struggle for Socialism has to be fought out by the masses, by the masses alone, breast to breast against capitalism; it has to be fought out by those in every occupation, by every proletarian against his employer. Thus only can it be a Socialist revolution.

The thoughtless had a very different picture of the course of affairs. They imagined it would merely be necessary to overthrow the old government, to set up a Socialist government at the head of affairs, and then to inaugurate Socialism by decree. Another illusion? Socialism will not be and cannot be inaugurated by decrees; it cannot be established by any government, however admirably socialistic. Socialism must be created by the masses, and be made by every proletarian. Where the chains of capitalism are forged, there must the chains be broken. That only is Socialism, and thus only can Socialism be brought into being.

What is the external form of struggle for Socialism? The strike, and that is why the economic phase of development has come to the front in the second act of the revolution. This is something on which we may pride ourselves, for no one will dispute with us the honour. We of the Spartacus Group, we of the Communist Party of Germany, are the only ones in all Germany who are on the side of the striking and fighting workers. (Hear! hear!) You have read and witnessed again and again the attitude of the Independent Socialists towards strikes. There was no difference between the outlook of *Vorwaerts* and the outlook of *Freiheit*. Both journals sang the same tune; Be diligent, Socialism means hard work. Such was their utterance while capitalism was still in control! Socialism cannot be established thus-wise, but only by carrying on an unremitting struggle against capitalism. Yet we see the claims of the capitalists defended, not only by the most outrageous profit-snatchers, but also by the Independent Socialists and by their organ, *Freiheit*; we find that our Communist Party stands alone in supporting the workers against the exactions of capital. This suffices to show that all are to-day persistent and unsparing enemies of the strike, except only those who have taken their stand with us upon the platform of revolutionary Communism.

The conclusion to be drawn is, not only that during the second act of the revolution, strikes will become increasingly prevalent; but, further, that strikes will become the central feature and the decisive factors of the revolution, thrusting purely political questions into the background. The inevitable consequence of this will be that the struggle in the economic field will be enormously intensified. The revolution will therewith assume aspects that will be no joke to the bourgeoisie. The members of the capitalist class are quite agreeable to mystifications in the political domain, where masquerades are still possible, where such creatures as Ebert and Scheidemann can pose as Socialists; but they are horror-stricken directly profits are touched. To the Ebert-Scheidemann government, therefore, the capitalists will present these alternatives. Either, they will say, you must put an end to the strikes, you must stop this strike movement which threatens to destroy us; or else, we have no more use for you. I believe, indeed, that the government has already damned itself pretty thoroughly by its political measures. Ebert and Scheidemann are distressed to find that the bourgeoisie no longer reposes confidence in them. The capitalists will think twice before they decide to cloak in ermine the rough upstart, Ebert. If matters go so far that a monarch is needed, they will say: "It does not suffice a king to have blood upon his hand; he must also have blue blood in his veins." Hear! hear!) Should matters reach this pass, they will say: "If we needs must have a king, we will not have a parvenu who does not know how to comport himself in kingly fashion." (Laughter).

Thus Ebert and Scheidemann are coming to the point when a counter-revolutionary movement will display itself. They will be unable to quench the fires of the economic class struggle, and at the same time with their best endeavours they will fail to satisfy the bourgeoisie. There will be a desperate attempt at counter-revolution, perhaps an unqualified militarist dictatorship under Hindenburg, or perhaps the counter-revolution will manifest itself in some other form; but in any case, our heroes will take to the woods. (Laughter).

It is impossible to speak positively as to details. But we are not concerned with matters of detail, with the question precisely what will happen, or precisely when it will happen. Enough that we know the broad lines of coming developments. Enough that we know that, to the first act of the revolution, to the phase in which the political struggle has been the leading feature, there will succeed a phase predominantly characterised by an intensification of the economic struggle, and that sooner or later the government of Ebert and Scheidemann will take its place among the shades.

It is far from easy to say what will happen to the National Assembly during the second act of the revolution. Perchance, should the assembly come into existence, it may prove a new school of education for the working class. But it seems just as likely that the National Assembly will never come into existence. Let me say parenthetically, to help you to understand the grounds upon which we were defending our position yesterday, that our only objection was to limiting our tactics to a single alternative. I will not reopen the whole discussion, but will merely say a word or two

lest any of you should falsely imagine that I am blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Our position to-day is precisely that of yesterday. We do not propose to base our tactics in relation to the National Assembly upon what is a possibility but not a certainty. We refuse to stake everything upon the belief that the National Assembly will never come into existence. *We wish to be prepared for all possibilities, including the possibility of utilising the National Assembly for revolutionary purposes should the assembly ever come into being.* Whether it comes into being or not is a matter of indifference, for whatever happens the success of the revolution is assured.

What fragments will then remain of the Ebert-Scheidemann government or of any other alleged social democratic government which may happen to be in charge when the revolution takes place? I have said that the masses of the workers are already alienated from them, and that the soldiers are no longer to be counted upon as counter-revolutionary cannon-fodder. What on earth will the poor pygmies be able to do? How can they hope to save the situation? They will still have one last chance. Those of you who have read to-day's newspapers will have seen where the ultimate reserves are, will have learned whom it is that the German counter-revolution proposes to lead against us should the worst come to the worst. You will all have read how the German troops in Riga are already marching shoulder to shoulder with the English against the Russian Bolsheviks. Comrades, I have documents in my hands which throw an interesting light upon what is now going on in Riga. The whole thing comes from the headquarters' staff of the eighth army, which is collaborating with Herr August Winnig, the German social democrat and trade-union leader. We have always been told that the unfortunate Ebert and Scheidemann are victims of the Allies. But for weeks past, since the very beginning of our revolution, it has been the policy of *Vorwaerts* to suggest that the suppression of the Russian revolution is the earnest desire of the Allies. We have here documentary evidence how all this was arranged to the detriment of the Russian proletariat and of the German revolution. In a telegram dated December 26th, Lieutenant-Colonel Buerkner, chief of general staff of the eighth army, conveys information concerning the negotiations which led to this agreement at Riga. The telegram runs as follows:

"On December 23rd there was a conversation between the German plenipotentiary Winnig, and the British plenipotentiary Monsanquet, formerly Consul-General at Riga. The interview took place on board H.M.S. "Princess Margaret," and the commanding officer of the German troops was invited to be present. I was appointed to represent the army command. The purpose of the conversation was to assist in the carrying out of the armistice conditions. The conversation took the following course:

"From the English side: The British ships at Riga will supervise the carrying out of the armistice conditions. Upon these conditions are based the following demands:

"(1) The Germans are to maintain a sufficient force in this region to hold the Bolsheviks in check and to prevent them from extending the area now occupied.

“(3) A statement of the present disposition of the troops fighting the Bolsheviks, including both the German and the Lettish soldiers, shall be sent to the British staff officer, so that the information may be available for the senior naval officer. All future dispositions of the troops carrying on the fight against the Bolsheviks must in like manner be communicated through the same officer.

“(4) A sufficient fighting force must be kept under arms at the following points; in order to prevent their being seized by the Bolsheviks, and in order to prevent the Bolsheviks from passing beyond a line connecting the places named: Walk, Wolmar, Wenden, Friedrichstadt, Pensk, Mitau.

“(5) The railway from Riga to Libau must be safeguarded against Bolshevik attack, and all British supplies and communications passing along this line shall receive preferential treatment.”
A number of additional demands follows.

Let us now turn to the answer of Herr Winnig, German plenipotentiary and trade-union leader:

“Though it is unusual that a desire should be expressed to compel a government to retain occupation of a foreign state, in this case it would be our own wish to do so, since the question is one of protecting German blood.” [The Baltic Barons!] “Moreover, we regard it as a moral duty to assist the country which we have liberated from its former state of dependence. Our endeavours would, however, be likely to be frustrated, in the first place, by the condition of the troops, for our soldiers in this region are mostly men of considerable age and comparatively unfit for service, and owing to the armistice keen on returning home and possessed of little will to fight; in the second place, owing to the attitude of the Baltic governments, by which the Germans are regarded as oppressors. But we will endeavour to provide volunteer troops, consisting of men with a fighting spirit, and indeed this has already in part been done.”

Here we see the counter-revolution at work. You will have read not long ago of the formation of the Iron Division expressly intended to fight the Bolsheviks in the Baltic provinces. At that time there was some doubt as to the attitude of the Ebert-Scheidemann government. You will now realise that the initiative in the creation of such a force actually came from the government.

One word more concerning Winnig. It is no chance matter that a trade-union leader should perform such political services. We can say, without hesitation, that the German trade-union leaders and the German social democrats are the most infamous scoundrels the world has ever known. (Vociferous applause). Do you know where these fellows, Winnig, Ebert and Scheidemann ought by right to be? By the German penal code, which they tell us is still in force, and which continues to be the basis of their own legal system, they ought to be in gaol! (Vociferous applause). For by the German penal code it is an offence punishable by imprisonment to enlist German soldiers for foreign service. To-day there stand at the head of the “Socialist” government of Germany, men who are not merely the Judases of the Socialist movement and traitors to the proletarian revolution, but who are gaol-birds, unfit to mix with decent society. (Loud applause).

IV.

Tactics of the German Revolution

TO resume the thread of my discourse, it is clear that all these machinations, the formation of Iron Divisions, and, above all, the before-mentioned agreement with British imperialists, must be regarded as the ultimate reserves, to be called up in case of need in order to throttle the German Socialist movement. Moreover, the cardinal question, the question of the prospects of peace, is intimately associated with the affair. What can such negotiations lead to but a fresh lighting-up of the war? While these rascals are playing a comedy in Germany, trying to make us believe that they are working overtime in order to arrange conditions of peace, and declaring that we Spartacists are the disturbers of the peace whose doings are making the Allies uneasy and retarding the peace settlement, they are themselves kindling the war afresh, a war in the East to which a war on German soil will soon succeed. Once more we meet with a situation the sequel of which cannot fail to be a period of fierce contention. It devolves upon us to defend, not Socialism alone, not revolution alone, but likewise the interests of world peace. Herein we find a justification for the tactics which we of the Spartacus Group have consistently and at every opportunity pursued throughout the four years of the war. Peace means the world-wide revolution of the proletariat. In one way only can peace be established and peace be safeguarded—by the victory of the Socialist proletariat! (Prolonged applause).

What general tactical considerations must we deduce from this? How can we best deal with the situation with which we are likely to be confronted in the immediate future? Your first conclusion will doubtless be a hope that the fall of the Ebert-Scheidemann government is at hand, and that its place will be taken by a declared Socialist proletarian revolutionary government. For my part, I would ask you to direct your attention, not to the apex, but to the base. We must not again fall into the illusion of the first phase of the revolution, that of November 9th; we must not think that when we wish to bring about a Socialist revolution it will suffice to overthrow the capitalist government and to set up another in its place. There is only one way of achieving the victory of the proletarian revolution. We must begin by undermining the Ebert-Scheidemann government by destroying its foundations through a revolutionary mass struggle on the part of the proletariat. Moreover, let me remind you of some of the inadequacies of the German revolution, inadequacies which have not been overcome with the close of the first act of the revolution. We are far from having reached a point when the overthrow of the government can ensure the victory of Socialism. I have endeavoured to show you that the revolution of November 9th was, before all, a political revolution; whereas the revolution which is to fulfil our aims, must, in addition, and mainly, be an economic revolution. But further, the revolutionary movement was confined to the towns, and even up to the present date the rural districts remain practically untouched. Socialism would prove illusory if it were to leave our present agricultural system unchanged. From the broad outlook of Socialist

economics, manufacturing industry cannot be remodelled unless it be quickened through a Socialist transformation of agriculture. The leading idea of the economic transformation that will realise Socialism, is an abolition of the contrast and the division between town and country. This separation, this conflict, this contradiction, is a purely capitalistic phenomenon, and it must disappear as soon as we place ourselves upon the Socialist standpoint. If Socialist reconstruction is to be undertaken in real earnest, we must direct attention just as much to the open country as to the industrial centres, and yet as regards the former we have not even taken the first steps. This is essential, not merely because we cannot bring about Socialism without socialising agriculture; but also because, whilst we may think we have reckoned up the last reserves of the counter-revolution against us and our endeavours, there remains another important reserve which has not yet been taken into account. I refer to the peasantry. Precisely because the peasants are still untouched by Socialism, they constitute an additional reserve for the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The first thing our enemies will do when the flames of the Socialist strikes begin to scorch their heels, will be to mobilise the peasants, who are fanatical devotees of private property. There is only one way of making head against this threatening counter-revolutionary power. We must carry the class struggle into the country districts; we must mobilise the landless proletariat and the poorer peasants against the richer peasants. (Loud applause).

From this consideration we may deduce what we have to do to ensure the success of the revolution. First and foremost, we have to extend in all directions the system of workers' councils. What we have taken over from November 9th are mere weak beginnings, and we have not wholly taken over even these. During the first phase of the revolution we actually lost extensive forces that were acquired at the very outset. You are aware that the counter-revolution has been engaged in the systematic destruction of the system of workers' and soldiers council. In Hesse, these councils have been definitely abolished by the counter-revolutionary government; elsewhere, power has been wrenched from their hands. Not merely, then, have we to develop the system of workers' and soldiers' councils, but we have to induce the agricultural labourers and the poorer peasants to adopt this system. We have to seize power, and the problem of the seizure of power assumes this aspect; what, throughout Germany, can each workers' and soldiers' council achieve? (Bravo!) There lies the source of power. We must mine the bourgeois state, and we must do so by putting an end everywhere to the cleavage in public powers, to the cleavage between legislative and executive powers. These powers must be united in the hands of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

Comrades, we have here an extensive field to till. We must build from below upwards, until the workers' and soldiers' councils gather so much strength that the overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemann or any similar government will be merely the final act in the drama. For us the conquest of power will not be effected at one blow. It will be a progressive act, for we shall progressively occupy all the positions of the capitalist state, defending tooth and

nail each one that we seize. Moreover, in my view and in that of my most intimate associates in the party, the economic struggle, likewise, will be carried on by the workers' councils. The settlement of economic affairs, and the continued expansion of the area of this settlement, must be in the hands of the workers' councils. The councils must have all power in the state. To these ends must we direct our activities in the immediate future, and it is obvious that, if we pursue this line, there cannot fail to be an enormous and immediate intensification of the struggle. For step by step, by hand-to-hand fighting, in every province, in every town, in every village, in every commune, all the powers of the state have to be transferred bit by bit from the bourgeoisie to the workers' and soldiers' councils. But before these steps can be taken, the members of our own party and the proletarians in general must be schooled and disciplined. Even where workers' and soldiers' councils already exist, these councils are as yet far from understanding the purposes for which they exist. (Hear! hear!) We must make the masses realise that the workers' and soldiers' council has to be the central feature of the machinery of state, that it must concentrate all power within itself, and must utilise all powers for the one great purpose of bringing about the Socialist revolution. Those workers who are already organised to form workers' and soldiers' councils are still very far from having adopted such an outlook, and only isolated proletarian minorities are as yet clear as to the tasks that devolve upon them. But there is no reason to complain of this, for it is a normal state of affairs. The masses must learn how to use power, by using power. There is no other way. We have, happily, advanced since the days when it was proposed to "educate" the proletariat socialistically. Marxists of Kautsky's school are, it would seem, still living in those vanished days. To educate the proletarian masses socialistically meant, to deliver lectures to them, to circulate leaflets and pamphlets among them. But it is not by such means that the proletarians will be schooled. The workers, to-day, will learn in the school of action. (Hear! hear!)

