

VOLUMES ONE AND TWO

The Communist International in Lenin's Time



WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

*Proceedings and Documents
of the Second Congress, 1920*

**The Communist International
in Lenin's Time**

WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

**PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF
THE SECOND CONGRESS, 1920**

V O L U M E O N E

Edited by John Riddell

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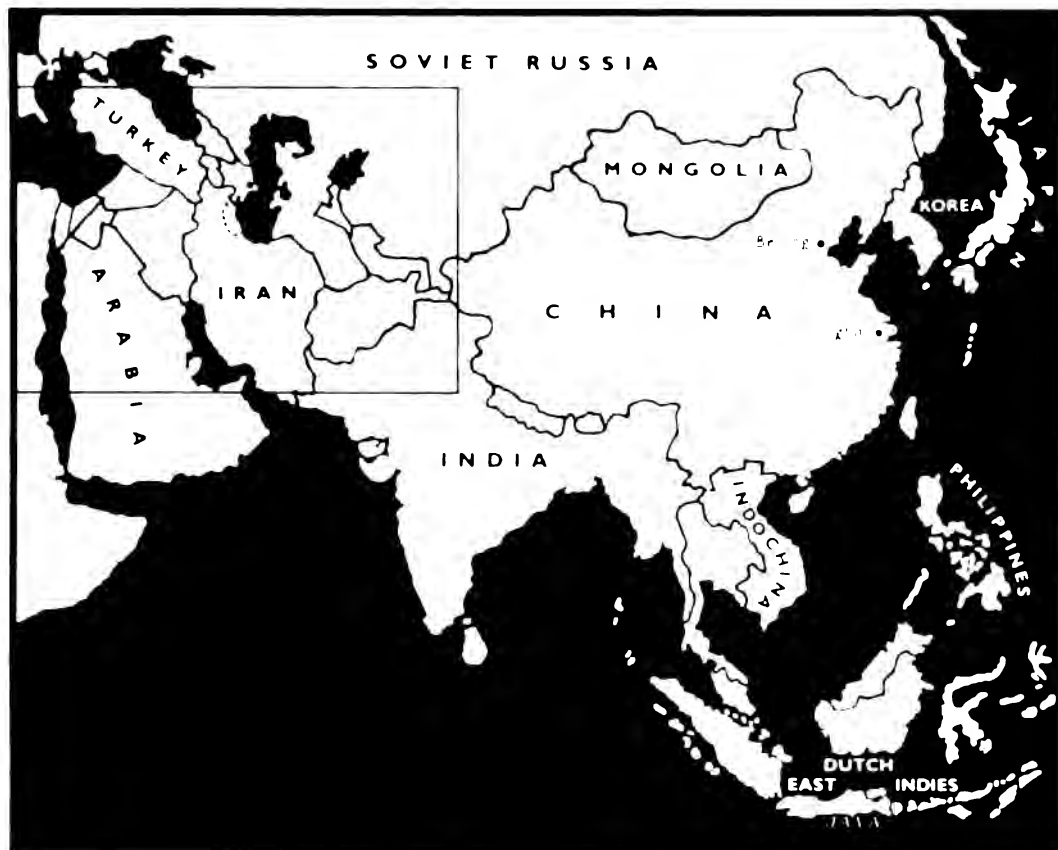
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Europe in 1920

Frontiers of Poland are those of October 1920



Asia in 1920
Detail, below



The Second Congress of the Communist International held its sessions in Petrograd (Leningrad) and Moscow between July 19 and August 7, 1920.

In contrast to the March 1919 founding congress, the Second Congress was attended by delegates from a large number of parties and countries, reflecting the explosive growth of the international Communist movement during the preceding year. Assessing the congress a few weeks after its closing, V.I. Lenin noted that "it was not only the heralds of the proletarian revolution who joined forces, but delegates from strong and powerful organizations linked with the proletarian masses."¹

The Communist International, often called the Comintern or Third International, held its second congress at a moment of grave crisis for the international capitalist order. The revolutionary upsurge that swept across Europe after World War I was still in full swing. In Asia the struggle of workers and peasants for freedom from colonial domination was gaining momentum. As delegates convened, the Soviet Red Army had just repelled a counterrevolutionary assault by the armed forces of the Polish government and was swiftly advancing westward into Poland, aiming to create an opening for the working people of Poland to rise up against their foreign and domestic exploiters.

Congress delegates registered from thirty-seven countries in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Australia. A congress resolution noted that they represented not just the "Communist *tendencies and groups*" that had existed a year earlier, but "*parties and organizations*,"² several of which had tens of thousands of members. The delegates included authoritative leaders of numerous Communist parties, as well as leading representatives of left-wing Social Democratic and anarcho-syndicalist organizations. In the course of almost three weeks of debate, the congress adopted statutes for the International as well as nine major resolutions mapping its basic program and strategic orientation. The congress, Lenin said, gave the forces represented there both "organizational form and a clear, precise, and detailed program of action."³

In the pre-1914 Socialist, or Second, International, congress decisions had little or no influence on the policies and practices of member parties and were seldom regarded as more than

expressions of opinion. The parties of the Communist International, by contrast, sought to act on a common revolutionary world program; at the Second Congress they took major steps toward the greater political homogeneity that could make this possible. The assembled delegates set the goal of giving life to the congress decisions in the work of all of the International's member parties.

The Second Congress was a multifaceted process of plenary sessions, commission meetings, and other events and discussions held in two cities over twenty days. The introduction that follows aims to provide a road map to the proceedings of the congress as well as to the political events that set the context for its resolutions and debates.

World capitalism in crisis

When the Comintern was founded in 1919, capitalism was in the throes of a worldwide crisis, which had been opened by the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and accelerated by the Russian revolutions in February and October 1917. Never before or since has the capitalist order in Europe—at that time still the center of world imperialism—been so shaken.

The warring powers had slaughtered millions of people who worked in the factories and on the land and destroyed vast accumulations of plant and machinery, and transportation equipment, as well as agricultural implements and livestock. Both agricultural and industrial production had fallen sharply and international trade was choked off. Meanwhile, the Allied powers, or Entente, had run up huge debts, mainly to U.S. bankers. The U.S. government insisted on payment, which caused further economic dislocation in Europe, while registering a significant shift in the world relationship of forces. After their victory the Allied powers, led by Britain, France, and the United States, further disrupted the world economy by shackling defeated Germany with massive reparations and imposing a trade embargo against Soviet Russia.

Millions of working people, for whom the capitalist order had become a bloody prison, saw in the October revolution of 1917 the promise of liberation. For the first time in history, workers and peasants had taken political power and held it. The follow-

ing year revolutions broke out in Germany, Austria, and elsewhere in central and eastern Europe. These uprisings brought the war to an abrupt conclusion, toppled many of Europe's monarchies, and put in question the very survival of capitalist and landlord rule. Revolutionary workers' and soldiers' councils were formed, emulating the Russian soviets of 1917. The upheaval spread to the countryside.

In the United States and the western European countries whose governments emerged as victors in the war, events did not culminate in revolution. There too, however, the social order was profoundly shaken by working-class struggles and—in Britain and France—by mutinies in the armed forces. Moreover, the assault on Soviet Russia organized by the imperialist governments unleashed a powerful wave of solidarity actions with the embattled Soviet workers and peasants—actions that reached from central Europe to the United States to Australia.

In February 1920, five months before the Second Congress convened, Comintern leader Karl Radek portrayed the alarm of Europe's capitalist rulers by quoting the following passage from their chief British mouthpiece, the *Times*: "A spirit of unrest rules the entire world, from America to China, from the Black to the Baltic Sea. Not a single society, not a single civilization is sufficiently solid, not a single constitution is sufficiently democratic to resist this pernicious tendency. Examples everywhere show that the fundamental bonds have torn and burst under the long strain."⁴

Founding the Communist International

In this time of vast social crisis and revolution, the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) launched a new, revolutionary international working-class organization.

Building such a movement has been a central goal of the modern proletarian movement from its earliest years, when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels inscribed the words "Workers of the world, unite!" on the banner of the Communist League (1847-52), the first international workers' party. Marx was also the central founding leader of the International Working Men's Association (the First International, 1864-76) and, together with Engels, guided its course throughout its existence. Engels took an active part in political preparations to launch the Socialist

International in 1889 and participated in its activity during the final six years of his life.

When war broke out in August 1914, the Socialist International collapsed ignominiously. For the most part, each of its best-known leaders rallied to support the war policies of the government representing the exploiting class in his country. These figures, branded by revolutionaries of the time as “opportunists,” “social chauvinists,” or “social traitors,” recoiled in fear and horror from the 1917 October revolution. When the war ended, they promoted measures to restabilize the capitalist order. Their actions precipitated a split in the workers’ movement. Nonetheless, when the Communist International was launched in 1919, these class-collaborationist leaders still led many massive Social Democratic parties and most of the trade union movement.

As the war proceeded, masses of workers began to break with this openly opportunist current in the workers’ movement and to turn toward revolutionary struggle. A second component of the pre-war Social Democratic leadership sought to head up these militant forces, offering themselves as an alternative to the discredited right-wing officials. These figures pursued a vacillating course. They refused to break their ties to the open social chauvinists and sought to divert from the world Communist movement the forces under their influence. Revolutionaries referred to this intermediate current, exemplified by Karl Kautsky in Germany and Jean Longuet in France, as the “centrists” or the “Center.”

The third force in the workers’ movement was the revolutionary current led by the Bolsheviks of Russia. It began to win broad sympathy and support among workers in many countries following the October 1917 revolution. Inspired by the example of that revolution, its partisans abroad sought to organize defense of the workers’ and peasants’ government in Russia, to promote revolutionary struggles in their own lands, and to build an international working-class movement of those fighting to emulate the Bolsheviks.

Components of this revolutionary current met in Moscow in March 1919 and launched the Communist International. The founding congress was small. Among the fifty-one participating delegates, forty-two had already been present in Soviet Russia when the congress was called in January 1919. Only nine dele-

gates, fewer than one-fifth the total, had managed during the two months before the congress to make their way to Moscow past the counterrevolutionary armies and the imperialist blockade ringing soviet territory.

Apart from the Bolsheviks, none of the delegates spoke for a party with experience in revolutionary struggle or with a mass working-class membership. There was little discussion of the nature and tasks of Communist parties, and the new movement did not adopt statutes or a comprehensive program. Congress discussion focused on whether to launch the new revolutionary International at that time. The central leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, viewed as the most authoritative revolutionary organization outside Soviet Russia, opposed this move as premature.

Nonetheless, the congress voted overwhelmingly to found the new world organization without further delay. It also issued a manifesto and adopted several resolutions, of which the most important was Lenin's "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."⁵

"The First Congress . . . unfurled the banner of communism, around which the forces of the revolutionary proletariat were to rally," Lenin wrote in 1920.⁶ Contrary to the arguments of the delegate from the Communist Party of Germany, the decision to found the Communist International turned out to be well timed. Over subsequent months, many workers' organizations across Europe affiliated to the Comintern in rapid succession. Among them were parties with tens of thousands of members, such as the Italian Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Germany, the Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden, the Norwegian Labor Party, and the Tesnyaki of Bulgaria. In September 1919 Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, estimated the membership of its affiliates at more than a million, about half of whom belonged to parties other than the Communist Party of Russia.

THE JOURNEY TO MOSCOW

On June 14, 1920, the Executive Committee of the Communist International published a call setting the Second Congress in

Moscow and urging all revolutionary parties and organizations to send large delegations. The congress was to convene on July 15, a scant four weeks after the call was published. In setting the date, the Executive Committee had merely concretized a decision that it had taken earlier, on April 22, to call a congress in the near future. Word of the coming congress had thus been circulating for some time, and by mid-June many delegates were on their way to Soviet Russia or had already arrived.

Entering soviet territory in mid-1920 was a difficult and hazardous task. Soviet Russia was still surrounded by hostile armies and blockaded by the imperialist powers.

Military pressure on the Russian Soviet Republic had eased somewhat during the year preceding the second Comintern congress. The Soviet Red Army had beaten back counterrevolutionary White Guard forces and interventionist armies of the imperialist powers on every front. Nonetheless, the civil war still raged against a White Guard army in the southern Ukraine and Polish government forces on the western front.

In February 1920 the first legal route of entry into Soviet Russia had been established by a Soviet treaty with Estonia, which opened up the Estonian port of Revel (Tallinn). But access by this route was by no means guaranteed. Communists were routinely denied visas for travel even between the capitalist states of western and central Europe, and obtaining an exit visa from the Estonian government to enter Russia was no simple matter. Walther Bringolf, a delegate from Switzerland, reports that visas into Soviet Russia had to be cleared by the commander of a British gunboat anchored in Revel's harbor.⁷

J.T. Murphy, a delegate representing the Shop Stewards' movement of Britain, managed to get a visa to enter the Netherlands but had to pay a smuggler to walk him over the frontier into Germany. He then tried to slip over the Danish frontier, traveling with the U.S. Communist Louis Fraina. Danish police nabbed the pair, jailed them, and smuggled them back into Germany. Spotted by German police, Murphy and Fraina jumped off a moving train, escaped, stowed away on a ship to Stockholm and then on another ship to Revel, and entered Soviet Russia disguised as returning Russian prisoners of war.⁸

Another delegate, Charles Phillips, had moved from the United States to Mexico to escape military conscription during

World War I. He made it safely to Estonia using visas obtained with his phony Mexican passport and with credentials from a newspaper job from which he had been fired. The Estonian government, however, refused him an exit visa into the Soviet republic, and Estonian guards stopped him at the Russian border. Spotting a locomotive that was getting up steam to move across the border, Phillips told his guard, "Hold my suitcase, I have to go to the bathroom." He went into the station, ran out another door, and jumped on the locomotive, which by then was moving off. Once across the border, he was taken to the Red Guards. He showed them his official credentials—written on a piece of silk sewn into his sleeve—and the much-impressed guards rang up Petrograd and put Phillips on the telephone with Gregory Zinoviev. Phillips soon entered Petrograd riding a freight car with Soviet workers, who treated him to much tea and many Russian songs.⁹

Late in September 1919 the U.S. Communist John Reed left the United States just one jump ahead of the police. He worked his way to Europe as a stoker, stowed away to Finland, and was smuggled into Russia after hair-raising adventures in the Finnish underground.

Early in 1920 Reed decided to return to the United States, but the Allied powers made it as hard to leave Soviet Russia as it had been to enter it. He twice met failure attempting to cross the border. On his second try, in early March, he stowed away, was discovered, and was thrown in jail in Finland. Released on June 2, Reed arrived in Revel, where the Estonian government refused him exit papers to the United States. He could only return to Russia, where he participated in the Second Congress. His health never fully recovered from the mistreatment he received in the Finnish jail, and he died late that year.¹⁰

The hazards of the journey to and from Moscow cost the lives of three delegates. Following the congress the young Communist from France, Raymond Lefebvre, together with the revolutionary unionists Lepetit and Marcel Vergeat, tried to run the Allied blockade, setting out from Murmansk in stormy weather in a small fishing boat. The boat disappeared at sea.¹¹

The delegations from Sweden and Italy brought emergency supplies for Soviet Russia raised by the solidarity movements in their countries. The Socialists from Italy, whose central leader

was Giacinto Serrati, managed to obtain the needed diplomatic papers and loaded a special train with a hundred crates of supplies, one of them containing many hundreds of thousands of needles for hard-pressed Soviet tailors and seamstresses. When the train arrived in Petrograd, a day of celebration was organized, and a huge throng greeted the delegates with the singing of the "Internationale" and shouts of "Long live the Italian party!" and "Long live Serrati!"¹²

By contrast, Louis-Oscar Frossard, sent with Marcel Cachin to represent the French Socialist Party leadership, regretted that no one came to greet him and Cachin on their arrival in Russia at the Petrograd station. Frossard later attributed this to their reputation as "social traitors," who had supported their capitalist government during the war.¹³

A profile of congress delegates

Although most congress participants came from Communist parties, the official list of 218 delegates recorded twelve representatives of youth groups and fifty-four who came from Social Democratic, Socialist, and other non-Communist workers' organizations. At least eight of the delegates represented anarcho-syndicalist organizations or had been syndicalists before 1917.¹⁴

Only a handful of the delegates had played prominent roles in the pre-war Socialist International. Among them were Lenin (50 years old in 1920), Marchlewski (54), Christian Rakovsky (47), and, among the non-Communist delegates, Ernst Däumig (54) and Cachin (51). The vast majority of delegates represented a younger generation, that of the October 1917 revolution. Lefebvre was 29 years old; Fraina, 26; Said Galiev, a leader of the Tatar Communists, also 26; and Lazar Shatskin, a Communist from Russia and a central leader of the youth International, only 18. Of 176 delegates whose age could be ascertained, four were under 20 years old; forty-one were in their 20s; seventy-nine in their 30s; forty-four in their 40s; and only twelve delegates were 50 years of age or more. Nineteen delegates were women.

The participation of a small but significant number of delegates from the colonial and economically backward countries, Lenin noted in the opening session, made the gathering truly a

world congress—the first in the history of the socialist movement. At least thirty delegates came from among the oppressed peoples of Asia, including from nations and nationalities oppressed by tsarism that had now established governments based on soviets of peasants' and workers' deputies.

In the years following the congress, many delegates were to fall victim to the purges organized by Joseph Stalin. Stalin headed the petty-bourgeois social layer that gained decisive influence in the Comintern during the second half of the 1920s and early 1930s. This privileged bureaucratic caste increasingly abandoned revolutionary internationalism and put the party, the state, and the Communist International on a counterrevolutionary course. Stalin and his backers sought to use the Comintern as an instrument of Soviet government policy in its search for an accommodation with imperialism. This earliest version of “new thinking” was codified at the sixth Comintern congress in 1928.¹⁵

In the face of this onslaught against a revolutionary course, many communists who had been delegates to the Second Congress sought to defend the perspective set in the years when the International was under Lenin's leadership. At least twenty had ties with the communist opposition current whose leaders included Trotsky and, for a time, Zinoviev and Radek. In addition, thirteen delegates were linked to the Right Opposition led by Nikolai Bukharin.

Among Second Congress delegates from outside the Soviet republic, three-fifths were to leave the Communist International by 1933, while only one-quarter were still members when Stalin dissolved the Comintern ten years later as a concession to the Soviet government's imperialist allies during World War II.

Stalin's bloody frame-up purges in the late 1930s claimed the lives of two-thirds of those who had been delegates to the Second Congress. Among the seventy-six delegates then in the Soviet Union for whom information could be found, at least fifty-two were executed or died in prison.¹⁶ Another six delegates were imprisoned or dismissed from leading posts. For seven who died during the height of Stalin's terror, between 1937 and 1939, Soviet sources do not indicate the circumstances of death. Of the delegates then living in the Soviet Union, only thirteen (fewer than one-fifth) survived or escaped victimization.

The delegates arrive

As the war against the invading Polish army raged during the summer of 1920, Soviet Russia remained in the grip of material deprivation. From the trains bearing them to Petrograd, delegates saw the destruction and desolation left by the war of intervention against the young Soviet republic: alongside the tracks were wrecked locomotives, derailed freight cars of every type, and piles of ruined railway equipment. Bridges had been blown up, Murphy noted; “trenches, barbed wire, ruined buildings, broken tracks, seemed to be everywhere.”¹⁷ Arriving in Petrograd, Jules Humbert-Droz, a delegate from Switzerland, observed the closed factories with boarded windows, the unpaved streets where wooden paving blocks had been removed for firewood, the stumps of trees chopped down for the same purpose, and, in the Winter Palace, the ruined chairs whose leather had been cut off to make shoes.¹⁸

Reed remarked on the “misery and disease and desperate, endless struggle. The winter [of 1919-20] was horrible beyond imagination. No one will ever know what Russia went through.”¹⁹ In the summer of 1920 more food was available, but hunger still pressed Soviet citizens. Soldiers received the best supplies, Reed noted, and factory workers organized to take care of themselves and their families, but office workers were often overlooked. Because of the blockade, there were almost no medical supplies; sanitary conditions were bad and epidemics common.

A few delegates were repelled by Soviet reality, which failed to conform to their preconceptions. Most, however, were inspired by the hopes and the energy they sensed among Soviet working people. During the 1919-20 winter, while Moscow citizens hungered, often with no electricity or fuel, Reed marveled at the progress that the workers’ and peasants’ regime had nonetheless made: new medical centers even in the villages; a great educational campaign for better sanitation; free hospitals, dispensaries, child-care centers; new schools springing up everywhere.

Reed journeyed the countryside that winter, driving by sleigh from village to village, talking to peasants who blessed the Bolsheviks and peasants who cursed them. Many peasants were

bewildered by the new regime, he noted, but the introduction of schools and medical centers was beginning to change the old way of life.

"And the children! This is a country for children," he wrote. They received the best available food and clothing without charge and access to schools and theaters. Tsarskoe Selo, former residence of the tsars, had been rechristened Detskoe Selo (Children's Village). "A hundred thousand of them spend the summer there, in relays. The streets are full of happy children."²⁰

Delegates were lodged in Moscow in the Delevoy Dvor, a hotel that was only a short walk from the congress sessions in the Kremlin. Bringolf recalls that the food left much to be desired, consisting chiefly of a thick, ill-smelling fish soup.²¹ The delegates from Italy were envied for the rich stock of macaroni, cheese, and Chianti they had brought with them, supplies they shared each evening with delegates who came to the apartment of Angelica Balabanoff, a revolutionary from Italy then helping to organize Comintern work in Moscow.

