

The Communist Review

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CONTENTS

Review of the Month

The Heroic Sailors of the Russian Revolution.
By Larissa Reisner

Ireland and the Social Revolution. By Fred Willis

What are the Soviets? By W. E. Harding

Power or Persuasion. By Wm. Paul.

The Practical Problems of World Revolution. By F. Maharadze

How Lefebvre, Lapitet and Vergaet were Drowned.
By Frederick Strom

Kropotkin's Last Letter

The Communist International. (Report from the Executive Committee)

The Third Congress of the Communist International. (Copy of the Agenda)

Reports and Manifestos from all over the World

Review of the Month

Our New Review.

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW makes its appearance in response to the new needs arising in the revolutionary movement of Great Britain.

One of the main features of our magazine will be a complete record of what is happening in the Labour and Communist organisations of other countries. We shall also attempt to give a monthly survey of the foreign Communist Press, and in this way help to emphasise the international character of our movement. THE COMMUNIST REVIEW will thus open a new epoch in the history of revolutionary journalism in this country.

We shall not attempt to make THE COMMUNIST REVIEW a magazine containing popular articles for non-Communist readers; its pages will rather appeal to the new Communists who are daily pouring into our ranks, and to those who may feel the need for a journal specially devoted to the discussion of revolutionary problems and tactics, as these present themselves, both at home and abroad. In each issue we intend to give a brief summary of the leading events that happen in Britain. We shall publish a monthly article in which the Communist Party of Great Britain will examine some important phase of the revolutionary movement as it affects the working class in this country. Members of the Party will find that we intend to publish reports from the branches and to summarise the general work of our organisation in its various avenues of activity. We hope, also, to find space to draw attention to any important volumes which may be published, and which, in our opinion, might interest our readers and assist them in their educational and agitational work. In a word, THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

will, we are sure, become an indispensable magazine to every member of the Party.

The Triple Alliance. The criminal betrayal of the miners by the Triple Alliance reveals something more deep-rooted in the modern Labour movement than mere personal cowardice and treachery. The miners' strike has demonstrated that we have reached a new phase in the history of industrial organisation. We are now in the period of mass movements, and whether moderate Labour leaders like it or not, the capitalist class in defending their profits, are quite prepared, if need be, to run the risk of provoking a revolutionary crisis.

The development of the class struggle passes from the sectional to the mass strike. All our modern trade union leaders received their training of leadership in the days when strikes were of a puny and sectional character. Their weakness rests upon the fact that they still employ the strike tactics of the old sectional period. They were accustomed, in the old days, to conduct isolated struggles which were at once local and insignificant. Now, however, they are confronted with a new phase of industrial warfare. The modern mass-strike convulses the nation. The modern mass-strike becomes a challenge to the parliamentary form of government. It tests the stability of capitalist society. This explains why the average trade union leader, trained in the sectional method of conducting local strikes, cannot lead the masses on the modern industrial battlefield.

The events of the past few weeks prove that these leaders cannot, and dare not, direct the mass-strike. The new conditions demand new leaders with a revolutionary policy and with dauntless courage. Such leadership can only come from the Communists who are, at present, so busily at work spreading the doctrines of the Red Trade Union International among the industrial workers of Britain.

Sectionalism or Solidarity? The difference between the Amsterdam, or "Yellow," International of industrial organisations and that represented by the Red Trade Union International is, at bottom, the difference between craft sectionalism and class solidarity. Mr. Thomas, as the leader of the Amsterdam school, believes in sectionalism, which stands for a divided working class organised upon a policy which accepts capitalism and rejects communism. The Red Trade Union International builds its whole case upon mass-solidarity as the weapon of power to smash capitalism and as the constructive instrument of the social revolution.

The one inspiring feature of the miners' strike has been their unwavering solidarity. The mine-owners—by submitting terms which took only a few pence from the Yorkshire miners' wages as compared with the pounds to be taken from their South Wales' comrades—played the traditional part of all ruling classes who seek to rule by dividing their slaves into hostile sections. But not only were the miners solid. Behind them stood the other ranks of Labour. The Electrical Union made a proposal to the Triple Alliance, which would have brought the Government to its knees; the distributive workers' union submitted a plan for feeding the masses, but these were turned down by the Triple Alliance, and the rest. Why? Because the mass-strike is not a passive strike. It must become active if it would succeed. And an active mass-strike would bring into being all the conditions necessary to carry through the workers' revolution. The mass-strike is Labour's only weapon against the dictatorship of capital. But the modern trade union leaders are afraid to use this weapon which history has placed into their hands.

The Heroic Sailors of the Russian Revolution

By LARISSA REISNER

(Member of the Political Board of the Baltic Fleet.)

(Special to THE COMMUNIST REVIEW.)

When, on the eve of the October Revolution, thousands and tens of thousands of workers, with arms and banners, marched beneath the windows of the Liberal Ministries, in the first ranks of those stormy crowds went the sailors. When, in one night, the Winter Palace, surrounded by troops, zealously guarded by cadets of the privileged military Academies, crowded with Ministers and Senators, was stormed and taken, in the first ranks of the advancing proletarians went the sailors. When, round the cradle of the new-born proletarian Republic, there arose a wall of defenders on the heights of Pulkovo which shattered and drove off the hordes of General Krassnoff, amongst the first of the wounded were the sailors, and amongst the conquerors returning to Smolny on the armoured cars of Kerensky there fluttered their black and yellow ribbons.

On the other hand, when the bourgeoisie requires to bespatter with dirt the fair countenance of the revolution, to rob its victories of their glory, to deprive its stern sentences of their high merit, the first to be slandered is the Bolshevik sailor. He it is who kills the defenceless and the conquered, who robs, violates and debauches. He it is who, for German gold, frees Kronstadt from its officers, who had been accomplishing, beside their immediate duties, additional feats of prowess as voluntary spies and unpaid police.

He it is who, for these same German millions, turns the guns of the "Aurora" and of the glorious destroyers of the "Novik" type on to the glittering mirrors of the Winter Palace. It is he, it is he, the unconquerable sailor; and wherever there flames up the threat of revolt before the terrified bourgeoisie, there appears his heroic and martyred shadow.

Shot down in the far north, in the frozen marshes of Murmansk, he rises again from the burning sands of the Caspian shore. Throttled in the prisons of Koltchak or Denikin, he falls, weltering in his blood; and, lo, on the Baltic, again the wind of liberty lifts and caresses his open collar; and Yudenitch, crushed, crawling away from proud proletarian Petrograd, in vain threatens his beloved head. Every line, every page of the Russian Revolution, bears the trace of the sunburned sailor hand; on the brown skin of that hand the anchor and arms of the R.S.F.S.R. is wonderfully interwoven above the wrist, by the tattooing needle—a decoration which costs him dear.

Taken prisoner, whether as soldier or Commissary, he was ruthlessly shot—as was, indeed, everyone who was distinguished by the naïve but ineradicable initials of the fleet.

A sailor is an outlaw; a sailor dies without a trial; a sailor is a prized booty for which the titled hunters search without respite. And they are worth all this hatred, the Red sailors. They have done more and better than all the hatred of the bourgeois Press can attribute to them.

The demoralisation of the old Imperial Army could not, of course, but affect the fleet.

As in all parts of the mechanism of the State, in its midst the old element collapsed and fell away in rotting fragments, at first overwhelming in its evil

ceased to exist, and had melted away completely in the flame of the rising revolution. The ships grew empty, abandoned by their crews, the machines rusted, the stores were plundered. Encumbering the Neva with enormous unwanted steel boxes, the ships seemed only the ghosts of the hated machine of oppression. And yet, as it grew stronger and began to beat off its assailants, the great Revolution brought new life to those corpses, and forced them to serve the interests of the exploited classes. I shall never forget the figure of the Volga pilot in lapti and ragged tunic—the figure of a poor Russian peasant—standing on the proud captain's bridge of a destroyer, and directing the fire of its merciless guns on to the White Guard ambush.

Those peasant lapti on a deck where previously one could not even die except in patent leather shoes; that destroyer, the last wonder of bourgeois culture, defending its freedom from the Volga alone amongst the deserted, bare, shell-torn, peasant fields.

Unforgettable days! Ineradicable impressions! But my thoughts seem to be wandering.

Breaking down in the old harbours, dockyards, and bases, the Fleet first of all poured over the whole of revolutionary Russia. There was not a Committee of Defence, a Revolutionary Executive Committee, or a simple detachment of volunteers, into the ranks of which the sailors did not pour like a leaven. And yet the rising of the Czecho-Slovaks in the east, which tore away Siberia and the corn districts from Moscow, put an end to the scattering of the seamen.

They returned to their ships to retake Kazan, already captured by the Whites, and to free from them the Kama and the basin of the Volga.

In a short time, on these rivers, they had created a fleet. Guns were placed on ordinary shallow barges, broad and cumbersome to turn, and on these river turtles the sailors daily went into determined artillery duels. Wrapped in smoke, flame and shrapnel, those floating batteries, weak and completely uncovered, for a whole month daily bombarded Kazan, although faced with the strong artillery and the powerful fleet of the enemy.

How they could fight, those hastily constructed ships! The sharp military command is heard, followed by dead silence. The tackle feebly jerks and creaks, and the heart-beats of the engine are mingled with the sharp, short sounds of the shell being loaded. And, clothed in worn-out variegated rags, with open necks and bare-headed, the sailors bend their smiling eyes to the guns, and choose, and wait.

How many of them perished, amongst those fearless fighters; on the wooden decks, amidst the flame and shrapnel, without bandages or medical help, with eyes darkened by the dews of death and the smoke of powder, through which there fluttered on the masts, the little red flag darkened with age. This was the first period of the civil war—partisan and heroic.

II.

Overcoming the opposition of the engineer specialists, the sailors at length called to the help of their exhausted detachment real naval warships from the Baltic Sea. They arrived one sunny autumn day, the wireless rings trembling at their masts; and in their first campaign an active part was taken by Comrade Trotsky. Three destroyers silently went down by night to Kazan itself, and, under the very nose of the short-sighted shore-batteries, burned and sunk several White ships. Their homeward path fell under enfilade fire, through a hell of exploding shells, under the silver eye of the searchlights.

On the ship where the commander of the Fleet, Raskolnikoff, flew his

the helm broke, and had to be repaired in the midst of the inferno, almost without hope of salvation. But, in spite of all, the destroyer revived, and left the battle without hurt.