Our Scripture reads: In the beginning was the deed. Action for us means that the workers' and soldiers' councils must realise their mission and must learn how to become the sole public authorities throughout the realm. Thus only can we mine the ground so effectively as to make everything ready for the revolution which will crown our work. Quite deliberately, and with a clear sense of the significance of our words, did some of us say to you yesterday, did I in particular say to you, "Do not imagine that you are going to have an easy time in the future!" Some of the comrades have falsely imagined me to assume that we can boycott the National Assembly and then simply fold our arms. It is impossible, in the time that remains, to discuss this matter fully, but let me say that I never dreamed of anything of the kind. My meaning was that history is not going to make our revolution an easy matter like the bourgeois revolutions. In those revolutions it sufficed to overthrow the official power at the centre, and to replace a dozen or so of persons in authority. But we have to work from beneath. Therein is displayed the mass character of our revolution, one which aims at transforming the whole structure of society. It

is thus characteristic of the modern proletarian revolution, that we must effect the conquest of political power, not from above, but from beneath. The ninth of November was an attempt, a weakly, half-hearted, half-conscious, and chaotic attempt, to overthrow the existing public authority and to put an end to ownership rule. What is now incumbent upon us is that we should deliberately concentrate all the forces of the proletariat for an attack upon the very foundations of capitalist society. There, at the root, where the individual employer confronts his wage slaves; at the root, where all the executive organs of ownership rule confront the objects of this rule, confront the masses; there, step by step, we must seize the means of power from the rulers, must take them into our own hands. Working by such methods, it may seem that the process will be a rather more tedious one than we had imagined in our first enthusiasm. It is well, I think, that we should be perfectly clear as to all the difficulties and complications in the way of revolution. For I hope that, as in my own case, so in yours also, the description of the great difficulties we have to encounter, of the augmenting tasks we have to undertake, will neither abate zeal nor paralyse energy. Far from it, the greater the task, the more fervently will you gather up your forces. Nor must we forget that the revolution is able to do its work with extraordinary speed. I shall make no attempt to foretell how much time will be required. Who among us cares about the time, so long only as our lives suffice to bring it to pass? Enough for us to know clearly the work we have to do; and to the best of my ability I have endeavoured to sketch, in broad outline, the work that lies before us. (Tumultuous applause).

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Allies Attempt to Crush Russia

I.

The Petrograd Plot

IN the beginning of June this year, the Petrograd Extraordinary Committee discovered and destroyed a great plot, which was preparing a military revolt against the Soviet Power in Petrograd, in the north and north-west provinces of the Republic. Hundreds of members of military terrorist organisations were arrested. The headquarters of the organisation were discovered, and a secret printing works, dynamite, arms, and also incriminating documents were found.

From the statements of the arrested, the following has been ascertained:—

“ That the organisation was called the ‘ District Committee of the Union for the Liberation of Russia,’ and was connected with a number of Societies like ‘ The Fighting Committee,’ ‘ The National Rebellion Committee,’ ‘ The Petrograd National Fighting Society,’ ‘ The United Society,’ etc.

“ The members of the District Committee are known.”

Leaders of the Plot

(1) At the head of the organisation was Tagantzev, professor of the Geographical Institute. He is the person who was compromised in the plot of November, 1919, in Petrograd, which was organised by the British spy, Paul Dukes.

(2) Orlovsky, who was the leader of the terrorist section of the party.

The organisation which has been uncovered was in constant touch, through their own couriers, with the Finnish, American, English and French Intelligence Departments in Finland. Many members of this Society were also in the service of the various Intelligence Departments.

Finnish: Orlovsky and Paskov.

English: Wilken and Sokolov.

French: Herman.

American: Nikolsky, Raben, Stark.

A leading member of the organisation called U. P. Herman was at the same time in the service of the Finnish and French Intelligence Departments.

All these Intelligence Departments were recruiting members for the organisation, with the help of Petrichenko, former President of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee. The members were recruited from amongst the sailors who escaped from Kronstadt

and are kept in the fortress of Ino, Finland. On joining they were sent on to Petrograd, where they became members of the so-called United Organisation of the Kronstadt sailors. At the head of them stood Komarov, the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion. His dwelling was the headquarters of the organisation.

Komarov's organisation was a branch of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia."

At the search at Komarov's house, was found dynamite, printing works, and official paper of the above-named organisation.

The organisation called the "Union for the Liberation" had branches in various provinces; the leaders of these branches were in communication with groups which existed in various factories and in Soviet organisations.

The organisers of the provincial branches were former sailors.

The couriers when they left Finland for Russia, were provided with arms and passports of the Third Mine Destroying Division, the commander of which who gave out these passports is arrested.

II.

The Aims and Methods of the Plotters

THE aim of the organisation, according to the statement of Tagantzev, was "to prepare the forces for the rebellion, by finding a basis for a union between the intellectuals and the mass of the people."

According to the statement of the same Tagantzev, in the Petrograd organisation there were more than 200 members, chiefly former officers, sailors, lawyers, and former factory managers, and so on, who managed to penetrate into responsible positions in the Soviet administration. They considered assassination the best means for achieving their aims, and directed their activity accordingly.

By the confession of the arrested Orlovsky and others, they blew up the monument of Volodarsky, and organised a number of attempts on the lives of Soviet Leaders. In his statement, Orlovsky says: "We wanted to get one of our members, the electrician, Koptelov, into the Astoria Hotel, Petrograd, in order that he should kill Zinoviev. Our pass-word was 'Day.'" Orlovsky himself offered to kill Anzelovich with a bomb.

In a statement from the 1st June, 1921, this same Orlovsky says: "It is true that I, together with Nikitin, Permin, Modestov and Fedorov wanted to make an attack on the train by which Krassin was travelling, and take away all the gold and valuables; Tagantzev told us that Krassin was carrying gold, and he asked us to make this attack."

By the statement of Komarov, the organisation prepared explosions in the Nobel warehouses, and an explosion of a monument on Vasilie Island; to set on fire the first State saw-mills and the assassination of the former Commissary, Kuzmin, head of the Baltic Fleet. Thanks to the timely discovery of the organisation,

the enemies of the revolution did not succeed in carrying out their barbaric intentions.

According to the statement of Professor Tagantzev, he together with Shaknovsky (who was another member of the organisation), organised in Petrograd and Moscow a number of secret banks and offices, in order to sell valuables in Russia and abroad, and thus fight the Soviet Government on an economic basis.

In his statement, with regard to the methods of fighting, Tagantzev, criticising the desire of Koltchak, Denikin, and other White Generals to conquer Soviet Russia by the establishment of a large number of fighting areas, he says: "You cannot conquer Soviet Russia, you must stir up rebellion in it."

"The Union of Liberation," which is an organisation of the Cadet Party, had a very diffuse programme. In order to attract into their plot the Socialistic groups, the monarchist Tagantzev included in the programme the demand borrowed from Kronstadt, about free re-elections into the Soviets.

When the White Guards of Petrograd accepted this war-cry, they knew very well its real meaning. They openly confessed that under "Free" Soviets they really meant not Soviets of the Third International, but Soviets of the Russian land. This war-cry was necessary for them; first of all in order to remove from power the Communist Party, because the Communist Party without the machinery of State, will not be dangerous after the revolution. These dark forces confessed that they considered such elections a *coup d'etat*.

III.

Social Traitors and Financiers

ACCORDING to Tagantzev's statement, to this organisation belonged people of various political views, including Left Wing Socialists. The Petrograd Committee of the organisation distributed a large number of appeals and proclamations. A large amount of counter revolutionary literature was imported from Finland.

During the search were found appeals from the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion, Petrichenko, to the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, in which this man, who is in pay of foreign agents, appeals for an armed rising against the Communistic system.

This White Guard organisation was directed from abroad by the former Czarist Minister, Kokovzev and the Leader of Russian Imperialism, the Cadet Struve; from them the organisation received the necessary money.

By the statement of Tagantzev the organisation received from abroad about 10,000,000 roubles. Struve organised in Paris a group of financiers, which was to supply Petrograd with all the necessaries after the revolution.

From the correspondence which has been found on Tagantzev, it is seen that the organisers of the plot, living abroad, have placed great hopes on the Russian Commercial Conference, which was

taking place in Paris, from which they hoped to get a large sum of money for organising the rebellion.

From the materials found, it also seems that the Kronstadt rebellion had given new hopes to the White Guards of Petrograd. Tagantzev states: "That the intensity of the work during the Kronstadt rebellion took the form of energetic discussions of questions of organisations, attempts to get into touch with Kronstadt, and the distribution of appeals printed in Finland."

The organisation expected to get 8,000 tons of products from Yudenitch's fund.

IV.

Savinkov's Warsaw Organisation

THE All-Russian Extraordinary Committee has information that the Petrograd "Union for the Liberation of Russia," united in April-May, with Savinkov's terrorist organisation in Warsaw.

The Cadet Party and its evil spirit of Russian counter-revolution, adopted tactics of destruction and a system of murder. This party of enemies of the people, which was selling Russia during the Revolution to all representatives of international imperialism, thus appears in its true light as the real organiser of hunger and economic destruction.

V.

Savinkov's Plot

IN the end of May, this year, the All Russian Extraordinary Committee also discovered large fighting terroristic organisations of Boris Savinkov, which had spread out over the whole of the western and north-western provinces, and had branches and groups practically over the whole territory of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

The headquarters of the discovered organisation was situated in the town of Gomel, and was called "The Western District Committee of the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom."

All members of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees in the Provinces of Gomel, Minsk, and Smolensk were arrested. Hundreds of members of the organisations were also arrested along with some of Savinkov's couriers and spies. A large number of incriminating documents have been found as well as a large quantity of counter-revolutionary literature. From the documents which came into the hands of the Central Extraordinary Committee, and from statements of members of the organisation, we could establish not only a full picture of the origin and development of the organisation, but also of the whole "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," just as well as the relations existing between them on the one hand, and the French Military Mission in Poland and the Polish General Staff on the other.

The organisation was under the entire control of the "All Russian Committee of the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," which has its headquarters in Warsaw, in the Hotel Bruhl.

The Chairman of the "All Russian Committee" was the Socialist Revolutionary, Boris Savinkov, the organiser of the White Guard Rebellion in 1918 in Yaroslav. Members of the Committee were Cossack officers, Victor Savinkov (a brother of Boris Savinkov), Dikg-of-Derental, Filosofov, General Elvegren, Colonel Gnloribov, and Selyanikov.

The organisation was first started in the middle of January this year, from members of the "Russian Military Committee" in Poland. Savinkov has named this new organisation "the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," after the Society controlled by him in 1918, which was liquidated by the Extraordinary Committee.

VI.

The Aims of the Organisation and Methods of Work

THE principal aim of the organisation was to prepare an armed rebellion for the overthrow of the Soviet power. The construction of the organisation was as follows:—

A number of the District Committees are dependent on the Central Committee, while the province and town Committees are in their turn dependent on the District Committees. It was the duty of the town and village Committees to organise in all Soviet Institutions, factories, villages, army centres and so on, groups of the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom." These groups were to organise the people belonging to no parties, and use their influence at elections to Soviets, in order to get into the Soviet members of their organisation. They were also to try and disorganise the economic life of the country wherever and in what form possible. All members of the Committee had to belong to some fighting contingent of the party. These fighting contingents were supposed to play the deciding part at a time of rising against the Soviet Government, though great hopes were also placed on the armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremikin, Petlura, which are interned in Poland. The troops of these people were to be sent into Russia by first bringing them near the Russian Polish frontier, disguised as workers.

From these elements were to be formed fighting contingents, which even before the beginning of the revolt in Russia had to penetrate into the country and get into touch with the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom." The contingents were to prepare the field of battle for the interned armies that were coming, while the Cossacks had to be concentrated on the River Styr, from where they should penetrate to the Don. According to the statement of the arrested members of the organisation, they had the consent of the Polish General Staff and the Chief of the

French Military Mission in Poland, General Nisselle, for the transport of the interned troops into Russia.

The organisers of the party, "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," were recruited chiefly from among the interned officers in Poland. These were sent into Soviet Russia by ones and in groups; for instance, in April this year, two groups of 192 persons of such organisers were sent into the Volga District. The special feature of this new organisation is that on the same territory existed a number of organisations quite independent from one another, all working in the same direction, yet one not knowing about the existence of the other. Such a state of affairs was a necessity in view of the character of the organisation and its political make up.

When Savinkov accepted members in this organisation, he paid little attention to their political views. Monarchists, Cadets, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, it was all the same to him, so long as they agreed to take orders from him, and participate in the preparation of a rebellion. In order to hide the political views of these groups, Savinkov organised parallel organisations. At the time of the organisation of the party of "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," the politicians from Bruhl were expecting peasant rebellions, and they timed the activities of their organisation to occur simultaneously, but when Savinkov's hopes of peasant rebellions in the spring miscarried, he postponed the time of the revolutionary activity for the time of harvest.

The working out of the full plan of the rebellion and the amalgamation of the parallel groups were expected to take place on June 5th in Warsaw. Should this congress find that they have not sufficient strength for a rebellion at harvest time, they were to postpone it for the time of gathering of taxes.

From the documents which came to the hand of the "Extraordinary Committee," it is evident that this Congress actually took place.

Savinkov's "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom" became the centre of all counter-revolutionary activities, and the "Government" of Petlura came to an understanding with him directed against the workers and peasants of Russia. At the present time, all these White organisations in the South of Russia are united in a counter-revolutionary union, called the Southern States of Russia, at the head of which stands the Southern District Committee of "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom!"

VII.

The Use of Terror was the Principle Method of these Tactics

IN order to illustrate the importance which they attached to terror, let us quote a statement of one of the arrested members of the Central Committee.

"We wanted to weaken the reprisals of the Soviet Authorities by terror."

With this aim in view, a number of attacks were planned on Administrative Centres, on Soviet Central Bureaux and Party Offices. It was also intended to organise a number of explosions in Soviet Offices, at various Congresses, Conferences, etc. They wanted to disorganise and demoralise the Communists by terror, and use terror as a means for stopping the influx of new members into the Communist Party. Also the Red Army was to be disorganised by terror. With this aim in view, they planned a number of attacks on the headquarters of the Army, the shooting of Commissaries, and explosions in the barracks.

This is what they meant by terror at the time of organising the party at the end of last year. Later on, when, owing to the disorganisation by bandits of the normal railway communication with Western Siberia and with the South, and the consequent diminution of food supplies in the country, they decided to disorganise also the economic life of the country. From that time onwards, their attacks were chiefly directed for the destruction of the economic organisation of the country. They began to demolish railways, locomotives, buildings, stores, in order to bring the transport system of the country to a standstill. Destruction of fuel stores by fire was intended to intensify the crisis.