In informal discussions delegates made the acquaintance of their counterparts from every corner of the globe and of Communist leaders in Russia. A congress participant from Iceland, Brynjólfur Bjarnason, recalls in particular his talks with Willi Münzenberg of the youth International; with M.N. Roy, a revolutionary from India, who dropped by his room one evening; and with Reed, who reported some comments by Lenin on Iceland.²² Brushing aside a suggestion that delegates would know little of Iceland, Lenin had declared that the vanguard of the workers' movement must of course be familiar with this country, if only because of the strategic military role it would play in a future world war.²³

Delegates wrote extensively for the Soviet press. They went out to address many meetings of workers and Red Army detachments. Reed wrote of his discussions about the U.S. working class with Russian factory workers, who asked countless questions about wages and conditions of life and work in the United States. "Why is America so slow to get Socialist ideas?" one worker asked. Another said, "Tell our American comrades that we listen day and night for the sound of their footsteps coming to our aid. But tell them, too, that no matter how long it may take them, we shall hold firm."²⁴

Murphy attended a meeting in the Putilov works in Petrograd, where hundreds of Communist Party members discussed factory management and the organization of production. This was a preliminary meeting, he learned, called to help Communist workers lead participation in these tasks by the workers as a whole. By background a syndicalist, Murphy felt challenged in his preconceptions about the limitations of political parties. Previously, he remarked, none of the Shop Steward delegates "saw the political party as anything other than a propaganda body for the spread of Socialist ideas."²⁵

Congress delegates from abroad visited contingents of the Red Army, and the soldiers appointed many of them honorary officers, giving them appropriate uniforms. Moscow's soccer clubs, convinced that all British workers must be world-class players, challenged the English-speaking delegates to a match. But years of irregular hours and smoky conference halls had taken their toll, Murphy recounts. Trailing eleven to one, the delegates called it a day at halftime.²⁶

Delegates set out by train and boat to see Russia; one group sailed down the Volga to the city of Saratov, speaking at workers' rallies along the way. Delegates loaded railroad ties as part of a *subbotnik*, one of the Russian workers' days of voluntary labor for economic reconstruction. Soviet workers were celebrating the Comintern congress through a wide range of events, and there were meetings and cultural exhibits to visit. Massive demonstrations, theatrical performances, and a special sculpture contest were held in honor of the International.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Russia was present in force, and they took pains to get to know the delegates from abroad and talked to them at length. During the congress, the pace of plenary sessions was slowed by pauses for translation, and groups of delegates adjourned for breaks in neighboring rooms. There they met the leaders of the Russian party, who, at home in many languages, were keen to continue discussion informally. Phillips recalls in particular long discussions with Bukharin and Radek. When Phillips married one of the Russian translators at the congress, Bukharin and Mikhail Tomsy, head of the Soviet trade unions, served as his witnesses.

Like many delegates, Phillips had an interview with Lenin, who listened attentively to his account of conditions in Mexico.

Lenin then asked what publications the Communists used to reach the peasantry. None, since the peasants were largely Indians, who were illiterate, replied Phillips. "Oh, well I can understand that," said Lenin. "Of course. But you must find some way to reach them. If they make up a great proportion of the peasantry of Mexico, you must find some way to reach them. You've got to send out special people who can speak their languages." Struck by this unexpected advice, Phillips fired off a letter to his comrades in Mexico.²⁷

On arriving at their hotel rooms, delegates found a huge cardboard briefcase stuffed full of convention discussion materials: the Executive Committee's written report, informational reports from parties in different countries, draft resolutions, Leon Trotsky's *Terrorism and Communism: A Reply to Kautsky*, and Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, a pamphlet published as part of the preparatory discussion for the congress. The ideas in Lenin's contribution figured centrally in several points on the congress agenda.

The draft resolutions, Murphy recalls, "constituted a revolution in the conceptions of every party and every non-Russian delegate in the Congress." In the commissions established on different agenda points, he continues, "every delegation 'went to school' on the first principles of the new movement under the direction and tuition of one of the Russian leaders. . . . The Russians seemed to be incapable of exhaustion by discussion. Patiently they would argue, go over the ground a second time, a third, a fourth if need be, until night turned into day and day into night."²⁸

The Executive Committee took advantage of the early arrival of many leading delegates from abroad to co-opt them into its work and deliberations. Even Bohumír Smeral, leader of Czechoslovakia's left-wing Social Democrats, signed a statement of the Executive Committee, although the Czech party did not belong to the International and, strictly speaking, Smeral himself was not yet a member of it.²⁹ It was the first opportunity for the Bolsheviks to begin to share with aspiring Communist leaders from abroad the leadership responsibility for the International that they had until then carried essentially alone.

Among the preparatory activities were meetings of trade unionists from Russia, Britain, Italy, and other countries, which

paved the way for the formation on the eve of the congress of an international revolutionary trade union council. A conference of Communist women was also organized during the congress, and its statements and activity received wide publicity in the Soviet press. Its appeal, "To the Working Women of the World," is found in appendix 6a.³⁰

As the scheduled opening day of July 15 arrived, many delegates from abroad had yet to arrive, and the Executive Committee decided to postpone for one week the first full working session of the congress. Advantage was taken of the delay to hold a ceremonial opening session in Petrograd, birthplace of soviet power.

Frossard tells us that from the Petrograd railway station, delegates traveled in a streetcar to the Smolny Institute, seat of the Soviet government in its first months of existence. At the controls of the streetcar was Mikhail Kalinin, Soviet head of state and formerly a leader of the streetcar workers' union.

After a meal in Smolny's Great Hall, delegates marched to the opening session in the Uritsky Theater (formerly the Tauride Palace, seat in 1917 of the Provisional Government), accompanied by tens of thousands of Petrograd workers. There delegates heard an address by Lenin on the world political situation and the tasks of the Comintern. Afterward, they joined hundreds of thousands of Petrograd workers in a huge demonstration. Then, at midnight, a crowd gathered before the former stock exchange to see a piece of mass theater, with some three thousand costumed performers, the *Spectacle of the Two Worlds*.

The first scene showed the bourgeoisie dancing on a raised terrace, Münzenberg recalls, while underneath, thousands of workers hammered out a slow, heavy beat. Successive scenes portrayed workers' history since the 1871 Paris Commune. Finally, "workers press forward toward the terrace, the police arrive, the learned Social Democrats disappear, the first shots are fired, and suddenly an armored car roars around the corner with armed sailors, flying a blood-red flag: the Kronstadt sailors hurrying to aid the workers. And all this at night, at two o'clock, while the red flags on the Winter Palace give their salute, and the brightly illuminated warships on the Neva display the Soviet star, and hundreds of thousands of workers watch, filling all the streets. It was like a dream. As the sailors' armored car drove up, we delegates stood, shouting, waving

our arms, so enthusiastic we were quite overcome."³¹

The congress convenes

After the opening session in Petrograd, the congress took a three-day break, reconvening in Moscow in what had been the great Vladimir Throne Room of the imperial palace in the Kremlin. The gilded columns were draped in red bunting. Where the throne had stood was a platform for speakers and the Presiding Committee. The neighboring rooms, where the royal family had lived during their stays in prerevolutionary Moscow, were converted into a reading room, a smoking room, a workroom for congress secretaries, a canteen, and an area for relaxation. In the smoking room, a large map of western Russia and Poland was posted, on which advancing arrows recorded the successes of the Red Army. In another room delegates sometimes took catnaps in the former tsar's bed, large enough, one delegate remarked, to hold five of them quite comfortably. In the workroom, the tsar's throne served as a clothes tree, heaped high with jackets, hats, and briefcases.

The secretaries typed documents in the congress's four working languages: English, French, German, and Russian. Oral discussion, at the start, was mainly in French and German. Most delegates from Russia who took the floor spoke in one of those languages. Some delegates, however, spoke in Russian, English, or other languages. An effort was made to provide oral translation into all four languages,³² but there were some interruptions, and at first translation into English was limited. After vigorous complaints by some English-speaking delegates, the status of English in the congress was upgraded.³³ After each speech, there was a pause during which translations were made simultaneously to each of the language groups, while those needing no translation took a break. Sometimes the oral translations were no more than a brief summary of the speaker's remarks, but Balabanoff, we are told, who took few notes, provided imaginative renderings sometimes far longer than the original presentations.³⁴

The congress elected a Presiding Committee (often called the Bureau), which made decisions and proposals on procedure and, on one occasion, wrote a public statement on the congress's behalf. Another commission was chosen to review

delegates' credentials. Commissions on each major agenda point considered resolutions and amendments submitted by the Executive Committee or by congress delegates. When a commission did not reach agreement, minority and majority reports were made to the plenary session. The membership of the commissions is given in appendix 1c; sessions of a commission sometimes included delegates who were not members.

All delegates had the right to submit draft resolutions to the congress, and many did so. Amadeo Bordiga, leader of the largest left-wing current in the Italian Socialist Party, presented theses on the parliamentary question. Theses were also submitted by Roy, on the national and colonial questions, and Reed, on trade union policy.

A system of weighted voting was adopted in which the allocation of votes to each delegation was not determined by the size of the revolutionary organization. Instead, voting strength was based on the strategic weight of the working class in that country in relation to other classes and the country's place in world politics. After the congress, Serrati noted with annoyance that delegates from Britain's small communist movement had as much voting strength as those from the large parties of Italy and Russia.³⁵ (For the number of votes allocated to each delegation, see appendix 1b.)

Voting delegates were issued red cards; consultative delegates, blue; and guests, green. As a rule, votes were taken by counting the voting cards. The rules of order provided for roll-call votes on the request of three delegations. Although the Dutch delegate David Wijnkoop requested such a vote during session 9, there is no indication that a roll-call vote was taken at any point during the congress. The delegates from Russia were much more numerous than those from other countries, but to judge by the voting totals, only a small number of them took part in votes. None of the divided votes were close, and no delegate questioned their authority.

WORLD REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE CONTINUES

When the congress convened in the summer of 1920, capitalism in Europe had yet to quell the postwar wave of revolutionary struggles and restabilize its rule. Just over a year earlier, the Paris

conference of the Allied powers concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which officially ended World War I. The treaty's draconian terms, however, contributed to the continuing crisis of capitalism in Europe. It dashed hopes previously raised in some sectors of the workers' movement by the Allied governments' promises of a "just" and "democratic" peace. The Versailles treaty is analyzed in Lenin's "Report on the World Political Situation" in session 1 and in the Second Congress Manifesto.

In the major imperialist countries of Europe, production still had not recovered from wartime destruction. A limited economic upswing in 1919 and early 1920 enabled many demobilized soldiers to find work, and unemployment fell somewhat. Nonetheless, in "victorious" France overall production in 1920 was still only two-thirds its pre-war level. In Germany industrial production was little more than half its 1914 level, human consumption of grains was down 44 percent, and the economy was gripped by spiraling inflation. Average per capita wages in Prague in 1920, adjusted for inflation, were just over one-third of pre-war levels.

In the year since the Comintern's founding congress, capitalist rule had withstood vigorous challenges by the toilers of several countries. The lessons of these confrontations, and in particular the events in Germany, shaped the debates of the Second Congress. Foremost among these battles were those waged in defense of workers' and peasants' governments that had ruled for a time during 1919 in Bavaria and Hungary.³⁶

In the German province of Bavaria, a revolutionary government was formed on April 13, 1919, based on workers' councils and composed of leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and the centrist-led Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). Isolated from struggles in the rest of Germany and from the aid of Soviet Russia, the Bavarian councils were immediately attacked by troops of the central government, and workers' resistance in Munich, the Bavarian capital, was quelled in the first days of May.

The defeat of the Bavarian councils was the last phase of a bloody four-month war waged against the revolutionary working class by the Berlin government, which was led by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). This civil war had begun in January 1919 when insurgent Berlin workers were attacked by

the Freikorps, units of counterrevolutionary volunteers integrated into the army and functioning under government command. Among the victims of these reactionary murder gangs were the Communist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. During the weeks that followed, the Freikorps assaulted other workers' strongholds across Germany; in March their renewed attacks in Berlin took the lives of twelve hundred workers. One of the precursors of the Nazi SA and SS units, the Freikorps provided cadres for the German fascist movement while demonstrating the methods of decisive, brutal—and murderous—street actions through which the Nazis were to prepare and consolidate political power.³⁷

In Hungary the social and political crisis became so acute in early 1919 that the bourgeois regime yielded the reins of office to the Social Democrats, who then proposed to the Communists that the two parties fuse and form a new government together. The inexperienced Communist Party, formed only five months previously, accepted this proposal, and the new government, based on revolutionary workers' councils, took office on March 21. It was impossible for the communists, locked in a single party with reformists and centrists, to provide consistent revolutionary leadership to the workers' and peasants' councils. Communists in Hungary were also fatally handicapped by their ultraleft course, particularly toward the peasantry. Rather than recognizing the big majority of peasants as exploited toilers and allies, they tended to view the peasantry as an undifferentiated reactionary mass.

These political weaknesses hampered the defense of the Hungarian soviet republic against the invasion organized by the Allied powers. As the ring of counterrevolutionary armies tightened, the Social Democrats broke ranks, negotiating with the enemy behind the communists' backs. Despite international workers' protests and solidarity actions, the revolutionary government was overthrown on August 1, 1919. The ensuing White Terror devastated the working-class movement; 7,500 workers were slaughtered and tens of thousands forced into exile.

Renewed confrontation in Germany

Despite the stinging defeat the workers of Germany suffered in early 1919, within a year they mounted another challenge to

capitalist rule. Hundreds of thousands of workers turned away from the SPD during 1919 and early 1920, outraged by its role in organizing the assault on militant workers and restabilizing the capitalist state. These forces reinforced revolutionary-minded currents in the USPD and the unions. Mass workers' struggles resumed in December 1919, as strike movements developed in key industrial centers across the country.

On January 13, 1920, a huge throng of workers demonstrated in front of the Berlin Reichstag (parliament) in defense of the workers' councils in Germany. Security police machine-gunned the rally, killing forty-two workers. The government then reimposed a state of siege across half the country and jailed central leaders of the USPD and Communist Party. For a time the USPD was forced into the same semiunderground status that Communists in Germany had been driven into a year earlier.

Emboldened by this turn of events, right-wing Freikorps units in Berlin carried out a coup on March 13, ousting the SPD-led coalition government and installing a would-be dictator, Wolfgang Kapp. The leaders of the unions and the Social Democratic Party, threatened with the suppression of the movements from which they drew their power and privilege, called for a general strike against the coup. The USPD did the same. The strike was solid across the country. The army command in the capital and across northern and eastern Germany backed the coup and launched murderous attacks against the striking workers. In Dresden fifty-nine workers were killed. Workers organized militias, which cleared army units out of the Ruhr industrial district and fought back arms in hand in more than two dozen localities. The right-wing regime fell after only four days.

On learning of the call by the SPD and USPD for a general strike against the Kapp putsch, the Communist Party leadership's initial reaction was a sectarian and ultraleft one. It urged workers to stand aside from the mass struggle on the grounds that working people had no stake in defending the country's bourgeois-democratic order. This stand was rejected in practice by the working-class ranks of the party. They recognized the broad opposition to the Kapp putsch as a revolutionary opening, a chance to deal the class enemy a decisive blow. Communist Party cadres played a leading role in the strike and in the workers' armed self-defense. The party's central leadership

soon endorsed this course, reversing its initial decision.

The rapid overthrow of the Kapp regime demonstrated dramatically the power of united working-class action. Kapp's fall encouraged militant workers to continue their strike, seeking a way to end antilabor repression and the ravages of the military and of rightists under its protection. In the face of this growing pressure, Carl Legien, the reformist head of the main trade union federation, sought to regain control over the mass movement. He proposed to leaders of the SPD, of the USPD, and of other unions that they join in a government of workers' organizations. Among this government's tasks, Legien suggested, would be a purge of counterrevolutionaries from the armed forces and leading posts in state administration. On March 21 the USPD presented their own version of this proposal for a "workers' government" to the strike leadership in Berlin, which included Communist Party representatives.

The following day, the Central Bureau of the Communist Party adopted by a one-vote margin a statement declaring that since the "objective basis for a proletarian dictatorship is not yet present," the formation "of a Socialist government excluding the bourgeois-capitalist parties" could create "favorable conditions for the proletarian masses" to prepare to take power.³⁸ Such a government, the statement said, could create a situation "where political freedom can be fully utilized, where bourgeois democracy cannot function as the dictatorship of capital." Communists could not join such a government, but they would act toward it as a "loyal opposition"—retaining full freedom to criticize it, but refraining from attempts to overthrow it.³⁹

The statement was later repudiated, by majority vote, by the Communist Party Central Committee and the party congress. The statement was also criticized by Zinoviev in the written report he submitted to the Second Congress on behalf of the Comintern Executive Committee (see page 81). Lenin, on the other hand, held that the tactic proposed in the statement by the Communist Party of Germany was "quite correct both in its basic premise and its practical conclusions." Where the statement erred, in Lenin's view, was in lending unjustified credit to the credentials of the centrist and reformist leaders of the USPD and the SPD as socialists and as defenders of democratic rights.⁴⁰

The "workers' government" discussion reflected the convic-

tion of millions of workers in Germany that they must achieve a revolutionary government of the toilers. The continuing strikes and armed actions after Kapp's fall demonstrated workers' capacity to fight for this goal. But the Communist Party leadership failed to respond decisively to the opening provided by the widespread calls for a workers' government, and this contributed to the dissipation of the working-class mobilization in Germany. The general strike ebbed away, and the bourgeois government regained stability. Nonetheless, Communists saw the struggle sparked by the Kapp putsch as confirmation that the road still lay open for a revolutionary victory in Germany in the near future.

Communists drew similar conclusions from events in Italy. The bourgeois regime there faced an accelerating crisis in 1919-20: peasants rose up in revolt and carried out land occupations, while workers organized wave after wave of mass strikes, forming factory committees to coordinate their struggle. These actions were met with a brutal police offensive that left more than a hundred dead during the year before the second Comintern congress.

In April 1920 workers in Turin waged a general strike to defend their factory committees against a wave of firings and lockouts. The Italian Socialist Party leadership, however, failed to rally the party behind the Turin workers. Indeed, central leaders of the party disavowed the strike, which went down to defeat.

As the Second Congress convened, the workers' struggle in Italy was still ascending; in the first days of September, less than a month after the congress ended, a wave of factory occupations swept across Italy.

Soviet victories in the civil war in Russia

The main cause for optimism among Second Congress delegates, however, lay not in the events in central Europe but in the success of Russia's toilers in beating back the White Guard forces and the interventionist armies of the imperialist powers.

In mid-1919, the White Guard armies had controlled most of the territory of the old tsarist empire and had been poised to move against Moscow and Leningrad from three different direc-

tions. Imperialist armies and navies attacked Soviet forces from every side during 1918 and 1919. In contrast, by early 1920 most of the interventionist forces had been compelled to withdraw. Although fighting continued in many areas, the only major White Guard army remaining in the field was that of Baron Wrangel in Crimea.

Soviet victory in the civil war was made possible in large measure by the capacity of the vanguard of the Soviet working class to hold the support of the great majority of peasants, who resisted White Guard attempts to reinstall the landlords and give them back their estates. Moreover, as the Red Army advanced into the territory of nationalities oppressed under tsarist rule, the Russian Soviet Republic's support in deeds for the right to national self-determination enabled revolutionaries in these territories to lead victorious struggles that established governments of the toilers.

In beating back the Entente-organized invasion, Soviet Russia received vital help from within the imperialist countries, where solidarity actions included refusals to load shipments for the White Guard and interventionist armies. Mutinies broke out in several of the imperialist armed forces. Capitalist regimes had to abandon plans to use these forces on a scale sufficient to overthrow the Soviet regime and thus make possible capitalist restoration in Russia.

The imperialist powers did not, however, cease their efforts to harass Soviet Russia, isolate it politically, and deal it heavy economic blows. Their blockade and intervention against the Soviet republics wreaked havoc, contributing greatly to economic collapse. By 1920 industrial production in Soviet Russia had fallen to a mere 20 percent and grain production to only 40 percent of pre-war levels. Hunger stalked both city and countryside.

The hopes of Soviet toilers for a breathing spell in which to begin reconstruction were dashed by the invasion of the soviet Ukraine launched April 25, 1920, by the Polish government under Joseph Pilsudski. Although backed by French arms and diplomatic support, the Polish armies were soon beaten back.

Soviet forces now advanced deep into Poland. Communists in Poland expanded their revolutionary activity, organizing many strikes. Midway through the Second Congress, at the beginning

of August, Communists in Soviet-occupied Polish territory established a Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee in Białystok. Julian Marchlewski (Karski), a leader of the Communists from Poland, left Moscow after the first few sessions of the congress in order to head this provisional government.

The Red Army was swiftly approaching Warsaw. Among working people across Europe, the Pilsudski government's attack had aroused a powerful wave of support for Soviet Russia, and arms shipments to the Pilsudski regime were blocked by workers in Britain, Germany, and other countries. "All Germany began to seethe when our forces approached Warsaw," Lenin commented.⁴¹ The prospect that the Red Army advance would enable the toilers of Poland to take power inspired hopes that the Soviet proletariat could link its power directly with that of the workers of Germany in a new revolutionary offensive advancing westward across Europe.

Continuing ferment in Europe and North America

The Polish war led to a major class confrontation in Britain, which broke out while the second Comintern congress was in session. The trade union movement announced plans for a general strike if the British government intervened in Poland against the Red Army. This challenge brought to a head the severe social crisis that had shaken Britain since 1918, a crisis marked not only by powerful waves of strikes but by major unrest in the army. The government concluded that it did not command sufficient "reliable" troops to quell possible workers' protests against military intervention into Poland and declared that no such action would take place.

The British rulers' problems were compounded by mass protests in India against British rule, unrest elsewhere in their colonial empire, and a revolutionary uprising in Ireland. The majority of the representatives elected to the British Parliament from Ireland had met in January 1919 as an Irish national assembly and declared national independence. By 1920 a guerrilla struggle organized by the Irish Republican Army against the British occupation forces was spreading across Ireland.

A wave of meetings and demonstrations against government intervention in Poland also swept France. There, however, the

workers' movement had recently suffered a significant setback. In May 1920 hundreds of thousands of workers had waged a strike in solidarity with embattled railway unionists. The rail strike went down to defeat, in part because of the vacillation of leaders of the French union federation and Socialist Party. This experience led many workers to turn against these officials and seek a road to building a communist movement. Significant numbers of peasants in France were also turning toward the revolutionary movement, and they were soon to become a bulwark of strength for the Communist Party.

In the United States the postwar strike wave peaked late in 1919 with walkouts of more than 400,000 coal miners, who won wage gains, and some 350,000 steelworkers, whose struggle for union recognition ended in defeat. In November 1919 the federal government launched a campaign of repression against the labor movement. In the name of "combating communism," thousands were arrested, and many immigrant workers were rounded up and deported or threatened with deportation. This witch-hunt was the opening salvo in an onslaught by U.S. capital against labor during 1920 that headed off any renewal of militant actions by workers on the scale of the previous year.