That night, one of the cold black-and-lilac nights of September, for the first time welded the former officers together with the revolutionary crews and laid the foundation of a new Red Fleet. In a few days Kazan had fallen, and the sailors, maintaining contact with the armies of the right and left banks, moved down to the lower reaches of the Volga.

This campaign, which spread over many hundreds of miles, was carried out with epic simplicity along the wild shores of the Kama, overgrown with century-old firs. Groups of swans fled from the sound of the guns, and their noisy tract, cutting across the orbit of the conflict, foretold victories, sacrifices, and yet new victories.

Here fell Markin, one of our best sailors and revolutionaries, drawn into an ambush by his savage valour. His death imparted a still more determined character to the war, but set it upon the path of correct strategical organisation. Along the wild expanse of this river, for the first time since the beginning of the civil war, mines now made their appearance. The first Red hydro-aeroplane spread its wings over the silent mountains, hurling down whole hives of white bees, in the form of proclamations, on to the heads of the enemy. Retreating step by step, defending themselves with desperation, the Whites gradually withdrew to the east, burning bridges, sinking hundreds of barges loaded with corn, staining the course of the majestic northern river with blood, and disfiguring its banks with fire.

How often did we come too late! How often, after the battle, did the sailors rush to the liberated wharves, still in the grip of the exultation of victory, still dizzy and intoxicated with their exertions—and still too late!

On the very shore, where the cliffs descend to the strand they would find piled up, on a narrow strip of earth, soldiers' caps, stained with rain during night bivouacs, peasant tunics, peasant lapti, thrown off at the moment of supreme despair; and above them, at the height of a man, a thick purple band of blood and brains. And quivering, not daring to remain lest they should again be too late, the ships went on.

III.

The following year was a year of struggle for the possession of the Caspian Sea. Gradually becoming technically more perfect, organising strong fighting units, educating its sailors and re-educating its old officers, the river flotilla grew into a High Sea Fleet. But under what conditions was that work carried on! One must have known Astrakhan, with its blazing sands, its burning dust, its marsh fevers. Astrakhan, burned in several risings, hanging by the thread of a single railway line, which was daily cut by White bands! Astrakhan in the grip of cholera and malaria, starving, deprived of all the most simple medicines! Astrakhan, blockaded by the British Fleet from the sea, and by Denikin from the direction of Tsaritsyn; and none the less feverishly creative, patiently labouring, persistently serving the revolution. No, general phrases are not sufficient to enable one to understand all the grandeur and all the poverty of that town!

One had to see those stifling barracks, where sailors had their wounds dressed with scraps of old linen: where there was nothing to replace the bandages soaked through and through with blood. In all the beds, on the breasts torn asunder with shrapnel, on the foreheads with their bullet wounds, on the arms, everywhere, there flames our Red, our undying star! And the villages, decimated with disease! And the mothers, offering their last cow,

parent children, doomed by dysentery! They did not even dare to pray, for the heavens seemed also against them. Every day there flew over the town British aeroplanes, glittering wonderfully in the sun, to hurl a few poods of dynamite on to our ships, and, still more often, on to the working-class quarters, half buried in dirt, on to the broken roofs and the clay walls. And every day, past the open windows of the hospital filled with groans and delirium, past ruins and destruction, bowing their banners, rejoicing in their proud loneliness and self-sacrifice, great processions went by, escorting to their graves the children, wives, and warriors of the great army of labour. They marched together under the blazing sun, and sang the "International."

None the less, neither by day nor by night, under the glare of the search-lights, did the ship-building wharves cease their work. Scarcely able to raise the enormous hammer with their hands, exhausted by three years' starvation, the workers, none the less, raised it to its true royal height, and brought it down upon the white-hot iron—repairing, arming, and building. And the ships into which there had poured the living energies of the workers of a whole town, the ships which devoured the labour, the will, and the brains of their exhausted builders, one after another went down into the sea, and, borne along by that collective will, dared not perish, dared not be defeated, even one against three, even one against five!

Many of them, flat-bottomed river craft hung round with heavy armour, could be overturned by the first violent storm, and the sailors all knew it, all, from the ship's boy to the commander and the commissary; and not once did these men refuse to carry out their military duty. In place of one ship broken in a gale and lost with all its crew, there immediately appeared another, just as obstinate, just as helpless. That is how the sailors lived.

And not only by steadfastness and courage were these years of civil war proud and glorious, but also by their unaccustomed development of spiritual culture. For, in Astrakhan, during the long winter campaign, men not only fought and built, but also intensively studied. Men condemned to die, and possibly guessing their approaching fate, were particularly earnest in their reading during the last weeks and days before setting out, and eagerly listened to the orchestra of Beethoven, the organ of Bach, the violin of Sarasate. For whole hours, those audiences, almost illiterate, scarcely emerging from social ignorance, holding their breath, would listen to the lecturer, the musician, or the agitator. And, even on the day of departure, many crews could not tear themselves away from their "political section": some professors received permission to accompany their pupils to the very bar itself, to the threshold of battle and torment. Thus, in place of the priest glozing over crime with his defiled cross, the artist and the scientist stepped upon the deck of the Bolshevik warship.

And at length came victory. The White fleet, defeated in several battles, demoralised and deprived of its base, fled from Baku to the Persian harbour of Enzeli. There it hoped to find protection and re-equipment. There it was seized by the Red Caspian Fleet at the head of which, as at the time of its first attacks before Kazan, stood the Communist Raskolnikoff. And, at the moment when Enzeli was being evacuated by the last British soldiers, carrying away on their backs even baths plundered from the houses of the peaceful Persian population, on the masts of the captured fleet there rose the red flag, and the first Soviet placard unfolded, on the trunk of a tropical tree, its audacious, many-hued tints.

Thus the Bolshevik sailor, black with coal-dust, stepped down upon the shore of the rejuvenated Persia.

Ireland and the Social Revolution

Not only the Irish Sea divides the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain. There is a difference of outlook and temperament, due to economic and historical causes, that also separates them. To the average Irishman the typical Briton is a clumsy, blundering, tyrannical fool; just as in British eyes the typical Irishman is a spoilt child, unreasonable, petulant, and totally irresponsible. The difference is intensified by the hatred and suspicion engendered by the bestial war carried on by the British invader. In this atmosphere of complete misunderstanding good people of all parties in England expect to find a way to reconciliation along the lines of what used to be so charmingly termed a "Union of Hearts"—always on the basis of the continued domination of the larger island. That is to say, they miss the two most fundamental features of the problem: the innate passion for national independence on the one hand, and the grim determination of British imperialism to retain full-blooded power anywhere and everywhere, on the other.

If certain Liberals and sentimentalists thus fail to face reality, it is because they know no better. They are wedded to a view of things that sees nothing beyond the capitalist order, with its precariously balanced play of forces, its national boundaries, and its class distinctions. The vague cosmopolitanism which distinguishes some of them has nothing in common with the internationalism which is the very essence of the Communist belief. For this and a thousand other shortcomings they are doomed to everlasting futility. We need waste no further time on them.

The Communist approaches the Irish problem from another direction. If national independence, as such, has no charms for him, he understands well enough the demand of an oppressed people for self-determination. He knows that an independent Ireland on a capitalist basis would solve no working-class problems, nor—by itself—help on the world revolution. And since it is the world revolution alone that concerns him, the appeals of Irish patriotism—again, as such—sound in his ears strangely, like those of any other crude patriotism—including his own British brand.

On the other hand, in the struggle of Irish peasants and workers against English or Irish landlords and capitalists he has a passionate interest—not because they are Irish, but because they are peasants and workers. By the mere fact of the struggle they become linked up with the world movement of the workers; potential recruits to the international army of Communism. Here, he says, is the real fight; the struggle of the dispossessed against the possessors; the only fight that matters. This, alone, is life—

"All other life is living death; a land where none but phantoms dwell:
A breath, a wind, a sound, a voice—the tinkling of a camel bell."

At this point he finds himself brought up with a jerk against the ugly fact of British imperialism.

World capitalism at the moment finds its most developed expression in the British Empire. It may well be that that Empire has passed its zenith; even now the signs of decay are manifest. The fact remains that it is still the central point round which capitalism rallies, and it speaks through its rulers in capitalism's most blatant and authoritative voice. The collapse of British capitalist imperialism would let loose at once tremendous forces that would surge forward inevitably towards world revolution. Any weakening of British imperialism, therefore, weakens world capitalism. From this point of view the struggle of the Irish people, however national or patriotic it may be in its immediate aims, is a blow struck for the workers everywhere. It need not be said that Communists, apart from all this, oppose wholeheartedly the savage

repression of the Irish people which has made the name of Great Britain a byword and a shame among the nations of the world.

Within Ireland itself the class struggle is no less a fact than elsewhere. Irish labourers, Sinn Fein though they be, are just as much exploited by Sinn Fein employers as are British miners by British mineowners. But, for the time being, the class struggle is smothered by the urgency of the fight against foreign oppression.

Just as the Great War was a struggle between two imperialisms superimposed upon the struggle of the classes, so is the struggle for Irish independence superimposed upon the Irish class struggle. The national rebellion draws to itself all the revolutionary forces, and, indeed, to a large extent takes upon itself the character of a revolt against capitalism, since the British Government is so obviously the executive committee of the big financial interests. The small capitalists and farmers of Ireland find themselves arrayed against British capitalism much in the same way (although not for the same reasons) as the peasant proprietors of Russia found themselves arrayed against Czarism. And the labourers and wage-earning peasants, swept perforce into the vortex of national struggle, merge their local class antagonisms into one stupendous hate of the enemy over the water. If this analysis be approximately correct it follows that the awakening masses of British workers must find themselves brought more and more into line with their fellow workers in Ireland. For the enemy in both cases is the same. As their own struggle develops it will compel them to draw closer and closer to all the insurrectionary elements fighting against British imperialism, and make common cause with them for its final overthrow. Assuredly, British capitalism stands or falls with British imperialism.

The real problem is to find immediate points of contact between British workers, slowly developing through disillusionment and struggle into revolutionary consciousness, and Irish workers already grimly engaged in a war against extermination. To our everlasting shame we have stood by in cowardly silence while Ireland has been ravaged by fire and sword. In our name, Sir Hamar Greenwood carries on his bloody masquerade. The one great gesture made on this side, when Bromley and his engine drivers made their protest, remained nothing but a gesture because of the lack of response from other workers. That failure was the measure of our own cowardice. If there existed in this country the nucleus only of a strong, determined, and revolutionary working class the position would be infinitely clearer. As it is, that nucleus is but now in the making. But events move rapidly in these days, and the growth of Communism among the organised workers of Britain, together with the difficulties inevitably created, within capitalism as it collapses into anarchy, will force both British and Irish workers to join hands in a common struggle against the common enemy. As the mutual ties become closer, so will the combined struggle be lifted on to a higher plane. The differences of national temperament, the racial prejudices deliberately created by the governing class, will be as nothing in face of the ever growing menace of British imperialism to Irish labourer and British worker alike.