The traitorous organisation of strikes in factories, destruction of machinery and burning of factories were intended to destroy Russian industry. The destruction and plunder of food stores, the destruction and spoiling of products during transport, the shooting of the food officials, agitation amongst the peasantry against the delivery of corn—all these measures were recommended by Savinkov's "Union for the Liberation of Russia," in order to strangle the workers' and peasants' power by hunger.

These measures were to produce dissatisfaction amongst the larger sections of the population and a general rising. "We must burn out a free place where to build from the beginning." This was the aim of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia."

According to the statement of the arrested members, they used the military contingents for increasing the economic destruction of the country. This activity should have also prepared the men for the coming fight.

Terror was also to test the efficiency of the young organisation.

The programme of the "Union" was obscure and indefinite.

One and the same paragraph could be explained in different ways. In the beginning they demanded the transfer of power after the rebellion to the "Union." After the Kronstadt rising, they demanded a transfer of power to new Soviets, which were to prepare the country for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

This intentional indistinctness of the programme and the acceptance of Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik demands, was made in order to attract these elements into the "Union," along with the Monarchists, Cadets, and Black Hundreds. The extreme White General Elvengrem, who, already in 1917, at the time of Kerensky, was arrested for his counter-revolutionary activity, was accepted as a full member into the "All-Russian Committee."

VIII.

Connection with Foreign Imperialists

THE "Union" received financial support from the Polish General Staff and from the French Military Mission in Poland. The last-named paid out monthly to V. Savinkov, through Captain Dorache, 10,000,000 of Polish marks. In addition to this, the chief of the Information Bureau of the French Military Mission, Major Marino, paid additional sums for information of special importance about the Red Army.

An autograph letter of Colonel Pavlovsky, Commander of all Savinkov's detachments on Soviet territory, to the latter is of interest. In this, Pavlovsky asks Savinkov to get from the French as much information as possible about the supplies of the Red Army.

When Savinkov travelled in the spring of this year to Paris, for consultation with the French Government, he succeeded, with the help of the Russian industrialist, Putilov, to organise a group of rich capitalists to subsidise his organisation. The information office of the "Union" acted as an international Secret Service Agency, for giving information about the military and general conditions of the Soviet Republic. The information about the Red Army which he obtained was printed and sent out periodically to all foreign military missions in Warsaw. Savinkov's agents, who came from Russia, went to the French Mission and to the Polish General Staff to give information.

While the French Military Mission in Poland confined its activity only to subsidising Savinkov's organisation, and to the use of constant pressure on the Polish War Ministry to give greater support to Savinkov, the Polish General Staff was active in:—

- (A) Permitting and helping to organise parties and detachments on Polish territories and the transport of these detachments at the expense of the Polish War Ministry. For instance, the detachment of Colonel Pavlov, Colonel Pavlovsky, Lieut. Orlov and others.
- (B) The supply of arms and munitions to these detachments. For instance, the arms used by Lieut. Orlov in his attack on the townlet of Koidanov, was supplied to him by Poland.
- (C) Assistance in recruiting amongst the interned troops, and the sending of these to Russia.
- (D) Assistance in the re-organisation of the remainder of the interned armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremkin, Petlura.

The Extraordinary Committee has a letter from Bulak-Balakhovich to the head of the workers' detachment in Poland, Captain Poversak, in which he clearly states that Bulak-Balakhovich's army, which is supposed to be interned in Poland, is in reality re-organised into detachments which are under the command of the 2nd Polish General Staff. The Extraordinary Committee has documents which prove that the interned Cossacks are taken on Polish service as frontier guards. The Polish General Staff was supplying Savinkov's

agents and couriers with free railway tickets and gave them permission for the transport by rail of anti-Soviet literature.

Nearly all Savinkov's agents are also in the service of the Polish Intelligence Department. All military and political communications which Savinkov's couriers brought from Russia, were supplied to the Polish General Staff.

Savinkov's agents who penetrated to Russia were conducted by the Polish frontier police.

The houses of Polish officials were used for storing anti-Soviet literature.

A member of the Western District Committee of Savinkov's organisation went to Russia; permission was given to him, signed by Major General Bek, to carry into Soviet Russia two kilograms of poison. This poison was really intended for poisoning trustworthy parts of the Red Army before the beginning of the rebellion.

The relations between Savinkov and the Polish Government, which cooled a little after the Russo-Polish Peace Treaty, became animated after Savinkov's return from Paris. But Savinkov was cunning enough to cheat his supporters. He falsified all the information he obtained from Soviet Russia, and supplied this to the French. He invented stories about a military union between Soviet Russia and Germany, directed against France and Poland; collected lists of commanders of the Red Army with German-sounding names and described them to the French Military Mission as people in the pay of the German Government. With this information he succeeded in frightening the French and thus opened for himself a way to their purse.

It is interesting to note that after Savinkov's return from Paris, his friend Professor Sologug-de-Voino, was appointed inspector of the interned Russian prisoners of war camp.

At the Congress of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia," which took place in Warsaw in June, a decision was arrived at of the necessity of an Alliance with France and Poland.

Ample means and active support from France and Poland gave the organisation possibilities to spread its net nearly over the whole of European Russia, and to get into the Society a number of people occupying very high posts in the Soviet service.

In Vitebsk was arrested a Menshevik, Mark Zarkh, who had a secret money exchange office. He changed foreign money for Russian for all Savinkov's organisations in Western and North-Western Districts.

Besides destroying all Savinkov's organisations in the Western Districts, we at the same time succeeded in destroying a number of Savinkov's detachment, which stood in direct communication with Savinkov's Executive Committee.

At the time of the defeat of Colonel Pavlovsky's detachment in the province of Minsk, of Prudnikov's and Pimenov's detachments in the province of Gomel, a number of documents fell into the hands of the Extraordinary Committee which prove conclusively that these detachments stood in close relation with the Polish General Staff,

and with the White Russia Committee in Warsaw. The Extraordinary Committee has also proofs that Savinkov's detachments have carried out a number of bloody Jewish pogroms in the province of Minsk. In his letter to Savinkov, Colonel Pavlovsky asks him to send along munitions, also poison.

This is in general outline a picture of that terrible destruction and bloody horror which the Black Hundred Socialist revolutionary, Savinkov, was preparing for the Russian peasants and workers on the money received from French and Polish sources. These adventurers and corrupt patriots have been awaiting impatiently the quick overthrow of the workers' and peasants' Republic and the wild feasts of White terror.

As stated by one of them, "They were preparing impatiently and developing a feverish activity," but the iron hand of the Proletarian Dictatorship frustrated their wild desires in time.

(Translated from *Pravda*.)

Initiative in the Class Struggle

Lessons from Italy

By UMBERTO TERRACCINI

In this remarkable article, by one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, our comrade Terraccini, clearly shows the part played by Fascism in the class conflict in Italy. Another important feature of the article is that it demonstrates the fallacy of those "Mechanical Marxians" who do not realise the value of human will, working hand in hand with history, as a revolutionary factor.

THE struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in Italy during the last few months has varied somewhat in its specific and characteristic features, partly owing to its varying elements. This struggle is a result of the play of forces which were never noticeable in any other country or in any other nation. Therefore it is necessary that all comrades should closely watch the struggle of the Italian Proletariat, because it is possible that these same forces are ripening in other countries, and their collision must and can only lead to, and create the same problem as now exists in Italy, which it is necessary to avoid at all costs. The conclusion of the European war was the signal for the commencement of a severe struggle by the Italian workers against the bourgeoisie. All the limitations of war time disappeared and became as a stimulus to action. The Italian workers and peasants joined syndicates by hundreds of thousands, joined the Socialist Party by tens of thousands, asserting their firm will to sweep all obstacles from their path, and to reach the highest aim. Against the closely linked ranks of the proletariat, came the bourgeoisie, disorganised—largely new, industrial, revealing distorted forms, a consequence of their abnormal and too rapid development during the war. Without sufficient financial support, and not having any raw material at its disposal, the Government, although victorious, came out of the struggle entirely disorganised, and this led to poverty, to the deprivation of power and authority. There could be no two opinions as to the results of such a struggle between such opponents. This struggle was a series of continuous successes for the proletariat, at first slowly then more rapidly, and finally it ended in a forced march. The economic and moral victories followed one after another daily. The bourgeoisie, after several attempts at self-defence, lost all hope of salvation and submitted to severe defeats by the determined masses who attacked them for their participation in the war. Things came to such a pass that struggle was superfluous, it was only necessary to demand, to get everything without hesitation. The Government on the one hand and the Central Committee of the Socialist Party and the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour on the other, kept

on changing their places; the employers and the factory committee (the interior Committee), both managed the enterprises at the same time and nearly in every case the wish of the owner was regarded as secondary. Here is one characteristic example. The Socialist delegation, in June, 1920, went to Russia in two special carriages. They were regarded as a diplomatic mission.

During the disorders as a consequence of the rise in the cost of living thousands of traders brought the keys from their shops to the Labour Halls as the only institution of authority which continued to function in the towns. A threat was sufficient to destroy from the very beginning the adventure in Albania, to which the Imperialists in Italy had sent troops.

The political election of 1919 gave 156 Socialist deputies. At the municipal communal elections in 1920, 2,500 communes raised the red banner. Things went so far that during September, 1920, the most enlightened and conscious part of the proletariat, namely, the metal workers, delivered to the bourgeoisie a new daring blow, pregnant with consequences. By seizing over one thousand five hundred large factories, they struck a blow into the very heart of capitalist society. The fundamental principal of inviolable, sacred private property was shaken. There are decisive historic moments, when the inner shaping of motive forces are unable to solve the contradiction they bring about. *In such a moment the factor of human will power appears on the arena to move events into a road leading to new destinies.*

The function of a political party is to organise the will power. It must watch closely the successive stages of historic development in order to be able to throw its whole weight of organised power and determination into the struggle when the decisive moment arrives.

The seizing of factories in Italy, which was accompanied by seizing the land by the peasantry proves that this movement is the test for fitness of the party and that the historic moment of the working class has arrived.

This test proved to be very heavy and tragic for the proletariat. The Socialist Party feared the necessity to act and quailed before it. Fear before such a real decisive battle chilled the blood of the loudest clamourer. History had set the stage when it was no more a question of theory and skilful dialectics, but of people inspired, armed and ready for the test. At a time when the proletariat gathered in masses around the factories having no other arms other than their will to act, and a very limited number of rifles, and waited for a signal and order to act, its leaders were bargaining in the offices of their masters for terms of capitulation. The inactivity of the proletariat in this critical moment was the signal for the bourgeoisie to counter-attack. They saw the momentary hesitation among the leaders of Labour and they leaped to the attack. Does this mean that behind the threat of the workers was nothing but weakness? Does this mean that those who proclaimed the revolution deserted after they had declared it? History had created a situation for daring action. But it was the bourgeoisie of Italy who dared. It proved with blood and suffering that only

one law makes events decisive at historic moments; the law of force. Truly, all the codes, laws and statutes, ceased to defend the bourgeoisie and became as a weapon with a broken blade. Social life had developed beyond the limits of established traditions. The relationship between people was changing daily. To be victorious meant to break the laws. And the Italian bourgeoisie transferred its powers and actions beyond the limitations of any law and established instead a cult of force.

"Fascism" is nothing else but the organ for the defence of the Italian bourgeoisie. Similar armed organisations can be found in other European countries. They are, however, of a different character and origin. They sprang up from time to time to counteract the armed demonstrations of the proletariat. They form the reactionary bodies against the Labour Movement. Such were the cases in Hungary, Germany and Finland. In those countries the proletariat had forsaken their inactivity and came out actively against the State, and the ruling class. Determined, and with great activity, they challenged the bourgeoisie to open armed battle. But owing to unforeseen confusion in the Socialist party of Italy, the bourgeoisie was the first to take the initiative, the offensive.

"Fascism" came out from the struggle with its full armed force, and printed its bulletins in the style and spirit of the well-known bulletins of Cadorna, Joffre and Hindenberg. Complete automobile squadrons were organised to combat the armed men. The Government did not spare munitions, and provided living quarters and proclaimed the inviolability of "Fascism." Thus, the working masses were attacked and received a heavy blow at a time when its class party were unprepared and confused. The "Fascisti," undisturbed in their work, burned and destroyed hundreds of peoples' houses and labour dwellings. They injured and killed thousands of workers. Their armed forces have driven out more than 500 municipalities. These armed activities of the bourgeoisie delivered a heavy blow at the trade and the political organisations of the workers. The bourgeoisie can claim that, in their struggle with the working class, they won time for respite.

Only a few months ago the Communist Party, alone, owing to its tactics of defence against the terror of the "Fascisti," was a factor in the life of Italy.

But now, however, we have not the same favourable conditions which we had last year. No doubt it will soon re-establish itself again. The hard struggle of the working masses cannot at present destroy the temporary gains of the bourgeoisie. In Europe there are countries where similar conditions are taking place to those that happened in Italy. The proletariat is growing stronger, hardened through the fighting organised mass parties. The bourgeoisie, deprived of their authority, bound by political and economic crises are scared and retreating. The fate of the proletariat in these countries depend greatly upon the ability and initiative of the Communist Parties. It depends upon the clarity of their reasoning, their daring, yet cautious action, to take over the grand responsibility of the social struggle.

International Capitalism and the Third International Congress

By PROFESSOR B. VARGA

A YEAR ago while the Second Congress of the Communist International was in session, capitalism seemed to enter a new lease of life and gradually recovered from the devastating disruption into which the world war had plunged it. True, the heralds of the coming crisis were already on the spot, but only at the remotest points of the globe. Japan and the United States have come out of the world war far stronger than when they entered it. But well organised capitalism displayed stubborn resistance to the approaching crisis. Europe, on the contrary, was still under the spell of a general commodity famine, soaring prices, and to a slight extent of unemployment. The ranks of the revolutionary Communist proletariat were as yet very thin and surrounded by the huge bulk of the entire proletariat of the world.

A close analysis of the economic situation from the period of November, 1918, to March, 1920, showed that this high tide phase of prosperity in the world economy was, predominantly, a speculative boom. In America, England and Japan this boom was mainly brought about by the transition from pre-war economy to a post-war industry. It was due also in part to the frenzied demand for commodities by Central Europe which previously was blockaded for a certain class of goods. However, the effect of this commodity famine soon ebbed down to zero, not because the commodity market was glutted, but for the lack of adequate foreign currency as a means of payment. Europe, and especially the defeated countries of Central Europe then entered the *selling out stage of the market*; for what Europe exported was not the output of current industry, but the last commodity reserves, articles of luxury, machinery, and means for production. Despite the outward glare of prosperity, the economic collapse of Europe was clearly indicated by the constant slump during which period, the exchange rate of European currency was expressed in dollars.