In most smaller capitalist states of Europe, the labor upsurge continued into 1920 but did not reach the heights of militancy of the preceding two years. In some countries, such as Norway and Sweden, labor scored limited but significant gains. Peasant struggles were spreading across eastern Europe, and land reform measures were enacted by several imperiled capitalist governments, notably in Poland, Romania, the three Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia), and in Bulgaria, which was governed by a peasant-based, petty-bourgeois party.

Struggles against imperialist domination

Latin America had not been drawn into the great social crisis created in Europe by the war. Nonetheless, the small but militant working classes there took part in the international labor upsurge of 1918-20. In Mexico, shaken during the preceding decade by a great peasant revolution, the overthrow of the Carranza regime in 1920 showed that the possessing classes had yet to stabilize their rule.

Across Asia there were many signs in the year preceding the Second Congress of a rising struggle for national liberation. In April 1920 Turkish bourgeois-nationalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) established an insurgent government in Ankara that swept aside the Ottoman sultanate. The Kemal regime set out to drive from Turkish soil the occupying armies of the Allied powers and to lay the basis for capitalist modernization of Turkey. In the Gilan district in northern Iran, a soviet republic was established in early June 1920, just as the first delegates who were to attend the Second Congress began to arrive in Moscow.

The working class in India rose up between late 1918 and 1920 in a great strike wave. The Indian National Congress, a mass proindependence organization, was expanding its activity. Midway through the Second Congress its main leader, Mohandas Gandhi, launched a campaign of nonviolent resistance to British rule, which soon took on massive proportions.

A demonstration of Chinese students in Beijing on May 4, 1919, protesting the denial of China's national rights by the Paris conference of Allied powers, opened a period of anti-imperialist and antigovernment action embracing almost all strata of the urban population. The Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) was shaken after 1917 by agitation for national freedom and worker militancy. In Korea the year 1919 saw a revival of mass resistance to Japanese rule.

An organization of Black workers was formed in Johannesburg in July 1917, and two years later Black workers in South Africa conducted their first mass strike action. Outside South Africa, the years following the Russian revolution saw the foundation of the first African political organizations for struggle against colonial rule.

The Comintern leadership looked to the liberation movement of Eastern peoples, that is, the oppressed peoples whose leading contingents at that time were in Asia, as an indispensable force in the overthrow of the world imperialist system. A few months after the congress Lenin raised the slogan "Workers of the world and oppressed peoples, unite!"⁴² On July 3 the Comintern Executive Committee called a conference of the oppressed peoples of Asia; the call was cosigned by Communist leaders of Russia, the United States, and nine capitalist countries of Europe. Three weeks after the Second Congress ended,

nearly two thousand representatives of some thirty Asian peoples convened at the Congress of the Peoples of the East in the city of Baku in soviet Azerbaijan.⁴⁵

Collapse of the Second International

The international revolutionary upsurge generated forces that tore apart the fabric of the Second International. Following the war the Social Democratic parties had been initially strengthened by a new wave of recruits. These new members, however, were drawn in the main from the most exploited layers of the working class and were open to the revolutionary message of the Russian October. The great class battles of 1919 further radicalized the ranks of these organizations. The leaders of many Social Democratic parties came under intense pressure to take their organizations out of the discredited Second International and to establish relations with the Comintern.

Relaunched in February 1919 in Bern, Switzerland, the Second, or Bern, International largely disintegrated during the year that followed. The great majority of its larger affiliates, including the French, Italian, Polish, Swiss, and U.S. Socialist parties, the Norwegian Labor Party, and the USPD quit its ranks, and the Austrian Social Democrats refused to attend its 1920 congress. The two major organizations left to it were the British Labour Party and the SPD in Germany. By the time this International met in congress in Geneva, on July 31, 1920, it was clearly a minority force in the organized workers' movement.

Centrist leaders of the parties that quit the Second International took action to head off the strong membership push for joining the Communist International. They proposed to "reconstruct" the international Socialist movement through a coming together with the Comintern and its affiliates of all the parties that had quit the Second International. This notion, initiated by the Swiss Social Democratic leader Robert Grimm, won majority support at the USPD congress in Leipzig in December 1919 and at the French Socialist Party conference held in Strasbourg three months later.

The Comintern Executive Committee considered this a "futile endeavor" that would create an International "with no defined program, no firm policies, no hope of a future and no

perspectives.” Behind these moves, in the Comintern’s view, stood the efforts of centrist leaders such as Longuet and Kautsky to lead their movements “back into the swamp of the Yellow Second International.”⁴⁴ A demonstration of the dangers of this course was provided by the experience of Hungary’s Communists during the 1918-19 revolution there. Their fusion with the Social Democratic Party, undertaken in the absence of any strategic or programmatic convergence, had brought disastrous results.

With the Comintern opposed, no progress was made toward bringing Communist and centrist parties together in some common reconstructed organization. Rather than trying to stage a conference without Comintern participation, the French and German advocates of this course, under heavy pressure from their ranks, moved in May-June 1920 to deal directly with the Comintern by sending delegations to Moscow.

Prospects for international revolution

Opening the Second Congress, Zinoviev recalled his prediction, shortly after the International was founded, that within a year all Europe would be a soviet republic. In mid-1920 this prospect of continentwide victory still seemed, if not quite so immediate, nonetheless close at hand. “More than a year has gone by,” Zinoviev told the Second Congress delegates, and it was now clear that “in reality it will probably take not one year but two or three for all of Europe to become a soviet republic.”⁴⁵

Zinoviev’s statement reflected the assessment of many Bolshevik leaders in the first months after the International was launched. Given the paralysis of the bourgeoisie, it had seemed possible, as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky later put it, that the workers’ “chaotic, spontaneous assault” would mount in “ever-rising waves, that in this process the consciousness of the leading layers of the working class would become clarified, and that in this way the proletariat would attain state power in the course of one or two years.”⁴⁶

By the time of the Third Congress, held in 1921, it was clear that these goals would not be realized. This shift was registered in the resolution on the world situation adopted by that congress.

Describing a postwar revolutionary movement “marked by an amplitude unequalled in history,” the resolution explained that it reached “its greatest amplitude and highest intensity in those countries which had been involved in the war, and especially in the defeated countries” but spread “to the neutral countries as well. In Asia and Africa the movement arouses or reinforces the revolutionary indignation of the multimillioned colonial masses.”

“This mighty wave,” the theses concluded, did not “succeed in overthrowing world capitalism, not even European capitalism. . . . The first period of the revolutionary movement after the war . . . may be regarded by and large as terminated.”⁴⁷

At the time of the Second Congress, however, such a judgment would not yet have been accurate. Revolutionary conditions were present in several European countries, and the outcome had not yet been decided by the clash of contending forces. Registering the setbacks that had occurred during 1919 and early 1920, the Second Congress considered that the main lesson from these defeats was the need to organize the revolutionary vanguard in combat-ready Communist parties.

The congress resolution on conditions for admission to the Comintern forecast that “in almost every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war.”⁴⁸ From this it concluded that parties must not delay organizational preparations in face of the inevitable repression against workers’ democratic rights. Experience soon showed the Comintern leadership that bourgeois democracy was not on the verge of breaking down immediately on such a sweeping scale. The following year, however, the Third Congress reiterated that democratic forms of capitalist rule would shatter under the pressures of social and economic crisis and intensified class struggle. Communists had to have protected structures in place before this happened, the Third Congress stated; “Every legal Communist Party must be organized so that, should it have to go underground, it is ready and capable of continuing its struggle.”⁴⁹

In a report to the Third Congress, Trotsky, head of the Red Army, summarized the political situation in Europe at the time of the Second Congress a year earlier, when the Red Army’s rapid advance on the Polish front suggested that a major politi-

cal breakthrough might be imminent. Although the bourgeoisie had been able by 1920 to withstand the workers' and peasants' initial onslaught and regain political confidence, Trotsky noted, its situation remained acutely unstable. "The Second Congress in 1920 convened at the breaking point," Trotsky continued. "You will recall, the Red Army was then advancing on Warsaw and it was possible to calculate that because of the revolutionary situation in Germany, Italy, and other countries, the military impulse—without, of course, any independent significance of its own but as an auxiliary force introduced into the struggle of the European forces—might bring on the landslide of revolution, then temporarily at a standstill."⁵⁰

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The main force organizing and directing the Comintern congress was the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia. Three of its Central Committee members, Zinoviev, Radek, and Bukharin, were permanently assigned to help direct the Comintern's day-to-day functioning. Lenin and Trotsky also took an active part in its work and shared in many of its major decisions. The Communist Party of Russia served as the example that other parties strove to emulate. It supplied the International's only experienced and tested political leadership. Party members in Russia worked to draw the Soviet masses into the Comintern's activity through rallies and demonstrations, wide-ranging educational work, the collection of funds for the Comintern, and solidarity campaigns for workers' struggles in other countries.

The party in Russia sent a large delegation to the Second Congress, including a broad representation of its leadership. Many of these delegates had been nominated by party units organized in independent or autonomous national soviet republics (such as those formed by Tatars in Crimea and on the Volga) and among Jewish people and the German national minority, or by organizations of party members (fractions) in trade unions. Two Communist delegates had previously been leaders of the Borotbist party in the Ukraine, which had fused

with the Bolsheviks a few months before the congress. Two other delegates from Russia were not members of the Communist Party; they came from the Party of Revolutionary Communism, a group originating in the Socialist Revolutionaries. (More information on delegations to the congress from each country can be found in appendix 1b.)

The Communist Party of Germany

The Communist Party of Germany (KPD), the most authoritative of the revolutionary groups outside Russia, was hit during 1919 by the murder of its central leaders, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and Leo Jogiches, and was driven underground. The party's Central Bureau sought to correct serious ultraleft errors in its policies, but ran into strong resistance in the ranks. The internal dispute came to a head at the party's October 1919 congress in Heidelberg. The Central Bureau proposed programmatic theses that endorsed Communist participation in bourgeois parliamentary elections and revolutionary work in reformist-led trade unions. The theses specified that those not in agreement with these positions must leave the party. The Central Bureau proposals were adopted by a 31-18 vote. A split was not fully consummated, however, until after the Kapp putsch, when the ultraleft forces opposed to this program founded the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). They took with them about half the membership of the Communist Party, including the vast majority of those in Berlin.

On learning the outcome of the Heidelberg congress, Lenin wrote the KPD leadership that "given agreement on the basic issue (for soviet rule, against bourgeois parliamentarism)," unity was "possible and necessary." The breakaway group, in his opinion, contained "very gifted propagandists, inexperienced and young," whom he compared to the Left Communist grouping that had been led by Bukharin and Radek in the Russian party in 1918.⁵¹ In the spring of 1920 two delegations from the KAPD visited Moscow, and the Comintern Executive Committee utilized the occasion to try to heal the split. The committee asked the KAPD to take action against certain of its leaders who had publicly broken with Marxist views, to set up a joint committee with the KPD to take steps toward unity, and, finally, to send

delegates to the Second Congress and accept the authority of its decisions.⁵²

As the list of delegates to the congress was being drawn up in mid-July, Bolshevik leaders proposed that the KAPD delegates be offered decisive vote. The central leader of the KPD delegation, Paul Levi, strongly objected. He presented the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia with an ultimatum that if the KAPD received voting rights, the KPD delegates would pack up and go home. The Comintern Executive Committee decided nonetheless, by a vote of 25 to 5, to invite the KAPD representatives with vote. Levi was joined in the minority by Marchlewski and Serrati. The two KAPD delegates, however, rejected the Comintern's invitation, citing their fundamental disagreements with the draft theses prepared for the congress.

The KPD, with about 66,000 members, was dwarfed in size by the USPD, which by the time of the Second Congress had some 900,000 members and had received close to one-fifth of the vote in the June 1920 Reichstag elections. Most of the revolutionary militants in the USPD's ranks, who had fought in the vanguard of the great strike wave and the armed resistance to the Kapp putsch, favored joining the Communist International. The party's centrist leadership divided into two currents, one that leaned to the class-collaborationist politics of the SPD and another that responded, although inconsistently, to revolutionary pressure from the ranks.

The December 1919 USPD congress in Leipzig failed to resolve these contradictions. It adopted a program that included formal endorsement of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it also approved a version of the proposal for unity of the Comintern and all centrist-led parties formulated by Artur Crispian, the main figure in the party's right wing. Crispian's ambiguously worded motion stated that the USPD would quit the Second International and join with other "social-revolutionary parties" and the Communist International in "a united proletarian International capable of action." Delegates then adopted an amendment to Crispian's motion, proposed by Walter Stoecker of the party leadership's left wing, which provided that, if other parties did not come in, the USPD should affiliate alone to the Comintern.⁵³ Following the Leipzig congress, the USPD leadership wrote the Comintern Executive Committee and close to twenty Communist

and Social Democratic parties, proposing an international conference.⁵⁴

The reply of the Comintern Executive Committee, dated February 5, unsparingly criticized the political record of the USPD leadership and underlined the damage to the German revolution for which this leadership was responsible. The Executive Committee rejected the notion of a new International combining the Comintern with centrist-led parties and proposed instead to negotiate with the USPD directly. The reply also stressed that the USPD must cleanse its leadership of those such as Kautsky who were apologists for the SPD's counterrevolutionary course and open opponents of the Russian October revolution. The Executive Committee pointed to the need for the USPD's revolutionary majority to fuse with the Communist Party of Germany.⁵⁵

For reasons that remain unclear, it was not until April 9, two months later, that this letter was delivered to the USPD Central Committee.⁵⁶ This body delayed another six weeks before releasing the letter for publication. In late May and early June the Comintern leadership sent two more messages expressing concern over the USPD's silence, reiterating the Executive Committee's proposals, and inviting the USPD to send delegates to the Second Congress, then scheduled for July 15.⁵⁷ Finally, immediately after the party's major gains in the June 6 national elections, the USPD leadership announced it was accepting the invitation to the congress.

The USPD sent a delegation to Soviet Russia composed of two representatives from its right wing, Crispian and Wilhelm Dittmann, and two from its left wing, Stoecker and Däumig. When the delegates departed for Moscow on July 13, they took with them a reply to the Comintern, unanimously adopted by the Central Committee, that firmly rejected the Executive Committee's criticisms of the USPD and its leadership as based on "insufficient knowledge" or "malicious distortion."⁵⁸ The four delegates agreed to set aside their differences while in Moscow and take a united stand in defense of the Central Committee letter, the USPD program, and its organizational principles.

The French Socialist Party

The policy of the French Socialist Party toward the Comintern developed along lines similar to that of the USPD. During the

war the party leadership's chauvinist policies were opposed by an increasingly powerful centrist-led opposition current. But rather than breaking away to form a new party, as was done by the opposition in the SPD, this current stayed in the party and became its majority at the July 1918 National Council meeting. The revolutionary forces, organized during 1919 in the Committee for the Third International, spoke for only a small minority of the party. At the February 1920 party congress in Strasbourg, however, their motion for immediate affiliation to the Comintern won the support of a third of the delegates. The majority resolution, by contrast, backed the plan to unite the Comintern and all the centrist-led parties in a new International. The majority leadership made an attempt to call a conference with this goal. But when these efforts came to nothing, the party's executive committee sent a delegation to Moscow, composed of Marcel Cachin and Louis-Oscar Frossard, with a mandate to seek unity along the lines of the majority resolution.⁵⁹

Cachin had been a notorious chauvinist during the early years of the war, and his arrival in Moscow was protested by some congress delegates. John Reed told Alfred Rosmer of France that even allowing Cachin past the Soviet border had been impermissible. Subsequently, on each meeting with Rosmer, Reed exclaimed, "Can you imagine? He's still here!"⁶⁰

On June 19, three days after their arrival in Moscow, Cachin and Frossard gave reports to a meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee defending the record of their party and denying the right of the Comintern to demand expulsions from the French Socialist Party. Their reports met with sharp criticism and provoked many searching questions.⁶¹ Ten days later Cachin responded with a statement that tried to reconcile the French party leadership's positions with those of the Comintern.⁶² The statement contained a pledge by Cachin to seek to convince "the whole French Socialist Party" to join the Comintern. The Executive Committee invited Cachin and Frossard to attend the world congress with voice and consultative vote, and the two representatives secured their party's agreement that they attend.⁶³ During the weeks preceding the congress, their views shifted toward acceptance of the Executive Committee proposals on affiliation. On the eve of the congress they wired

their party that they had learned the conditions for joining the International and considered affiliation to be necessary.⁶⁴

In addition to the French Socialist Party representatives, the delegation to the congress from France included representatives of the Committee for the Third International, the Socialist Youth, and two small ultraleft communist groups. Rosmer, a central leader of the revolutionary syndicalist minority of the major union federation of France, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), served on the congress Presiding Committee; two other adherents of this current in the CGT, Vergeat and Lepetit, attended the congress as guests.

The Italian Socialist Party

The Italian Socialist Party leadership, in contrast to the French, had taken a stand against World War I. The Italian party had initiated the 1915 Zimmerwald conference, the first international meeting after August 1914 of Socialist organizations that opposed the war. In 1919 this party was among the first to affiliate to the Comintern.

During the Comintern's first year, its leaders had almost no contact with the Socialists in Italy and said little about the party's problems. In May 1920, however, Lenin pointed to the openly reformist politics of the party's right wing, headed by Filippo Turati, which was a minority in the party but dominated its parliamentary fraction. Lenin called on the revolutionaries in Italy to drive the Turati wing out of the party.⁶⁵

At the Socialists' October 1919 convention in Bologna, the majority "Maximalist" faction led by Serrati resolved to alter the party program in order to stress the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist power and its replacement by a dictatorship of the proletariat.⁶⁶

The Serrati leadership itself came under sharp attack at the Bologna congress by the small revolutionary faction led by Bordiga. The main proposal of the Bordiga forces was that the party cease presenting candidates in bourgeois parliamentary elections. In their view, such participation inevitably led to opportunist degeneration.⁶⁷ The Communist-Abstentionists, as Bordiga's current was called, also advocated the expulsion of the Turati wing.

The Bordiga forces seemed ready, should the party reject their proposals, to split from it and set up a Communist organization on their own. But a conference of the faction in Florence in May 1920 heeded the advice of a Comintern representative, who warned against unilaterally carrying through a premature split. Such an action would have isolated the Communists in a small group united mainly by its ultraleft stand, which turned parliamentary abstention into a principle.

The proposal to form a Communist party on the program of parliamentary abstention was also criticized at the Florence conference by Antonio Gramsci, a leader of the Turin revolutionaries organized around the newspaper *L'Ordine Nuovo*. The platform of the party's Turin section, "For the Renovation of the Italian Socialist Party," was printed in Moscow in the French, German, and Russian editions of the Communist International's magazine published just prior to the Second Congress.

A delegation of Socialist and labor leaders from Italy arrived in Petrograd June 6. Learning only on their arrival that the date for the Comintern congress had been set, the Socialist leaders contacted their party to arrange the selection of delegates. Zinoviev and other Comintern leaders sought to convince Serrati of the need to part company with the open reformists of the Turati wing, but Serrati vigorously defended the unity of the Italian Socialist Party as then constituted. Two other leaders of his Maximalist faction, however, Nicola Bombacci and Antonio Graziadei, were soon won to the need to break with the party's right wing, and Bombacci assailed the Turati current in an article printed in the Comintern magazine alongside the Turin theses and a report by Serrati.⁶⁸

According to Rosmer, the delegation from Italy "was so deeply divided that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that each of its delegates represented a different tendency. . . . Abandoned by everyone, Serrati was left alone, a victim of blows from all sides."⁶⁹ Factional tensions among the Maximalists were so sharp that they could not agree on representatives to the congress commissions and failed to send delegates to most of them.⁷⁰ Bordiga came to Moscow on his own and won recognition as a consultative delegate, over Serrati's vigorous objections.

Communist groups in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere in Europe

In Britain partisans of the Comintern in a number of comparatively small organizations had sought a road to unity without success since early 1919. The largest organization involved in these negotiations was the centrist-led Independent Labour Party. In April 1920 it decided to withdraw from the Second International and support the plan to reconstruct a center-left International. The party then sent a delegation to Moscow to discuss this project with the Comintern leadership.⁷¹ Although the majority of the Independent Labour Party subsequently turned away from the Comintern, a minority joined the united Communist Party of Great Britain in 1921.

While the Independent Labour Party delegates were in Moscow, two other groups, the British Socialist Party and the Communist Unity Group (a pro-Comintern breakaway from the Socialist Labour Party), were preparing to launch a Communist party together. The new party was founded at a joint convention in London two weeks after the Second Congress opened in Moscow. This effort was opposed by the Workers' Socialist Federation, an ultraleft group led by Sylvia Pankhurst, which on June 19 proclaimed itself a Communist party.⁷² A third pro-Comintern force was the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees, a loose association of working-class fighters, which was born in the great labor battles that took place during and immediately after the war.

All three of these currents sent delegates to the Second Congress and explained in its debates the differences that divided them. The revolutionary left in the Independent Labour Party also sent a delegate, Helen Crawford, but she did not arrive until after the congress had ended.

The most stubborn disagreement among the representatives from Britain concerned affiliation to the British Labour Party. Unlike the Social Democratic parties of the continent, which were membership organizations, the Labour Party was structured as a federation of the labor movement as a whole, and its backbone was a body of affiliated trade unions with more than four million members. When the British Socialist Party rallied to the Communist International, it retained its affiliation to the

Labour Party, since it considered revolutionary work from within this federated organization to be important to building a Communist party. Many Comintern supporters in Britain, such as those in Pankhurst's group, rejected such affiliation on grounds of principle.

The small Communist forces in the United States, whose ranks had been reduced by fierce government repression, were divided into two main rival parties, both formed at the beginning of September 1919. One wing, the Communist Party of America, had favored an immediate split from the Socialist Party. The forces in the Communist Labor Party, on the other hand, had fought to stay in the Socialist Party, judging that its ranks still contained substantial forces that could be won to communism. Both organizations were hampered by ultraleft sectarian positions. During the Second Congress delegates received word of a realignment among U.S. Communists: a group led by Charles Ruthenberg broke from the Communist Party in April 1920 and united with its rival the following month, taking the name United Communist Party.⁷³

Another delegation prominent in the Second Congress debates came from the Netherlands, whose Communists, quite few in number, had been prominent in the revolutionary wing of the pre-war Socialist International and in the Zimmerwald Left, precursor of the Comintern. Holding many ultraleft positions, the Dutch revolutionaries were divided between a majority, which included the Dutch Comintern congress delegates, and a minority that shared the even more leftist views of Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter, and the KAPD in Germany.