The duty of the Communist Party is to assist this development by every means possible. It is no easy task. Quite sincerely we can endeavour to rouse our own countrymen into revolt against the vile deeds of the Government in Ireland. By so doing we do but perform an elementary act of justice, and establish a claim, at least, on the confidence, of the Irish people. To propagate the ideas of world communism among Irish workers is not so simple a matter. This much can be said with certainty. That revolutionary section of Irish workers which understands the nature of the struggle against capitalism is already moving towards Communism and the Third International. Small though it be in numbers, it constitutes a definite link between Ireland and the world.

revolution. The maintenance and strengthening of that link is an immediate task which it is clearly our duty to perform. Time, and the progress of the fight against capitalist Britain will bring a consciousness to the mass of the people, which clumsy intervention on our part would only serve to prevent. Let us be content for the moment to know that the struggle of nationalist Ireland against imperial Britain is weakening capitalism at its very centre. The loom of history is weaving a fabric in Ireland in which the warp may be nationalism but in which the woof is decidedly of a class-war nature. The day when the workers of Britain throw off the chains of their masters will be a day of triumph not only for ourselves but for Irish independence also.

Triumph, too, for the cause of Communist Internationalism in both countries.

FREDK. WILLIS.



Georgian Workers and the R.T.U.I.

The Georgian Trade Union alliance has sent the following greeting to the International Council of the Red Trade Unions:—

“The Georgian workers, liberated from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and its tools, the Mensheviks who usurped power in Georgia three years ago, assembled for the first time after those three years in Red Soviet Tiflis, send their warm brotherly greetings to the International Council of Red Trade Unions, the leader of the revolutionary workers of the world.”

Violently deprived of contact with the International proletariat, the Georgian workers, remaining true to the principle of International solidarity, repeatedly attempted to stretch out their brotherly hand to their comrades abroad. Our attempts were stifled by volleys of lead and the Georgian gaols.

The ruling class exerted its utmost efforts to lead the Georgian Labour movement away from the path of the class struggle, and commit it to an understanding with the bourgeois. It pushed the Georgian labouring masses into the arms of the Yellow Amsterdam International, representatives of which—Kautsky, Renaudel and Co.—travelled all over Georgia, endeavouring to permeate the healthy organism of the Georgian proletariat with the poison of unprincipled opportunism.

Deprived of organic contact with the Red International of Trade Unions, we were unable to play an active part in that gigantic struggle between labour and capital which was developing all over the world. Perforce we remained passive spectators of the decisive conflict.

Yet all attempts of the enemies of the working class have not sufficed to break down the class solidarity of the Georgian proletariat which has arisen against its oppressors, and with the aid of the valiant workers' and peasants' Red Army has achieved liberation from the yoke of the Mensheviks. The wall separating us from the world proletariat has been broken down.

On this happy day we, the workers of Soviet Georgia engaged in the building of a truly independent Soviet Republic, solemnly announce our entry into the ranks of the Red International of Trade Unions.

For the Georgian Trade Union Alliance,

ARCHVADZE.

DUMBADZE.

FODRIA.

Rosta. March 17th.

What are the Soviets?

By W. E. HARDING.

(AN OUTLINE SKETCH.)

"The Soviet is probably the most important contribution of the Russian Revolution."—Lenin.

I.

Capitalist society, like every other form of human society, is in the long run based upon a definite method of production. Upon the classes into which the particular method of production divides the population, their mutual relations, the mental outlook and habit of thought which their respective occupations produce, is built up all the superstructure of the given state of society; and, first and foremost, the State which is concerned with maintaining the mutual relations of the classes as they are. It is natural, consequently, that we should look for really fundamental changes in the character of the State when the relations between the classes are radically shaken out of their equilibrium, assuming the character of an open struggle; in other words, when production itself comes to an end, either temporarily or permanently.

In capitalist society, such an event implies a general strike or an insurrection. When all the processes of production are brought to a standstill simultaneously—in a general strike—all functions of the State are stopped abruptly, and its entire dependence upon the productive processes is brought out most clearly.

Factories stop working, trams and omnibuses cease running, lighting and heating stops, no papers appear. In each inhabited point, the population is suddenly cut off from the mechanical comforts and aids upon which capitalist civilisation is built up. By the breakdown of rail, road, and telegraphic communication, the Capital is entirely cut off from the districts, and these in turn are thrown upon themselves.

And yet the striking workers must every day eat, move about, receive information, and protect themselves; what organisation is to see to this for them? Obviously, the body which they have entrusted with carrying on the strike as a whole—the Strike Committee. The capitalists temporarily commit their scattered interests to the one concentrated organ of the bourgeois State, of which the workers now realise the true nature. They in their turn have necessarily to hand over all *their* interests to a hastily-constructed organisation, which assumes all the public functions previously carried on by the State they are now fighting.

The workers have thus produced their *own* organ of government.

Outside Russia, such occasions have not been frequent since the war; nor have they, in any one case, covered a whole nation; but each general strike has invariably produced certain characteristic features. At Johannesburg, in Italy, in Luxembourg, at Glasgow, at Belfast, at Limerick, at Winnipeg, at Seattle, a central body representing the workers passed from the strict functions of a Strike Committee to those of a local organ of government—a State administrative organisation, controlled by and in the interests of the working class. And it must be noticed that it is precisely this adoption of State functions that is characteristic of all the organisations in these several cases; it is not this or that method of election, or apportionment of representation, that is common to them all. A Trades Council composed mainly of trade union delegates, a Camera del Lavoro composed of workshop delegates, a Joint Strike Committee of union and workshop representatives, may indifferently be the original form of the new organisation. On the solitary occasion on which a general strike for a political

purpose was threatened in Great Britain—during the Russian crisis of August, 1920—a network of Councils of Action sprang up all over the country, took the lead of the protest movement, and would undoubtedly have acted as the only efficient public authorities, centrally and locally, had matters come to a general strike. And yet these bodies were for the most part hastily constituted amalgamations of indirectly representative trades councils and definitely sectional political parties; not infrequently their nucleus and most active section was formed by an entirely non-representative and self-constituted body—the local Hands-Off Russia Committee.

But here again the acid test was: "Has this body the implicit, loyal confidence of the workers? Will they respond to its appeals, submit to its regulations, accept its discipline? Will it, in return, give them the elementary needs of life from day to day, thereby ensuring their ultimate victory? Will it, in other words, play the part of a State organisation—a State organisation in the midst of a war?"

The logical culmination of this assumption of State duties—the organisation of a defensive force, the seizure of all factories and public buildings, and the proclamation of the workers' dictatorship—has never taken place in this country, and where it has, in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, partly in Italy, it has so far been crushed. But it is obvious that it is not at such a moment either that the workers' main concern would be with elections. Common-sense teaches us not to change horses in mid-stream. It was neglect of this truth, the frittering away of precious time on elections, that destroyed the Paris Commune—the first attempt by the workers themselves to control their affairs.

This applies no less to the first Russian Soviets—the two Strike Committees in Petrograd and Moscow which, more particularly the former, from September to December, 1905, directed the course of the gigantic general strike of that year, and assumed all the functions of government, with the exception of control of armed force. Yet these bodies were composed partly of self-appointed members of the Social-Democratic Party, and partly (owing to the absence of an organised trade union movement), of delegates direct from some of the more important factories and workshops of the capitals. In neither case did they contain representatives of the provinces. And yet the Petrograd Soviet of 1905 for a time was the real master of Russia.

In 1917, again, in spite of the existence of many more similar bodies throughout the country, it was the Petrograd Soviet alone that in the long run challenged, fought, and defeated the Provisional Government in the contest for state power, and thus became the highest authority in the country. And the Petrograd Soviet itself was not by any means formally representative of *all* the workers in the city. In return, however, it had an enormous advantage over its opponent—it had the confidence of the industrial working masses, owing to the revolutionary line of action it took up; and by that sign it conquered.

"But would not that qualification make the Communist Party itself eligible for the post of dictator?" one can hear some enquirer asking. Precisely; that is what actually happened, and there is nothing for us to be ashamed of or for the masses to fear. It is the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks in Russia) that stands for Soviet rule against the hostility of the capitalist dictators and the hypocrisy of the "Socialist" parliamentarians; it is the Communist Party, consequently, that will find itself in a majority in the Soviets when the workers realise the latter's purpose at last (August-September, 1917, in Russia); and it is the Communist Party, therefore, with its strict party discipline, that is bound actually to wield the power, through its organised groups in the Soviets, so long as the Soviet regime is in danger (1917-1920 in Russia).

In general terms, therefore, we have arrived at an answer to our question: "What are the Soviets?" In despite of the conviction of many comrades, they are *not* necessarily "Councils of Workshop Delegates" to give as nearly exact a title as possible. What they are, and what distinguishes them from every other body of men in history—including even "Councils of Workshop Delegates" in non-revolutionary periods—is: *the central fighting organisations of the struggling proletariat during the period of revolution*; first assuming the most elementary, then winning one by one the remaining functions of the State organisation of the capitalist class; and finally emerging from the struggle as *the State organisation of the victorious proletariat during the period of Communist reconstruction.*



The Class War in Germany

Extracts from a Manifesto of the E.C. of the United German Communist Party.

"The Brutes of 'order' triumph. The strike is crushed.

"Hundreds of proletarians are assassinated. Thousands are persecuted.

"The profiteering bourgeoisie triumphs.

"The working class party that is still led by Majority Socialists and Independents is yet at the period of hesitation.

"A year ago the workers banished the partisans of Kapp only to replace them by the Eberts and the Noskes thirsting for proletarian blood. They saved them their places, and what were the results? A provocation of the workers by one of their chiefs, Hoersing, the aim being to crush Red Saxony. The Government desired an argument to justify the Orgesch before the Entente. The Orgesch are the armed police of Capitalist reaction. The Schiedemanns and Hilferdings declared war on the workers, accusing Moscow of provoking massacres. The duty of Communists was to summon the workers to the fight. The moment was favourable.

"The German bourgeoisie is going through a terrible crisis. Instead of profiting from this crisis, the Majority and Independent leaders have stabbed the Proletariat in the back. They have accepted the arguments of the ruling caste as they did during the war. They have lied to the working class. The police have joined in. With individual attempts they have sought to provoke a state of pogrom-rule in exciting the masses against the Communists. The 'Vorwaerts' and the 'Freiheit' have helped. As during the war, the leaders have played a counter-revolutionary rôle.