This seeming blaze of prosperity continued up to the middle of 1920, and at this point, the disruption of the capitalist industry of the world, caused by the world war, became dismantled, and broke into several distinct units. The United States, Japan and England, *overstocked the markets*. With its combined output, of means of production and the product of the naval yards and iron and steel works, etc., and this eventually raised their productive capacity to far above the pre-war level. And still Europe suffered and still suffers from the effects of *under-production*.

The people living in these European countries were unable to produce as much as they consumed, and this incapacity to meet their needs was mainly due to the lack of the means of production,

to the breakdown of traffic and shipping facilities and to the inadequate supply of soil-fertilisers. This collapse was aggravated by the tremendous loss of human life during the war, also by malnutrition, and the low labour efficiency of the proletariat. The rest of Europe have no goods to offer in exchange for English and American products.

Two parts of the globe stand in glaring contradiction, for one half suffers from over-production: the capitalists do not know what to do with this huge mass of goods; and meanwhile the other half suffers for lack of production, and all-round want and destitution. But the interplay of all these elements inherent in capitalism makes it impossible to do away with the inconsistency of a surplus in the means of production that cause of the riches that cannot reach the poor countries. The poor countries can offer no equivalent, and consequently, are suffering. But what remedy can capitalism offer? Is it credit? Could not this American surplus be partly transferred on credit to Germany or Austria, or Poland, or other poor countries of Europe? For capitalism even this way out is impossible. The war was launched and carried on with the object of breaking down Germany's industrial supremacy in the world market by arms. But the economic re-building of Germany would nullify and contradict the reason for the war with the Central Powers.

On one hand, France, Belgium and Italy hope to recover their economic position with the help of the indemnity. Germany can only pay with goods and only manufactured goods, as she herself is compelled to import food in order to feed her people. In order to pay the indemnity in industrial products, Germany must reconstruct her industrial apparatus. On the other hand, if Germany is to pay the costs of war to the Entente countries in large quantities of manufactured articles, then the English, Belgian and French manufacturers will find themselves in a terrible predicament. Already free trade England has declared a protective tariff on all German goods, and France and Belgium have heavily increased their customs duties.

Hence we can see that one contradiction is followed by another, and that the capitalist world is unable to solve them. Nevertheless capitalism is still attempting to find a solution. All these attempts consist of the one aim to lessen the workers' share of the national income, and thus to make industry capable of withstanding competition in the world market. Capitalism knows no other method than that of placing their burdens on the back of the working class. We are watching the bitter struggle in which capitalism is on the offensive and the proletariat on the defensive. We watched the struggle of the English coal miners, and were surprised at their stubbornness and stamina.

But by their methods of fighting, which do not go very far beyond the capitalist system itself, they could not win.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is meeting in an altogether different world, economic and political, than that in which the Second Congress met. A year ago we had superficially brilliant surroundings, but to-day we have a profound crisis. We were but small Communist groups, but to-day we are powerful mass

organisations. There was then a belief in the ranks of the proletariat of a possible capitalist recovery, to-day, however, there is an awakening consciousness in the impossibility of this. A year ago nearly every proletarian had work, to-day 15 to 20 millions are unemployed. Then we had to contend with the veiled deceit of the League of Nations, but to-day—we witness open preparations for war being made by the victorious countries. The United States of America, England, and Japan are engaged in the race for armaments. Conditions have radically changed, indeed.

Even if the revolutionary outbursts of the workers during the last year have ended in failure, and even if the bourgeois states, dependent on the White guards, appear stronger than last year—the forebodings of the world revolution, the collapse of capitalist economy throughout the world, the further destruction of continental Europe's industry has still further increased. The Third Congress of the Communist International must determine the strategic and tactical lines upon which the revolutionary forces can be led to victory.

Clara Zetkin's Birthday

Comrade Heckert, Germany, delivered the following commemorative speech:—

COMRADES. To-day our heroic old fighter, Comrade Clara Zetkin, celebrates her 65th birthday. For the International Clara Zetkin is a programme in herself. From her youngest years she has been in the labour movement with a full and fervent heart, and to this very day is still its true and self-denying guard. Clara Zetkin has a great and glorious fighting past. Persecuted and cursed by the bourgeoisie and even by some of those with whom she has worked for so many a long year, our old comrade was always in the forefront of the socialist movement. After the repeal of the anti-socialist law and when the German Socialist Party had taken a turn to the Right, Clara Zetkin went over to the Left. She was the most inexorable opponent of all revisionist ideas. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, she fought the revisionist movement from the very first moment of its inception, supported the radical tendency in the International, and opposed the ideas of Bernstein. She supported at that time Karl Kautsky, who was still a member of the Left Wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. She was always in the ranks of the fighting proletariat. During the war, as editor of *Gleichheit*, she opposed the German Social-Democrats, the flag-waving patriots and the social Chauvinists. At the end of the war and during the revolutionary period, Clara Zetkin joined the Spartacus Union, and was one of its most clear-minded members. She was the most fearless leader of the small Spartacist movement of Germany. But when the United Communist Party of Germany was formed, she became one of the leading forces on its Executive Committee.

A slight divergence of opinion arose between the E.C. of the U.C.P.G. and Clara Zetkin. This, however, did not create for a single moment any personal animosity, for we entertain too deep a reverence for our aged fighter. We know how much she gave to our Cause, and she always stood for us, and we know that she will always remain on the side of the proletariat. We not only hope but we already know that she will again take up the fight on our side. We know that the difference of opinion that arose between us will not outlive the Congress, and I think that the Communist International will see Clara Zetkin for many years to come as one of our chief fighters and the leader of the great Red proletarian army of the workers' left wing movement. (Loud cheers).

Comrade ZETKIN then took the floor. The entire Congress stood up and gave her a prolonged ovation. Deeply touched, and her voice breaking with emotion, Clara Zetkin said:—

“Comrades, your praises have deprived me of strength. I feel overwhelmed with a sense of depression, as I find that I have not yet accomplished all that which I set out to perform. The life and spirit of the Revolution have given me a great deal, but I

am still in debt to the Revolution. Comrades, that which I have done is only a small fraction of all that should have been done, I only obeyed the call of my own conscience, and hence deserve no praise. I could be no other than which I am. Would you marvel at the stream which flows ever onward? Would you praise the birds for their song? I served the Revolution because I had to satisfy the call of my soul.

"I consider it my duty to point out that for all I was able to do, I must thank the German theory and practice; and the history and example of our French and German brothers. For my revolutionary morale, I have to thank my deeply inherent ties with the Russian Revolution as far back as the seventies, and I shall be eternally grateful to the Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats and the Bolsheviki. I cannot but recall those who were and will always remain a part of my existence—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. All that I did, all that I lived for, was a product of the work done in conjunction with Rosa Luxemburg, and I can hardly restrain my emotion when I think that she is no longer with us.

"There is only one desire, which comes from the depth of my heart—that is to work and fight, that before I go down to my grave I may yet live to see the Revolution in Germany, and if possible in other countries. (Stormy applause).

"The garland to crown my work, my struggle, can only be the Proletarian Revolution, only the victory of the Revolutionary Proletariat." (Prolonged cheers).

LORIOT: "Dear Comrade Zetkin. Not being a brilliant speaker, I will speak simply, and I am confident that I will thus express the general feeling here. To-day the Communist family that has gathered here interrupted its difficult work to render praise for your excellent and noble activities. The German Delegation, in the person of Comrade Heckert, sketched in general outline the stages of your glorious life, but to you only, dear Comrade Zetkin, are known how much suffering, how much violence, how much pure and deep joy, and also the many bitter tears the forty-three years of the stern struggle represent.

"Only just now, from the platform, with deep emotion, which was shared by all, you recalled to mind your dear friends, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only you can realise what the memories of these deceased dear ones mean, who fought together with you during the critical years at Stuttgart and Copenhagen. You belong to the International Proletariat, and the latter cannot think without enthusiasm of you in their tragical periods. They cannot forget that in 1915 you were the initiator of the Berne Congress, where you said to the women workers what no one else could have said to the deluded proletariat.

"We, the French Communists, especially remember your visit to the Tours Congress, but we were in no doubt as to your success. We had known that the French police knew you too well to allow you into France. But we did not know that a woman, even with your energies, could get the better of the police. How great was

our joy, and at the same time how the French bourgeoisie was dumbfounded, when you passed the frontier and were in our midst.

“ Dear Comrade Zetkin, the Revolution to which we have sacrificed so much, has now to a considerable extent begun to be realised. The Russian Revolution and the development of the German movement give us confidence that you will witness the crowning glory of your activities. The Revolution is going on at full speed, and you will gather the harvest of your labours, the complete and final liberation of the world proletariat. These are our wishes.” (Cheers).

Book Review

"The A.B.C. of Communism." By N. Bucharin and E. Preobraschensky. Translated from the German by P. Lavin. Published by the S.L. Press, Glasgow. Pp. 165. Price 2/6.

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW will give an adequate account of "The A.B.C. of Communism" when the Communist Party edition (now in the press) is ready for immediate issue. All that can now be attempted is a brief notice of a part of the book which has been issued by the S.L. Press. So important is this work by Bucharin and Preobraschensky that it demands the greatest care at the hands of the translator and publishers.

There is no complaint to make about Comrade Lavin's translation, *as a translation from the German*. That the translation is from the German, and not from the original Russian, is frankly acknowledged on the title-page. But every experienced translator knows that every translator makes mistakes. To translate from a translation, therefore, multiplies sources of error. As a mere matter of accuracy, to say nothing of the refinements of style, it is always better to work from the original. And, as it happens, the German version upon which the S.L. Press volume is based is slovenly and slipshod quite beyond reasonable bounds.

Here, for example, are the errors and omissions in two average pages of the S.L.P. edition (pp. 102 to 104).

P. 102, line 20: "in the course of historical development." Correctly translated from the German; but in the Russian the adjective is not *historical* but *capitalist*.

P. 103, lines 1 and 2: "What attitude ought our party to adopt in relation to the petty-bourgeoisie?" The translation from the German is accurate, but the Russian original runs: " . . . towards the petty-bourgeoisie, towards the non-proletarian poorer strata of our large towns, and towards the middle peasants?"

P. 103, lines 18 to 21: "Our duty consists in explaining to them the real situation: that the position of handicraftsmen and working peasant is hopeless under capitalism." In the Russian, the sentence ends as follows: "*and that they had better give up trying to amuse themselves with fancy pictures.*" The equivalent does not appear in the German version, and is therefore necessarily omitted from Comrade Lavin's translation.

P. 103, lines 22 and 23: "Under capitalism the neck of the peasant is under the heel of the landowner." A correct translation from the German. But the sentence ought to read: "We must tell the middle peasant that as long as capitalism lasts there will always be a landlord riding on his back; either one of the gentry, the old type of landlord; or else a rich peasant, the landlord of the new type."

P. 103, line 30: "the help of a strong, resolute party." The Russian (not the German) has "a strong, *solid*, and resolute party."

P. 103, line 32: " who have learnt to live and to fight as proletarians." *Live* should be *think*. The error is in the German version.

P. 104, lines 11 and 12: " Our party can . . . serve." This should be: " Our party can and does . . . serve." The equivalent of the words *and does* has been omitted from the German.

It is a pity that nine pages of the German edition, in the part dealing with the Civil War, does not appear in the S.L. Press edition.

We repeat, that in order to minimise error it is always necessary to translate important books direct from their original language. The Communist Party knowing the value of " The A.B.C. of Communism " arranged to have it translated from the Russian original. The volume is at present in the press and shall be issued, complete, in one volume and not in fragments.



The New Executive Committee of the Comintern

THE composition of the new Executive Committee of the Communist International is as follows:

CHAIRMAN: G. Zinoviev.

Russia: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.

Germany: Heckert, Froelich.

France: Souvarine.

Italy: Terracini, Gennari.

Czecho-Slovakia: Burian, Kreibich.

Ukraine: Shumsky.

Poland: Glinsky.

Bulgaria: Popov.

Yugo-Slavia: Markovich.

Norway: Schefflo.

Great Britain: Bell.

United States: Baldwin.

Spain: Merino Gracia.

Finland: Sirola.

Holland: Jansen.

Belgium: Van Overstraeten.

Sweden: Chilbom.

Roumania: Bodulescu.

Latvia: Stuchka.

Switzerland: Arnold.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Hungary: Bela Kun.

Young Communist International: Voyovich, Unger.

Russia will have 5 votes, Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Young Communist International 2 votes each, and the remainder 1 vote.

In addition, the following countries and delegates have been given a consultative voice:

Georgia: Tskhakaia.

Lithuania: Angaretis.

Luxemburg: Jansen.

Persia: Sultan-Zade.

Esthonia: Poegelman.

Denmark: Thorgensen.

India: Roy.

Greece: Dimitratos.

South Africa: Jones.

Korea: Nam-man-Chen.

Mexico: Roy.

Armenia: Kassian.

China: Tian-Kai.

Palestine: Sakhar.

The Small Bureau of the Executive Committee is composed of the following: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Heckert, Souvarine, Gennari, Bela Kun.

The following constitute the Secretariat: Rakoszy, Humbert-Droz, and Kuusinen.

The Secretariat of the Women's International is: Klara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollontay, Kasparova, Lucie Colliard, Strum.

The following have been delegated by the E.C. of the Communist International to the International Council of Trade Unions (R.T.U.I.): Bukharin, Souvarine, and Heckert. In return, the R.T.U.I. has delegated to the E.C.C.I.: Losovsky, Tom Mann, and Naine.

The Communist Parties of Belgium and Spain have been instructed to achieve unity within two months. The Czech and German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia must unite at a Unity Congress on November 1st. All Parties affiliated to the Communist International are being instructed energetically to organise a "Week of Agitation and Propaganda," from Sept. 7th to Sept 15th.

Austria

Against the High Cost of Living

THE Austrian Communist Party has just issued a manifesto calling upon the Working Class to protest energetically against the ever increasing cost of living. Indeed, bread and flour are again going to increase in price. The Government refuses nothing to the agrarians, whose demands take no account of the misery of the town proletariat.

The manifesto condemns the Social-Democrats who actually take up a plainly critical attitude, but take no energetic action capable of improving the appalling conditions of the Austrian Working Class. While they were in the Government they conducted a similar policy.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers to stand out for the following demands: An economic agreement, and the immediate exchange of merchandise with Soviet Russia; the feeding of the workers with a sufficient quantity of good quality bread;

severe measures against profiteers and speculators; construction of workmen's dwellings under the control of Workers' Councils; suppression of civil and military class justice; disarmament of the militia, and other reactionary formations.

For these ends the Communist Party is organising a series of public meetings at Vienna, and in the provinces.

L'Exploité.

Belgium

Towards a United Communist Party

THE following is the manifesto issued by the congress of the "Friends of the Exploite," on account of their secession from the Belgian Labour Party and their foundation of the Belgian Communist Party.

Comrades,

The recent congress of the "Friends of Exploite" decided to found a Belgian Communist Party and to make an appeal with this in view to the working class of this country. The following are the reasons that drove us to take this step.