In Czechoslovakia massive forces were moving toward the Comintern. A growing left wing in the Social Democratic Party was strongly attracted to the Bolsheviks' example. By mid-1920, the left current had majority support in the party ranks. Smeral, the central leader of this current, was won to the Communist International during a visit to Soviet Russia in April and May 1920. He discussed with the International's leadership a plan to organize a split with the right wing at the party's next convention, scheduled for September, and to take the left-wing majority into the Comintern.⁷⁴

The other major European parties represented at the congress had diverse origins. The Communist Party of Bulgaria

(Tesnyaki) had seventeen years of independent revolutionary activity behind it; the Yugoslav party, about equal in size, had been born of a complex fusion of Social Democratic groups in 1919. The Swedish Left Social Democrats, a sizable party, had broken from the opportunist Social Democracy in February 1917. In Norway, by contrast, it was the entire Labor Party, based like its British counterpart on affiliated trade unions, that turned its back on the Second International and joined the Comintern. In Switzerland, communists led a large left wing within the Social Democratic Party, while a smaller ultraleft group had set up shop as the Communist Party of Switzerland.

In Hungary and Finland the defeat of the revolution had driven the Communist parties into exile. The main leaders of the Communist movement of Hungary arrived in Moscow only after the Second Congress had concluded. Sharp factionalism wracked the Finnish leadership, and a major dispute over ultra-leftism and organizational questions developed among the leaders from Hungary in the latter half of 1920. In Spain the syndicalist unions, the Socialist youth, and forces in the Socialist Party itself had moved toward the Comintern, but only the unions were represented at the Second Congress.

Many delegations included representatives of youth organizations that belonged to or were sympathetic to the Communist Youth International. The youth International had been founded at an underground congress in Berlin in November 1919 by delegates of fourteen organizations representing some 200,000 members.⁷⁵

Revolutionary movements among the colonially oppressed

The participation of more than thirty delegates representing the oppressed nations of Asia and Latin America was without precedent in an international workers' congress. The pre-1914 Second International had included almost no representatives of the hundreds of millions of brutally exploited toilers in these lands, and its conduct, as Zinoviev noted in session 17, led these toilers "to adopt an attitude of the greatest distrust." The Comintern statutes commented that the Second International "in reality recognized the existence only of people with white skin."⁷⁶ M.N. Roy later remarked that at the Second Congress,

"for the first time, brown and yellow men met with white men who were not overbearing imperialists but friends and comrades."⁷⁷ By 1920, many revolutionary fighters in the colonies and semicolonies were looking to the Communist International, and Communist nuclei had been established in several of these countries.

The most firmly established Communist organization among the Asian peoples, aside from those within the soviet republics, was the Communist Party of Iran, which by 1920 had some two thousand members in many locations across the country. A Turkish Communist group had begun functioning in Constantinople (Istanbul) in May 1919, while a party of Turkish Communists in exile was formed early in 1920 in Baku.

A revolutionary current supporting the Comintern had also grown up in the Dutch East Indies, and in May 1920 it took the name Communist Association in the Indies. It was represented at the congress by the founder of the Indonesian Socialist movement, the Dutch revolutionary Henk Sneevliet (Maring). As for British-ruled India, the first small group of Comintern sympathizers was formed in exile in Turkestan in 1919.

A group of Chinese Comintern supporters existed in Russia and, just before the Second Congress, work had begun by Chen Duxiu in Shanghai toward the launching of the Chinese Communist Party. Korean Communist nuclei existed in European Russia, Siberia, and Shanghai. In Mongolia a revolutionary democratic party sympathetic to the Comintern, the Mongolian People's Party, was formed on June 25, 1920. In the weeks following the Second Congress, Yi Ch'un-suk, a Korean revolutionary based in Shanghai, traveled to Japan, where he established the Comintern's first contact with its supporters there.

The first party in Latin America to support the Comintern was the Internationalist Socialist Party of Argentina. Formed in January 1918, by early 1919 it had about fourteen hundred members and published a weekly newspaper, *La Internacional*. A small Communist nucleus in Mexico, formed in the autumn of 1919, sent as delegates to the congress two expatriates, Roy from India and Phillips from the United States. Elsewhere in Latin America significant forces were moving toward the Comintern, including an anarchist current in Brazil and the Socialist parties of Uruguay and Chile.

Centrist and ultraleft challenges

With the near-disintegration of the Second International and the rapid growth of support for the Comintern in the ranks of several mass Socialist parties, the new International became, as a Second Congress resolution noted, "rather fashionable." The Comintern stood in danger, the resolution continued, "of being diluted by vacillating and irresolute groups that have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International."⁷⁸

Nor was the danger of opportunist dilution posed only by parties outside the Comintern. Discussions in Moscow with the delegates from Italy, for example, revealed to Comintern leaders that the Italian Socialist Party shared most of the fundamental weaknesses of the French and German centrist-led parties. Opportunism had deep social roots internationally in the relatively privileged layers of the working class, Lenin explained to the congress. "This is where our principal enemy is," he stated. "We must carry on this struggle to the very end, in all parties. That is our main task."⁷⁹

All the centrist leaders who had approached the Comintern were invited to the Second Congress. "We guarantee them that every word of theirs will be saved for the future by means of a verbatim shorthand report, and will be afforded full publicity," the Executive Committee stated, "in order that the workers may learn the distinction between the policy of these opportunist leaders and the policy of the Communist International."⁸⁰

A problem of a different sort was posed by the extreme ultraleft and sectarian errors widespread in Comintern organizations. Many Communists considered it impermissible under any circumstances to run candidates in parliamentary elections or even to be members of and do communist work in reformist-led unions. Many rejected on principle a working-class alliance with toilers who were not wage laborers, such as the exploited majority of the peasantry, or with national liberation movements in the colonies. Many recoiled from engaging in struggles for immediate, democratic, and even transitional demands that fell short of posing directly the conquest of power by the proletariat.

In the early months of 1920 an international ultraleft tendency supporting such positions began to take shape, encom-

passing forces in the Communist parties of Austria, the Netherlands, Hungary, Switzerland, and the United States, along with the faction led by Bordiga in Italy, currents in Britain, and—on the fringe of the Comintern—the KAPD in Germany. A regional bureau established in Amsterdam by the Executive Committee of the Comintern at the end of 1919 began to act as a center for this current, organizing a conference in February 1920 whose resolutions were marked by ultraleftism. The Amsterdam bureau intervened in the unity discussions among communists in Britain, calling on those who rejected revolutionary work in the Labour Party to remain adamant on this point, even if their stand should block communist unity there.⁸¹

The ultraleft views voiced by these small currents influenced not only layers of radical-minded professionals and intellectuals, but significant numbers of revolutionary-oriented workers, as well. Zinoviev termed these working-class fighters “the Communists of tomorrow,” adding, “They are the nucleus of the revolutionary workers, who wish to march with us.”⁸² Lenin expressed the same view in his pamphlet *“Left-Wing” Communism*. “The mistake of Left doctrinairism in communism,” Lenin stated, “is at present a thousand times less dangerous and less significant than that of Right doctrinairism.” But this was only true, Lenin continued, because it is “a very young trend . . . just coming into being.” Lenin concluded that “the disease can be easily eradicated, and we must set to work with the utmost energy” to do so.⁸³

The ultraleft communists incorporated into their outlook many of the views of revolutionary syndicalism. Before the war the syndicalists were the major left opposition force in the union movement contesting the class-collaborationist leadership of unions aligned with the Social Democratic parties. Deeply influenced by anarchist conceptions, the syndicalists held that the working class had no need for a revolutionary political party. They rejected the notion of a political struggle for power carried out by revolutionary means to establish a government of the workers and exploited peasants.

World War I had broken the syndicalist movement into chauvinist, centrist, and revolutionary wings. Many in the revolutionary syndicalist movement rallied to the banner of the Russian October revolution. Some, like Rosmer in France and Bill Hay-

wood in the United States, were won to the banner of communism, but a greater number saw the October revolution as the realization of their own program and overlooked the central role in it of the Communist Party. Among those who held such views were the leaders of the syndicalist unions of Spain and Italy, which declared for the Comintern in the months before the Second Congress.

The Comintern leadership strove to eliminate barriers that might prevent revolutionary syndicalists from coming into the new International. They sought to win these forces away from anarchism and to communism. A centerpiece of these efforts was the International's letter to the Industrial Workers of the World in North America, included here as appendix 4a.⁸⁴ A general invitation was made to revolutionary syndicalists to attend the Second Congress. Delegates or guests attended from the IWW in Australia, Britain, Ireland, and the United States; the Shop Stewards of Britain; and the revolutionary syndicalists from France, Germany, and Spain.

THE MAIN CONGRESS DEBATES

The Twenty-one Conditions

The working sessions of the congress began on July 23. After a report by Zinoviev on the role and structure of a Communist party had been discussed in two plenary sessions and in commission, theses on this topic were unanimously adopted.

These sessions on the Communist Party served to introduce the discussion on conditions for admission to the Comintern, which produced what subsequently became known as the "Twenty-one Conditions."⁸⁵ These theses were oriented to the ranks of the many parties with Social Democratic origins that had joined or were considering joining the International but were still marked by opportunist practices. They aimed to provide a standard by which the members of these parties could judge their leaderships and measure their organizations' progress toward becoming Communist parties.

The immediate problem before the congress was to clarify the

meaning of the applications to join the Comintern by centrist-led parties in France and Germany. In the commission on this point most of the discussion focused on the stand of the four USPD delegates.

On July 21 the Executive Committee held an initial meeting with the USPD representatives, questioning them on how they squared their party leadership's stated desire to join the Comintern with its centrist conduct since the party's formation. Following the meeting, Stoecker and Däumig of the USPD left wing proposed that the four USPD delegates write a response to the Executive Committee's questions, acknowledging that "since its founding the Party has harbored conflicting opinions" expressed in both a "pacifist" and a "revolutionary" wing. Now, their draft reply stated, a "revolutionary outlook dominates the entire party." Even this mild self-criticism, however, was rejected by Crispin and Dittmann, and in the end no reply was written.⁸⁶

In a July 21 meeting with the four USPD representatives, Cachin and Frossard made clear that they no longer supported the proposal to regroup Communist and centrist-led parties in a new International. The USPD delegates thereupon gave up on the scheme.

In the sessions of the Commission on Conditions for Admission, the USPD delegates remained united, persuading it to make a number of modifications to the proposed theses. They also avoided an open breach in their ranks when they spoke from the congress floor in plenary sessions 7 and 8.

On July 26 the commission adopted, by a vote of 5 to 3 with 2 abstentions, a proposal by Lenin aimed at ensuring that when a centrist-led party joined the Comintern, those who had favored affiliation prior to the Second Congress would make up a clear majority of the party's central committee. Subsequently, sizing up the deep division on this point in the commission, the delegation from Russia withdrew this proposal. As the congress proceeded, however, the centrists' political performance influenced many delegates, leading to several proposals to make the conditions for admission more stringent. In the plenary debates of July 29-30, delegates warned repeatedly against concessions to the centrist leaders. Among the new proposals was one by Bordiga reintroducing Lenin's amendment on the composition of central committees.

The question of conditions for admission had also arisen in another commission—that on the tasks of the International. The two bodies therefore set up a joint subcommission to consider the various amendments to the draft conditions for admission. This subcommission proposed a number of significant changes, which raised the number of conditions to twenty-one. Its proposals were reported in session 16.⁸⁷

After the adoption of the theses and the close of the congress, the USPD delegates met again with the Executive Committee. When asked their opinion of the Twenty-one Conditions, Däumig and Stoecker expressed full agreement, but Crispin and Dittmann voiced major reservations. The die was now cast. The split in the USPD delegation was out in the open and was soon carried into the party leadership and ranks back in Germany. The USPD's October convention in Halle voted by a 60 percent majority to accept the Twenty-one Conditions and join the Comintern. In December, the majority fused with the Communist Party of Germany; the minority continued for a time under the name USPD before rejoining the SPD.

The French Socialist Party delegates Cachin and Frossard had already taken a stand prior to the congress that their party should accept the Comintern's conditions and affiliate to it. Their plan was to leave after the first few sessions of the congress. Frossard recounts that on July 26, when he and Cachin received the Presiding Committee's draft letter to the party in France (see appendix 3b), they were "dumbfounded" by the scope of its criticisms and demands. Further alarmed by reports that the conditions for admission were being made more stringent, Cachin and Frossard stopped attending the congress sessions altogether.

Cachin soon abandoned his objections, but Frossard, according to his later account, insisted on changes in the letter and obtained some.⁸⁸ On July 29, the day of their departure, the two delegates submitted a declaration to the congress, read by Cachin, in which they repeated their defense of Longuet but promised to work for their party's affiliation. In the ensuing struggle back in France, Cachin and Frossard headed up the pro-Comintern wing of the Socialist Party, which won a three-quarters majority at the party's congress in Tours at the end of December. The majority organized itself as the Communist

Party, while the minority split away, retaining the name of the old party.

Italian Socialist Party delegates were pulled in many conflicting directions during the congress. Ludovico D'Aragona, head of the main labor federation in Italy, refused to break in writing from the reformist Amsterdam trade union International, and was therefore denied congress credentials. Serrati, whose conduct was sharply criticized by several congress delegates, found no support from the Italian delegation. Pressure on Serrati was further increased by moves to strengthen the conditions for Comintern membership—efforts assiduously promoted by Bordiga, among others.

Although no delegate was present from the Turin-based *L'Ordine Nuovo* tendency, its influence was strongly felt. Point 17 in Lenin's draft theses on Comintern tasks underlined the correctness of this current's statement on the crisis in the Italian Socialist Party. The entire Italian delegation closed ranks to oppose this clause. Even when the paragraph was reworked to encompass the delegations' suggestions, Serrati still withheld his approval. (See session 16, pp. 744-46.)

Following the adjournment of the congress, the delegates from Italy met with the Comintern Executive Committee and heard Bukharin's draft of the committee's proposed letter to the party in Italy. The letter castigated the Socialist Party's paralysis in the face of what the committee considered a truly revolutionary situation. It noted that the party made no effort "to introduce slogans, *to give the movement an organized, systematic character, or to transform it into a decisive assault against the fortress of capital*."⁸⁹ The party must implement a revolutionary policy in parliament, lead the workers in transforming the trade unions, seek an alliance with revolutionary anarchists and syndicalists, drive from the party the right-reformist elements,⁹⁰ and apply the Twenty-one Conditions, the letter stated.

Bordiga, Bombacci, and the youth delegate Luigi Polano expressed general support for this draft. Serrati, on the other hand, opposed the very idea of such a letter, contesting its assessment of political reality in Italy and voicing many detailed objections, some of which were encompassed in the final version.⁹¹ On his return to Italy, Serrati cast aspersions on the authority of the Second Congress decisions, campaigned against

the “opportunism” of its resolutions (especially those on the national and the agrarian questions), and stubbornly refused to organize a break with the right-wing Turati current. In the voting to elect delegates to the Italian Socialist Party’s January 1921 congress held in Livorno (Leghorn), supporters of the Second Congress decisions won the backing of 35 percent of the membership. These forces split away at that congress to found the Italian Communist Party.

The trade union debate

Delegates at the Second Congress also debated what policies would be most effective in promoting united action by the labor movement to defend workers’ interests in a situation where class-collaborationist leaderships held sway over most unions. The reformist-led International Federation of Trade Unions, generally called the Amsterdam International, after the location of its headquarters, had been buoyed by the influx of masses of workers into unions and by reforms wrested from the employers through the postwar strike upsurge. Founded in July 1919, the Amsterdam International soon suffered the defection of the American Federation of Labor. Nonetheless, by November 1920 its membership had grown to almost twenty-five million workers, concentrated in Europe.

The Bolshevik leadership proposed that revolutionary workers should remain in the reformist-led unions and not seek to split from them. Instead, they should strive to win these unions to a revolutionary course. There was no guarantee that this goal would be achieved. But without the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action, Communists would isolate themselves from workers’ struggles and would have no way of building mass proletarian parties that were part of the experiences of the rest of their class.

At the same time, the Comintern leaders opposed efforts by the class-collaborationist leaders to yoke unions together in a proimperialist international association. The Comintern fought to rally revolutionary forces in the union movement and to unify them in a new international trade union body. That meant simultaneously waging war on the Amsterdam International, pressing its national affiliates to exercise union power on behalf

of the ranks, and working to transform these unions into class-struggle instruments. To many inexperienced or leftist delegates, this combination of tasks seemed contradictory and impractical.

The Comintern leadership based its proposal to launch a revolutionary union International on its assessment of the specific conditions in the labor movement at that time. Despite the Amsterdam International's growth, the authority of its reformist leaders had been severely damaged by their traitorous conduct during the war. The union ranks were attracted to the example of the October revolution in Russia. In several countries, the Amsterdam federation's hegemony was challenged by sizable militant union organizations that could be won to an alternative revolutionary union International. Communists expected to see renewed social explosions and working-class breakthroughs in the coming few years in Europe and elsewhere. In this context, a new, Red trade union International could hope to mount an effective challenge to the reformist-led Amsterdam grouping.

The Comintern's founding congress had adopted no resolution on trade union work. Differing viewpoints were expressed there on the correctness of working in reformist-led trade unions, but no decision was taken.⁹² A few months after the 1919 congress, in the November-December issue of the Comintern magazine, Grigory Tsyperovich, head of the council of Petrograd unions, called for the building of a revolutionary union International, separate from the Comintern but allied with it.⁹³ At the Russian trade union congress in April 1920, however, Zinoviev proposed that revolutionary unions join the Comintern directly and that the Russian unions lead the way. By this route the Red union International would be constituted as a trade union section within the Comintern.⁹⁴

The easing of the imperialist blockade early in 1920 permitted the first trade union delegation from abroad, made up of leaders of British unions, to visit the Soviet republic. The union delegates arrived in Moscow on May 18. A similar delegation from Italy reached Moscow June 15 and met the following day with union representatives from Britain and Russia. Zinoviev proposed at this meeting that a revolutionary union body be organized, structured as part of the Communist International. His suggestion was rejected, however, by the delegates from

both Italy and Britain. The meeting then adopted the proposal of Robert Williams, a delegate from Britain, to invite unions supporting the Comintern program to attend a broader conference. This gathering would then decide how to structure and launch the new trade union International.⁹⁵

The unionists from Britain then set out for home. During the next few weeks unionists from Russia, Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and France took part in a series of meetings in Moscow called by the Comintern leadership as steps toward establishing an organization of revolutionary trade unions.

Discussions focused on three contentious issues. The first was the Bolshevik leaders' proposal that the benchmark in recognizing a revolutionary union be its commitment to the goal of a proletarian dictatorship. This met with objections from both the syndicalists and the delegates from Italy. The declaration drafted by S.A. Lozovsky therefore had to be abandoned and replaced with a statement by Serrati that referred to such a dictatorship as a "transitional instrument" in terms vague enough to be acceptable to most participants (see appendix 4b). "The compromise text is not very good," Lenin told Lozovsky, "but we can sign it. . . . In the future you will write better texts, but right now the key thing is to establish a foundation—if only for an international nucleus of revolutionary unions."⁹⁶

A second disagreement concerned the proposal that the new international union council affiliate to the Comintern. This was opposed by all participants except those from Russia and Bulgaria. The statement therefore proposed only to work "in accord with" the Comintern Executive Committee, with the form of this collaboration to be defined by a future congress.

Third, many delegates did not wish to endorse working within the reformist-led unions to transform them and hesitated to condemn a boycott of these unions. In the weeks before the congress, a number of these delegates were won to support the views of Communists from Russia. Other delegates however, including the Shop Stewards, the syndicalists of Germany, Fraina, and Reed, maintained many of their ultraleft objections.

Serrati's compromise text was adopted July 15, four days before the congress began. Despite its inadequacies, the statement registered considerable progress on all three major areas of disagreement. The appeal, which launched the International

Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, gained authority from the signatures of delegates of the major union federations of Italy and Spain alongside those of forces already linked to the Comintern.

Another meeting of union leaders present in Moscow, held during the congress, adopted statutes for the new international union council (see appendix 4c) and elected a provisional leadership of Murphy, Rosmer, and Tomsy. The meeting adopted a statement, dated August 1, which was published in *Pravda* but was not widely circulated at the time. A motion by Zinoviev at the end of session 15 instructed the Executive Committee to write a statement of its own on this topic; the resulting appeal, which encompassed most of the August 1 statement, can be found in appendix 4d.⁹⁷ During the year that followed, the new union council prepared the ground for the founding congress of the Red International of Labor Unions (the Profintern), which was held simultaneously with the Comintern's Third Congress.

From these meetings of union leaders, the debate moved to the Comintern congress and its commissions. Sessions of the trade union commission lasted no less than thirty hours, and the Bolsheviks' proposals met what Zinoviev later called "a most vexatious resistance."⁹⁸ Heated charges were made, and in session 12 of the congress Jack Tanner of the Shop Stewards announced that the delegates from Britain were walking out of the commission in protest. When the trade union theses were voted in session 15, eight of the sixty-six voting delegates registered their opposition.

During and after the congress, however, enough agreement was achieved to permit almost all the unionists who took part in the debate to work together in a common framework. Fraina, for example, had written the ultraleft trade union theses adopted by the February conference of the Amsterdam bureau of the Comintern.⁹⁹ But his counterreport in session 11 of the Second Congress showed that his disagreements with the majority view, while substantial, had narrowed considerably since February.

As for John Reed, among the most stubborn of the minority, his subsequent report for his party newspaper called the trade union theses "far from satisfactory" and advocated their alteration at the

next congress. Nonetheless, the theses had been amended sufficiently, in Reed's view, to enable U.S. Communists to "work for revolutionary industrial unionism, and for the destruction of the reactionary American Federation of Labor."¹⁰⁰

Nothing was said in the theses on the relationship between the newly launched international union council and the Comintern. Article 14 of the Statutes of the Communist International, however, addressed this question, providing that "trade unions that uphold communism . . . constitute a trade union section" of the Comintern.¹⁰¹

The question arose again a year later at the trade union congress that formed the Profintern. Once again, the concept of structuring the union International as part of the Comintern ran into substantial opposition. Leaders of the Communist Party and the trade unions of Russia thereupon withdrew the proposal, concluding that it was an unnecessary obstacle to relations with the revolutionary syndicalists. The new trade union International was structured as a separate organization, linked to the Comintern by fundamental political agreement. Provision was made for an exchange of representatives of the Profintern and Comintern on the leadership level, but this too was rescinded in 1922 at the insistence of the revolutionary syndicalist forces in France.