"After Halle, the Independents have fallen into the arms of the Majorities. *The Communists alone can conquer in the world-revolution. The United Communist Party has proved its will to fight. A million-and-a-half to two million proletarians responded to the call of the Communist Party.*

"They were crushed with honour beneath the weight of the Westarp-Hilferding Coaliton. In spite of their defeat, the Communists are proud of having fought. The workers are trained by the fight. *They will profit from the faults made.* The partisans of the Majorities and the Independents will open their eyes beneath the blows of the reaction. After this lost battle we maintain that the situation calls for new combats."

The appeal is also addressed to the workers adhering to the Social-Democratic and Independent Parties, calling upon them to fight the feeble and the treacherous, and to form a single revolutionary block.

Above extracts, with comments by Charles Rappoport, were reproduced in *l'Humanité*, April 7th, 1921.

Power or Persuasion?

"We believe in revolution by persuasion."

—(J. Ramsay Macdonald at Southport.)

I.

What are the Facts?

During the month of April two Conferences, representing the political opinions of Labour, were held. The one met at Southport and the other one at Manchester. At Southport, where the I.L.P. met, the cry was a demand for the masses to obtain their objective, by using *Persuasion*. At Manchester, where the Communists met, a call was made to the workers to urge them to consolidate their political and industrial forces in order to build up their class *Power* and use it to destroy the capitalist system.

Never was the international policy of the Labour movement more clearly symbolised than in the difference of tactics which separates persuasion from power. The Soviet revolution was only possible in Russia, and elsewhere, because the Communists urged the workers to depend upon *Might* as an instrument of revolution. There is no record in history of a ruling class being persuaded to destroy its own economic and political supremacy.

Which section is correct? Is it the I.L.P. with its policy of sweet reasonableness and persuasion, or is it the Communists who rely upon the mass power of the workers? Before we can answer this question we must first ascertain the nature of the capitalist class to which the Labour movement is opposed. We must make this examination because all tactics, political or otherwise, are based not upon what we wish or desire, but based upon the attitude adopted by the enemy.

How, then, does the capitalist class act? Does it believe in the policy of persuasion? Has it ever shown any relaxation in any of its demands when the masses have demonstrated that their case was unanswerable both from the standpoint of logic and social necessity? To answer this question it is not necessary to study any philosophical volumes on the democratic pretensions of the modern propertied interests. They, themselves, have given the reply. And their evidence is of greater importance than any emotional gesture made either by the sentimental Mr. Snowden, or by the righteous Mr. Macdonald—the evidence of the capitalist class is the most valuable of all because it is the weighty evidence of the culprit against himself. What are the facts?

The imperialists of Britain made a startling discovery during the war. They suddenly realised that the maw of war was devouring the very elements in the working class upon whom they had always depended as being safe and reliable upholders of capitalism. Prior to 1914 all the trouble in the industrial world came from the well organised workers in the engineering, mining, transport and railroad unions. But outside of these unions there were great numbers of shop assistants, clerks, commercial travellers, workers in luxury trades, etc. These wage-earners, the black-coated salariat, were not at all rebellious and were always ready to rally to the side of "law and order" against the masses during any industrial upheaval. When the war started, the imperialists would have liked very much to have sent the miners, railwaymen, engineers, and the other disgruntled elements in the working class into the firing line. The technique of war, however, compelled the imperialists to build up their army mainly *from the very sections of the workers who were outside of the best organised unions*. The war killed or maimed great numbers of the "high-collared" wage-earners who were wont to think of themselves as superior to the black squads who operated the mines, foundries, mills, railroads, etc. Thus, when the war was over, it found the best fighting regiments in the

industrial field better organised than ever; it found a decrease in the number of the black-coated brigade, who had been killed; and it found many of the one-time tame and conservative clerks, etc., turned into disillusioned and rebellious discharged soldiers. Thus the war, which had been waged to consolidate the power of the imperialists, actually created an increase in the number of the workers who were discontented with the conditions of capitalist society. This is one reason why the working class has moved rapidly to the Left during the past three years.

II.

The International Division of Labour.

But the imperialists received a further blow when the Russian masses, refusing to be duped by the Labour-Coalition Government led by Kerensky, rose and established the Soviet Republic. Not only did the Soviet revolution mean the triumph of the Russian working class—it meant that a certain revolutionary tactic had been tested and had proven successful, and that success stood forth as an example and as a provocation to the dissatisfied proletariat in all capitalist countries to follow suit. The Russian Revolution reacted against the propertied interests in another way. They had looked to Russia with its great mineral resources and with its large labouring population—brought up on the lowest standard of subsistence of any country in Europe—as the one great avenue to exploit in order to restore the financial ravages and inroads of the war. If only they could use Russia as they desired, then they would soon tame the restless proletariat in Britain. By exploiting the famous Donetz coal basin, and by compelling the Russian miners to work for a few kopecks per day, it would be possible to produce coal at such a price that the Russian miners could be used as a lever to lower the wages of the British miners. Here was a subtle attempt to split the international workers against themselves. And why was the Federation of British Industries unable to carry out this project? Did the Russian Soviet Republic persuade it to give up the idea? Not at all! The Russians argued and pleaded without avail. Not until they organised their Red Army—their *Power*—and smashed every White army brought against them did they succeed in defeating the imperialistic projects of the Federation of British Industries which had looked upon Russia—as their private minute book declares—as “the greatest prize offered to civilisation since the discovery of the Americas.”

Foiled in Russia, the imperialists had to look elsewhere. They then conceived the Versailles Treaty which enslaved the Ruhr miners. No question of persuasion entered here. Naked, brutal force was the instrument used. The entrance of Ruhr Valley coal into the world's market cut into the immediate profits of the British mineowners. But capitalism, in its imperialist period, is prepared to sacrifice some of its present profits if that shall mean *the preservation of the capitalist system*. Finance-capital deliberately creates commercial panics in order to ruin thousands of small capitalists whose doom means augmented financial power to the handful of magnates who are now ruling the world, and who now carry every “democratic” government in the world in their purse. Thus, when the Ruhr Valley coal was placed on the market the first effect in Britain was a fall in the earnings of the miners, who were only able to secure a few hours employment each week. When it is understood that the miners have no union funds worth speaking about, this fact, coupled with the widespread unemployment in the mining industry for several months, shows that they were not in a position to resist any onslaught by the mineowners upon their rate of wages. Here we may observe that the enslavement of the Ruhr Valley miners presents itself in a new and sinister light. The Communists among the Ruhr miners complained that the Ver-

sailes Treaty was a blacklegging policy aimed at the British miners. And they were right.

III.

The Division at Home.

Contrast what happened two years ago. Then the miners in this country were powerful. They had emerged from the war, during which they had been in steady employment, and had been able to accumulate a large fighting fund. Two years ago the mineowners were exploiting the world's coal markets and were receiving fabulous profits. Thus everything tended to make the situation most favourable for the miners to demand an increase in wages. Two years ago they had *power* on their side. The mineowners knew it and the Government feared it. They tricked the miners' leaders into a commission. All the moderate Labour elements congratulated the miners on the ability they displayed in presenting their case. What did the miners receive by their peaceful and persuasive tactics? They were given the Sankey Report, which the Government repudiated! The dead sea fruit of persuasion!

Two years ago the mineowners were afraid of the *power* of the men; that is why they proposed to talk nicely about the point under dispute. To-day, it is the mineowners who are in the powerful position, and they insist upon reducing wages to a level which is at once alarming and degrading. And they follow up their threat by *locking out* the men, thus throwing them into the scrap heap. Behind the cruel demand of the mineowners stands the capitalist State organised as it has never been since 1914. Armies with tanks, and all the mechanism of war, are set in motion against the miners. Sailors of the fleet, with machine guns, are drafted into mining centres. Proclamations, appealing to all loyal citizens able "to bear arms" are placarded all over the country. Speeches delivered by the officers of the State denounce the miners, and the rebel working class, as being "worse than the Huns." And all this because the miners resisted a decrease in the number of the crumbs which they receive from their masters.

IV.

The Test of Reality.

If such powers of organised violence are resorted to by the propertied class to enforce workers to accept a reduction in wages, then, in the name of all that is sacred, to what depths of savage butchery will not these interests sink to defend their social system when the revolutionary masses think the time has arrived to uproot private property?

The events of the past few weeks have stripped capitalism of all its pretentious and specious claims of being a democracy. The "free" Press speaks only for the mineowners. "Free" speech is smothered by Emergency Acts. Capitalism, in its attack upon Labour, has shown us how brutally loathsome it is. But it will become even more cruel and tigerish when organised Labour turns round to attack it. And Labour, in its class interest, *must* attack it.

Sentimental fools may hope to persuade the propertied classes to stand politely aside. But sane people, who test their social theories in the actual realm of concrete experiences, have been taught by the ruling classes themselves that they will respect only one thing—and that is a *power*—and a power more mightily wielded than anything which they possess.

The Communists repeat that *power* is the driving force of the class-struggle. Mr. Macdonald believes in persuasion. The armed force and tanks of the capitalist State is the reply to the emotional gibberish of Southport, and it is the proof of the wisdom of the Communist Party with its cry—

All POWER to the Workers!

W. PAUL.

The Practical Problems of World Revolution

The Statistical Section of the Communist International

By F. MAHARADZE.

The statistical, or more correctly, statistico-economic section now being organised at the Communist International puts before itself the object of compiling statistics both of our Labour movement and of the conditions of production on a world scale. The work of the section has a purely practical meaning—to supply to the Communist International the necessary statistical and economic data in order to hasten its victory over the world bourgeois.

But here we have to reckon with the fact that while in the Russian Soviet Federal Social Republic capitalist production has disappeared from the scene, and the firm foundations of the Communist economy have begun to be laid; in all other countries of the world the capitalist method of production, although shaken to its very foundations, still continues to exist.

Hence, it is clear that our principal practical problems in connection with the Labour movement—on the one hand, in Soviet Russia, and on the other, the remaining bourgeois capitalist countries—cannot be the same.

These problems are:—

A. In connection with Soviet Russia:

(1) On the basis of figures to determine the degree of collapse which overtook industry, both town and country, in Russia during the imperialist war (1914 to 1917).

(2) To ascertain the degree of destruction of the whole industrial and commercial apparatus on the one hand, and of the productivity of labour on the other, during the dictatorship of the proletariat and the civil war.