Since the armistice we have all been hoping that the policy of sacred unity carried on by the majority of the Belgian Labour Party during the war had come to an end. We desire to resume the inevitable struggle against capitalism without compromise and without prejudice.

We have been greatly deceived. The union of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party with the bourgeois parties has been confirmed more audaciously and more cynically than ever.

On the pretext of reconstructing the country you have been asked to give your labour. Thanks to this the capitalist class has built up its stocks of goods again, and has then thrown you out into the street.

On the pretext of reforms (universal suffrage, increases of wages, shorter hours of work) your consent was obtained to class co-operation, when you might have demanded these feeble improvements which you have obtained from the tottering bourgeois régime by the mere strength of your organisation.

Four Socialist ministers entered the bourgeois Cabinet, nominally delegated by the working class, but in reality mocking at its most legitimate aspirations, and every day betraying its revolutionary ideal.

Thus we have seen the "Socialist" Minister of Arts and Science furnishing the sinews of war to the enemies of public education, and refusing teachers the right to strike. We have seen the "Socialist" Minister for Food systematically liquidating all labour disputes, defending the interest of the employers and the workers on an equal footing in the joint councils, and by application of the index number to wages assisting the employing class to lower the latter. Finally we have had the "Socialist" Minister

for Justice replacing Article 310 of the Constitution by Legislative Decisions just as dangerous to the working class: we have seen him paralysing trade union action and increasing the religious budget.

On the other hand, our representatives in the Chamber have lacked firmness and energy: they have never publicly affirmed the determination of all the workers to suppress the bourgeois régime. Need we recall here the daily compromises of our ministers and of certain of our parliamentary spokesmen in their presence at official ceremonies, gala fêtes, thereby renouncing all our republican convictions and associating themselves with the rejoicings of the ruling caste, when their Socialist duty obliged them to combat.

Nothing has been done effectively to fight unemployment and the high cost of living, to strike at the scandalous fortunes built up during the war, or resolutely to attack the all-powerful might of capital. In the general confusion the Belgian Labour Party, renouncing its fundamental principles of the class struggle, has incorporated itself into the framework of the bourgeois régime, and has been able to oppose the more and more audacious and hostile action of the bourgeoisie—which it helped to reconstruct—only by empty declarations and a hesitating, confused line of policy.

The leaders of the Belgian Labour Party have betrayed the principles of the class struggle and of internationalism. During the war they opposed a meeting of the workers of all countries by their sabotage of Stockholm. By leaving the bourgeois governments free to continue the carnage they, by that very fact, assumed a heavy measure of responsibility.

From the first day of the Russian revolution they made common cause with its detractors and combated with all the forces in their power the first proletarian Republic.

It is necessary to-day that we should raise up against the rising tide of reaction, the immovable force of the proletariat firmly constituted in a Communist Party.

The struggle within the Belgian Labour Party, in which the minority of that party carried on the true Socialist tradition for over two years, can no longer continue under the old conditions. This is what is being understood by the "minority" which has just constituted the Belgian Communist Party.

Resolutely breaking with the lie about working class unity, a false pretext under which leaders of the Labour Party cloaked their treachery; a false unity which held, bound together, under the same cover revolutionaries and the bourgeois-minded—we desire to realise the sole productive and lasting form of unity; the revolutionary unity of all workers in thought and action.

We appeal to all those who suffer from the present régime and who ardently wish to prepare the social revolution; who see in Soviet Russia the Workers' State which it is our duty to support with all our energy; who consider Communism and the Third International as the great forces of progress from which the workers must expect their liberation.

Addressing ourselves to all manual and educational workers, we say to them: Comrades, you must first and foremost do away with the régime of capitalist oppression to which you are subjected. To this end you must join with us in the Belgian Communist Party.

We summon you to the gigantic task of bringing about Communism. We do not wish to fritter away the energy of the working class in the sterile process of paper reforms; we do not wish to lead it rashly into adventures which can have no future; we wish to organise it into a powerful class party, educate it every day without cessation in its revolutionary task, exercise it in co-ordinated action, prepare it for assuming political power; make it understand the necessity of ensuring that the proletarian dictatorship shall be placed over the exploiting classes.

We have the firm hope that our appeal will be heard and that all the workers will combine en masse in the political organisation of the revolutionary proletariat of the Belgian Communist Party.

Comrades who are members of the Belgian Labour Party and join the Communist Party must simply withdraw from the political group to which they pay a special subscription (for example, their labour league) but remain in their co-operative society and their union. We must preserve intact and united the power of our trade union organisations; the strict duty of Communists is to remain and work there for the development of the revolutionary ideal.

Confident in the future of the Belgian Communist Party, we are convinced that the workers will repudiate the policy of collaboration of the Belgian Labour Party and join with those who have reasserted the true tradition of the class struggle of the world proletariat.

Long live the Belgian Communist Party!

Long live the Third International!

*(Signed) Executive Committee of the Belgian
Communist Party.*

Exploité.

Work of the Belgian Communist Party

THE lines on which our work of organisation would be pursued as soon as our delegates return from Russia, have been already indicated.

The Executive meets regularly, and is actively occupied in general organisation, propaganda, and the solution of the many cases that have been submitted. The following are two decisions:

(1) Subscription has been definitely fixed at 50 centimes per week per member (man or woman); unemployed pay nothing.

(2) Communal Councillors elected on Belgian Labour Party lists and affiliating to the Belgian Communist Party remain in function provisionally as Communist Communal Councillors. This cannot be considered a precedent, as the whole question of Parliamentarism is to come before the next Congress. The Councillors in this position will read the following letter on taking up their functions:

" SIRS,

" I have been elected on the list of the Belgian Labour Party. I belonged to the revolutionary section known as the 'minoritaire.' I beg to state that having resigned from the Belgian Labour Party I have joined the Belgian Communist Party, and consequently in future my conduct as communal mandatory will be inspired by the motives of the Third International, and the Executive of the Belgian Communist Party."

It goes without saying that the members of the Party cannot under any pretext accept the position of squire, burgomaster, or representative of the Capitalist forces.

(4) The following declaration is to be made by all delegates to Socialist Communal Unions affiliated to the Belgian Communist Party:

" CITIZENS,

" Considering that the Belgian Labour Party, denying all its fundamental principles has abandoned its revolutionary activity, I have resigned from its political organisation, and declare in consequence, that I can no longer fulfil the functions of delegate to the Socialist Communal Unions.

A certain number of matters being suspended, the results will be given later.

CH. MASSART, *Secretary.*

L'Exploité.

Motion of the E.C. of the Third International

THE Third International E.C., at its 13th July sitting, carried the following resolution regarding the fusion of the Belgian Communist Party, and the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party:

" The rupture of the Left Wing of the B.L.P., (Friends of the Exploited) has given place to the constitution of a second Communist Party of Belgium.

" The existence of two Parties in the same country being incompatible with the statutes of the Communist International, and only tending to produce confusion in the ranks of the proletariat, the fusion of these two groups is essential.

" The legislative elections fixed for the 23rd of October, render it necessary for the fusion to take place immediately, or at least within two months after the Third Congress of the C.I.

" The fusion should be made on the basis of the statutes and decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Communist International.

" The E.C. specially insists that on the one hand the Communist Party observes international discipline on the parliamentary question, and on the other hand that the late Belgian Labour Party Left Wing, by means of its press and propaganda, makes a great effort of precision and classification so as to combat vigorously all centrist and pacifist tendencies.

" To prepare the fusion, a committee composed of four members per group, and under an E.C. President, will be nominated. It is charged with the elaboration of the programme and statutes of the United Belgian Communist Party.

" Within two months, a general congress will be convoked, which will take any further decisions. The United Party will neglect nothing in establishing the closest contact with the masses."

L'Exploité.

Report presented to the E.C. of the Comintern by the delegates of the Belgian C.P.: (Late Left Wing Belgian L.P.)

I.

The Workers' Movement in Belgium

THE Executive understands the quite special situation Belgian Socialism occupies in the world proletariat concerning the *form of organisation*.

The Belgian Labour Party is not properly speaking a political Party, as it is an agglomeration of political, syndical, co-operative, mutual aid, athletic, and other groups.

The membership of the B.L.P. cannot be accurately determined; the groups pay contributions for every adhering member, and at the same time a member can be affiliated to several groups at once.

The total paid affiliations represent about 600,000 members which should be relatively reduced for reasons shown above. Two figures really are reliable, these being the number of Trades Unionists in Belgium, and the members of political leagues.

The T.U. Commission of Belgium which includes Unions affiliated to the B.L.P. as well as independent ones, has at the present moment about 700,000 members. The political groups have 13,000.

II.

Social-Democracy and the World War

NO one will deny that on the occasion of the Imperialist War Belgium experienced the most permanent and characteristic betrayal on the part of the Social-Democrats.

To cite the names of Vandervelde, Huysmans, Anseele, etc., is sufficient in the eyes of the world proletarian revolution to point out the extraordinary backward position of the Belgian workers, who deceived, abused, and betrayed, supported at their head such unworthy and counter-revolutionary leaders.

During the war political work was made extremely difficult. Yet it was actually the group of "The Exploited," who, under such hazardous conditions carried on a constant agitation among the workers for the establishment of international relations.

III.

Our After War Action

DIRECTLY after the Armistice the first number of the paper *L'Exploité* appeared, and it at once began to carry on a ceaseless work of documentation and propaganda in the B.L.P. and throughout the country in favour of the defence of the Russian Workers' Revolution. An active fight against the policy of class collaboration, and the leaders of the Second International was also waged.

At first this action was not energetically combatted by the reformist leaders of the Labour Party. It is true they had their own Left Wing within the B.L.P., but their activity soon disturbed the social-patriots, who began a vast counter-agitation throughout the country.

At the Belgian Labour Party Congress of December, 1920, the question of Party discipline was raised, and after several vague attacks against the pure Nationalists a deep-seated attack on the Left was begun, which ended in a big majority vote in favour of the General Council applying the statutory conditions of exclusion failing acceptance by the "minoritaires."

The Council, not feeling itself strong enough to take action directly against the Left, it adopted indirect means; counter-propaganda in Left circles, and the refusal of certain co-operatives, owners of Peoples' Houses, etc., to let their halls for meetings or conferences of the Friends of the Exploited.

After January 1st the *Exploité*, whose circulation was 12,000, became bi-weekly, and a library was inaugurated which sends out in profusion books, pamphlets, tracts, and all types of Communist Literature.

In spite of the injunctions of the December Congress, the constitution of groups of the "Friends" was successfully pursued in all centres. After the first days of the opening of our library we were raided by the government (president—Vandervelde!) and nearly all books and pamphlets were seized.

During this time the counter-action of the social-patriots was strengthened. More and more were places of meeting refused us, and under orders of the General Council of the B.L.P., the co-operative press which printed our paper refused further editions.

IV.

Our Present Position

WE will now sketch our political position recently and at the present time. The details on the characteristics of our movement will be found in the attached brochure.

The Third Congress of the "Friends of the Exploited" carried almost unanimously the "resolution" presented by the special commission appointed by the Second Congress, and it is thanks to this vote, as well as the Executive's invitation to the B.L.P. Left Wing to help, (in a consultative voice) the work of the Comintern, that we are at Moscow.

We have the precise mission of seeking affiliation after the scission. This demand brings up the question as to why the Left Wing of the B.L.P. did not straight away adhere to the Communist Party of Belgium (Belgian Section C.I.).

There are four or five Communist groups in Belgium, one of which is affiliated to the C.I., but certain principles and actions of these groups seem in formal opposition, and grave contradiction with the theses of the Comintern.

We want to point out the anti-parliamentarian, and even Anarchist conceptions of this group, and its individualist ideas as to mass proletarian organisation in Belgium.

Here is what the *Ouvrier Communiste* writes concerning the secession of the Left Wing of the B.L.P.

WHAT SEPARATES US.

“ We reject Parliamentary action as we can only trust in revolutionary action; we oppose the formation of mass parties, because like all Social-Democracy, they are condemned to reformism and treason.”

These profound differences have not at present enabled us to enter into relations with the Communist Group affiliated to the Communist International, the whole question being one that the Executive itself should settle.

The question as to whether we have acted wrongly or otherwise in remaining inside the B.L.P. in order to fight for Marxism, the Russian Revolution, and the Third International until such time as the disadvantages of this position balanced or outweighed the advantages, is a delicate point.

For this reason the *Ouvrier Communiste* group has designated us traitors, or at least as very dangerous friends. We believe that the form of organisation of the B.L.P. necessitated us working within it until such time as we were strong enough to form a Belgian Communist Party that would have, to begin with, a serious influence on the proletarian masses.

The Belgian proletariat, more especially that of industrial Wallonia, has a profound revolutionary instinct. The very first mass strikes for political ends occurred in Belgium. But this instinct is compromised by the most inveterate reformism. Communism should make a formidable effort in this country. But for this effort to succeed, all obstacles of an internal nature must be eliminated, especially the possibility of a false interpretation of the Communist International.

We present ourselves to the Communist International with the conviction of having, in the past, acted as sincere revolutionaries passionately and exclusively attached to the cause of the social revolution.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the Universal Communist Revolution!

THE DELEGATES OF THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY,
(LATE LEFT WING OF B.L.P.),

JACQUEMOTTE, POULET.

L'Exploité.

Impressions of Jacquemotte on his Return from Russia

THE results of our mission are excellent. We put our point of view to the Executive, and to the Congress. I indicated the efforts we had made within the Belgian Labour Party, and noted with satisfaction that our comrades of the E.C. specially appreciated the work we have performed.

We are in complete accord with them on all questions. They want, like us, a party of the masses. The revolution will not be enacted round a table by a handful of romantic conspirators, but with the majority of the workers. We are equally in agreement regarding Trades Union action: to remain in our unions, and to work vigorously in the T.U. Federations.

As will be seen from the resolution on fusion, we are to participate in parliamentary action.

The Third International distinctly want us to take part in the approaching legislative elections. The necessity for parliamentary action in Belgium was illustrated by Zinoviev's question: "Have you any Communist Deputies in Belgium?"

In our country where parliamentary fetichism is so accentuated, where democratic illusion is still so powerful, is there not, for the clearness and precision of Communist action, some danger in taking up parliamentary action?

The International estimates—and I agree—that it is not so much the actual method of action that matters so much as it is that one should act on the "revolutionary plane." Lenin's theses on tactics adopted by the Third Congress give us some useful illustrations in this respect. In parliamentary action the International does not mean the reformist work of our social-patriots, but to the contrary, agitation among the masses, permanent revolutionary propaganda, and the preparation of the working class for decisive actions. In one word, parliamentary action is a means of fighting. Communists do not enter parliament to consolidate it like the social-patriot reformists, but to the contrary, they go there to combat it and destroy it.

Regarding our relations with the other Communist Party, it has been resolved that only one Communist Party can exist, and a congress is to be called to form a united Communist Party.