In session 15, congress delegates debated the conditions necessary for formation of workers' councils (soviets).¹⁰² The theses, which were unanimously adopted, warned against attempts by reformists and centrists in Germany to gut workers' councils by writing into the constitution advisory functions for them as part of the capitalist state. They also cautioned against attempts by Communists to initiate and organize such councils where the necessary prerevolutionary political conditions did not exist.

How Communists could win a broader hearing among the proletarian masses was also taken up under other agenda items. The theses on revolutionary utilization of bourgeois parliaments aimed to counter not only the reformist practice of the USPD and the French and Italian Socialist parliamentary fractions but also the insistence of Bordiga's current and other ultraleft Communists that abstention from parliamentary elections was a matter of principle.

The disagreements among revolutionaries in Britain on par-

ticipation in the Labour Party surfaced in the congress commission on Comintern tasks and in a debate on this topic in session 16. Considerable progress was made toward agreement. William Gallacher, who spoke at the congress for the minority opposed to working in the Labour Party, told Lenin afterward that he had been convinced by the majority's arguments.¹⁰³ Pankhurst, the other minority speaker, was subsequently instrumental in winning her organization to full support of the Second Congress decisions. She led it into the fusion of all significant communist groups in Britain that took place in January 1921.

Forging ties with allies of the proletariat

In the view of the Comintern's leadership, building revolutionary parties in industrially advanced capitalist countries was impossible unless a turn was made toward an alliance with toilers in the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Lenin was assigned to draw up a resolution on this question. He circulated draft theses to several leading Bolsheviks, to Communist leaders of Jewish workers in Russia, and of the Communist parties in Poland and Bulgaria, as well as to leading revolutionaries in Turkestan and M.N. Roy from India.¹⁰⁴ Theses on the colonial question were also submitted to the Second Congress by Ahmed Sultanzadeh from Iran and by Pak Chin-sun from Korea (see appendixes 2b, 2c, and 2e).

Thesis 11 in Lenin's draft stated, "With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations predominate . . . all Communist parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries."¹⁰⁵

Roy objected to this proposal, stating that support should be granted only to genuinely revolutionary movements of the masses. Lenin proposed to Roy that he develop his viewpoint in a set of theses of his own. After several exchanges of views, Roy and Lenin both modified their drafts. The commission unanimously adopted both texts and presented them to the congress for joint discussion. Roy's theses were not voted separately; following the congress they were published in editions of congress resolutions following Lenin's theses under the heading "Supplementary Theses." The changes made in each set of the-

ses are indicated in the present edition by notes to Lenin's text in session 5 (pp. 283-90) and by a comparison of the initial and final versions of Roy's text in appendix 2a.

Responding to Roy's suggestions, Lenin's report on the national and colonial questions specified that the liberation movements to be supported in backward countries should be termed not "bourgeois-democratic" but "national-revolutionary" (see pp. 212-13). This distinction has proved useful to communists ever since. Although national-revolutionary movements embrace several classes and are not communist, the participation of communists in the struggles led by these movements has laid a basis for building stronger communist organizations among the workers and peasants.

Here, as on other questions, there was substantial unevenness in delegates' grasp of congress decisions. Levi, for example, reporting on the congress to the Communist Party of Germany, stated that he did not consider it necessary to speak on this resolution because Germany had no colonies. Reed's report to the Communist Labor Party, on the other hand, took up the resolution in detail.¹⁰⁶ And many European delegates traveled with Reed and leaders of the Communist Party of Russia to the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, where they pledged their support to the assembled representatives of revolutionary Asia.

The theses on the agrarian question took up an area of major differences in the international Communist movement. As Ernst Meyer noted in his report on these theses in session 13, very little had been achieved by the pre-war Second International in the way of practical experience in the countryside or useful programmatic work on this question. Indeed, its main legacy was pessimism about prospects for an alliance between workers and working peasants. This passivity went hand in hand with a political antipathy toward the peasantry and helped rationalize a deep ignorance of social relations and economic conditions in the countryside.

In session 8 Lenin pointed to the disastrous error on this question committed the previous year by revolutionaries in Hungary, citing a book by one of their leaders, Eugen Varga. Under the rule of the soviets in Hungary, Varga claimed, expropriation of the landowners' property had been carried out in

Hungary in a much superior fashion to that seen in Soviet Russia. Rather than encouraging the peasants to take the land and themselves decide how it was to be used, the revolutionary government of Hungary had legislated a solution, expropriating landholdings of more than 57 hectares (140 acres) and organizing these enterprises as state farms. None of the land, tools, or livestock was given to poor peasants, Varga recounted; “production continued without a break.”

This method had led to problems, Varga admitted. Since the peasants had not taken part in these “expropriations,” the government had usually to rely on the former owners and overseers to manage the newly proclaimed state farms. For the farm workers, all remained as before. Although Varga still considered this policy correct, he granted that it had a most unfortunate result: very few rural toilers had understood or supported the revolution.¹⁰⁷

Commenting on Varga’s assessment, Lenin told delegates that “there are large latifundia in Hungary, and a semifeudal economy is conducted in large areas. Sections of large estates can and must always be found, part of which can be turned over to the small peasants, perhaps not as their property, but on lease, so that even the smallest peasant may get some part of the confiscated estates. Otherwise, the small peasant will see no difference between the old order and the dictatorship of the soviets. If the proletarian state authority does not act in this way, it will be unable to retain power.” (See page 384.)

Refusal to countenance distribution of any portion of expropriated land to small-scale, exploited peasants had also contributed to the defeat in 1919 and 1920 of revolutionary governments in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Bavaria. In Italy, the Serrati leadership denounced the peasant land seizures and lent no support to the massive peasant strikes—a failure sharply criticized by Gramsci.

A similar error was made by revolutionaries in Poland during the very days that the congress was in session. As the Red Army fought at the gates of Warsaw, Lenin sent a telegram to Communist leaders in Poland noting that “land-hungry peasants have begun to seize landed estates.” Under such conditions, Lenin stressed, “it is absolutely essential to publish a special decision of the Polish Revolutionary Committee making it obligatory to

give part of the landed estates to the peasants and at all costs to ensure concord between the land-hungry peasants and the farm hands." This advice was not heeded by Communists in Poland however, seriously undermining the revolutionary struggle for power in that country.¹⁰⁸

A few weeks earlier the Comintern magazine had printed an article on the agrarian question by Marchlewski as part of the preparatory discussion for the Second Congress. On July 7 Lenin proposed that Marchlewski be the Executive Committee reporter to the congress on this question. Lenin drafted a resolution that had a different thrust from that of Marchlewski's article on some important questions, particularly regarding forging an alliance of workers with small-scale and middle peasants. Marchlewski, in turn, criticized Lenin's draft for its proposal to nationalize the land, a demand he thought likely to alienate peasants in western Europe, and for favoring land distribution to poor, exploited peasants.¹⁰⁹ These interrelated criticisms by Marchlewski ran directly counter to the experience of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government in Russia.

Nationalization of the land had been one of the first acts of the new Soviet government in October 1917. The Bolsheviks recognized that only by abolishing private property in land—that is, abolishing the buying and selling of land, its rental for private profit, or its use as collateral on loans—could working peasants be guaranteed continued use of the land they farmed. Combined with revolutionary policies to guarantee the permanent availability of credit and necessary supplies and implements, land nationalization freed the peasant from the threat of ruin through foreclosure or exorbitant rent payments—both of which are products of the rents and mortgages system endemic to the private ownership of land under capitalism.

Given delegates' limited experience with this question, however, Lenin dropped nationalization of the land from the draft he presented to the congress, in order to remove a barrier to the congress's taking a few steps forward in understanding and adopting the resolution. The draft presented to the congress retained proposals to confiscate landed estates, to grant peasants free use of the land they had rented, and other measures that represented deep inroads against feudal or capitalist landed property.

It was the question of distributing land to poor and landless peasants that became the focus of debate in the agrarian commission. Lenin convinced the commission on the central strategic issues involved. There was agreement on the urgent need for the proletariat to forge an alliance with the peasantry to conquer and maintain power. Building this alliance was seen as the only road toward winning the peasantry, on a voluntary basis and over time, to the establishment of collective forms of agricultural labor and production. Lenin consented, however, to substantial editorial changes on land distribution in the resolution presented to the congress, which is found in session 13. Because of the wide scope of the changes made by Lenin in the text he had originally hoped the congress would be capable of understanding and adopting, this draft is printed in full in appendix 5, along with Marchlewski's article from the *Comintern* magazine.

Included among the draft resolutions submitted to the congress by the Executive Committee were theses on communist work among women and on the Communist Youth International. The congress adjourned without discussing these statements. Both resolutions were referred to the incoming Executive Committee, which adopted and published them. They appear in appendixes 6b and 7. Additional resolutions on both these questions were adopted by the Third Congress.

After the congress

When the congress ended, John Reed set out with other delegates for the congress of Eastern peoples in Baku. There he warned delegates against Uncle Sam, who "comes with a sack of hay in one hand and a whip in the other, and whoever believes his promises will pay in blood."¹¹⁰

Serrati and the Italian delegation headed for the Black Sea, hoping to catch a ship home. They missed their ship and finally arrived in Italy by train, just as the great wave of factory occupations was beginning to ebb.

Roy made his way to Tashkent, where, together with other exiled revolutionaries from India, he soon founded the first nucleus of the Indian Communist Party.

Rosmer and Murphy stayed in Moscow, where they worked

with Lozovsky, rallying support for the new international trade union council. Tanner and David Ramsay of the British Shop Stewards had refused during the congress to support this council. After the congress, however, they were finally won over. On their return home, they joined the Communist Party and won the Shop Stewards' movement to affiliate to the revolutionary union council.

The four USPD delegates boarded a train for Revel. They traveled in two separate compartments, each pair of delegates laying plans for a debate in the working-class movement in Germany. Two months later they were on opposite sides of the split in their party.

Units of the Red Army, which had succeeded during the first days of August in reaching the Vistula River, were forced later that month to begin a withdrawal from Poland. The revolutionary opportunity opened by the Polish war had passed.

The Comintern staff began editing the congress documents and translating them into the chief languages of Europe and the world. Members of Communist and Socialist parties and syndicalist unions around the world opened up a wide-ranging debate on the Twenty-one Conditions and the other resolutions of the Second Congress. As delegates arrived home, their reports spread confidence that the Communist International would now meet its challenges as a united and fighting world organization.

ON THIS EDITION OF THE CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

As the Comintern staff in Moscow began to prepare the record of the Second Congress for publication, they had to work from notes of congress stenographers that were incomplete and sometimes garbled. Most of the delegates who could have helped reconstruct the text had left the country. Where speeches had been given in English or French, often only a brief summary could be pieced together. The editors vented their frustration in the preface to the 1921 editions, which is printed at the end of this introduction.

The Comintern editors brought the existing stenographic

records in French, German, and Russian into rough correspondence. Since no stenographic record had been taken in English, a translation into English was made from the other versions, and this text was edited by English-speaking congress delegates.¹¹¹

An abridged version of the proceedings, referred to in this work as the “Vienna edition,” was published in Austria in 1920. Editions of the proceedings as a whole appeared during 1920 and 1921 in English, French, German, and Russian. The four versions differ considerably, and each contains some passages not found in any of the others.

In the early 1930s the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow began a new edition in Russian of the proceedings of Comintern congresses. The second volume of this edition, containing the record of the Second Congress, was published in 1934. This book filled some of the gaps in the earlier versions and added close to three hundred pages of appendixes. Several favorable references to Leon Trotsky found in earlier editions were eliminated from this version.¹¹²

After publication of the Second Congress proceedings, the series was discontinued. It was disadvantageous for the Stalin-led apparatus to spotlight the resolutions of the Comintern under Lenin’s leadership at a time when it had in fact junked these communist policies. Moreover, Communists who had been delegates to those congresses (including some who fought to continue applying the revolutionary course adopted at them) were falling victim to persecution by Stalin’s apparatus, as it moved toward the murderous purge trials and assassinations of the late 1930s.

An English translation of the German edition of 1921 was published in Britain in 1977. Four years later, the first comprehensive edition of the congress documents in almost five decades appeared in Yugoslavia. The Institute on the International Workers Movement published the full congress proceedings in Serbo-Croatian, including almost all the contents of the 1934 Russian version, and provided ample new annotation and biographical information.

The present work, printed in two volumes, integrates the six different versions of the proceedings published in 1920, 1921, and 1934. Except for speeches by Lenin, all translations are new and have been based on a comparison of the record in two or

more languages. Significant discrepancies between the earlier editions have been noted. Where possible, gaps in the record have been filled by including material from other sources.

One such additional source, the notes of congress secretaries, is available only in the form of brief excerpts found in the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings, which is the source of quotations from the secretaries' notes in the pages that follow.

Publication of a record of the commissions established by the congress would make possible a better understanding of the struggle of contending political currents in the congress. Such minutes are available, however, in only one case: summaries of the July 25 and July 26 sessions of the Commission on Conditions for Admission to the Comintern. These documents have been published as appendix 3a. In addition, some notes of a key session of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions are found in appendix 2d.

A good deal of insight into the work of these commissions can be gained by comparing the initial drafts of resolutions submitted to them by the Executive Committee with the final texts forwarded to the congress for a vote. Significant differences between these versions have therefore been noted. In two cases, Lenin's "Preliminary Draft Theses on the Agrarian Question" and Roy's "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," the changes were quite substantial and warranted including these original versions in the appendixes.

Except as noted, the order of texts follows that in the German edition. Resolutions appended to the German edition, however, have been placed at the point in the proceedings where they were submitted for a final vote.

References to the Comintern's monthly magazine, *Communist International*, are made to the most accessible edition, that of Greenwood Reprints, which combines issues from both the German and English original editions.

The appendixes include almost all the material appended to the 1934 Russian edition.¹¹³ Two articles from *Communist International* with important bearing on the congress, neither of which are found in the 1934 edition, are printed as appendixes 4a and 5a. Appendixes 2a through 2f contain six additional items on the colonial and national questions.

Two glossaries provide information on individuals and orga-

nizations mentioned in the text and also explain all sets of initials used to designate organizations. A glossary to volume one appears in its final pages; a glossary to the work as a whole is found in volume two.

The table of contents and a chronology have been included in both volumes. Endnotes appear at the end of each volume, while an index to the work as a whole is found at the end of volume two. The book list, included in volume two, gives bibliographical information on titles mentioned in the proceedings, introduction, and endnotes. Title references in endnotes are given only in abbreviated form.

Photographs of the congress and related events are found in both volumes; sources are indicated by photo credits. The drawings in volume two are taken from *Deyateli Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala* (Leaders of the Communist International), a commemorative album on the Second Congress published in Moscow in 1920. The pen-and-ink portraits, autographed by the subjects are, with one exception, by the Soviet artist Isaac Brodsky (1884-1939).

A note on the translation

The present edition has sought to merge into the most authoritative possible text the six different versions of the proceedings published in 1920, 1921, and 1934. Speeches have been translated from the version that proved on examination to be the most authoritative; that was usually the version in the language used by the speaker. These translations were then edited after a close comparison with one or more of the other versions. Remarks by delegates from France, Italy, and Spain have been translated from the French-language version and compared with the German; those by delegates from English-speaking countries and by M.N. Roy have been taken from English and compared with German; those by other delegates have been taken from German and compared with the 1921 and 1934 Russian versions. Where delegates appear to have spoken in Russian, the translation has been made from Russian and compared with the German-language version, and this procedure has been noted in the text.

For the speeches by Lenin, the translations found in the most

recent English edition of his *Collected Works* are authoritative and have been used in this work. The translations have been checked against the text in the fifth Russian-language edition of Lenin's works and a small number of corrections have been made. Spelling and punctuation have been brought into line with U.S. usage. Quotations of Lenin and others in the introduction and endnotes, however, have not been altered.

Where geographical names are no longer in use, the current name follows in brackets. Within the proceedings, interpolations by the editor of this edition have been placed within brackets. The titles given to sessions are adapted from those in the 1934 Russian edition of the congress proceedings. All emphasis in translations and quotations is taken from the original text.

German was the basic working language of the Comintern in the early 1920s, and it was the German-language version of the theses and resolutions that was most widely used by Communist parties of that time. Accordingly, they have been translated from the German-language version and edited after comparison with the Russian. For comparisons of the final and draft texts of resolutions, the text of the drafts found in the 1934 Russian edition has been used.¹¹⁴ Unless otherwise noted, the appendixes have been taken from the 1934 Russian edition.

Any deviations from these procedures have been noted in the text.

'The Communist International in Lenin's Time'

The proceedings of the Second Congress form the fourth volume to be published in the Pathfinder series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, the first volume in the series, presents documents from the preparatory years 1907-16. *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power* records the testing of conflicting courses and leaderships in the workers' movement during the 1918-19 revolution in Germany and examines that revolution's role in speeding formation of the new International. The third volume, *Founding the Communist International*, contains the record of the Comintern's first congress, held in March 1919.

The Communist International in Lenin's Time will also include the complete resolutions and proceedings of the third and fourth congresses, held in 1921 and 1922. A volume will draw together documents from the main Comintern-led gatherings on the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples. Companion volumes will document decisions and debates of the Executive Committee and auxiliary organizations of the Comintern and developments of lasting importance in various Communist parties during the first five years of the Communist International.

John Riddell
August 1991

PREFACE TO THE 1921 EDITIONS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

The Second World Congress of the Communist International met in a country that was in a state of war and cut off from all other countries by the blockade. The difficulties arising from such a situation told on the stenographic reports now offered to the public.

As a result of Soviet Russia's complete isolation from the rest of the world, it was not possible to recruit in time a sufficient staff with a proper mastery of foreign languages—but especially German, French, and English stenographers. And so it happened that there were only two stenographers for German, one for French, and none at all for English to take down the speeches.

The main consequence of this was the deplorable delay in publication of the reports. Merely transcribing them took nearly two months.

By the time the work of editing the reports commenced, of course, most of the delegates had already left. It was found that the text was quite garbled in many places and that there were many omissions. Missing almost entirely, for example, were quotations, book titles, names of newspapers, proposed amendments, and so forth given by the speakers. Finally, many

speeches, particularly those given in English, existed only in translation. Restoring the correct text required a great deal of time. Many gaps could not be filled at all, and each instance of this is indicated at the appropriate point in the record.

The main concern was to bring out a reliable text as rapidly as possible. The translation into English was done by different people with a varying mastery of the language. Accordingly, errors of form and speech had to be taken in stride.

It is our earnest hope that the next world congress of the Communist International may take place under more favorable conditions and be better organized and prepared so that the next report can be better technically and appear in print more rapidly.

The editors
Moscow, December 1920

Publication of this edition of the Second World Congress proceedings was made possible through the assistance of a large number of collaborators around the world who collected source material, carried out research, and translated the congress proceedings and appended materials into English.

The main bulk of the work in compiling this volume was done by a Pathfinder staff team of Robert Dees, Bob Cantrick, and Bob Schwarz working with the editor. Staff translators from German were Bob Cantrick and Robert Dees. Robert Dees and Bob Schwarz assisted in all aspects of editorial work for this volume, organized the research, and prepared the endnotes. The Glossary and Chronology were prepared by Robert Dees.

Other translators for this volume were:

German: Regula Bürki, Al Campbell, Dean Denno, John Hawkins, Dave Hurst, Alex Koskinas, Bob Schwarz, Duncan Williams, and Michael Tresidder; *Russian:* Sonja Franeta, Rachel Gomme, Jeff Hamill, Joanne Holowchak, and Doug Hord; *Czech:* Rachel Gomme, Judith Schlesinger, and Mike Schlesinger; *French:* Robert Dees; *Polish:* Ernest Harsch; *Serbo-Croatian:* Krys Ungar.

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The Second Congress of the Communist International'

by V.I. Lenin

The Second Congress of the Communist International ended on August 7. A little over a year has elapsed since its foundation, a brief period in which immense and decisive successes have been achieved.

Held a year ago, the First Congress only unfurled the banner of communism, around which the forces of the revolutionary proletariat were to rally. War was declared on the Yellow Second International, which unites the social traitors, who have sided with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and are in alliance with the capitalists against the workers' revolution.

The huge measure of success achieved in a year can be seen, among other things, in the fact that the growing sympathy with communism among the masses of workers has compelled the withdrawal from the Second International of some of its leading European and American parties, namely the French Socialist Party, the German and the British "Independent" parties, and the American Socialist Party.

In every country of the world the finest representatives of the revolutionary workers have already ranged themselves on the side of communism, soviet rule, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In all the advanced countries of Europe and America there already exist Communist parties or sizable Communist groups. At the congress that ended on August 7, it was not only the heralds of the proletarian revolution who joined forces, but delegates from strong and powerful organizations linked with the proletarian masses. A world army of the revolutionary proletariat—that is what now acts for communism; and, at the congress just ended, it received organizational form and a clear,

precise, and detailed program of action.

The congress refused to admit immediately into the Communist International parties that still retain in their ranks influential representatives of "Menshevism," social treachery, and opportunism, such as the above-mentioned parties that have withdrawn from the Yellow Second International.

In a number of precisely worded resolutions, the congress blocked every avenue of access for opportunism and demanded a total break with it. The incontestable facts reported to the congress showed that the working-class masses are with us and that the opportunists will now be utterly routed.

The congress rectified the errors committed in certain countries by Communists who were absolutely bent on turning to the "left" and denied the need to work in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, and wherever there are millions of workers who are still being duped by the capitalists and by their lackeys from among the workers, that is, by members of the Yellow Second International.

The congress created a degree of unity and discipline among the world's Communist parties such as has never before existed and will make it possible for the vanguard of the workers' revolution to march forward with giant strides to its great goal, the overthrow of the yoke of capital.

Thanks to the international conference of working women that was organized simultaneously, the congress will strengthen ties with the Communist Women's Movement.

Communist parties and groups in the East, in the colonial and backward countries, which are so brutally robbed, oppressed, and enslaved by the "civilized" league of predatory nations, were likewise represented at the congress. The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would in fact be nothing but a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves, who are oppressed by that capital.