(3) To investigate the process of our reconstruction of the whole of industry, both urban and rural, on new Communist foundations, i.e., to sum up the creative work of construction carried on by workers' and peasants' Russia since the beginning of the rule of the proletariat.

(4) The reckoning of the efforts and practical measures undertaken by the Central Soviet Power, by the Communist Party, and the Trade Unions, in order to increase the productive forces of the country and raise the productivity of labour—the bonus system, compulsory labour, labour armies, etc.

(5) The forms of socialisation of production in the spheres of agriculture (communes, artels, co-operative ploughing, Soviet estates, etc.), and the success achieved by them in figures.

(6) Statistics of “subbotniks” and “voskresniks” (Communist Saturdays and Sundays).

(7) The Communist Party, its growth in importance and power.

(8) The Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik, Anarchist, and other parties.

(9) Industrial (Productional) unions in Soviet Russia.

(10) The League of Communist Youth.

(11) Congresses and Conferences, Soviets, parties, trade unions, League of Youth, etc.

(12) Non-party conferences.

B. In connection with bourgeois countries:

(1) Changes and alterations produced during the imperialist war in the

sphere of industrial commerce and transport, in the capitalist countries of the world (England, America, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, Sweden, Holland, etc.), with a sub-division of them into three groups, namely:

a. Imperialist powers victorious in the world-war, i.e., England, France, America, Italy, Japan, etc.

b. The Central Powers, headed by Germany, i.e., the defeated States.

c. The so-called "neutral" countries (Spain, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, etc.).

(2) Symptoms of a rapidly advancing financial collapse in all the capitalist countries (increase of indebtedness) and the increasing fall in the productivity of labour (deficits, etc.).

(3) The latest facts about syndicates, cartels, and trusts, and also about banking (financial) capital.

(4) The fall in the value of money, and the shortage of commodities.

(5) The situation of the working class in the principal countries of Europe, America, Australia, etc., during the imperialist war and after its conclusion, on the foundation of statistical and other data.

(6) The progress of unemployment.

(7) Strikes (their number and the number of strikers).

(8) Data as to the economic condition of the colonies and semi-colonies (China, India, Turkey, Persia).

(9) Political parties of the bourgeoisie and of the working class (the Second, Yellow, International), their rôle and meaning.

(10) The Communist Parties and groups, their origin and growth.

(11) Trade Union movement.

(12) League of Communist Youth.

The section will collect, group, and combine all statistical data which is published by various statistical organs in different countries. It will collect, arrange, and utilise all that already exists, or appears in the future, in the periodical Press of different countries on questions that interest us.

Studying and characterising in this way the Labour Movement in the individual countries, grouping and contrasting to one another the individual countries in this respect, we can cover the whole world revolutionary movement of the proletariat as one indivisible whole, inexorably going forward towards the capture of power by the working class, with the object of bringing about the Communist order.

Izvestia, December 18th, 1920.



An Appeal of the Communist Party of Georgia

The Georgian Communist Party has addressed the following appeal to the Communist Parties of workers of all countries:—

"The repeated insurrections of the Georgian workers and peasants against the bourgeois Government of Menshevik traitors, have at last been crowned with success. During the last days of February the victorious attack of the insurgents, supported by the workers' and peasants' Red Army, overthrew the vile Government of social traitors headed by Jordania and Ramishvile, and inaugurated the Soviet regime in Georgia. The news of this revolution was a thunderbolt for the Anglo-Franco-American bandits, for whom Menshevik Georgia was the principal base for the exploitation of the toiling masses of the near East.

"The victorious robbers of Great Britain, France, and other countries, and behind them their secret agents, the bankrupt chiefs of the Second Inter-

national, set up their usual howl and set all their machinery at work to desecrate the social revolution in Georgia. The Socialist renegades, traitors to the working class, Kautsky, Renaudel, Vandervelde, Macdonald and Co., recently visited Georgian Mensheviks at the request of the Entente imperialists; and those who sanctioned all the sanguinary crimes of the latter against the workers and peasants are to-day doing their utmost to persuade the proletarians of Europe and America that the Georgian revolution was carried out by Muscovite conquerors, and that the little people of Georgia had been violated, and so on. One may ask where were these gentlemen when the Menshevik Government was violating the rights of the workers and peasants of Georgia, and drowning national minorities in blood? Messrs. Kautsky, Renaudel, Vandervelde and Co., were silent when the Georgian Mensheviks, in alliance with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and victorious imperialism, were active against workers' and peasants' Russia. They only began to wail on the day when the Menshevik usurpers were overthrown and the people of Georgia at last breathed freely. Why should they see here Muscovite conquerors in place of the workers and peasants and small nationalities of Georgia, who had been oppressed by the Menshevik jingoes?

"Insurrection against the usurpers! What is the back of all their treacherous and hypocritical insolence? The Red Army came into Georgia at the appeal of the insurgents and of their revolutionary committee. Without it the insurgents would all have been destroyed, and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the shape of the Mensheviks would have been restored. That is what would have delighted Kautsky and Co.

"In the name of the labouring masses of all nationalities that inhabit the Georgian territory, the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Georgia declares to all the workers of all countries that far from being strangled, the Georgian people has to-day been liberated from the yoke of the Menshevik and bourgeois usurpers.

"The best reply to the calumnies and vile insinuations of all the agents, visible and secret, of the counter-revolutionary capitalist classes of the world, is the fact that the establishment of the Soviet regime and the arrival of the Red Army are everywhere hailed with enthusiasm by the Georgian workers, and by all national minorities.

"No less worthy of attention is the fact that all parties and groups—such as the Socialist Revolutionaries, Left Federalists, Left Syndicalists, Communist Maximalists—denounced the Menshevik usurpers from the very first day, and have now rallied themselves on the side of the Soviet Government.

"In this way the overwhelming majority of the Georgian people, with the Communist Party and all the Left Socialist parties or groups at its head, have been unanimous in rejoicing at the downfall of the Menshevik Government, and at the establishment of the Soviet regime and the dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants in Georgia.

"The Mensheviks impudently deceived the peasants no less than the workers by their policy of jingoism and imperialism. They drove to distraction all the little nationalities settled for centuries upon Georgian territory. Their policy proved completely bankrupt; and that is why the fall of the Menshevik Government was inevitable.

"After that experience, it was only the Soviet regime that could be freely installed in the country.

"Long live the universal proletarian revolution!

"On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Georgia,

Exploité, March 31st.

"DUMBADZE."

How Lefebvre, Lepitet and Vergeat were Drowned

A REPORT BY FREDERICK STROM.

(The Representative of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Soviet Republic, Stockholm.)

Dear Comrade,—The party sent by me to Russia to enquire into the cause of the death of Lefebvre, Lepitet, and Vergeat have sent me the following report:

"The reasons for which the three comrades did not take the route through Esthonia on their return were, the lack of French passports, the blockade maintained by the Entente against Russia, and the espionage practised at Reval. In view of this they took the longer route through the Arctic, hoping by this means to travel more securely. They arrived at Murmansk almost without baggage on September 18th.

"The next day, they left for Vaida Guba, to continue by sea as far as Honningsvaag in Norway, fearing to be arrested if they travelled direct to Vardo, where the Allied spies incite the Police against all passengers coming from Russia. At Vaida Guba they found the Czech delegates who had arrived before them and who were also awaiting a ship to return via Norway.

"The ship sent by our comrades at Vardo to meet and bring back the delegates to the Congress could only take the three Czech delegates who had been waiting a week longer than the French. With them the French comrades sent several letters and two or three parcels of books. The French comrades were asked to await the return of the boat and not to set forth at their own risk on their own account.

"But the French comrades were very anxious to leave, in order to be able to be present at the Congress of the C.G.T., and of the French party. Because of this, they returned to Murmansk on September 23rd to try and borrow some money there and hire a steam-boat for Vardo, but they did not wait for the telegraphic reply, and returned to Vaida Guba on September 27th, hoping that the illegal boat which had carried the Czechs would have returned from Honningsvaag. On account of economic difficulties and disquieting warnings, the sailors of the illegal boat had not been able to return to Vaido Guba immediately, and the French comrades were informed through the fishermen that they would have to wait another three or four days.

"After this time the boat would come back for them.

"They were warned of the danger and advised not to leave in a boat, as a warning had been received that a storm was likely to take place in the immediate future. Nevertheless, on September 28th they came to an agreement with a fisherman of Vaida Guba named Storjusso, whom the official pilot of Vaida Guba, Andersson, described as a 'safe and experienced sailor,' with a boat that was very good and strong, but unfortunately not equipped with a motor. The boat was hired by the French comrades. The owner of the boat accompanied them as captain, together with his own son and two other fishermen.

"All these persons have disappeared, and great despair exists in the little fishing huts. They left the Varanger Fiord on September 28th in the evening, or very early in the morning of the 29th. Immediately after their departure there broke forth a storm which lasted four days, and which was the most violent in human memory.

"Since that time nothing has been heard, no trace has been found of the

three Frenchmen and the four Finnish fishermen who were piloting the boat. All the pilots along the coast who have been questioned firmly believe that the sails were torn or the mast broken through the violent storm, and consequently the boat could not manœuvre and was bound to be shattered by the waves very quickly.

"Investigations have been made all along the Russian, Finnish, and Norwegian coasts, and no inhabited spot has been omitted. Nowhere, however, has the least trace been found either of the boat, of the French comrades, or of the fishermen. The pilots and fishermen explain this phenomena by the fact that the waves and the current were driving towards the open sea, and consequently everything was bound to move before the wind towards the Arctic Ocean or the icy inhabited region of Novaya Zemlia.

"The three French comrades had no objects of art or of value as the bourgeois Press affirms, and, on the contrary, left without any baggage in order to be more easily able to cross the frontiers and return as soon as possible. With the poor fishermen who owned the boat, they fell victims to the violent storm. But above all, they were victims of the criminal blockade inflicted on Russia by the Entente imperialism, and of the Entente's refusal to grant passports to their workers in order to visit their Russian comrades.

"They gave their lives for the cause of the proletariat, and their names are inscribed in the golden book of the heroes and martyrs of humanity.

"For the Soviet Consulate General, fraternally,

"(Signed) FREDK. STROM."

"Stockholm, January 21st."



Peter Kropotkin's Last Letter

The following letter was written by Peter Kropotkin to his friend, De Reijger, the Dutch anarchist, who had invited him to come to stay at Haarlem:

"Moscow, Dmitrooka,

"December 23rd, 1920.