The Congress of the Third International

THE Congress was in the most part composed of rebels who for years have carried on revolutionary work. Contrary to what the bourgeois and perhaps some of our friends think, the Left exaggerations were not very welcome. Our Russian comrades have considerable influence. They have the advantage over the comrades of other countries as *they have made* a revolution, whereas we have yet to study the means of preparation. And these Russians, Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, are terrible realists. With them there are no catch phrases or useless words, but facts, figures, and realities. You understand the Bolshevik method: To arrive at the Revolution by any means—legal action included—to prepare for it unceasingly, to take note of its faults and errors, to rectify pitilessly its tactics when proved bad, without self-interest, with the sole aim of hastening the fulfilment of the world Revolution.

The debates were remarkable for their liberty of expression, their depth, and their care of the objective. One felt that the men

there were as far from the pre-occupations of the social-patriot reformists as they were from the intemperate ravings of the anarchists.

They are, I repeat, realists, calculating coolly all the chances of the great part we play, treating it scientifically, like a business, and wishing to avoid all hitches. What is done at Moscow is in the true sense of the expression—revolutionary scientific socialism.

The Situation in Russia

I WILL return later to details on the conditions in Russia, but for the moment let us cite the following extract written from Moscow to *Clarté* by our friend Vaillant-Couturier :

“ The régime advanced like an elementary force in spite of all insolent lies. People suffer here for an idea as on no other part of the globe, but errors are admitted, and the suffering is not hidden.

“ The Revolution? Here? It is a terrible rending ‘accouchement,’ but it will give birth to a most solid man : to one who will have at the same time a brain, a heart, and an arm.”

L'Exploité.

Scandinavia

The Revolutionary Movement in Denmark

By ERNEST CHRISTIANSEN

CONTRARY to what has happened in the other two Scandinavian countries, the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, have caused no serious divergence within the ranks of the Danish Communist Party.

At the extraordinary congress of the Party, which took place on November 7th, 1920, specially in view of the discussions of the twenty-one conditions, an entire agreement was arrived at on the subject of the Theses. Only one fraction raised objections relating to the condition of exclusions. The Theses were adopted unanimously, and the congress expressed full confidence in the decisions of the Communist International. The name of the Party, which up to then was “ The Danish Left Socialist Party,” was changed to “ Danish Communist Party (Left Socialists) Section of the Third International.” Six months later, at the congress which took place on the 22nd to 24th April, 1921, the Party programme was revised, and alterations were introduced in accordance with the Moscow Theses. Consequently the term “ Left Socialist ” was abolished. During the past year the Party has grown from 33 groups to 39 throughout the country, although the actual number of members remains about 2,500. This is because, since the second congress of the Communist International the Party has been mainly occupied in confining its membership to conscientious and proved Communists, and all the activity of this period was concentrated on work within the Party.

However, this does not mean that propaganda among the working masses has been neglected. Besides the electoral and usual

propaganda meetings, campaigns have been carried on in all districts illustrated by films on Soviet Russia.

An interpellation was made to the Government in March, 1920, on the subject of the renewal of economic relations with Soviet Russia.

Unemployment

THE international economic crisis has not spared Denmark. One of the first consequences of this crisis was the unemployment of 800,000 workers during the winter. Even now in July there are 60,000 unemployed. The capitalists wanted to profit by this crisis by reducing wages. Thanks to the treason of the Right Socialist leaders, the employers succeeded in securing a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. in wages. The agricultural labourers had actually struck for an increase of wages and reduction of hours.

The Communist Party has urged the unemployed to organise huge demonstrations, and to found an "out-of-work organisation." At the same time an energetic fight has been put up against the systematic reduction of wages, and as the situation got worse, the order for a general strike was launched. This was responded to with a marked sympathy, but the reformists succeeded in scotching it.

Propaganda

IN the Reichstag elections of June, 1920, in which the Party participated, 2,439 votes were gained. At the Reichstag elections of September, 1920, 5,160 votes were received. No Communist was elected, but the electoral propaganda allowed Communist ideas to be spread among the working masses. The Party took no part in the municipal elections of March, 1921, mainly because the economic and financial position did not allow it. However, in three provincial towns local party groups, which took part in the elections, showed a considerable progress since September; the party had almost doubled.

Press propaganda was carried on chiefly by the party organ, the daily *Arbeidet*, whose circulation was approximately 2,500. Besides this, on four different occasions, appeals were launched.

At the time of the elections special leaflets were distributed. Later during the summer of 1920 10,000 copies of a brochure-programme were issued: "What the Left Socialists Require," and in the spring of 1921 another pamphlet: "Social Democracy and the General Strike of 1920"—2,000 copies.

Party and Trade Unions

DURING the winter, 1920-1921, the Danish Communist Party entered into relations with the trade union organisation which, at the present moment, moves more and more towards Communism. These interviews resulted in the forming of a "Danish Communist Federation," which proposes constituting a common organ for the internal direction of the

Federation. For the time being the two organisations each preserve their own programme, but the Party will do all it can for the adoption by the Federation of a definitely Communist programme.

The first number of the new organ of the Federation, *Arbeidet-Bladet* (Workers' Bulletin), appeared on May 20th, and is a daily paper replacing the two journals, *Solidaritet* and *Arbeidet*. In the future the task of the Danish Communists will be to rally the revolutionary Danish workers to Communism, and to put themselves at their head.

L'Avant-Garde.

Germany

Before the Congress of the V.K.P.D. (United German Communist Party)

The Problem of German Communism

THE Executive Committee of the United German Communist Party has called the Congress of German Communists at Jena, for August 22nd. The Congress will deal with the future tactics of the Party, and other problems discussed at the Moscow Congress. In the debates on tactics, the discussions on the March insurrection will no doubt fill a large part of the deliberations. Further, the Party will have to define its attitude in relation to the K.A.P.D. (German Communist Labour Party) to which the Congress of the Communist International has addressed an ultimatum.

The Group of "Levi-ites"

THE Moscow Conference decided the case of Levi. The former President of the V.K.P.D., Paul Levi, who had been excluded from the Party for the publication of an ignominious pamphlet, is definitely excluded from the Third International. By this decision the Levi affair is settled for the International, but not for the German Communist Party. There is, in this Party, a group of leaders, composed mostly of Reichstag deputies, who even now support Levi more or less openly.

After his exclusion Levi had been invited by the Executive Committee to send back to the Party his mandate as deputy, conforming to a declaration he had signed before the elections. Paul Levi has refused to respect this obligation; he continues to exercise his mandate, in this manner affording the best arguments to the parliamentary abstentionists of the K.A.P.D., who qualify as counter-revolutionary all Communist parties taking part in parliamentary elections. Several Communist deputies have signed an interpellation in common with Paul Levi, although they know his attitude, thus supporting the grave breach of discipline which the ex-President of the V.K.P.D. has committed.

Paul Levi edits a review entitled *Unser Weg* (Our Way), where he leads a heated campaign against the present executives of the Communist Party and the Third International. Several leaders

of the opposition of the V.K.P.D. collaborate in this review. (This "Levi-ite" opposition has, however, in no way taken root among the masses of the Party—it is only the deputies who belong to it). The Central Committee of the V.K.P.D. has invited the friends of Paul Levi to collaborate in the official Party review, *The International*, while formally forbidding them to collaborate in a review edited by a man who is not a member of the Party.

Yet Levi's friends, who are still members of the V.K.P.D., continue to publish articles in *Unser Weg*. They forget that an opposition grouped round a man and a review foreign to the Party in reality places itself out of the Party by augmenting the germ of the schism. One of the most important tasks of the congress will be the most energetic restoration of discipline in connection with the Levi-ites.

The Tactics of the V.K.P.D.

THE Third Congress of the Communist International has destroyed the legend of "putschism" by which term Levi endeavoured and sought to disparage the heroic rising of the proletariat of Central Germany during last March. This legend having been destroyed, it is important to criticise unreservedly the actual tactical errors of the March movement. All Communist parties should gain experience from their own errors. It is the discussion of the March faults that will simplify the tactics of the V.K.P.D. in the coming battles.

Of all the political parties there is but the party of the proletariat which has not only the right but the duty to criticise pitilessly and openly all its faults and defects. The bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties are content with measuring their acts by illusions and lies. . . .

On the other hand, the proletarian party knows that the revolutionary storms, far from enfeebling the Communist currents, will carry the working class into power. . . . Pointed criticism which, in the non-proletarian parties, hasten the decomposition of the bourgeoisie, only fortifies and consolidates the party of the revolutionary advance-guard. That is why the faults of the March movement should be criticised, and it will also be the duty of the Congress to examine minutely the "offensive" theories of several of the V.K.P.D. leaders.

The Communist Labour Party

THE K.A.P.D.—to whom the Third International has sent an ultimatum, which demands unity with the V.K.P.D.—advocates parliamentary abstentionism, and scission in the trade unions. It includes several thousands of the conscious revolutionary proletariat. The K.A.P.D. leaders are drifting more and more towards anarcho-syndicalism. They go as far as declaring that International Communism is of a petit-bourgeois character, and that the V.K.P.D. is counter-revolutionary. It is now the duty of the V.K.P.D. to attract the revolutionary masses of the K.A.P.D., to separate them from their anarcho-syndicalist chiefs, and to lead

them to clearer conceptions of all the necessities, and of the reality of the class war. The V.K.P.D. will be able to solve these problems provided that it puts an end to the indiscipline of its "Levi-ite" members, and that it will know how to gain experience from the March risings.

L'Avant-Garde.

The Communist Movement in Saxony

By L. REVO

THANKS to the industrial development of Saxony, the working class of this country constitutes the great majority of the population. This majority is also expressed—although spoilt by all the blemishes of bourgeois parliamentarism—in the Saxon Diet, where the three Socialist parties; majority, independent, and Communist, dispose of a few more votes than the whole of the bourgeois "bloc."

In his book on the "Infantile Malady of the Left-Wing Communism," Lenin examines and exposes the theory that it is not sufficient to preach to the working class that such and such an instrument of the class war has become impracticable, but that as the masses only profit by their own experience, it is indispensable to show them by the eloquence of facts that democracy is an illusion, that the reformist chiefs betray the working class, etc.

Now in Saxony the Communists have set about applying the counsels of Lenin. They have declared that they will support a purely Socialist government composed of majority socialists and reconstructors. The social patriots and the Independents do not dispose of a majority in the Saxon Diet. It is only thanks to the support of the Communists that a Socialist Cabinet can exist, against the united bourgeois parties. The Saxon Communists have consented to the formation of a Socialist Cabinet in the intention either to enjoy a comparative liberty to unmask the leaders of the Reformist Parties, or to expose the futility of reformism itself in the case where the cabinet would let itself be dragged into a strictly bourgeois policy.

Most of the Saxon workers would not have understood any other attitude on the part of the Communists. The "purely Socialist" government, thanks only to the support of the Communists, would have been impossible if the masses, still thinking of the beneficent acts of such a cabinet, had thrown all the responsibility on the Communists.

All the statements of the Communist Party that a Socialist Government in a bourgeois State cannot serve the proletariat would have been in vain. Therefore the living proof of the Communist theses had to be furnished to the working class by the lessons of the behaviour of a "purely socialist" cabinet.

An Object Lesson

THE Communists proposed to the Diet laws in favour of the unemployed, the sick, and the homeless. These proposals were rejected by the two reformist parties, and the "pure" cabinet. The Independent Socialist, Lipinsky, Minister of the

Interior, ordered out the police against a demonstration of unemployed, and a cavalry charge against the invalids who were demonstrating their misery. This sufficiently proved the "proletarian" character of the cabinet.

Under the Socialist régime in Saxony there are 20,000 unemployed in Dresden. In spite of the Communist proposals which were rejected by the "Socialists," the housing crisis is very grave: there are 60,000 houses short in Saxony. According to the latest statistics there are 16,000 houses short in Dresden alone.

At the time of the March insurrection the purely Socialist government of Saxony set up the courts of exception against the proletarians. The workers condemned in Saxony by these courts reach a total of 148 years of seclusion or forced labour. The Communist papers were seized by the authorities, the publication of leaflets, and Communist meetings were prohibited. The police came into action against the strikers.

When the Orgeschists passed through Saxony on their way to Silesia, the purely Socialist cabinet took no apparent measures against the transport of the reactionaries.

The social laws proposed by the Communists, the subsidies to midwives, etc., were rejected. On the other hand, the Diet, by a Socialist majority, accorded on the proposition of a "Socialist" Minister, a sum of 16 million marks to the Church, by all votes against those of the Communists.

The proletariat thus sees how it is deceived by the reformist leaders. The Communists of Dresden have succeeded in the elections to the Metal Workers' Union in beating the Majority Socialists, the Independent workers having voted with the Communists.

The reactionaries calling themselves "Socialists" in Saxony, are unmasking themselves. The advice in "The Infantile Malady" is producing considerable effect.

L'Humanité.

Spain

Reprisals against the Communist Party

THE congress of the Party has once more been adjourned because of the terrible repression of the Madrid Chief of Police against the Central Committee of the Party. Some weeks ago a striker killed the owner of a printing press. Because of this the members of the National Committee of our Party were arrested by the Chief of Police. Andrade, director of *El Comunista*, was arrested and exiled to the province of Soria; Portelo, secretary of the Party, was placed in the Modèle Prison in Madrid, under "unconditional judicial procedure," that is to say, without the privilege of bail; Richard Marin is in the same prison, etc. But above all, by raiding the printing press of our organ, and by ruthlessly destroying all the type of our paper—the latter having been forbidden—was the particular brutality of the police disclosed. The Spanish Police are seeking, under Government orders, to destroy the Communist Party, which is a peril to the capitalism of our country, and to the reactionary policy against the proletariat.

The Communist Committee of Valencia has been imprisoned by the caprice of the police; and to accomplish the arrest of half-a-dozen Valencian members, sixty police were employed, who treated our comrades with great brutality. Moreover, these police manœuvres extend over all the peninsula, rendering the life of a Communist impossible. The Spanish Police (facts are an indubitable proof) wish to follow the sinister path traversed by the former police of Tsarist Russia. This violence distinctly accuses the special régime which characterises the Spanish political power.

Literary people, the more advanced papers, the "Scientific Athenians," and the Spanish League of the Rights of Men, are beginning to protest against the terrible reprisals of which our Party is the victim. The foreign Communist press should also protest against these actions of the worst Government we have experienced up to now. The coming into power of the Conservative Party is always followed by cruelties arising from its animosity towards the working class. The capitalist Conservative Party has had two principal black periods: 1909 and 1917; the first during *the bloody week of Barcelona*, the second during the general strike of August, under the presidency of the Minister Dato, who was killed this year by a revolver shot. But, since 1920, the repression has surpassed all others previous, and it will only end with the outbreak of the revolution. All the persecutions, all the reprisals, all the violent and tyrannical measures used by the present Government of the decadent Alfonso, ridiculous imitator of Nicholas II. and William II., will not be able to prevent the Spanish revolution, for all the political, administrative, economic and social ramifications are in complete decomposition, resulting from the capitalist chaos.

The war in Morocco (it was the cause of the rebellions at Barcelona in 1909), more and more sanguinary, contributes also to the débâcle. Nothing will save the Spanish monarchy. The more terrible, sanguinary and fierce the repression becomes, the more terrible, sanguinary and fierce will be, in its turn, the proletarian and Communist revolution.