Great are the military victories of the workers' and peasants' Soviet republic over the landowners and the capitalists, over the Yudeniches, the Kolchaks, and the Denikins, the Polish Whites and their accomplices—France, Britain, America, and Japan.

But greater still is our victory over the minds and hearts of the

masses of the workers, of all those who toil and are oppressed by capital—the victory of communist ideas and communist organizations all over the world.

The revolution of the proletariat, the overthrow of the yoke of capitalism, is on the march and shall come about in every country in the world.

Call for the Second World Congress'

To all Communist parties and groups, to all Red trade unions, to all Communist women's organizations, to all Communist youth leagues, to all workers' organizations that stand for communism, to all honest toilers;

Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has resolved to convene the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow on July 15, 1920.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has prepared the following *provisional* draft agenda for the Second Congress:

1. Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
2. Reports by representatives of each country. Reports must be submitted in writing.
3. The present world situation and the tasks of the Communist International.
4. The question of parliamentarism.
5. The trade unions and factory committees.
6. The role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the proletariat conquers power.
7. The national question and the colonial question.
8. The agrarian question.
9. Attitude toward the new Center currents that recognize the communist program in word only; the conditions for admission to the Communist International.
10. Statutes of the Communist International.
11. Organizational questions (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations, and so forth).
12. The youth movement.
13. Elections.
14. Other business.

All Communist parties, groups, and trade unions that have officially joined the Communist International and are recognized by its Executive Committee are invited to attend the congress with decisive vote.

Groups and organizations that support the Communist International but are in opposition to officially affiliated Communist parties are also urged to attend the congress, which will decide the status of the delegates from these groups.

In addition, all revolutionary syndicalist groups, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) associations, and other organizations with which the Executive Committee of the Communist International has relations are urged to attend the congress.

Youth leagues should be represented not only by the Executive Committee of the youth International but also through the Communist organizations of each country.

It is planned to convene an international conference of Communist women and an international conference of Communist youth leagues in conjunction with the forthcoming congress.²

If at all possible, the first international conference of Red trade unions will also be held in conjunction with the congress.

All parties and organizations are urged to send the largest possible delegation to the congress. (The number of decisive votes granted each delegation at the congress will, of course, be decided independently of the number of delegates.)

The Executive Committee of the Communist International firmly insists that all Communist parties sending delegations to the congress *absolutely must* appoint one of their delegates as a permanent representative to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. That comrade must be in a position to remain in Russia for an extended period of time.

As can be seen from the proposed agenda, the congress will discuss the most important questions before Communists of the whole world. The rapid expansion of communist ideas throughout the world forces us to hasten the convening of the congress. It will give proletarians of all countries precise and clear answers to the questions on the agenda awaiting resolution.

The First Congress of the Communist International raised the banner of communism. Today millions of class-conscious workers around the world already stand beneath this banner. Now it is no longer a matter of conducting propaganda for communist

ideas; now is the dawn of the epoch of *organizing* the Communist proletariat and of *direct struggle* for the communist revolution.

The Second International has collapsed like a house of cards. The attempts by a few "Socialist" diplomats to found a new, hybrid International that is to stand between the Second and Communist Internationals are simply absurd and have no support at all among the workers. Cut off from one another by military censorship, the state of siege, and the slander campaign of the Yellow Social Democrats and the bourgeois press, workers of all countries are nevertheless extending a fraternal hand to one another. In its one year of existence the Communist International has scored a decisive moral victory among the working masses of the entire world. Millions upon millions of workers are flocking to our side, to the honest international workers' association that calls itself the Communist International.

Let these rank-and-file workers compel their parties and organizations to make up their minds once and for all. Let them put an end to the disgraceful game being played by a few of the old diplomats, who try to keep their parties from joining the Communist International.

In particular, let the members of trade unions that still formally belong to the White Guard International organized in Amsterdam by the agents of capital—Legien, Albert Thomas, and others—strive to make their workers' organizations break with traitors to the workers' cause and send delegates to the congress of the Communist International.

The Second Congress of the Communist International, which will meet on July 15, must become a genuine world congress of the working class. At the same time it must be a congress of truly *like-minded* comrades, of true adherents to the real communist program and revolutionary communist policies.

Let every workers' organization and club discuss the agenda proposed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Let the workers themselves submit draft resolutions on the topics that have been proposed. In the weeks ahead let the entire Communist press devote its columns to discussion of the important problems we face. The preparatory work must be carried out with energy and enthusiasm. Only if that happens will our congress be able to draw the balance sheet of the experience of class-conscious workers of the whole world and to

express the real will of Communist workers of all countries.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International extends fraternal greetings to class-conscious proletarians of the whole world and summons them into its common, fraternal ranks.

Long live the international communist workers' association!

Long live the Communist International!

With communist greetings,

G. Zinoviev

**Chairman of the Executive
Committee of the Communist
International**

K. Radek

**Secretary of the Executive
Committee of the Communist
International**

Report of the Executive Committee¹

July 6, 1920

1. The formation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Because of the conditions in which it was held, the first, founding congress of the Communist International did not discuss organizational matters in any detail. At that time the Communist movement had only just begun to take shape in various countries of Europe and America. The task of the First Congress was to raise the communist *banner* and proclaim the *concept* of the Communist International. But the general situation of the Communist parties in different countries and the number of delegates to the First Congress (which was extremely small) did not permit any extensive discussion of the *practical* questions of the Third International's organizational structure.

The only resolution adopted on the organizational question was as follows:

"In order that work may begin without delay, the congress elects the necessary bodies at this time, in the understanding that the final form of the Communist International's constitution will be proposed by the Bureau at the next congress and determined there.

"Leadership of the Communist International shall be entrusted to an Executive Committee, consisting of one representative from each of the Communist parties of the most important countries. The following parties should immediately send representatives to the first Executive Committee: Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Balkan federation, Switzerland, Scandinavia.

"Parties joining the Communist International before the Second Congress of the Communist International convenes shall

be entitled to one seat on the Executive Committee.

"Until such time as representatives from abroad arrive, the comrades in whose country the Executive Committee is based shall perform its functions.

"The Executive Committee shall elect a bureau of five persons."²

Thus, in addition to the Russian party, an additional six parties were to send representatives to the Executive Committee without delay. However, conditions have been such that very few of these parties have been able to keep a permanent representative in Russia, the seat of the Executive Committee. Throughout this period the German party has never been able to delegate its permanent representative to the Executive Committee. The representative of the Communist Party of Austria arrived only recently. The Communist parties of Scandinavia have been represented on the Executive Committee only sporadically. The Balkan Communist Federation was formed only very recently, and its representative did not arrive until the spring of 1920. The Hungarian Communist Party has had a permanent representative on the Executive Committee. The Swiss Communists were represented by Comrade Platten until he left Russia.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International made every effort to secure the permanent participation in its activities of representatives of the Communist parties of different countries. This has become possible only in the last few months of our work.

Almost all the ongoing work of the Executive Committee therefore fell to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia and to the comrades it specifically delegated to this work.

The comrades from the Russian Communist Party who served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International included Balabanoff, Berzin, Bukharin, Karakhan, Klinger, Litvinov, Vorovsky, Zinoviev, and others. Comrade Lenin and other comrades also attended the most important sessions as delegates from the Russian Communist Party.

Mindful of all the objective difficulties that prevented other Communist parties from sending permanent representatives, the Executive Committee took advantage of every opportunity, whenever an authoritative comrade from abroad was present, to

involve that comrade for however short a time in its work. In this way the following comrades were involved in the work of the Executive Committee: Comrade Rudas (Hungary), Comrade Sadoul (France), Comrades Reed, Anderson, and Bilan (America), Comrade Rutgers (Netherlands), Comrade Pak (Korea), Comrade Liu Shaozhou (China), Comrade Friis (Norway), Comrades Kilbom and Grimlund (Sweden), and some other comrades. The permanent representatives on the Executive Committee were as follows: Comrade Marchlewski from the Polish Communist Party, Comrade Milkic from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Comrade Sirola from the Finnish Communist Party, and Comrade Stuchka from the Communist Party of Latvia.

And finally, during the last few weeks, when delegates began to arrive for the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Executive Committee took it as its duty to involve all these comrades in its regular meetings and ongoing work. The following comrades have thus participated in the Executive Committee's work during recent months and weeks: Comrades Serrati, Bombacci, Graziadei, and Vacirca (Italy), Comrades Rosmer and Delinières (France), Comrades Quelch and McLaine (England), Comrade Reisler (Austria), Comrade Rákosi (Hungary), and a number of other comrades.

The duties of secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were assumed in turn by Comrades Balabanoff, Berzin, Vorovsky, and Radek; Comrade Radek continues to fulfill these duties at present. Comrade Zinoviev is the committee's chairman.

2. General conditions of the Executive Committee's work

As will be clear from the foregoing, the general conditions in which the Executive Committee was operating were unfavorable, particularly during the initial period of our activity. The relentless blockade of Soviet Russia by the imperialists of all countries created exceptional difficulties for communication with Communists in Europe and America. For several months the Executive Committee was unable even to obtain newspapers, leaflets, and other material published by sister parties. Corresponding was rendered almost impossibly difficult; per-

sonal meetings likewise. Individual comrades from various countries made their way to us through immense dangers and incredible obstacles in order to bring us news of the developing Communist movement in their countries. With no less difficulty and no less sacrifice our representatives and couriers managed to reach a number of countries with various messages from the Communist International.

In many of the "advanced democracies," governments backed by the White Social Democrats declared a state of siege directed specifically at organizations of the Third International, and even at certain of its most prominent supporters. In America supporters of the Third International are being ruthlessly persecuted; thousands are being arrested. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys are attempting literally to starve out supporters of the Third International, using hunger and merciless victimization. In Germany our party has had to operate illegally for most of its existence, able to surface from underground only for a short period. In Austria the White Social Democrats have long been persecuting supporters of the Third International in the most ruthless manner. And what can we say about Hungary? There the life of any honest person who is even remotely suspected of the slightest platonic sympathy with the Communist International is at risk. In France the best activists in the French section of the Third International have just recently been thrown into jail. In Sweden some of our most well-known comrades have been tried and sentenced to many months in prison for sympathizing with the Communist International. In "democratic" Finland recently, an entire conference of independent Socialists was arrested, and the "democratic" public prosecutor declared quite openly that the conference participants had been arrested for sympathizing with the Third International.³ In Estonia, Latvia, and Poland, the White Social Democrats are quite openly butchering Communists. Supporters of the Second International are doing likewise to our comrades in Georgia.

Such were the conditions under which the Executive Committee of the Communist International had to begin operating.

But the more furiously our comrades and friends in different countries were persecuted, the more the toiling masses came over to communism. Our publications found their way into the midst of the working masses. We can say without exaggeration

that, despite all obstacles, the ideological influence of the Communist International has grown not daily, but hourly. As the Second World Congress of the Communist International opens, we can say that the first period, the *most difficult* period, when Soviet Russia was blockaded and the Executive Committee of the Communist International was cut off from our affiliated parties—that hardest period has now passed. The conditions in which the Executive Committee of the Communist International works will henceforth, we hope, be immeasurably more favorable.

3. The central organ of the Executive Committee, ‘Communist International’

From the very outset of our activity, we undertook above all to create a central organ that would serve as the ideological focus for Communist parties around the world. At its first meeting the Executive Committee resolved to publish a monthly organ, called *Communist International*, in four languages (German, French, English, and Russian). This publication was also brought out under exceptionally difficult conditions. It was almost impossible to collaborate with comrades living outside Russia. Delivering our journal to other countries involved enormous difficulties. Notwithstanding all the obstacles, however, our magazine, *Communist International*, made its way through to the advanced layers of workers around the world. Despite all the difficulties, in the first year of our activity we published twelve issues of *Communist International* in these four languages. Six of these issues were reprinted in Vienna, and five in Berlin. We do not have comprehensive information about other reprints. But all the most important articles and documents in each of the twelve issues have been reprinted as pamphlets or in newspapers and leaflets in almost every part of the world. By unknown paths and in spite of all obstacles, our journal reached our friends—although in insufficient quantities and very late. The Executive Committee is now considering the question of regular reprints of our magazine in all the main countries of the workers’ movement.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is well aware of the magazine’s shortcomings. We know that it

responded to the latest news from the international proletarian movement with serious delays and sometimes not at all. We know that our magazine's pages contained only a pale reflection of the international Communist movement with all its complex problems. We know that any participant in the Second Congress will be able to point out to us, quite correctly, dozens of defects in our magazine. Nevertheless, we can state with some satisfaction that, with our combined forces, we have created an *ideological focus*.

The Second International, which existed for a full twenty-five years with full legality, was not able in a quarter of a century to create such a central organ to serve as an ideological focus for affiliated parties from all countries. The Third International has managed to fulfill this task—although not to the degree that would be desirable—in just one year, in spite of all the objective difficulties. It is a beginning, however modest and inadequate. With the support of all Communist parties, *Communist International* must become the ideological leader of Communist parties *around the world*.

All the necessary information about the other propaganda and agitational publications of the Executive Committee will be given at the end of this report.

4. The Executive Committee's fight against the Yellow Second International

A primary task of the Third International's executive body was, of course, to mount a fierce struggle against the Yellow Second International, which attempted to revive itself after the end of the imperialist war. All the old official Social Democratic parties greeted the founding of the Communist International by gnashing their teeth. An unprecedented campaign against the newly emerged Communist International was unleashed through all the hundred mouths of the "Social Democratic" and "Socialist" press controlled by the social traitors and adherents of the Center. They deceived the workers. They tried to represent the Communist International to them as simply a "scheme of Moscow's," pretending that no real forces stood behind it. They distorted our ideological position in a thousand ways. They tried to prove to the workers that the Third International required all

parties to “make” a socialist revolution immediately, with no regard for the relationship of forces in a given country. They claimed that the Communist International forces workers to organize ill-planned uprisings and putsches.

The Executive Committee had to struggle against all these official lies.

In accordance with the general spirit of the resolutions of the Communist International’s founding congress, the Executive Committee called on all Communists and sympathizers to *boycott* the Bern and Lucerne conferences called by the Second International.⁴ And we are pleased to report that the vast majority of comrades sympathetic to communism agreed with the Executive Committee and did *not* send their representatives to these conferences. Only a few Communist comrades attended, with the aim of organizing a left opposition there. But these comrades, too, soon realized that it was completely futile and incorrect to take part in these conferences.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International also issued special appeals to all conscious workers of the world to *boycott* the proposed congress of the Second International.⁵ These appeals from the Executive Committee aroused keen interest in the ranks of the international proletariat.

In reviewing our struggle with the Second International during the year, we have every right to say that it has been outstandingly successful. The Yellow Second International has been smashed as a political organization. All the largest parties have left the Second International. Following the German Independents [USPD] and the French Socialist Party came the Socialist Party of America, the British Independent [Labour] Party, the Spanish Socialist Party, the Swiss Socialist party, and even the Russian Mensheviks; all have left the Second International. The popularity of the Second International has dropped so low, and mistrust of it among advanced workers has grown to such an extent, that even the official Social Democratic Party of Austria, led by such social patriots as Renner, was forced, under pressure from the workers, to refuse to participate in the proposed congress of the Second International.

The Second International has been smashed; today it merely drags out a shadowy existence. It is sustained only by the support of the bourgeoisie, which has given the Second “Interna-

tional" a monopoly on legal activity, as against the Third International, which the bourgeoisie persecutes by every means in its power.

The immediate task of the Communist International today is to smash the Yellow Amsterdam trade union "International." This is the only international workers' organization with any mass support that is still loyal to the social traitors. There is no doubt that with correct tactics on our part, with concerted and persistent work by all Communists *within* the trade unions, we will soon win the trust of the vast majority of workers organized in unions and turn Messrs. Jouhaux, Legien, Oudegeest, Gompers, and company into generals without an army.

5. Direct intervention by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the affairs of various affiliated parties

All the decisions of the founding congress were permeated with the notion that the Communist International must work in a much more centralized way than the Second International. The International [Socialist] Bureau of the Second International was, in effect, a purely informational body. The international congresses of the Second International were gatherings for show, where every attempt was made to avoid the most painful issues. The resolutions adopted by congresses of the Second International were violated by the different parties at every turn. All the "serious" figures of the Second International essentially considered it quite obvious that its decisions did not commit anyone to anything.

The Third International cannot exist on such a basis. The Third International was conceived and organized as a genuine international workers' association that would work in a planned and organized manner for capitalism's overthrow. The imperialist war of 1914-18 has bound together the fate of workers in all the advanced countries. Every conscious worker understands that now as never before the struggle of the working class in one country is indissolubly bound to the struggle of the working class in other countries. The bourgeoisie of the dominant countries is attempting to create, in the form of the League of Nations, its *own* centralized apparatus, one of whose main tasks

is to systematically combat the coming proletarian revolution. The entire international proletariat has now entered the phase of direct struggle for power. In our opinion, almost everywhere in the world the class struggle is taking on the character of civil war. In this epoch it is absolutely essential that the international proletariat create its own genuine general staff, able to take into consideration all the particular features of the movement in different countries and bring together all the peculiar features of the proletarian movement around the world, but also able to centralize the struggle of proletarians in all countries.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International proceeded from this general view in all its activities. It considered that it was not only permissible but necessary to “intervene” in the affairs of parties that belong or wish to belong to the Communist International. It has not encroached and would not encroach on the autonomy of individual parties where purely local matters are concerned. But it is *obliged* to give direction to all parties affiliated to the Communist International on questions of international significance and principle.

The most important cases of “intervention” by the Executive Committee were with regard to the Communists of America, Germany, Finland, the Ukraine, Austria, the Balkan Peninsula, and France.⁶

In *America*, for a number of reasons we shall not dwell on here, two Communist parties were formed: the Communist Party of America and the American Communist Labor Party. The Executive Committee of the Communist International made every effort to ensure that delegates from both these parties came to Russia. We also took every measure to obtain all the documentary material of both parties and to clarify for ourselves the differences between them. The Executive Committee devoted two special sessions to American affairs. We listened very carefully to representatives of both parties. A special commission appointed by the Executive Committee studied all the documentary material. Following all this work the Executive Committee, with the participation of delegates from both parties, drew up a detailed plan for the unification of the two parties.⁷

It became clear to the Executive Committee that there were no serious differences of principle between the two parties. The

split had occurred mainly on the basis of organizational disagreements and of psychological differences between immigrant worker-Communists and American-born Communist workers. In addition to drawing up the plan for unification, the Executive Committee appealed to both parties in a special letter also published in our magazine, *Communist International*.

The fact that this unification has not yet taken place is due purely to objective problems: the persecution to which American Communists have been subjected in recent months and some other circumstances of minor importance. The Executive Committee is fully confident that, despite the opposition voiced by some American Communists, this unification will take place in the very near future.

The Executive Committee has tried to take a particularly active part in the debates that have arisen among leading figures in the workers' movement in *Germany*. The committee received a special delegation from the new Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). The Executive Committee set out its views on all the controversial questions that have arisen for German Communists in a detailed letter.⁸ In a spirit of openness and comradeship, it pointed out to the supporters of the Communist Workers Party of Germany the colossal errors that their party was making and that their congress had made. The Executive Committee is aware, however, that there are many honest, self-sacrificing, and fighting workers within the ranks of the KAPD. In view of this it has invited the KAPD to the congress of the Communist International.

The committee also pointed out the organizational blunders and some serious political mistakes made by the Central Bureau of the old German Communist Party (Spartacus League) on organizational matters, on the trade union question (the Central Bureau's vacillations a few months ago on whether or not Communists should be active in unions), and on the political line of the Spartacus League Central Bureau during the Kapp putsch (the Central Bureau's famous declaration about a "purely workers' government," "loyal opposition," and so on). The Executive Committee has not abandoned hope that it will quite soon be able to put an end to the split in the ranks of the Communists in Germany.

Objective difficulties prevented the Executive Committee

from giving direction to the German Communists during the Kapp days. The committee had prepared a draft appeal and wanted to transmit it by radio. But then we changed our minds: we were worried that, not knowing all the circumstances, we risked making an error. Subsequent events showed that these fears were groundless. The slogans that our appeal put forward were absolutely correct. These were (1) "Arm yourselves!" (2) "Reactivate the councils!" (3) "All out for the general strike!" (4) "Push the Independents toward the left!" and (5) "Call the masses to struggle!" Had we sent our instructions in time, it is possible that the Central Committee of the German Communist Party would have avoided many of its errors.⁹

Furthermore, the Executive Committee had to pay close attention to clarifying its relations with the German Independent party, which had left the Second International and expressed the wish to establish relations with the Third International. In a detailed letter, the committee explained our differences with the Independent party.¹⁰ This letter is very important as a statement of principle, because it explains our differences not only with the German Independents, but with all parties and groups of the so-called Center, which also have supporters in France, England, and a number of other countries.

In addition, the Executive Committee was obliged to become involved in the practical affairs of the *Finnish* Communist Party. Our party in Finland has been forced to operate illegally. The White Guard Finnish bourgeoisie, supported by the Social Democrats, continues its ferocious attacks on supporters of communism. Despite this the Finnish Communist Party is a very strong force, and there is no doubt that in the future it will become a decisive political factor in Finnish public life.

Following a large number of arrests, as well as events within the Finnish Communist Party, the party was forced to turn to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a request that the committee appoint a provisional Central Committee for the party.¹¹ The Executive Committee was fully aware of the great responsibility it was taking by appointing the Central Committee from above. The Executive Committee organized a preliminary meeting with the most senior figures in the Finnish Communist movement. Only after this did it appoint a provisional Central Committee, which we hope will soon be

replaced, at the next congress of the Finnish Communist Party, by an elected committee.

The Executive Committee had to play a particularly active role in the struggle among Socialist and Communist parties in the *Ukraine*. In addition to the Communist Party [Bolsheviks] of the Ukraine, a fairly large party had been formed, calling itself the Borotbist party and declaring its sympathy with the ideas of communism. The Borotbist party, which had won considerable influence among the Ukrainian peasantry, approached the Executive Committee with a request to join the Communist International. In the Executive Committee's view, its first task was to work toward the formation of a single unified Communist party in each country.¹² It called a number of meetings of representatives from both the parties wishing to belong to the Communist International. A special commission appointed by the Executive Committee made a careful study of all the documentary material. After three sessions on this matter, the committee adopted a resolution proposing to the Borotbist party that it merge with the Communist Party [Bolsheviks] of the Ukraine to form a single party belonging to the Communist International. It is with the greatest pleasure that we report to the Second Congress of the Communist International that the Borotbist comrades considered the decision of the Executive Committee binding. Thus, as a result of the Executive Committee's involvement, the unification of all Communist forces in the Ukraine was hastened, and we now have a single strong Communist Party of the Ukraine.