"Dear Comrade De Reijger,—My heartiest thanks for your kind letter of November, which has at last reached me. All three of us, my wife, my daughter, and myself, are profoundly touched by your letter and your invitation. But as perhaps you know already from the letter which I sent to the comrades of the 'Berlin Syndicalist,' our position is not as bad to-day as it was last year. We have the necessities of life, and considering one could not say that everywhere else in Europe, it is a great deal.

"The social revolution has involuntarily taken a Centralist and authoritarian turn in Russia. Still, it presents the possibility of a transition from capitalist society to Socialist society. And this thought will certainly encourage the Socialists of Western Europe in their efforts to reconstruct society on the basis of anti-capitalist equality. In addition, beyond all doubt, the Centralist faults of the Russian Communist revolution will assist the workers of other countries to avoid similar mistakes.

"Fraternal greetings,

"PETER KROPOTKIN.

"P.S.—We live in a little town 60 kils. to the north of Moscow, where we have a little kitchen-garden which my wife works. Unfortunately, I am no longer myself able to carry out physical work, so my wife alone looks after the vegetables we require for the winter. I am at present engaged on a large work, 'Ethics on the Naturalist Basis.' "

Exploité, March 9th.

Communist International

Report of Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 9th, 10th, and 14th January, 1920.

Plenary sessions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place on the above dates, with Comrade Zinovieff in the chair. The order of business was as follows:

1. The International Congress of Trade Unions.
2. The situation in Austria.
3. The situation in Italy.
4. The Congress of the French Socialist Party at Tours.
5. The Communist movement in Denmark.
6. The United Communist Party of Germany (U.K.P.D.) and the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.).
7. Report on the situation in Georgia.
8. Organisation.
9. The Eastern question.
10. The economic boycott of Spain.

Comrade Zinovieff, introducing the first question of the order of the day, pointed out that the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party marks the close of a period in which the principal decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, with regard to political parties, have been carried out. "At present," said Zinovieff, "we must concentrate our attention on the conquest of the Trade Unions; they are the last bulwark of the opportunists, who are the most dangerous enemies of the working class." A few practical motions introduced by Comrade Zinovieff on this point were adopted after a brief discussion. With reference to the International Council of Trade Unions, the Executive Committee adopted the following suggestions:

(a) The International Council of Trade Unions is to call an international conference at Moscow on May 1st, 1921.

(b) Invitations to participate in the conference should be sent to all the Trade Unions, and similar organisations and branches, which are opposed to the Yellow Amsterdam International, and favour the unity of the revolutionary Trade Unions.

The Agenda proposed for the conference is as follows: (1) Reports; (2) The role of Trade Unions during the transition period; (3) Trade Unions, factory committees, and Councils of Workers' Deputies; (4) Trade socialisation; (5) Trade Unions and the Communist International; (6) Organisation questions: (a) International strike fund; (b) Federalism and centralism in the Labour movement; (c) International federations of separate Unions; (7) Elections.

The discussions brought out with particular emphasis the fact that it is necessary to have all shades of the revolutionary Labour movement represented at the conference.

Comrade Steinhardt, of the Communist Party of Austria, made a report on the situation in that country, referring mainly to the recent Parliamentary elections.

The Communist Party of Austria had been carrying on an agitation in favour of boycotting the elections, and it only abandoned that policy at the very last moment, submitting to the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International. As a result of this the Party only received 30,000 votes and did not win a single seat. At the election to the Councils of Workers' Deputies, which took place immediately afterwards, the Party also suffered

considerable losses, receiving only one-twelfth of the total number of seats, as against the one-fifth it had before. One must remember, however, that the Austrian comrades are fighting under unusually difficult conditions against the combined forces of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors. The "Workers' Association of Revolutionary Social-Democrats," with a membership of 4,000 to 6,000 men, has now broken away from the Social-Democratic Party and is preparing to join the ranks of the Communist Party of Austria. It is significant that this breach in the Social-Democratic Party was caused by differences of policy with regard to the Councils of Workers' Deputies.

The discussion following the report was supplemented by interesting information supplied by Comrade N., who had just arrived from abroad. Comrade Varga pointed out the abnormality of the situation in which the relation between the Party and the masses is wholly determined by such a secondary question as that of Parliamentarism. Comrade Bukharin spoke of the phase which Austria is going through to-day as one of decay and disintegration. The process of economic collapse has given rise to despair and panic among all classes of Austrian society, and this mood has to some extent taken hold of our Austrian comrades. The Party must shake off its pessimism and regain its self-confidence. In the midst of general dismay it must instil into the working class a new faith in revolution, and show clearly the happier possibilities of the future.

It was decided to address an appeal to the Austrian proletariat and the Communist Party of Austria, expressing these views as the opinion of the Communist International on the situation in Austria and on the immediate tasks of the Austrian Communist Party.

The report on the situation in Italy was made by Comrade Zinovieff, who said that the Italian Socialist Party, which was to convene its Congress on January 16th, was divided into three main factions. There was the Communist faction headed by Bombacci and Bordiga, the Serrati faction, which in spite of its revolutionary phraseology continually tends to the Right, and is backed by the Reformists, who put all their hopes on Serrati. There is another small faction headed by Graciadei, which takes its stand between the pure Communists and the Serrati Centrists. This faction will probably vote with the Communists at the Congress. How the vote will go at the Congress on the question of our policy is rather difficult to judge from afar. It is possible that we shall be in the minority, although Serrati, who calls himself a Communist and writes friendly letters to Moscow, has nevertheless come out on the side of the Reformists, and has spread absurd rumours in his paper, such as that of a quarrel between Radek and Lenin, etc. Recently he has moved more and more down hill. The draft of a letter to the Italian comrades read by Comrade Zinovieff was unanimously adopted.

The session of January 10th opened with a report by Comrade Rosmer on the recent Congress of the French Socialist Party at Tours. Comrade Rosmer stated that he was not yet in possession of any official communications from the party itself. "The majority that we gained at Tours," said Comrade Rosmer, "proved to be even larger than we anticipated from the voting in the various federations. Analysing the situation, we find the following facts of particular interest: first, considerable contingents from the peasant regions of France, whose population the Social-Democratic press declared to be in opposition to Soviet Russia, voted for the Communist International; and second, the industrial regions (the Seine, Pas de Calais) and others voted unanimously for adherence to the Communist International. Thus, the split cleared the Party of all the conservative elements. Longuet passed over to his friends of the Right Wing in spite of all the efforts to get him to side with the Left. As was to be expected, the majority of the Parliamentary faction also went over to the Right

camp. The appearance of Klara Zetkin at the Congress, in defiance of all the precautions of the police, produced a great sensation." The Executive Committee decided to send its greetings to the Communist Party of France, and to express its appreciation of the courageous act of Klara Zetkin at the Congress.

The report on the Communist movement in Denmark was made by Comrade U., of the Communist Party of Denmark, and Comrade E., of the Syndicalist opposition faction in the Danish Trade Unions.

The Danish Communist Party was formed in November, 1919, out of three groups, the Socialist Labour Party, the Independent Social-Democratic Party, and the Socialist League of Youth. The Party has a membership of about 3,000, and publishes a daily paper, "Arbejdet." At the last Parliamentary elections the Party received 5,200 votes. The Trade Union opposition has only seven hundred members, but its paper, "Solidaritets," started in 1911, has a circulation of 7,000 to 8,000 copies. The Syndicalist tendencies formerly predominating in the opposition are gradually disappearing. One of the most prominent leaders of the Syndicalists, Chr. Christensen, recently wrote a series of articles in the "Solidaritets" on the "Twenty-one Points," in which he declared his absolute adherence to the Communist International. At present attempts are being made to bring about a Union, on a federative basis, between the Centrist elements of the Party and the opposition. The gist of the agreement is as follows: Both organisations are to form a "Communist Federation of Denmark" and are to have a common paper, edited in full accord with all the resolutions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. Both organisations temporarily preserve their platforms; the "Arbejdet" and the "Solidaritets" cease publication. The Trade Union opposition immediately joins the International Council of Revolutionary Trade Unions.

Supplementing the report of the Danish comrades, Comrade Kobetsky informed the session that he is in receipt of a letter from Martin Andersen-Nekse, the famous Danish writer and proletarian poet, sending his hearty greetings to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and asking the Executive Committee to aid in uniting the Danish comrades on the basis of the agreement drawn up by him.

Following a motion by Comrade Bela Kun, the E.C. elected a commission of three members charged to investigate this question. The Commission reported its findings to the session of January 14th. The Danish comrades participated in the work of the Commission, which accepted unanimously the draft of the agreement, introducing some amendments to it. The most important amendment formulated by the Committee was as follows: temporarily (the federation has a temporary character) all the Communist factions in the Trade Unions, consisting of members of both organisations, join the Trade Union organisation. But the Party members are obliged to abide by the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party.

The next subject for discussion was the question of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.). This question was brought up again on account of a letter from the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany, protesting against the acceptance of the K.A.P.D. into the Communist International as a "sympathetic" party. The Central Committee bases its protest on the following considerations: (1) The K.A.P.D. is not a revolutionary party, for where the immediate aim of the struggle of the working class is Communism, every non-Communist party is a non-revolutionary party; (2) The K.A.P.D. is dying out as a party, and is now only being artificially kept alive by the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; (3) The Communists of Germany, being unable to refer to the authority of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, are

thereby deprived of their strongest weapon in the struggle against the erroneous tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

This protest was the cause of a very lively discussion. Comrade Steinhardt proposed that the Communist Labour Party of Germany be asked not to overstep the bounds of comradely decorum in their controversy with the United Communist Party of Germany. Comrades Marchlevsky and Shablin insisted upon the necessity of examining the Press of the Communist Labour Party of Germany during the period that has elapsed since their admission to the Communist International, before taking any steps in the matter. Comrade Zinovieff was in favour of adhering to the original decision. He regarded the protest of the United Communist Party of Germany as altogether unfounded. In accepting the Communist Labour Party of Germany into the Communist International as a sympathising party, the Executive Committee acted in accordance with the decision of the Second Congress. "While definitely drawing the line at the Right reformist elements," said Zinovieff, "we must exercise the greatest tolerance towards those labour organisations which regard themselves as more radical than we are, and have not yet freed themselves from Anarcho-Syndicalist fallacies. The backbone of the Communist Party of Germany consists of *bona fide* revolutionary workers. That party made a considerable advance along the road towards Communism by excluding from their ranks such men as Laufenberg, Wolheim, and Otto Rühle. That the Communist Labour Party of Germany criticises our German comrades is not such a bad thing after all. The Communist Party of Germany is far from being faultless. Even during the Kapp uprising, and the last strike of the Berlin electrical workers, their actions showed weakness. In our resolution we said, clearly and definitely, that we regard the United Communist Party of Germany as the only authoritative section of the Communist International, and proposed that the members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany proceed forthwith to join it. We stated that we regarded the tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, particularly in regard to Trade Unions and Parliamentarism, as erroneous. We accepted this Party into our ranks in order to clear the way for its amalgamation with the United Communist Party. Italy to-day confirms the correctness of our tactics with regard to the Left and Right wings. While D'Aragona, whose exclusion from the Party we have always demanded, works on joint commissions to put a brake on the revolutionary movement, the Syndicalist Armando Borgi, who was accepted by us into the Communist International, is in prison and the workers are making revolutionary demonstrations at the prison gates."