VOLNEY, CONDE-PELAYO.

L'Avant-Garde.

The Moroccan Crisis

SPAIN, in order to revive its prestige in Morocco, gravely threatened by the military disaster at Melitta, is making a considerable effort at the moment.

Hastily equipped troops assembled from the barracks of the interior are leaving the ports of the peninsula. Yesterday at Bilbao, three battalions, coming from Purgos, Lagrono, and Vitoria, embarked on cargo boats usually destined for iron-ore, where they will have to remain seven days before arriving at their destination.

This morning groups of workers marched throughout the town as a sign of protestation against the sending of troops to Morocco. Immediately, the factories emptied, and the vehicular traffic was completely stopped. It was an unplanned, but almost general strike. At ten o'clock the streets were occupied by the military,

and the greatest precautions taken to permit a battalion that had arrived from Pampeture in the night to embark.

This strike coincided with the closing down of the Vizcaye factory, the great furnaces that 4,000 workers abandoned two days ago following the dismissal by the manager of two comrades who had been imprisoned 15 days for collecting T.U. funds. Will there be at Billao the same bloody repression as on the 17th August, 1917?

L'Humanité.

Czecho-Slovakia

Soviet Russia and Czecho-Slovakia

An Interview with Tchicherin

THE *Vorwaerts*, organ of the German of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party, publishes the following interview given by Tchicherin to Kreibich:

Speaking of the supposed attitude taken up by Soviet Russia, in relation to Soviet Russia, Tchicherin said: "I follow the present political development of the Czech people with a keen interest. Soviet Russia is the only real friend of the small nation."

"The case of Georgia," I said to him, "serves as the war-horse for all the enemies of Soviet Russia and Communism, and they are trying to make special use of it in connection with Bohemia."

"The legend of an imperialist attack on Georgia is a complete forgery," said Tchicherin. "Menshevist Georgia has fallen on account of the hate it provoked on the part of the workers and peasants. It was only after the proletariat took things into their own hands that Soviet Russia offered the aid that had been already asked for. All our policy in relation to small states and feeble nations shows to what point we have remained faithful to our principle of the autonomy of peoples. Nothing is further from us than wanting to introduce the Soviet Régime by force into any country. It is for the working class of each country alone to carry on the fight."

"Do you know that our enemies make out that Soviet Russia has hostile intentions towards Czecho-Slovakia?"

"All that is told about the Comintern issuing instructions against Czecho-Slovakia is pure invention. Soviet Russia is really her only true friend. On the contrary, the policy of France tends to the foundation of a Danubian Alliance, and under one form or another the restoration of the Hapsburgs. France is trying to lend its continental power for the rebirth of the clerical and monarchist reaction. But the power of tyrants has a limit, and this limit is Russia, who will know how to trace it."

"What do you think of the present foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia?"

"Above all we are counting on Czecho-Slovakia not supporting our enemies. Generally speaking Benes has followed this policy,

but we do not forget certain trains of munitions that went through Moravia on the way to Poland. And again, what is the meaning of this intimate contact between the Government and the Russian and Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the Russian people?

“ Nevertheless, we are persuaded that the great mass of the Czech people as well as the public opinion of the Bourgeoisie, will not allow a hostile attitude to be taken against us. We have good reason to believe that Czecho-Slovakia would not enter into any alliance against us.

“ We want complete autonomy for Czecho-Slovakia. We want to be its friends.

“ What do you think of the question of national minorities in general?

“ We recognise everywhere the full rights of the minority. The present position of the German minority in Czecho-Slovakia is not known to us. We can only advise Communists not to dwell on the actual territorial formations of States. The proletarian fight should be waged on its own, and should not on any account be mixed with the questions of delimitation of frontiers. All proletarians, to whatever nationality they belong, should fight in complete solidarity within the given ‘ frontiers of a nation for the defence only of class interests.’”

A. G.

L'Humanité.

Yugo-Slavia

The Reaction in Yugo-Slavia

By H. M. POPOVITCH

THE Government of the bloody Alexander Karageorgevitch and of M. Pachitch, professional robber, gives nothing in the way of immorality and savagery to the government of Tsarist Russia, also termed the Russia of the “ false Monk Rasputin.” The first of these two, in order to retain power, has managed to get rid of his eldest brother, with the aid of his dear Pachitch. Since then, atrocities have increased day by day. But it is since the war that these two blood-drinkers have been revealed in all their gory splendour. After having thrown the whole Serbian people into a carnage, after having condemned them to death in compelling the fighting retreat through Albania—a retreat in which the class 16 alone lost 29,000 men out of 38,000—these men are to-day venting their spleen on the Communist Party.

Last month's attempts against Alexander Karageorgevitch, were the long-awaited occasion for an assault on the Communist Party. The day following the attempt the Government arrested our friend Philippovitch, General Secretary of the Party, who was accused of having organised it. The servant of the accused's father, having refused in spite of an enormous bribe to confirm the allegations of the police that Philippovitch had sheltered the author of the attempt, was beaten to such an extent that she is still ill to-day.

The police then began searching for a man called Miloche Zlatar. At Laibach there was found an unfortunate man who happened to have this name; he was escorted to Belgrade by 20 gendarmes who gave him blows all along the route. After ten hours of this treatment he admitted having been connected with the affair, having been tortured beyond all powers of endurance. On arriving at Belgrade, they wanted to submit him to a cross-examination, but he was incapable of pronouncing a word. Two days later he protested to the judge against the force that had been operated on him to make him avow a complicity of which he was innocent. They made an inquiry, and found that he was not the Miloche Zlatar the police were looking for.

In the present process it is not so much a question of the unjust arrest of some hundreds of men, but of the entire Communist Party. It is Communism they are persecuting. What is most serious is that the Communist Press, having been suppressed in Yugo-Slavia for six months, the bourgeois press can lie to its heart's content without being contradicted. We are also persuaded that our friends are condemned to die in prison. Philippovitch has already contracted tuberculosis. If foreign journalists are not sent to follow the process of these Serbian comrades and denounce in the international Communist press the infamous mouthings of the Yugo-Slav bourgeois papers, it will mean that our comrades will be delivered defenceless into the hands of their adversaries.

L'Humanité.

How Yugo-Slavia Treats the Proletariat

SINCE the attempt against the Minister of the Interior, Drachkovitch—the author of the “Obzvana”—the reaction has reached its culminating point.

The open instruction after the attempt against the Prince Regent with the torture inflicted on the accused, and the insidious activities of agents provocateurs has been able to prove nothing against the Communist functionaries arrested. The instruction on the new attempt has disclosed nothing further in the way of any connection between the attempt and the Communist Party. The so-called initiator of the attempt, the student Tcholakovitch, has declared that he was not a member of the Communist Party, and that he did not even know the intentions of those who had committed the attempt.

In any case, it is clear that even if the culprits had been members of the Communist Party, one could not attribute the responsibility of these acts to the Party or its Executive Committee. For six months the Party has been deprived of all its legal means of exercising its moral influence and establishing its control over its members. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the activities of a reaction pushed to the extreme, incite some exalted spirits among the persecuted to fight the reaction with individual terror.

But the reactionary Government wants to liquidate the Communist Party at any price. By its official and bought press, it provokes the lowest instincts. In the *Straja*, for example (the organ

of the Prime Minister, Pachitch), the following passage has appeared:—

“ Our closest neighbours, the Hungarians, should provide us with an example. We should derive inspiration from Horthy. To the guillotine all who wish and think as Communists. To the guillotine all Communist women and children! Even their names should disappear from this world. All foreigners should be expelled from our frontiers, all Communists should be burned alive.”

In order to avoid all criticism of their odious ways, the Government has, by way of the police, commanded the Editors of all opposition and neutral papers that “ any criticism of the Constitution, as well as any news that would be directly or indirectly favourable to the Communists, is henceforth forbidden.” The Belgrade organ of the Red Trade Unions *Ratmitchki Lindiketi*, has been forbidden further publication.

Fascism is manifest everywhere. At Belgrade, the Association of Komitadzis prepares to lynch the Communist Deputies. At Sarajevo, the mob destroyed the headquarters of the Red Trade Unions. At Lagieb, demonstrations against the Communists are numerous. At Spalatto, the homes of two Communist Deputies have been destroyed. During a collision with Communists—there were twenty wounded—three seriously. These attacks are everywhere directed by Government Party Deputies.

The Government has convoked the legislative commission of the Parliament for the 26th July, and an extraordinary session for the 30th. *The withdrawal of the Parliamentary immunity of the 56 Communist Deputies will be demanded. The Communist Deputies are already sequestered; they are forbidden to leave Belgrade—a unique case in the history of bourgeois parliamentarism.* The Parliament will also have to vote the law relating to “ *order and work*,” which has already been proposed twice by the late Minister, Drachkovitch, and withdrawn owing to the unanimous reprobation of the opposition and a great number of Government partisans.

More than 3,000 workers are in prison. The misery of the working class, deprived for six months of its Trades Unions, is atrocious. This misery will not stabilise the reactionary régime in Yugo-Slavia and it will not wipe out the Communist Party by persecution. The Yugo-Slav bourgeoisie has learnt nothing from the history of Russian Tsarism. The Yugo-Slav Communist Party will preserve its revolutionary spirit. It will know how to augment its forces, in spite of the reaction, it will know how to prepare for victory in spite of all persecution.

L'Humanité.

Bulgaria

Growth of the Workers' Movement

BULGARIA is a small country of five million inhabitants, under the domination, like all Balkan countries, of the wills of European imperialist powers, who strive to enlarge their influence in order to make of these Balkan countries actual colonies, which serve to them as steps towards their expansion across Asia.

The great Western Powers make for themselves in this way auxiliary armies, which they utilise in their struggle against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is on account of these motives, that the "Allies" wish to stifle the revolutionary movement in these countries, and especially in Bulgaria, where it has deeper roots.

Eighty per cent. of the Bulgarian population are peasants. From this fact the bourgeoisie assume that there is no place for a Communist movement in this country.

However, most of the peasants are small proprietors owning from five ares to one hectare of land, which is not enough to feed them, and compels them to hire themselves to the rich farmers, or alternatively to work in the factories or in the mines.

Before the Balkan war of 1912, this part of the population still succeeded, by virtue of intensive work, in which both children and women folk participated, to eke out a bare existence. Up to then the economic life of the country had not passed through any serious crisis, and therefore no revolutionary party of the masses had been formed.

For more than thirty years a feeble socialist movement existed in Bulgaria, divided sharply, however, into two tendencies. The *reformists* endeavoured to create a party of the masses by propaganda in the villages, and by the organisation of the peasants and small owners. They collaborated to a great extent with the bourgeoisie with the aim of obtaining an amelioration in their conditions.

The *revolutionaries*, on the other hand, conducted a clear-cut class struggle, without compromise, and limited their propaganda to the towns, to the industrial centres, to the really proletarian masses. They struggled to achieve unity of action in the political and industrial movement.

In 1903 a split occurred between these two tendencies. The reformists formed the *broad* social democratic party, with Janko Sazezoff as leader, the revolutionaries formed the *narrow* social democratic party, led by Dimitri Blagoef.

The *broad* social democratic party, exploiting the desire for immediate palliatives for the working masses and peasants, saw its ranks being swelled rapidly with petit bourgeois and intellectual elements. This party advocated the "neutrality" of the trade unions, although in reality the greater part of the Unions were directed by the broad social democrats, who also directed the political activity of these unions.

The *narrow* or Marxist Party consisted, for a long time, of only a small number of clear-sighted proletarians, who relentlessly carried on the struggle against the reformists and social patriots. They organised the workers of the mines, the cutlery workers, and workers in tobacco factories, all elements clearly proletarian.

The struggle between the two parties was very active. The *broad* party multiplied their appeals for unification, but the *narrows* always refused this unity, replying that it could only be carried out in favour of action conducted on the ground of the

class struggle, and that it would be as useful to ally themselves with the bourgeoisie as with the reformists.

The *narrow* Socialist Party never accepted collaboration with any other political or industrial organisation. It maintained that only those trade unions affiliated to the party were true proletarian organisations.

Despite the efforts of Legien, Secretary of the International of Trade Unions, even of Trotsky, of Rakovsky, etc., to unite the two parties, the *narrow* Socialists would accept no deviation from their political path, nor any collaboration with reformist leaders. No influence was able to destroy their Marxian point of view.

They called themselves the "Unique" Socialists, and truly they showed themselves unique in refusing all aid to the national bourgeoisie, by strongly opposing the national war of 1912.

This energetic attitude attracted to them the confidence of the wider working masses, despite bourgeois persecutions, and from this moment the *narrow* party grew both in size and in quality.

The *broad* social democrats, during this period, drew nearer and nearer to the bourgeoisie, with whom they led a united action in 1908. During the course of the Balkan war of 1912 they assisted the bourgeoisie with all their strength, in the war for the "liberation" of Macedonia and of Thrace, contributing thus to the extermination of the proletarians, sacrificed to the ambitions of Balkan imperialism and Tzarist autocracy.

The war of 1915-18 found the same parties, attached to the same policies. The violent struggles of the *narrows* against the war were put down by the most vigorous ferocity.

After the defeat in the Balkan War, the situation of the masses was most precarious. Two hundred thousand killed, as many permanently disabled, twice as many orphans, productive activity totally destroyed, misery, unemployment, tremendous increase in the cost of living, crushing war expenses, 37 milliards of debt, exorbitant taxes which fell entirely on the poor peasants and the workers.

The situation created by the Treaty of Peace literally strangled the Bulgarian people, who saw themselves reduced to a state of slavery impossible to imagine even in Western countries.

Driven by bankruptcy, the Bulgarian Government crushed the proletariat under taxes, and decreed the "compulsory and gratuitous national service," by which all workers were constrained to work ten days each year for the State without payment.

Such an exploitation, such a misery, opened the eyes of the workers, who showed with a force more and more marked, their revolutionary will. Bloody encounters took place between workers demanding bread, and government troops, who gave them bullets while the Bulgarian bourgeoisie fed the counter-revolutionary armies of Wrangel with bread. A powerful strike movement, organised at this moment, succeeded in paralysing the aid being carried to the adversaries of the Soviets.

The broad social democrats collaborated with the government.

The *narrow* party had become the Communist Party of Bulgaria since the First Congress of the Third International.

The proletarian movement extended considerably and was violently repressed by mass arrests and the assassination of numerous members of the Communist Party.

These economic and political circumstances developed the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants, and reinforced the Communist Party, following the bankruptcy of the broad social democrats, of whom the bourgeoisie was making an instrument of defence against the workers. It suffices to recall, among other things, the action of the Minister, Sakazoff (leader of the broad social democrats), who attempted to destroy the organisation of the miners by deporting more than 300 militants, from the mines of Pernike, near Sofia, and the attitude of the *broad* Djidroff, Minister of Justice, who attempted to have several of these militants assassinated, and was only prevented from this course by the violent opposition which developed within his own party.