The Communist Party of *Austria* went through several months of organizational disorder resulting from a whole series of exceptional circumstances. The defeat of the Hungarian revolution could not fail to be a particularly heavy blow for the Austrian Communist Party. The Hungarian comrades' unfortunate action in sending Bettelheim as their representative created a complex situation within our party in Austria.¹³ (We should mention, incidentally, that Bettelheim had *no mandate whatsoever* from the Communist International, and that all declarations to the effect that Bettelheim was our representative in Vienna are absolutely untrue.) The Executive Committee was able, following several meetings between our leading comrades and prominent members of the Austrian Communist Party, to establish

more normal conditions for its development. And we are pleased to note that now, on the eve of the Second Congress, the Communist Party of Austria is rapidly developing and consolidating its strength.

The Executive Committee considered it its duty to do all it could in the *Balkans* to help create a Balkan Communist federation as quickly as possible. As we see from the whole history of the Balkan wars,¹⁴ the only way for the working class and the poorest peasants of the Balkan Peninsula to avoid continuing to be victims of plundering attacks was for all the Balkan parties to unite with one another to form a fraternal Balkan Communist federation. This idea had also developed among wide circles of Communists in Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia, and this federation has now been formed in the Balkans. The Communist Party of Bulgaria, one of the oldest Marxist parties, joined the Communist International as soon as it was formed. The Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia, which has developed and grown in strength with exceptional speed, joined the Communist International and sent its permanent representative to our Executive Committee. This party must now get rid of the small reformist wing still in its ranks. All the information we have on the development of communism in the Balkans shows that the Balkan Communist Federation is a flourishing organization that is ensured success in the near future.

In *France* a Communist party has yet to be formed. The Executive Committee has discussed the situation in France several times. So far it has always come to the conclusion that in view of the general situation there the best policy is to wait, and that supporters of the Communist International should be allowed to remain within the ranks of the broad [Socialist] party for the next period.

Corresponding with our French comrades has been exceptionally difficult. Nevertheless, we have managed to maintain communication.

Now, on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist International, we believe that the moment has come to organize—come what may—a single, united Communist party in France.

Two groups are working side by side in the Paris Committee for the Third International: these are communists from the old

party, and *syndicalist*-communists. We are confident that the decisions of the Second World Congress will create the necessary conditions for the complete fusion of all genuinely communist elements in France into one party.



The Executive Committee of the Communist International, acting in the spirit of the decisions of the First Congress, considered its duty to be the establishment of relations not only with declared Communist groups and parties but also with those revolutionary organizations that have not fully come over to the Communist International but are in sympathy with the *ideas* of communism. These currents include primarily the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Shop Stewards' committees in Britain, revolutionary syndicalists, and others. During the fifteen months of its work, the Executive Committee has devoted a number of meetings to detailed comradely discussion with individual representatives of these currents who have come to us. The Executive Committee addressed a special letter to supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World explaining our views to them and attempting to come to an understanding with them.¹⁵ The committee took it as its duty to invite representatives of these groups to the congress. The committee is confident that the Second Congress will fully approve our course.

6. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the trade unions

From the outset the Executive Committee has been firmly of the opinion that the Third International should revive the tradition of the First International, whereby not only political parties but also other prominent workers' organizations should belong to the international organization of the workers, provided that they are prepared to struggle not just in words but in deeds for the liberation of the working class. Most important among these organizations are the revolutionary trade unions. The Executive Committee has come to a very full understanding with the unions in Russia, the country where the committee established

by the First Congress was based. From the very beginning the Executive Committee has fought resolutely against the tendency shown by small groups of “left” Communists, who are essentially advocating a boycott of the union movement. The committee has insisted and continues to be firmly convinced that Communists *should not* leave the unions but on the contrary should strengthen their work in the unions, *organize Communist cells within them*, and, through systematic and sustained work, *win* the unions to the Communist International. The Executive Committee has issued a number of appeals on this question. It has addressed corresponding appeals to the international congresses of individual unions.¹⁶ Finally, it was on the committee’s initiative that the first international meeting of leading unionists from Britain, Italy, and Russia was called in Moscow, a meeting that resolved to form the first international grouping of Red trade unions.

The Executive Committee is trying to draw into this organization supporters of the Shop Stewards’ committees in Britain, the trade union movement in Spain, the revolutionary syndicalists in France, and other leaders of the trade union movement. The committee has also invited these leaders to the Second Congress of the Communist International. The Executive Committee believes that the Communist International should lead *all* types of workers’ organizations, including the international union organizations, and we are firmly of the opinion that the international organization of Red trade unions should form a section within the Communist International. The Executive Committee will continue to reiterate that the most important immediate task for Communists in all countries is to tear the union movement around the world away from the influence of the “independent” union bureaucrats and the Yellow Social Democrats. Then the bourgeoisie and its agents will finally be left without a base among the workers. Then the days of the bourgeoisie will be numbered.

7. The Executive Committee and the international Communist youth organization

Unlike the Second International, the Executive Committee considered and still considers the international youth movement to

be of colossal importance. It is from among the youth, uncontaminated by the opportunism of their "fathers" in the old Social Democratic generation, that the staunchest fighters for the liberation of the working class have emerged and are emerging before our eyes. Working-class youth have played a significant role in all the revolutions of recent years.

The Executive Committee considers it its duty to give comprehensive support to the international youth organization. The first international Communist youth congress, which set up the Communist Youth International, was organized in close collaboration with the Executive Committee. The committee has co-opted a representative from the Executive Committee of the Communist youth as a member with a decisive vote. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has done all in its power to ensure that representation of the Communist youth at the forthcoming Second World Congress will be as broad as possible. The Executive Committee is adamant that in the future both the Communist International as a whole and individual parties belonging to it should bear a most thoughtful and loving regard for the new, young Communist youth organization.

The Executive Committee proposes that a number of important organizational questions concerned with the international youth organization (on the limits of autonomy of the youth movement, and so forth) be settled at the forthcoming congress.

8. The Executive Committee and the international women's organization

At one of its sessions the Executive Committee confirmed Comrade Clara Zetkin as international secretary of the Communist women's organization. The Executive Committee has timed the international conference of Communist women workers to coincide with the forthcoming congress. The committee takes the view that working women should *not* stand apart from the *general* proletarian organization. But in order to draw women workers, and especially women peasants, into our ranks with more success, separate women's groups and special Communist women's publications are necessary.

We are confident that the forthcoming international women's

conference will not make the errors that were made at the first international women's conference, which was held after the beginning of the war (Bern, 1915).¹⁷ The forthcoming conference will point the correct road forward for women of the working class around the world.

9. The Executive Committee's emissaries in various countries

In an interview with Comrade Zinoviev, a reporter from a prominent American newspaper asked, "How many dozens of agents did the Communist International send to America in order to create such a large communist-revolutionary movement?" Comrade Zinoviev replied that the Executive Committee had absolutely no need to send any agents to countries such as America, since the American imperialist government and American capitalists were doing enough themselves, through their policies, to popularize the ideas of proletarian revolution.

The bourgeois hacks' cock-and-bull stories about the movement in various countries being led mainly by agents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are of course without foundation. It is with great regret that we report that so far we have been able to send representatives to only a very limited number of countries. During the first year of the committee's work, our representatives have visited Germany, Austria, France, America, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, and some other countries. In each case we have of course given our representatives express instructions that *under no circumstances* are they to work outside existing Communist parties and groups. Their task is to convey direction from the Executive Committee on matters of *principle* and then to render whatever practical and ideological *assistance* they can to sister organizations. As for mandates such as Bettelheim spoke of (a mandate to "make" a soviet revolution), not only did we not give such a mandate to Bettelheim, but it goes without saying that for reasons of principle there could be no question of such mandates.

10. Financial aid to sister parties

The very first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International established that every party and organiza-

tion belonging to the Third International should pay appropriate dues to the Executive Committee. However, at that same first meeting, attended by a whole number of comrades from different countries, it was agreed to approach the Communist Party of Russia with a request that, for the time being, it take responsibility for most of the expenses incurred through the work of the Executive Committee. This proposal flowed from the circumstances of our struggle throughout Europe and the position of sister parties in different countries. Naturally the Russian Communist Party considered itself honor-bound to agree to this request from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Russian workers, who had received fraternal support from advanced workers in other countries over the course of two decades, now considered it their proletarian duty to give the same fraternal support to the struggling proletariat that found itself in a more difficult financial position.

The Yellow Social Democrats, backed up by the stool pigeons of the bourgeois press, have raised an incredible row in different countries of Europe about this financial help given to sister parties by the Communist International. People who are not ashamed to receive financial support from the robbers of the League of Nations howl in protest when the workers of one country support their brothers in another.

The workers themselves saw things differently. The Italian communists, for example, were proud to declare quite openly that some of their party undertakings could not have been set up without the fraternal aid given to Italian workers by the Communist International. Communist workers in other countries made similar declarations.

We will be putting the Executive Committee's financial report to the Second Congress separately. And we shall propose that the congress elect a special auditing commission to audit this report and make precise recommendations on this matter to the Executive Committee for the future.¹⁸

11. Our subsidiary bureaus in various countries

From the very beginning of our activity, the Executive Committee came to the conclusion that, in view of the blockade of Soviet Russia and the state of siege to which the bourgeoisie was

subjecting Communists, it was absolutely essential for us to have *subsidiary* bureaus of the Executive Committee in a number of countries. These bureaus were organized in Scandinavia, central Europe, the Balkans, the Netherlands, and in the south of Russia. For a while—when soviet power existed in Hungary—the Hungarian party was acting in effect as a subsidiary bureau.

By their very nature these subsidiary bureaus were to serve mainly as *organs of communication* between the Executive Committee and individual parties. Communication between the committee and these bureaus, as between them and individual parties, was of course extremely difficult. This resulted in the large number of complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction about the activity of our subsidiary bureaus addressed by individual groups and parties to the Executive Committee.

After the international conditions for the Executive Committee's work began to improve, our subsidiary bureaus operated at a much higher level of activity. The Second Congress of the Communist International, which, we hope, will devote considerable attention to organizational matters, will need to draw up very precise instructions for the subsidiary bureaus that we decide to retain (if indeed it is considered necessary to keep any of them), so that it will be clear to every Communist that these bureaus are *purely* subsidiary and *purely* subordinate bodies of the Executive Committee.

Our report cannot pass over in silence the unfortunate conflict that arose between the Executive Committee and one of our subsidiary bureaus: we are speaking of the Dutch [Amsterdam] bureau. Some months ago the Executive Committee of the Communist International entrusted the distinguished Dutch Communist, Comrade Rutgers, with the mission of traveling from Russia to the Netherlands to set up a technical subsidiary bureau there consisting of a number of respected Dutch Communists. If he was successful, this bureau was to call a conference and supply propaganda material to a number of countries. It was of course understood that the Dutch bureau should operate entirely within the spirit of the principles defined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Dutch bureau was set up. From the outset, however, it clearly exceeded the powers that had been entrusted to it. In

connection with the disagreements that had arisen in Germany, the Dutch bureau presumed to take positions of principle (on the questions of parliamentarism, the trade unions, and the Communist Workers Party of Germany) that differed fundamentally from the views of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This did enormous damage to our cause in Germany. The position taken by the Dutch bureau intensified the ideological split in Germany and increased the ideological confusion in the German workers' movement and the workers' movement of a number of other countries.

It goes without saying that the Executive Committee could not be indifferent to such a situation. It could not allow the revival in the Third International of the system that prevailed in the Second International, where each group was allowed to preach on its own responsibility whatever came into its head. The conference called by the Dutch bureau in Amsterdam (which was only partially successful) also led to an increase in the ideological confusion.¹⁹

The Executive Committee had a choice: *either* to allow events to run their course and thus look on with indifference as the ideological confusion in the ranks of the Communist International increased, *or* to dissolve the Dutch bureau, which had exceeded its mandate, forthwith. The Executive Committee chose the latter option, and it is confident that the Second Congress will approve its action.

Among the Dutch Communists are a number of prominent theorists of revolutionary Marxism. We have the greatest respect for their contributions. But the Dutch Communists are operating in a small country, under conditions peculiar to that country. After a decade and more of work by the Dutch Communists, their party numbers only 2,000 to 3,000 members. The Executive Committee had to act as it did in order to safeguard the Communist movement against sectarian errors.

12. The position of the Executive Committee with respect to the strike of July 21, 1919

The idea of a simultaneous demonstration by the workers of all countries in defense of the Soviet republics of Russia and Hungary came from the Executive Committee of the Communist

International. It met with enormous sympathy everywhere workers heard about it.

But the date (July 21) was *not* decided by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This should be noted in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

It was our Italian friends who did the most toward the practical organization of the strike. They traveled to Paris, where broad circles of proletarians also expressed strong support for the idea of such a strike.

The supporters of the Center, along with French syndicalists like Jouhaux, got in on the planning of the strike when they saw how popular the idea was among the workers. But of course, at the decisive moment these gentlemen betrayed the cause of the proletariat, as was to be expected.

In the meantime the pressure on the Hungarian soviet republic was intensifying. The critical moment was approaching. The strike had to be moved up—it was fixed for July 21. In Italy and Austria the strike was a brilliant success (in Austria, *despite* the Social Democratic Party). In Germany it was only partially successful. In France it was wrecked by the social traitors. And this was the heaviest blow for soviet Hungary! For the French bourgeoisie was the main instigator behind the bandits' campaign against the Hungarian soviet republic.

The first international strike, held July 21, was *not* successful. But the idea will not die. Now, when Communist workers are rallying around the world, we will need to carry out a large number of these coordinated campaigns.

13. The Executive Committee and the Eastern question

The Executive Committee has focused its attention mainly on the parties active in Europe and America, but it has nevertheless been aware that the Eastern question will be of enormous importance in the near future. The Executive Committee organized two meetings with representatives of the revolutionary parties in China, Korea, Armenia, Persia, Turkey, India, and other countries of the East. As far as it was able, the Executive Committee has provided for the ideological needs of the revolutionary movement in these countries. The committee has called a large conference of the peoples of the Near East, which will convene

on August 15, 1920, in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan. If possible, a conference of the Far Eastern peoples will be held too.²⁰ The committee hopes that representatives from the Second Congress will be able to attend this conference, particularly representatives from Britain and France, the countries whose bourgeoisies are the main oppressors of the colonial peoples. The Executive Committee is certain that the forthcoming Baku conference will prove to be of great historic significance.

However, the Executive Committee is aware that the work it has done on the Eastern question falls far short of what is required. The forthcoming congress of the Communist International must give very precise instructions to the Communists in the Eastern countries, and the next Executive Committee must define the course of action of our supporters in these countries very concretely and give them every possible assistance in the titanic struggle to come.

14. Statements of principle by the Executive Committee of the Communist International

In the periods between congresses the Executive Committee of the Communist International replaces the congress, that is, it is the supreme organ of the whole of our international workers' association. It is therefore the duty of the Executive Committee, when new questions of principle arise, to issue in its own name statements of principle on matters of cardinal importance. When the question of parliamentarism became a critical issue in the ranks of the international movement, the Executive Committee thought it to be its right and duty to issue the well-known circular letter in which we took a sufficiently clear and well-defined position on the question of participation by Communists in bourgeois parliaments.²¹ We have no reason to make any significant amendments to this statement, and we are confident that the Second Congress will approve it.

Similar circumstances prompted the Executive Committee to issue statements of principle on trade unions, on the question of combining legal and illegal work (see our letter to the American Communists), on the role of the political party in the proletarian revolution (see our letter to the Industrial Workers of the World), on the particular features of the British workers' move-

ment (see our letter to the British Independent Labour Party), and on a whole number of other very important issues.²²

We believe that in the future the Executive Committee of the Communist International must be fully empowered to issue the necessary political statements in the name of the International. Without this power there would be no executive body of the Communist International, and thus the Communist International would not exist as a united organization.

15. The Executive Committee and the preparations for the Second Congress

It was some time ago that the Executive Committee considered a plan to call the Second Congress of the Communist International. As soon as objective conditions gave the smallest opportunity of doing so, the committee considered it its duty to call the congress. The international proletariat is faced with the need to find solutions to a whole range of important and pressing problems.

The Communist International has grown enormously. It can no longer exist as a half-formed organization bound together only by certain basic ideas held in common. The Communist International must now form itself into a *united, centralized international proletarian organization* that requires not only a very clear program, but also *very precise policies and a very clearly defined organizational structure*.

During the last three months the Executive Committee of the Communist International has devoted all its energies to the ideological preparation of the forthcoming congress. The Executive Committee is presenting clear-cut theses to the congress on a whole range of issues, including the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution, parliamentarism, trade unions and factory committees, the agrarian question, and the national and colonial questions. We are also submitting to the congress draft guidelines to Communist deputies in bourgeois parliaments, theses on conditions for admission to the Communist International, theses on when and under what conditions soviets of workers' deputies can be organized, draft statutes of the Communist International, and other documents. We hope in this way to facilitate the work of the Second Congress, whose

decisions on all these questions will be authoritative and binding on all of us.



Comrades will find below a list of all the appeals and the most important documents issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, together with a detailed account of the propaganda, documents, and publications we have put out.²³

This brief report does not give an overview of the present state of the Communist movement in each country. The special congress issue of our magazine, *Communist International* (number 12), contains detailed reports by authoritative comrades from a whole number of countries. It is from these reports that all comrades will gain the best idea of the situation of our movement in each country. We attach a list of the parties and organizations that have joined the Communist International, *with the proviso that this list is, however, very incomplete.*



The main organizational request that the outgoing Executive Committee would like to make is that *it is vital that every Communist party belonging to the Communist International should at all costs select a representative to be permanently located in the place where the Executive Committee is based, who will regularly participate in the work of the Executive Committee.* We need informed, prepared, and authoritative secretaries for *every* country. Only delegates sent by the central committees of the appropriate Communist parties can serve in this capacity.

During the coming period the Executive Committee will most probably have to remain, as before, in Soviet Russia. But it goes without saying that as soon as the proletarian revolution broadens its territory, the Executive Committee will have to move to the European capital best suited to providing comprehensive assistance to the interests of the international proletarian revolution.

The first Executive Committee reflected the stage that the movement has been through in the last year. Today communism

has grown stronger around the world. And the new Executive Committee, given the general support of Communist parties around the world, will undoubtedly become a much more vigorous organization, able to carry out the great tasks set for it by the progress of the world proletarian revolution.

The victory of communism throughout the civilized world is inevitable. The organizer of that victory will be the Communist International.

Session 1, July 19, 1920

The world political situation and the basic tasks of the Communist International

(The delegates to the Second World Congress arrived by special train from Moscow and, after their formal welcome at the station, went to Smolny. At the entrance to Smolny a children's choir sang the "Internationale." Comrade Kalinin, chairman of the All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee, welcomed the delegates.)

RECEPTION FOR CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS IN THE SMOLNY INSTITUTE IN PETROGRAD¹

Mikhail Kalinin: Comrade delegates, since you come from distant lands, this hall is perhaps not as familiar, not as dear to your hearts as it is to us Russian workers and peasants, and especially to the members of the Communist Party of Russia. It was here that the Petrograd [Leningrad] soviet met, here that for the first time power passed from the hands of the "sacred union" coalition government to those of the Communist Party.² It was in this building, comrades, that the first revolutionary committee was organized. All this happened during the October revolution.

It was in this building, in this hall, that the course of action of the Russian Soviet government was determined and confirmed. All that this government is accomplishing now is but the realization of the tasks, the guidelines set in this hall. It was here where the law nationalizing the land was passed, among other things.

This room is not all that large. It does not sparkle with beauty or elegance. But it was along these immense and interminable corridors that the endless file of sailors, soldiers, and diverse delegations from all the fronts marched, where they passed, two and a half years ago. And it was in this hall, in this building, where soviet power was proclaimed for the first time. It was here that Communists took power in their hands for the first time.

Perhaps, comrades, in the future in this or that country, power will be born in a more beautiful hall. But for the entire

world, for all Communists, this hall will represent the eternal shrine where the oppressed and toiling masses took power for the first time. With all my heart I hope that this example will serve as a precedent for extending and strengthening soviet power in the future and for the conquest of power by the proletariat in all parts of the world and in all countries.

[The record of the congress continues with the proceedings of its opening session, held at the Uritsky Theater.]

SESSION 1, JULY 19, 1920

Gregory Zinoviev [Communist Party of Russia]: Comrades, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I declare the Second World Congress of the Communist International open. (*Tumultuous, prolonged applause; shouts of "Hurrah!"*; the orchestra plays the "Internationale.") Comrades, our first words, the words of workers of the whole world assembled here, must be dedicated to the memory of our best leaders and friends who gave their lives for the cause of the Communist International. As you know, during the past year there was not one country where the blood of Communist workers and of the best leaders of the working class did not flow. It is enough to recall the names of our Hungarian friends. It is enough to remember Comrades Leviné, Tibor Szamuely, Jogiches, and many others who, having rallied to the revolutionary masses, fell at the very outset of the German and Hungarian revolutions. During this period, hundreds and thousands of the best sons of the working class lost their lives in Finland, Estonia, and Hungary. To open the congress, we would like first of all to honor the memory of these our best comrades, who died for the cause of the Communist International.

I ask the congress to rise in honor of these fallen comrades. (*All rise. The orchestra plays the funeral march.*)

Today we also wish to remember the comrades who at this moment languish in the jails of various bourgeois republics. We wish to remember our French friends, Comrades Loriot, Monatte, and a number of others thrown in jail just before this

congress.³ To the many fighters for the workers' revolution who languish in German, Hungarian, French, British, and American prisons, we send heartfelt greetings. We extend a warm handshake to the American Communist workers, who have suffered particularly cruel persecution in the past year.⁴ Communist workers and revolutionaries in general are being quite literally starved by the American bourgeoisie. Our friends there cannot find work; they are kept under lock and key. There is no atrocity that the American bourgeoisie has not used against workers in Communist organizations, the IWW, or other revolutionary organizations that are taking the same road as the Communist International.