After the discussion Comrade Zinovieff's motion was accepted by the majority with one vote against and one abstention. This motion provides for a special letter to the United Communist Party re-affirming the original decision as to the K.A.P.D. Comrade Bela Kun's proposal to publish a stenographic report of the sessions of the Executive Committee, November 24th and 28th, dealing with the question of the Communist Labour Party of Germany and its acceptance into the Communist International, was also adopted.

At this point a telegram of greeting from the Esthonian Communist Parliamentary faction to the Executive Committee of the Communist International was read. It was unanimously decided to send a hearty reply to the Esthonian comrades.

The telegram of the Esthonian comrades was as follows:

"Greetings to the Third Communist International.

"After a long and difficult struggle the proletariat of Esthonia has succeeded in getting its representatives elected to the bourgeois Parliament, in order to make the bourgeois prattlers listen to representatives of the working class, and to prepare the working class through Parliament for a conscious class struggle.

On this occasion the Communist faction of the Esthonian Parliament hails the Third Communist International as the only representative of the organised proletariat of the world.

"Reval, January 1st, 1921."

THE REPLY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its fraternal greeting to the revolutionary workers of Esthonia and to its Communist faction in Parliament. Communism has won a great moral victory in your country, which is being ruled by a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, backed by the Yellow Social Democrats.

"Long live the Communists of Esthonia.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International."

At the opening of the session, January 14th, Comrade Skhakaia briefly described the situation in Georgia. This Socialist Republic, of which the leaders of the Second International boast so much, is on the eve of utter economic ruin: there is no production, widespread famine has up till now only just been avoided, thanks to remnants of old crops. At present everything has been eaten up, and hunger is already being experienced in some places. The Government has managed to remain in power only because the Communist Party has not yet got a sufficiently solid apparatus. The Communist Party of Georgia has not yet recovered from the blow caused by its violent separation from the Russian Communist Party, consequent upon the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Georgia. The Social-Democratic Government is conducting a furious campaign against the Communist movement, arresting and exiling our comrades, closing newspaper offices, and so forth. Nevertheless, the number of our adherents in Georgia is growing every day. Congresses of the Party and of the Printers' Trade Union have recently been held at Tiflis. At the latter, in spite of the police support of the Government, the Mensheviks received a majority of only one vote (263 against 262), and 7 Communists, 6 Mensheviks, and 2 representatives of other parties were elected to the Committee. The Railway Workers' Union, the strongest of all the unions, is likewise "infected" by Bolshevism. Comrade Skhakaia finished his report with an appeal for aid to the Georgian Communists. The Executive, upon Comrade Zinovieff's motion, voted unanimously a resolution of fraternal greetings to the Georgian comrades, branding with shame the Menshevik Government of Georgia and the leaders of the Second International who support it.

The resolution accepted by the Executive of the Communist International reads as follows:

"Having heard the report of Comrade Skhakaia, representing the Communist Party of Georgia, the Executive of the Communist International sends its fraternal greetings to the Georgian comrades languishing by the hundreds in the prisons of the Yellow Georgian Social Democratic Republic. At the head of this republic, which the Social-Democrats laud as a democratic paradise, are the Mensheviks, belonging to the Second International. Behind the Menshevik hangman government there are, apart from the direct agents of the Entente, the most prominent leaders of the Second International, headed by Vandervelde, Renaudel, and Kautsky. The workers of the world must know that there is no crime against the workers and peasants which the adherents of the Second International are not ready to commit in the interests of the bourgeoisie."

Comrade Zinovieff spoke on the second item of the agenda, the organising work of the Executive, and the consolidation of the big Communist parties in Germany, France, and Italy. "A new epoch is beginning," said Comrade

Zinovieff. "Our attention now must be directed to the organisational side of our work. We must see to it that the Executive represents all the parties belonging to the Communist International, that these representatives keep in constant touch with their organisations and furnish the Executive with all the information received by them; that the Small Bureau is in constant communication with the Central Committees of all parties, and does not confine itself to issuing appeals; finally, we must work out in detail separate clauses of our programme in the light of the experience of the growing revolution the world over." Comrade Zinovieff therefore proposed: (1) that all parties be requested to send representatives to the Executive; (2) that the Small Bureau be extended, and its personnel increased to seven members, by electing Comrades Bela Kun and Rosmer on to it, in addition to the four members which it already has; the seventh member to be a delegate from the United Communist Party of Germany; (3) that two committees be elected to elaborate in detail separate clauses of the programme on the Agrarian and National Questions.

The following amendments were made: Comrade Bersin proposed that, instead of or parallel to the Committee on the Agrarian Question, a committee should be elected to investigate the economic conditions of life in the capitalist countries; Comrade Shatskin proposed that the Small Bureau should submit reports of its activity to the Executive.

Comrade Zinovieff's motion, together with both amendments were accepted.

Further, the following letter, received by Comrade Zinovieff from the Bureau of the Amsterdam Trades Union International, was read aloud:—

"Mr. Chairman,—Enclosed please find a copy of the resolutions, in French and German, accepted by the International Trades Union Congress which was held in London on November 22nd to 27th. As you probably will have learned from the newspapers, this resolution was accepted by a great majority: only Italy and Norway voted against it. This resolution establishes our attitude towards your International.

"You will see from the resolution that we do not intend to let your slanders about us go unrefuted; we are still going to represent the interests of nearly thirty million workers, as we have done hitherto, i.e., in the spirit which an independent trade union movement should work; and we are not going to submit to the command of a political party, as does the so-called Trade Union International founded by you.

"Should you, or other leaders of the trade union movement represented by you, be interested in the receipt of more exact information about our movement, thanks to which you may perhaps convince yourself that you are only harming your own cause and the cause of the proletariat by fighting us, we shall always be ready to supply you with such information, on the condition, however, that you will act towards us as we have done towards you, that you will act on the supposition that we, in any position we take up or any of our actions, are honest and are guided only by one common aim—to be of use to the proletariat and help it in its distress. This basis alone can, in our opinion, serve to clear up our common aims, and perhaps also bring about the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to our International. We hope that you will bring both our resolution and our letter before the members of the Board of the Third International.

"(Signed) L. JOUHAUX, E. FIMMEN, J. OUDEGEEST."

The following motion with regard to this letter was unanimously accepted:—

"To request Messrs. Jouhaux and the others to obtain the consent of the Governments friendly to them to arrange a number of public meetings of workers in all European centres, in London, Paris, and Amsterdam, for debates between Amsterdam and the Third International."

Comrade Sokolnikoff, speaking of the tasks of the Communist International in the East, first of all pointed out the fact that the sympathy towards Soviet Russia shown by the bourgeois and landed classes of the East is most precarious. It has been evoked by their hatred of the Entente, but this hatred is infinitely less than fear that they have of the toiling masses of their own countries; this explains why our military allies in the East, when occasion occurs, compromise with our military foes—the Allied Powers. Who are the true bearers of the Revolution in the East? We should first of all relinquish the idea that the East is a uniform entity. Capitalism, we know, introduces uniformity in the social relations of various countries; but the East has, as yet, practically not been touched by capitalism. Large scale industry has been developed only in India, where the leaders of the national-democratic revolution will undoubtedly be the proletariat. Regarding the other countries of the Near East, Persia, Bukhara, Afghanistan, etc., we can say in general that here the oppressed social class is the peasantry, and the Revolution must be agrarian. In our activity in the East, we should carefully study all the peculiarities of the social relations of each separate country, and avoid stereotyped forms.

The discussion of Comrade Sokolnikoff's report was postponed until the next meeting of the Executive. Comrade Rosmer made a special announcement on the economic boycott of Spain.

Comrade Rosmer announced that he had received from Spain an appeal issued by the Spanish Confederation of Labour, protesting against the Government Terror directed against the Labour organisations; the Labour Press is being closed down, the Labour Unions are being dissolved, meetings are dispersed, and hundreds and thousands of revolutionaries and rank and file workers arrested, simply because they are members of these organisations. The Confederation of Labour calls upon the workers of all countries, as a sign of protest, to declare Spain under boycott from January 15th, and not to allow any goods to be sent to or from Spain. Comrade Rosmer, in the name of the Executive of the Communist International and the Provisional Bureau of the International Trade Union Council, proposed a motion appealing to the workers of the whole world to carry out this boycott.

The motion was unanimously adopted.



The Third Congress of the Communist International

The Third Congress of the Communist International has been fixed for June 1st. The following is the agenda:—

1. Report of the Executive Committee.
2. The world economic crisis and the new rôle of the Communist International.
3. Tactics of the Communist International during the revolution.
4. The period of transition (partial actions and the final revolutionary struggle).
5. The campaign against the Yellow Trade Union International of Amsterdam.
6. The International Council of Red Trade Unions and the Communist International.
7. The internal structure of the Communist Parties, their methods of action, and the essence of that action.
8. The internal structure of the Communist International—and its relations with the affiliated parties.

9. The Eastern question.
10. The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Italian Socialist Party against the decision of the Executive Committee.)
11. The K.A.P.D. and the Communist International. (Appeal of the U.K.P.D. against the decision of the Executive Committee.)
12. The women's movement.
13. The Young Communist movement.
14. Election of the Executive Committee, and the designation of its place of session.
15. Miscellaneous.
Humanité, March 17th.



A Circular of the Russian Central Committee

The newly elected Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has made the following appeal to all members of the Party:—

"The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party has subjected to a careful review all the work carried out by the Party during the last twelve months. Those months were rich with extremely important events, teeming with historical lessons. During the last three months the Party occupied itself with a number of questions bound up with the further fate of the Revolution. The Party is seeking for ways and means of uniting the labouring masses. The Party has considered the question of how best of all to attract the industrial unions into the work of developing production. The discussion on this question created great agitation amongst the members of the Party. The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. put an end to all these differences of opinion. The enemies of our Party and of the Soviet Republic are attempting to utilise our divisions and to represent them as the demoralisation of our Party. The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. has shown that our Party was and is united, and that iron discipline and fraternal co-operation have united together all the members.