As they had served their bourgeoisie during the war, so they continued to serve them after the war.

One remembers that certain *broad* leaders were sent to Stockholm and elsewhere to defend the cause of their national Capitalism. On the morrow of the war, they agreed with the victorious Entente to sacrifice as hostages 150,000 prisoners of war, who were kept, far from their hearths and homes during long months, in order to avoid their sudden return in the country, where they would have accentuated the revolutionary movement.

In July, 1919, faced by a threat of action from the proletariat, the desperate bourgeoisie sealed the reactionary block with the social democrats, in order to resist the Communists by all possible means. A brutal repression was pursued side by side by a most vile press campaign against the Bolshevik Revolution. Actually the Bulgarian bourgeoisie made use of means more direct, more brutal still; it organised a Bulgarian fascist, who destroyed the Workers' Hall and the Communist printing press at Sofia.

Despite that, the Communist action continued and increased in activity and force from day to day, menacing the interests of allied imperialism as much as those of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

At the last elections, the Communist Party forced the election of 47 Communist deputies. The party is parliamentary, despite a very feeble tendency from the Left, which is anti-parliamentarian. These elements considered that the situation in the country warranted the immediate carrying through of the revolutionary coup, without the party concerning itself with external influences, nor with the result of the attempt. However, the Committee of the Communist Party holds that international relationships, the presence of foreign troops by the frontiers, are factors which determine its revolutionary action.

But these differences of the evaluation of different factors will be overborne by the revolutionary will of the masses, the new industrial and political conditions in the country, and the probable variations in the international situation.

The bourgeoisie of Roumania, of Poland, of Servia, of Czecho-Slovakia, have formed the "Little Entente," so-called, against Hungary and Bulgaria, but in reality to fight Soviet Russia. A new war against Russia would create quite a new situation for the workers of Bulgaria.

During the last few days, the announcement of a Bulgarian revolution has been announced in the press and immediately denied by the foreign representatives of the Bulgarian Government. All the denials, however, would not prevent economic and political conditions from producing their effects, and liberating the Bulgarian proletariat from allied and Bulgarian imperialism.

(Translated from *Ouvrier Communiste* by E. T. WHITEHEAD).

Italy

The Toll of the Civil War

L'AVANTI has just published figures relating to the men killed or wounded during the troubled period which has endured from the Armistice to the present day.

I.—From September 1st to November 30th, 1919 (election period):

A. DEAD.							
Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Police	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Socialists and other workers	...	...	...	...	...	...	28
							—
Total ...							31
B. WOUNDED.							
Soldiers and Police	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
Fascisti and Arditi	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
Socialists and other proletarians	...	...	...	...	...	...	200
Other civilians	...	...	...	...	...	...	42
							—
Total ...							292

II.—From March 1st to May 21st, 1921.

A. DEAD.							
Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
Police	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Fascisti	...	...	...	...	...	...	64
Socialists and Communists	...	...	...	...	...	...	195
Other Civilians	...	...	...	...	...	...	57
							—
Total ...							340
B. WOUNDED.							
Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	56
Fascisti	...	...	...	...	...	...	266
Socialists and Communists	...	...	...	...	...	...	774
Other Civilians	...	...	...	...	...	...	339
							—
Total ...							1435

C. IMPRISONED.		
Fascisti	... ..	163
Socialists and Communists	... ..	1961
		Total ... 2124

Different conclusions arise from the examination of these tables: The first is relative to the growing intensity of the fight. The total figures of killed and wounded during a period of three months in 1919 are respectively 10 and 5 times less than the corresponding figures for the same period in 1921. In the second place, the figures of Communists or Socialists killed and wounded are always much higher than those of the reaction. This is explained by two reasons: Firstly, the Government agents and the Fascisti were better armed and equipped than their enemies, and secondly, they have always been the assailants; this has enabled them to seize their victims on the spot, and constantly given them superiority. All the same, it must be noted that if for the first period the figures of the proletarians killed and wounded is five (5/1) to 20 (20/1) times higher than those of the bourgeoisie, for the second period the relation is not more than 2/1 to 3/1.

This is because the proletariat had learnt to resist; has armed, and has little by little borrowed from its enemies their own methods of fighting.

[Another important deduction from the above figures is the number of imprisoned. The fascisti have only 163 in prison against 1961 Communists. Considering that the fascisti were the attackers they have very few members in prison. This is a further proof that the Law is a weapon used against the masses.—EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

Roumania

The White Terror

BUCHAREST, July 27th, 1921. The White Terror inaugurated by the Avaresco-Argetoyanon Cabinet still grows. It rivals those of Mannerheim and Horthy.

As it is proved that the "plots" forged by the Government are pure invention, crime and despotism have taken the place of justice. The Congress delegates imprisoned in the Fort of Jilava since the 15th of May have been thrown in dark and damp caves, beaten and starved; they are even denied the permission to receive their families and advocates.

To protest against these cruelties 90 comrades have declared hunger strike for eight days. They demand that they should be put under the political régime, and that their process should be taken out.

General Avaresco, the assassin of the insurgent peasants of 1907, has replied cynically: "In true Democracy, I can oppose no form of strike."

Besides the hundreds of "undesirable" citizens condemned to death in Bessarabia since the annexation of this revolutionary country to Roumania, they have commenced to apply the system become famous since the murder of Liebknecht.

The Communist, Brottman, has just been shot by the gendarmes of the assassin Argetoyanon under the pretext that he tried to escape. He is the fifth Communist shot in this fashion in two months.

Conscious of its inevitable fall, the Government, overwhelmed by a public debt of more than twelve milliards, and incapable of re-organising the country, takes the offensive against the revolutionaries. By decree it has made invalid the mandate of the Deputy Moscovivi, late Secretary of the Socialist Party, and condemned for the general strike of October 1920—also by decree. The Government has also taken away the right of pleading from E. Socor, a member of the General Council of the Party, condemned for the same "crime" as Marcovici. Even the non-revolutionary peasant deputies are chased from Parliament, and the *Communist Bulletin* and *Workers' Life* confiscated. The least partial strike becomes in the eyes of the authorities a "plot" that must be stifled.

Those are the means employed by the ruling classes to prolong their domination.

L'Humanité.

France

Declaration of the Committees of Revolutionary Syndicalists (C.S.R.)

THE Central Committee of the C.S.R. being unable to meet to-night, the undersigned comrades wish immediately to make the following declarations relating to the resolution voted at the Congress of the Red Trade Union International:—

1. They are surprised to find at the bottom of this resolution the signatures of the two French delegates, who have obviously outstepped their mandate.

2. They consider that revolutionary Trade Unionism would fail in its traditions of syndical autonomy if it accepted the conception expressed in this resolution.

3. They firmly believe that a Red Trade Union International based on these principles would be incapable of rallying the revolutionary Trades Union movements, and consequently of filling its rôle, and existing.

It seems to us that it is impossible to admit the necessity for a strict liaison between the Unions and the Communist Party on the national field, and between the R.T.U.I. and the Comintern on the International field.

This organic liaison would end above, as below, in mechanically falsifying the character of the Trades Union, and in preventing it being the class grouping open to all workers, in order that

it might become simply a grouping of tendencies. We would be assisting in the creation of as many Trade Union movements as there exist Communist or Socialist Internationals. A revolutionary T.U. International should be independent of a political International, as a T.U. organisation should be of a political organisation.

Therefore, nationally, the French Revolutionary Trades Unionism cannot admit organic connection with the Communist Party. Faithful to the Amiens Charter, it demands its independence which allows it to call to it all workers without distinction of opinion.

Internationally it recognises the right of other T.U. movements to act according to their own historic and economic conditions, but it demands the same right for itself. It considers that a R.T.U.I. that does not take into consideration these conditions would be condemning itself to inactivity and death; it would only rally a part of the International T.U. movement, whereas by respecting the original characters of the different movements, and in giving to the new International the two foundation stones of Russian Trades Unionism and the revolutionary Trades Unionism of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, it is sure to march with great strides upon the Revolutionary path. We ask the Central Committee of the C.S.R. to propose to the R.T.U.I. to arrange as soon as possible a conference at which the question of the actual resolution will be discussed, and to ask the Lille Confederal Congress to begin by demanding the withdrawal of the C.G.T. from the Amsterdam International, deferring until the next extraordinary congress the demand for effective adhesion to Moscow.

We firmly declare that our present attitude is neither inspired by a sentiment of defiance for the Communist International, nor by an enfeebling of the fraternity that binds us to the Russian Revolution, but by the conscience of the higher interest of the world movement, which alone is our guide.

We repudiate Amsterdam to-day, as yesterday; and the provisional non-acceptance of some of our points of view by the Congress of the R.T.U.I. will not make us discover any merits in an International grafted on a war grouping of Allied Trades Unions, and whose action is organically tied to the International Labour Office of Monseigneur Albert Thomas and the Second Socialist International—that of the ministers and kings.

More than ever we desire that our Russian Comrades be represented at the Lille Congress, where we shall confront our points of view with profit for all.

Signed:—Monmousseau, Sémard, Barthe, Jouve, Cholber, Quinton, Racamond, Guinet, Teulade, Meyer, Fontaine, Rébillon, Briole, Monatte, Verdiét, Vadécard, Biche, Rambaut, Daguerre.

L'Humanité.

The Communist Party and the Trades Unions

IN its sitting of the 21st July, the E.C. of the French Communist Party unanimously adopted the following resolution.

The Executive Committee considering the contradictory opinions that the resolution voted at the Moscow Congress of the R.T.U.I. is arousing in Trades Union circles, recalls that the position of the Communist Party in France has been defined by the Tours resolution which states on the relation between Party and the Unions.

“The party includes workers of all proletarian organisations who accept its theoretical views and practical applications. Everyone, obeying the discipline submitted to his control, will propagate these ideas in the circles where he exercises his influence and activity. And when the majority in these organisations is won over to communism there is between them and the Party co-ordination of action and *not subjection* of one organisation to the other.”

In reply to the allegations of the present leaders of the C.G.T. the E.C. observes that the resolution voted at Moscow far from implying any “insubordination” of the T.U. Movement to the political organisation, merely envisages a “strict contact and organic liaison” between the executives of the Comintern and the R.T.U.I.

It also points out that the Social-dissidents after having on their own account demanded an entente and permanent liaison between the Unions and Sections, and between the C.G.T. and the Party, are badly qualified to pose to-day as the champions of T.U. independence of which the Communist Party has not ceased to proclaim the necessity in France.

The Executive Committee affirms once more its wish to neglect nothing in realising in France in the respect of the traditional autonomy of Trades Unionism the revolutionary unity of the proletarian front.

L'Humanité.

Communist Party of France (F.S.C.I.)

Against the Famine in Russia

Appeal to the Workers of France

THE Russian people is suffering from a cruel famine in ten provinces, those of the Volga and the South-East. It addresses itself to you as to all proletarians of the world, that you might accomplish your duty of solidarity regarding it. You will not fail.

If certain districts of Russia have gathered sufficient to subsist on, others are sorely tried. The drought has sterilised the earth there. The harvest has been feeble or non-existent; the population emigrate in quest of food. Children of tender age are decimated by the famine and the terrible diseases it gives birth to. It is a tragedy comparable to the most tragic of all times,

a crisis the more serious as there remains scarcely sufficient seed for the winter sowing.

In the past on many occasions under the Tsarist régime, millions of human beings died of hunger. When the Revolution broke out there was a shortage of bread in the towns, and the peasants fed themselves on grass. The war had torn away labour from the land, dislocated the economic system—already so backward in Russia—and abolished the transport system. Whatever efforts the Soviet has made to give the country the necessary equipment, and rescue it from the effects of the Tsarist policy, it has not been able to accomplish the whole of its task. Fighting internally against armed reaction, and against reiterated aggression from without, it has in spite of all its initiative remedied but one part of the evil. To thoroughly free themselves they should have been able to come into contact with the rest of the world, and take part in universal life.

Now the capitalist powers, in order to revenge themselves on the first country to accomplish the Social Revolution, have isolated Russia by their blockade, and to-day, owing to Russia's having a disastrous harvest, the crime is completed.

Thousands of infants die through being born in the shadow of the red flag. A whole people is condemned to death by the cold diplomacy of the possessing classes, for having rejected the old form of ownership. Workers of France, it is not in vain that we appeal to you. We know your generosity and also your intelligence. Women of the French proletariat, you would not like the little boys and girls of Russia, brothers and sisters of yours, to be the victims of class politics.

There is a solidarity of peoples superior to the hateful will of governments. If to-morrow there arises from the Russian famine the most gigantic epidemic of cholera that history has yet known, the so-called statesmen who rule us will be responsible. They have not yet understood that in leaving Russia to die behind the lines of a blockade they make a charnel-house of the world.

Workers of France, you must insist that the blockade be raised, so that the Russian people receives the victuals and medicaments which will permit it to subsist and combat the epidemic. The circumstances are pressing. But you will not be content with relying on the bourgeoisie to expiate its crime. *You will impose a personal and pecuniary sacrifice on yourselves; you will give aid to your Russian brothers.* You will affirm practically your solidarity with the masses of workers of peasants who have out there shaken the servitude of the old world.

In accomplishing this act of fraternity which is asked of you, in associating you with all the workers of the universe who are coming in aid of Russia, you will measure your power in the face of the counter-revolution which is already arming itself with the sufferings of the Soviet people. Demonstrate your strength, your spirit of sacrifice, your interest in humanity, and your high comprehension of the duty of the international proletariat.

L'Humanité.

The Executive Committee.

The Greetings of the R.T.U.I. for T.U. Autonomy Against All Subordination

THE Central Council of the Red Trade Union International sends to the Congress of the French C.G.T. assembled at Lille, its fraternal greetings.

It hopes that from this Congress French Trades Unionism will emerge at last regenerated, and will work in accord with the revolutionary organisations of all countries for the realisation, by Communism, of the freedom of the proletariat, and that it will join, after having repudiated the Amsterdam International of class collaboration, the Red T.U. International of Moscow, where it will find its Communist and Syndicalist friends of 12 countries (Spain, Italy, England, America, etc.).

The constitutive Congress of the R.T.U.I. voted by a large majority the exchange of delegations between the Executive Committees of the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. with the idea of making effective collaboration between the two Internationals on the revolutionary field.

But in spite of this liaison, the Congress has never intended diminishing the autonomy of T.U. organisms of the different countries, and the two Congresses have never had in view the subordinating of one of the Internationals to the other.

The manœuvres of the bourgeois Governments and the reformists who are trying to make the French militants believe that the Moscow Congress has decided on mechanical subordination of the T.U. movement of the world to the Communist International, will be frustrated by the proven and far-seeing revolutionaries.

Once more we hope that the revolutionary fighters of France will not fall into the traps that the Bourgeois Governments and their reformist servitors lay for them under the pretext of "autonomy."

Long live the Red Trade Union International!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

For and by order of the Central Council of the R.T.U.I.:

The Executive Bureau: Losovsky (General Secretary); Nogin (Russia); Ailandis (Spain); Mayer (Germany); Tom Mann (England); Andveitchin (America).

L'Humanité

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