"The course of events has brought before us a number of new problems. The Congress had to revise our food policy and devote particular attention to the mutual relations of the town proletariat and the peasantry. The Congress has had also to consider very important questions of Party work and of the policy of the Communist International. In the discussion of these extremely important questions the complete unanimity of the Party was displayed. Every form of sectional policy was brought to an end.

"Events had shown that we began too soon to speak of the arrival of an epoch of peace in the life of the Soviet Republic. Although the war at the fronts is over, our enemies are still fighting us and adopting new weapons. The war carried on by the Entente agents, the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and the Cadets, within the country is no less dangerous, since the masses are exhausted and enfeebled by seven years' warfare. This state of things demands of the Party still more unity, steadiness and discipline than in the struggle against Denikin, Koltchak, and Wrangel.

"The working men of Soviet Russia, through the agency of their advance guard, the Communist Party, have made a practical proposal to the peasantry which must lead to a strengthening of the union of the workers and peasants.

Every member of the Party is bound to devote all his energies to work amongst the peasants, explaining to them the complexity of the present situation, and telling them of the decisions of the Party Congress.

"The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. has shown to the non-party masses that the Communist Party will do its utmost in the defence of the proletarian dictatorship. All members of the Party must remember that the more strong and united is our Party the easier will it be to overcome the difficulties of the situation, and the less hesitation will there be amongst the non-party masses and the semi-proletarians.

"Very important also are the decisions of the Tenth Congress on the subject of party work. The Party is not striving to increase the number of its members, but to raise the general level of every member of the Party. The Congress decided to put an end to bureaucracy and restore to the full the connection between the Party and the great masses.

"All members of our Party must recognise that the Russian Communist Party is the leading party of the Communist International, and should be an example of all the parties who are struggling for the world revolution. The Russian Communist Party must become an example of solidarity and unity to the class-conscious workers of the whole world. For this reason all the members of the Party must fraternally co-operate to work in the spirit of the resolution of the Tenth Party Congress.

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY."

Rosta, March 26th.



A Decision of the Executive of the Communist International

The following telegram has been sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the United Communist Party of Germany (U.K.P.D.) :—

1. The E.C. confirms its resolution in connection with the Italian question, and continues to support the Communist Party of Italy.

2. The E.C. most energetically protests against the support given to the Centrist group of Serrati at Leghorn, and on other occasions by members of the Central Committee of the U.K.P.D.—Paul Levy. The E.C. is convinced that on the Italian question the great majority of the German Party is on the side of the Italian Communists and the E.C., and not on the side of Comrade Paul Levy.

3. The E.C. declares its entire agreement with the resolution adopted by the U.K.P.D. on February 1st, and insists that the Central Committee shall admit of no interpretation of that resolution which would be equivalent to support for the Centrists group of Serrati, and which would, therefore, create difficulties for the Italian Communists.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International after a careful consideration of the situation.

Comrade Geyer, representative of the U.K.P.D., voted for points 1 and 3, and against point 2.

(Signed) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL.

Humanité, March 21st.

The United Communist Party of Germany and the Trade Unions

The International Council of Trade Unions has received a letter from Berlin, giving the following details of the work of the German Communists in the Trade Union Movement:—

The United Communist Party of Germany has appointed a Central Committee of seven members to direct all the work in connection with the conquest of the trade unions. To this Central Committee are subordinated fifteen industrial groups charged with the work of organisation in fifty-nine separate unions. Side by side with the work in the trade unions directed from the centre, in every one of the twenty-three divisions of the Party there are organised local sections for work in the trade unions. The sections are composed of the groups in the separate unions, according to the category of production; which from the point of view of organisation will strengthen our influence in the direction of Communism.

Immediately after the Congress at Halle, in October, the Left Independents and the Communist Party of Germany organised a provisional Trade Union Board which united the work of both the groups (Independents and K.P.D.) within the unions.

This provisional Board summoned, two days before the United Congress, and with the consent of the Central Committee of both Parties, a Conference of Communist Workers in Trade Unions. There were present at this Conference:—

Industrial and Commercial Employees ...	8	Representatives—	8	districts.
Building Workers	8	„	8	„
Wood Workers	10	„	7	„
Metal Workers	42	„	30	„
Municipal Employees	5	„	3	„
Transport Workers	3	„	3	„
Factory Workers	3	„	3	„
Miners	3	„	3	„
United Mine Workers	3	„		
Glass Workers	1	„		
Printers	3	„	2	„
Railwaymen	7	„	7	„
Textile Workers	2	„	2	„
Carpenters	3	„	3	„
Paper Hangers, Stenographers, Liberal Professions, Binders, Engineers, etc	1	Representative each.		

At this Conference there were discussed questions as to organisation and tactics of the Communists in the trade unions. The results of this discussion were to be put before the Congress. The Central Board decided to close the papers, "Arbeiterrat" and "Kommunistische Ratekorrespondenz," and instead of them to publish the weekly paper "Der Kommunistische Gewerkschafter." In addition, the Central Board has published four leaflets. These include one general leaflet addressed to all workers, in two million copies, one leaflet for railwaymen, and a special leaflet in connection with the struggle of the Berlin Metal Workers for Local Offices.

Izvestia, January 30th.

Summary of the Resolution adopted by the United Communist Party of Germany after hearing the Report of its Delegates to the Italian Socialists' Congress at Leghorn

1. The U.K.P.D. supports the decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International declaring the necessity for Communist Parties to clear themselves of their reformist elements, which are a dead weight in the struggle of the proletariat for the Socialist revolution.

2. When it demanded of the Italian Socialist Party that 'Reformists' elements should be expelled, the Executive of the Communist International was acting, not only in accordance with the decisions of the Second Congress, but also in harmony with all the affiliated Communist Parties and as much in the interests of the Italian Labour movement as in those of the International Labour movement.

3. The majority of the Italian Socialist Party, under the leadership of Serrati, accepted the twenty-one conditions of Moscow, demanding, however, the right to discuss with the Executive the measures to be taken with a view of expelling the reformists. Several months have gone by since the Moscow Congress, but the Serrati group has made no practical proposal as to the measures for such expulsion. On the contrary, Serrati has denied the existence of a Reformist element in the Italian Party. That is why it was necessary to face him with a choice between the Reformists and the Communist International.

4. The Serrati group has perverted a section of the party and caused a break with the Communist International. It proved thereby that it was not yet a strongly unified Communist Party, and that it contains centre elements which stand between the Reformists and the Communists. The U.K.P.D. recognises, however, that a considerable portion of the Serrati group is animated by an obvious desire to take its stand on the principles of the Communist International. The Italian Communist Party (Bordiga-Bombacci group) had shown itself consistent in taking up its stand on those principles. It must consequently be recognised by the Communist Parties of other countries as the only Communist Party in Italy; and it must be supported as such.

5. The U.K.P.D. considers possible a union between the Communist Party of Italy and that section of the Serrati group which is firmly resolved upon forming an active fighting group of the Communist International, providing that it definitely breaks away from all the centre elements. The U.K.P.D. consequently expects that the Executive Committee of the Communist International will attempt to create an understanding and a union between the two groups, with the preliminary condition of the execution of the decisions of the Second Congress.

6. The U.K.P.D. refutes the demagogic campaign of calumny carried on by the Independent Press against the Communist International and its Executive Committee on the occasion of the split in the Italian Party. It declares that there was no question of a split provoked by a decree from Moscow, but of executing an International decision at the taking of which the Italian comrades had the opportunity and the duty of assisting. When they represent the execution of an International decision as a decree of the Moscow Executive, and the expulsion of the Reformists as an attack on the Labour movement, the German Independents show that they are agitating in favour of a so-called International in which opportunist elements would have a free hand, and that they consider necessary unity with men of the type of Scheidemann.

Exploit , February 16th.

France

PROPAGANDA BY WORD.

(From a sketch of the work of the Propaganda Committee of the French Socialist Party.)

Since Tours, in the midst of unheard of difficulties, the Party has been reorganising for action. The propaganda committee have now a definite task to fulfil. Delegations to the districts are coming to light. The Parliamentary group, placed under the immediate control of the Executive Committee, sees fixed with precision and severity its programme of propaganda. On a fixed date it must devote itself entirely to visiting for two days this or that federation. All demands for speakers are centralised at the Head Office. But it is not only sufficient to have delegates. If the danger of reformist pseudo-realism has to be averted, we shall have to beware of revolutionary verbalism, i.e., mere criticisms of the regime. But after the evil comes the remedy. We want explanations of practical Communist solutions. It must be understood once for all that to make propagandists, eloquence is not indispensable. What is indispensable is acquaintance with facts. Many comrades, relegated to the rear by professional talkers, are going to be able to make their voices heard. We have need of them. In our general plan of action there is room for all kinds of activities.

"Voix Paysanne" (voice of the peasant) has been reorganised. Six pamphlets have been drawn up by members of the Executive Committee, and tens of thousands of copies placed at the disposal of the Federation. Fifteen thousand posters have been printed, bearing the emblem of the Communist International, with appeals to the workers. The Party has had drawn up a library catalogue containing a list, and the wholesale prices, of the essential pamphlets which the Federations will receive, to be sold at every meeting. Twelve pamphlets on "Communist Popularisation" have been ordered from qualified comrades to be written within the month and printed in thousands of copies. The price of these will vary from 2d. to 6d. The *Party Information Bulletin*, drawn up at the Head Office and containing an original leader, the facts of the week, International news, lecture announcements, reviews of books, and the announcements of the Party Secretariat, will appear on the 25th of this month. It will be sent to the Federations and the provincial papers, which will find in it documents at first hand to fill their columns.

Communist groups must meet only to work. Every meeting must arrange a lecture on Socialism, on international events, or on the local economic situation. If there is no comrade capable of lecturing, one will always be found able to read a pamphlet and make comments on it.

Every Communist has an example to set. The point of view of individual moral perfection preached by the anarchists has its good side. The Communist group must be unassailable, and must beware of drunkards and men of doubtful morality. Generally speaking, people drink too much in our provinces. When comrades meet in a café let them offer a contribution to our propaganda. This will mean that they will not drink and that the coppers may thus fall into the treasury of the Party, instead of going to the publican whom capitalism maintains, as it were, in ambush at the corner of every street.

P. VAILLANT-COUTURIER.