We express our firm conviction that the words spoken recently by a French comrade—after the arrests of Loriot, Monatte, and others—will prove true. He said yes, we are passing through a time when the reigning bourgeoisie, the “democrats,” and the so-called Socialists are throwing the best Communist leaders into prison, but we are confident that soon the roles will be reversed. Tomorrow the working class will jail those who now sit in bourgeois governments and put in power those whom today the bourgeoisie throws in jail. (*Applause*)

Comrades, it has been only a year and three months since the Communist International was founded. It is completely understandable that its first task was to cross swords with the Second International. We engaged them in direct struggle. Today's congress has become a world congress in the literal sense of the word, in which representatives from all of Europe as well as America are taking part. Faced with this, friends and enemies alike must acknowledge that our struggle against the Second International has been crowned with success. Today we have every right to proclaim that the Third International has handed the Second International a resounding defeat. (*Tumultuous applause*)

Comrades, what does this fact mean? What does it mean to say that we have defeated the Second International? The struggle between us and the Second International is not one between two factions of a *single* revolutionary proletarian movement. It is not a struggle over nuances, not a struggle between currents within a homogeneous class camp. It is actually a struggle between classes. To be sure, many of our class brothers are in the ranks of the Second International. Nevertheless, our struggle

against the Second International is not a factional struggle within one class but has a much larger significance.

The collapse of the Second International reflects the collapse of the bourgeois order itself. That is the crux of the matter. We defeated the Second International because the twilight of the gods of capitalism has begun. We defeated the Second International because the bourgeoisie has not been able to and will not be able to liquidate the legacy of the imperialist war. We defeated the Second International because the League of Nations, the whole Entente, and the entire bourgeoisie are powerless to do anything of substance to restore Europe's economic life. We defeated the Second International because the bourgeoisie is incapable of coping with the urgent and compelling tasks before it, tasks it must accomplish if it does not wish to depart the stage of history.

From the first shot fired in 1914, the Second International tied its destiny to the fate of the bourgeoisie. Social patriots of every country supported "their own" bourgeoisie and "their own" bourgeois "fatherland."⁵

That continued until the end of the war. When it ended, the Second International once again cast its lot with the bourgeoisie—this time with the group of bourgeois countries that carried the day in the imperialist war.

You will recall the first attempts to reestablish the Second International after the imperialist bloodbath came to an end. You will recall the conferences in Bern and Lucerne, at which the so-called leading group of the Second International wished to establish "family relations" with the League of Nations. The leaders of the "reborn" Second International grasped hold of Wilson's coattails. You remember, comrades, that in opening the Bern conference, the chairman hailed Wilson and ranked him beside Jaurès—an insult to the memory of that fallen tribune of the French workers. After the war the Second International wished to tie its fate to the bourgeoisie, that is, to the section of it that the Second International assumed was the most powerful, the League of Nations. That was its desire. That is why the blows that the working class of the whole world and its vanguard, the Communist International, dealt to the bourgeoisie during the past year also fell on the Second International. The Yellow Second International tied its fate indissolubly to the

class that is going under before our eyes. This is precisely why our victory over the Second International has such great significance. It is not, I repeat, the victory of one faction in the labor movement over another; it is not the victory of one party over another. No, something incomparably greater is involved here: any organization that tries to tie its destiny to the bourgeois class will itself perish. That is the historic meaning of the Communist International's victory over the Second International.

The working class, as a young class, is a rising star. It is rising to power, while the star of the bourgeoisie, which is choking on the blood of the working class, is setting for all time. The bourgeoisie has become decrepit and is in decline. And just as a dying person grasps at the living, the bourgeoisie clings to the half-dead Second International, strangling it in a deadly embrace. Both are perishing before our eyes. The bourgeoisie and its accomplice, the Yellow International, are near their end. (In historical terms, a year counts as a minute.) Both are already entering their death agony. The world will soon be rid of the bourgeois yoke and of all organizations that have kept the working class in spiritual captivity. Soon our international community of workers will be able to set to work in peace constructing the new world on a communist foundation.

Comrades, during this year the idea of "democracy" faded away before our eyes; it is now drawing its last breath. I believe the "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy" adopted by the First Congress is the most significant document of the Communist International's first, founding congress—indeed, the most important document of the Communist movement in recent years in general. These theses have traveled around the globe. Workers around the world have studied them, as have enlightened portions of the peasants and soldiers. And the course of events during the last fifteen or sixteen months has confirmed time and again the correctness of the analysis of bourgeois democracy made by the Communist International's first congress in the theses on this topic.

The American bourgeoisie, before the whole world, suspended all its own laws, all constitutional guarantees for the working class. It got to the point that Communists elected in accordance with the law and all rules of the parliamentary game were not allowed into parliament but were instead thrown into

prison.⁶ When America, this classic land of bourgeois democracy, time after time violated the principles of democracy, it was an object lesson in just how right the Communist International was to point out in its program and theses the true historical role of so-called democracy.

Comrades, the world congress of the Communist International is before us. Our congress represents the militant vanguard of the workers around the world. We will put to the congress a series of questions that are currently in dispute within the international Communist movement.

We have invited to the congress quite a few workers' organizations that cannot yet be called completely communist, that are still crystallizing. After the long war, after the desperate crisis, the international situation of the working class has brought many workers' organizations to the crossroads; their voices break, like those of young men. They have not yet finally determined their tactics; they have not yet definitively chosen their path. We have called upon all workers' organizations that we believe honestly want to fight against capitalism to work with us. We will speak to them as our comrades in struggle and suffering, as our class brothers who are prepared to lay down their lives with us for the emancipation of the working class.

We will not be like the Second International, which knew only how to deride and persecute revolutionary workers whose views differed from theirs; Janus-like, it shows a saccharine smile to the right and snarling jaws to the left. We are firmly convinced that life is the best teacher. The imperialist war taught the workers many things. The honest revolutionary forces of syndicalism, anarchism, Industrialism,⁷ and the Shop Stewards will come over to the side of communism and are already doing so. It is our business to help them do so more rapidly.

On the other side, attending our congress are representatives of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD), the French Socialist Party, and the American Socialist Party,⁸ parties that only recently—at last—left the ranks of the Second International. We want to forge a communist alliance with the honest revolutionary workers in the ranks of these parties.

Comrades, you know that as the Communist International has grown stronger, about ten large, old parties—I will not enumer-

ate them—have left the ranks of the Second International.⁹ Now a new stage is already beginning; we see that the old parties are not only leaving the Second International but are already making direct efforts to join the Communist International. As I said before, a number of representatives of these parties are present here. The Communist congress will examine all the sore points openly, before the German and French workers. Under no circumstances will the Communist congress permit the slightest dishonesty in the realm of ideas nor make the slightest concession on principles. The fundamental questions of the proletarian revolution must be sharply posed.

We need clarity, clarity, and more clarity. We will not permit the Communist International to become merely a fad. The questions that are on the agenda interest millions of workers. We will present our views on every burning question of the day to the German workers in the USPD and the French workers in the French Socialist Party. We will wait until the vast majority of the French and German workers have carried out the necessary cleansing of their ranks and can then join the ranks of the Communist International. That way everyone will see that they are not mere ballast for the Communist International, but will join us in order to fight against the bourgeoisie in a common and concerted effort.

We intend to submit to this congress statutes of the Communist International. In order to defeat the bourgeoisie in their own country, Communists need above all a centralized, vigorous, strong party, cast in a single pour. And, in our view, the time has come to begin creating such an organization on an international scale, as well. We are fighting the international bourgeoisie, a whole world of enemies, armed to the teeth, and we must have an iron international proletarian organization able to defeat the enemy everywhere. It must be able at any moment to offer the greatest possible assistance to any of its units. It must devise the most powerful, flexible, and mobile forms of organization so that it can be fully armed when it confronts the enemy it must fight.

In the draft statutes of the Communist International, we quote a passage from the statutes of the International Working Men's Association (the First International), whose leaders were Marx and Engels: "If the struggle of the working class has not yet

been crowned with victory, that is in part because the workers do not have international unity, strict international organization, and mutual support on an international scale."¹⁰

Yes, comrades, that is the plain truth. But we had to wait more than fifty years, we had to go through more than four years of the bloodbath and all the horrors that humanity experienced in recent years, before this simple idea was grasped—and not just by a few, by isolated groups; it became second nature to millions of workers. We are firmly convinced that this idea has now really become the property of the masses. We know that in order for the bourgeoisie to be defeated, this simple, elementary idea pointed out by the First International, the International Working Men's Association, must at last become reality. Today we adopt its traditions and principles on many questions in order to make them a reality.

Present here are representatives of the working men and women of Petrograd, who were the first to begin the insurrection of October 1917. I say to you, comrades, a great historic event is taking place today in Petrograd. The Second Congress of the Communist International went down in history the moment it began its deliberations. Remember this day. Know that this day is the reward for all your sacrifices and for your courageous, steadfast struggle. Tell your children about this day and explain to them its meaning. Inscribe this solemn hour in your hearts.

We have before us an accomplished fact, majestic in its simplicity. What could be simpler? The workers of the various countries unite to free themselves from the yoke of the rich. And yet what could be more majestic? Comrades, can you not hear the wings of victory beating? Our earth *will* be free. Wage slavery *will* be destroyed. Communism *will* win.

Comrades, I would like to conclude my speech by reminding you that in a few months fifty years will have passed since the first great, historic insurrection of the European workers, which showed the way both for you and for us. I speak of the Paris Commune.¹¹ I speak of the heroic insurrection of the Parisian proletarians, who despite all their weaknesses and mistakes (and we will try to avoid them), contributed a golden page to the history of the international proletarian movement and opened the road that millions of toilers are now traveling.

Permit me to voice the hope that by the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune we will have a soviet republic in France. (*Loud, tumultuous applause*)

Comrades, in an article written immediately following the founding congress of the Communist International entitled "Vistas of the Proletarian Revolution," I said, somewhat over-zealously, that in only a year we might forget that there had ever been a struggle for soviet power in Europe, since by then that struggle would be over in Europe and would have spread to other countries.¹² A German bourgeois professor seized upon this sentence. Several days ago I read an article in which he cited this passage and gleefully observed: Well, the Second Congress will soon open. More than a year has gone by. It seems that Europe has not yet experienced the complete triumph of soviet power.

We may calmly reply to this learned bourgeois gentleman that this may be true; we probably let ourselves get carried away. In reality it will probably take not one year but two or three for all of Europe to become a soviet republic. But if you yourself are so modest as to regard one or two years' delay as your great good fortune, then we congratulate you on your modesty. We can say with certainty that give or take a year—we can hold out a while yet—we *will* have the international soviet republic, led by our Communist International.

Long live the working class of the whole world! Long live the Communist International. (*Prolonged, tumultuous applause*)

The congress will proceed to elect the Presiding Committee. Comrade Bukharin will speak on behalf of the Executive Committee.

Nikolai Bukharin [Communist Party of Russia]: The following candidates are nominated on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International: Levi (Germany), Rosmer (France), Serrati (Italy), Lenin and Zinoviev (Russia).

Zinoviev: Are there other recommendations on the composition of the Presiding Committee? No. The Presiding Committee is elected as proposed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International: Levi (Germany), Rosmer (France), Serrati (Italy), Lenin and Zinoviev (Russia).

Comrades, a great many organizations wish to bring greetings

to the congress; however, we must be sparing with time. On behalf of the Executive Committee, I propose that the only such speaker be the representative of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics—which today has the great good fortune to welcome the congress to its territory—the chairman of the All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee, Comrade Kalinin.

(Applause)

Kalinin: Comrades, on behalf of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, I greet the Second World Congress of the Communist International.

Comrades and members of the Communist International, the Bolshevik Communist Party and the working class of Russia were not spoiled in their past by legality and parliamentarism. The recent decades have been years of hard, direct struggle of the working class against Russian tsarism. In that dark time the Bolshevik Communist Party never lost hope that the time was not far off when, under their leadership, the workers would arise and overthrow Russian tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie.

In the last three years, comrades, the Russian working class and the Russian peasantry have made countless sacrifices. They have had to overcome enormous difficulties, and they have demonstrated their ability to fight unreservedly for the ideals of humanity. And, comrades, these three years of struggle have steeled the working class and peasantry of Russia, teaching them to fight for and champion directly the interests of the working class. This struggle made it possible to create our invincible, glorious Red Army, which is now dealing severe blows to the enemy on the Polish front.

Comrades, the Russian workers and even the backward Russian peasants are receiving a better education by participating in the unfolding struggle against the Russian bourgeoisie and international capital—which they are doing in ever-larger numbers—than they could from books and speeches. Formerly the workers and peasants had to be told, formerly there had to be agitation, that in order to topple the Russian bourgeoisie the world bourgeoisie too had to be overthrown. Today, however, every Russian worker and peasant understands that we are not fighting the bourgeoisie of Russia alone, nor the tsarist estate owner alone. We would have finished them off long ago, we would have had peace long ago, but for the fact that the coun-

terrevolution of the entire world stands behind them and supports them with great determination. And therefore it is quite natural that the Russian working class and the Russian peasant masses are now watching the oppressed classes of the West and the oppressed masses of the East very closely. They await the moment when these oppressed classes, in concert with the Russian peasants and the Russian workers, will hurl themselves into direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I hope with all my heart that the convening of the Second Congress of the Communist International will be the beginning and the pledge of direct struggle by the oppressed masses of the East and the oppressed classes of the West, of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Long live the Second Congress of the Communist International!

Zinoviev: The first point on the agenda is the report of the Executive Committee, and the second point is reports from each party. Concerning the first and second points, the Executive Committee has decided to limit itself to distributing written reports. The printed report of the Executive Committee has been distributed. Some of the reports by individual parties have been submitted, and others will be turned in later. In this way, all delegates will be able to acquaint themselves with the written reports.¹³ We will proceed to the third item on the agenda, The World Political Situation and the Basic Tasks of the Communist International.

Comrade Lenin will present the report. (*Loud applause. All present rise and applaud. The speaker tries to speak, but the applause and cheers in every language continue. The ovation continues at length.*)

REPORT ON THE WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE BASIC TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin [Communist Party of Russia]: Comrades, the theses on the questions of the fundamental tasks of the Communist International have been published in all languages and contain nothing that is materially new (particularly to the Russian comrades).¹⁴ That is because, in a considerable measure,

they extend several of the main features of our revolutionary experience and the lessons of our revolutionary movement to a number of western countries, to western Europe. My report will therefore deal at greater length, if in brief outline, with the first part of my subject, namely, the international situation.

Imperialism's economic relations constitute the core of the entire international situation as it now exists. Throughout the twentieth century, this new, highest, and final stage of capitalism has fully taken shape. Of course, you all know that the enormous dimensions that capital has reached are the most characteristic and essential feature of imperialism. The place of free competition has been taken by huge monopolies. An insignificant number of capitalists have, in some cases, been able to concentrate in their hands entire branches of industry; these have passed into the hands of combines, cartels, syndicates, and trusts, not infrequently of an international nature. Thus, entire branches of industry, not only in single countries but all over the world, have been taken over by monopolists in the field of finance, property rights, and partly of production. This has formed the basis for the unprecedented domination exercised by an insignificant number of very big banks, financial tycoons, financial magnates who have, in fact, transformed even the freest republics into financial monarchies. Before the war this was publicly recognized by such far-from-revolutionary writers as, for example, Lysis in France.

This domination by a handful of capitalists achieved full development when the whole world had been partitioned, not only in the sense that the various sources of raw materials and means of production had been seized by the biggest capitalists, but also in the sense that the preliminary partition of the colonies had been completed. Some forty years ago the population of the colonies stood at somewhat over 250 million, who were subordinated to six capitalist powers. Before the war of 1914 the population of the colonies was estimated at about 600 million, and if we add countries like Persia, Turkey, and China, which were already semicolonies, we shall get, in round figures, a population of 1 billion people oppressed through colonial dependence by the richest, most civilized, and freest countries. And you know that, apart from direct political and juridical dependence, colonial dependence presumes a number of rela-

tions of financial and economic dependence and a number of wars, which were not regarded as wars because very often they amounted to sheer massacres, when European and American imperialist troops, armed with the most up-to-date weapons of destruction, slaughtered the unarmed and defenseless inhabitants of colonial countries.

The first imperialist war of 1914-18 was the inevitable outcome of this partition of the whole world, of this domination by the capitalist monopolies, of this great power wielded by an insignificant number of very big banks—two, three, four, or five in each country. This war was waged for the repartitioning of the whole world. It was waged in order to decide which of the small groups of the biggest states—the British or the German—was to obtain the opportunity and the right to rob, strangle, and exploit the whole world. You know that the war settled this question in favor of the British group. And, as a result of this war, all capitalist contradictions have become immeasurably more acute. At a single stroke the war relegated about 250 million of the world's inhabitants to what is equivalent to colonial status, namely Russia, whose population can be taken at about 130 million, and Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Bulgaria, with a total population of not less than 120 million. That means 250 million people living in countries, of which some, like Germany, are among the most advanced, most enlightened, most cultured, and on a level with modern technical progress. By means of the Treaty of Versailles, the war imposed such terms upon these countries that advanced peoples have been reduced to a state of colonial dependence, poverty, starvation, ruin, and loss of rights; this treaty binds them for many generations, placing them in conditions that no civilized nation has ever lived in.¹⁵ The following is the postwar picture of the world: At least 1.25 billion people are at once brought under the colonial yoke, exploited by a brutal capitalism, which once boasted of its love for peace and had some right to do so some fifty years ago, when the world was not partitioned, the monopolies did not as yet rule, and capitalism could still develop in a relatively peaceful way, without tremendous military conflicts.

Today, after this "peaceful" period, we see a monstrous intensification of oppression, a reversion to a colonial and military oppression that is far worse than before. The Treaty of Versailles

has placed Germany and the other defeated countries in a position that makes their economic existence physically impossible, deprives them of all rights, and humiliates them.

How many nations are the beneficiaries? To answer this question we must recall that the population of the United States—the only full beneficiary from the war, a country which, from a heavy debtor, has become a general creditor—is no more than 100 million. The population of Japan—which gained a great deal by keeping out of the European-American conflict and by seizing the enormous Asian continent—is 50 million. The population of Britain, which next to the above-mentioned countries gained most, is about 50 million. If we add the neutral countries with their very small populations, countries that were enriched by the war, we shall get, in round figures, some 250 million people.

Thus you get the broad outlines of the picture of the world as it appeared after the imperialist war. In the oppressed colonies—countries that are being dismembered, such as Persia, Turkey, and China, and in countries that were defeated and have been relegated to the position of colonies—there are 1.25 billion inhabitants. Not more than 250 million inhabit countries that have retained their old positions intact. But they have become economically dependent upon America, and all of them, during the war, were militarily dependent, for the war involved the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And, finally, we have not more than 250 million inhabitants in countries whose top stratum, the capitalists alone, benefited from the partition of the world. We thus get a total of about 1.75 billion comprising the entire population of the world. I would like to remind you of this picture of the world, for all the basic contradictions of capitalism, of imperialism, which are leading up to revolution, all the basic contradictions in the working-class movement that have led up to the furious struggle against the Second International, facts our chairman has referred to, are all connected with this partitioning of the world's population.

Of course, these figures give the economic picture of the world only approximately, in broad outline. And, comrades, it is natural that, with the population of the world divided in this way, exploitation by finance capital, the capitalist monopolies,

has increased many times over.

Not only have the colonial and defeated countries been reduced to a state of dependence; within each victor state the contradictions have grown more acute, and all the capitalist contradictions have become aggravated. I shall illustrate this briefly with a few examples.

Let us take the national debts. We know that the debts of the principal European states increased no less than *sevenfold* in the period between 1914 and 1920. I shall quote another economic source, one of particular significance—Keynes, the British diplomat and author of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, who, on instructions from his government, took part in the Versailles peace negotiations, observed them on the spot from the purely bourgeois point of view, studied the subject in detail, step by step, and took part in the conference as an economist. He has arrived at conclusions that are more weighty, more striking, and more instructive than any Communist revolutionary could draw, because they are the conclusions of a well-known bourgeois and implacable enemy of Bolshevism, which he, like the British philistine he is, imagines as something monstrous, ferocious, and bestial. Keynes has reached the conclusion that through the peace of Versailles, Europe and the whole world are heading for bankruptcy. He has resigned and thrown his book in the government's face with the words, "What you are doing is madness." I shall quote his figures, which can be summed up as follows.

What are the debtor-creditor relations that have developed between the principal powers? I shall convert pounds sterling into gold rubles, at a rate of ten gold rubles to one pound.¹⁶ Here is what we get: the United States has assets amounting to nineteen billion, its liabilities are nil. Before the war it was Britain's debt. In his report on April 14, 1920, to the last congress of the Communist Party of Germany,¹⁷ Comrade Levi very correctly pointed out that there are now only two powers in the world that can act independently, namely Britain and America. America alone is absolutely independent financially. Before the war it was a debtor, now it is a creditor only.

All the other powers in the world are debtors. Britain has been reduced to a position in which her assets total seventeen billion, and her liabilities eight billion. She is already halfway to becom-

ing a debtor nation. Moreover, her assets include about six billion owed to her by Russia. Included in the debt are military supplies received by Russia during the war. When Krasin, as representative of the Russian Soviet government, recently had occasion to discuss with Lloyd George the subject of debt agreements, he made it plain to the scientists and politicians, to the British government's leaders, that they were laboring under a strange delusion if they were counting on getting these debts repaid. The British diplomat Keynes has already laid this delusion bare.

Of course, it is not only or even not at all a question of the Russian revolutionary government having no wish to pay the debts. No government would pay, because these debts are usurious interest on a sum that has been paid twenty times over, and the selfsame bourgeois Keynes, who does not in the least sympathize with the Russian revolutionary movement, says, "It is clear that these debts cannot be taken into account."

In regard to France, Keynes quotes the following figures: her assets amount to 3.5 billion and her liabilities to 10.5 billion! And this is a country that the French themselves called the world's moneylender, because her "savings" were enormous; the proceeds of colonial and financial pillage—a gigantic capital—enabled her to grant billions upon billions in loans, particularly to Russia. These loans brought in an enormous revenue. Notwithstanding this and notwithstanding victory, France has been reduced to debtor status.

A bourgeois American source, quoted by Comrade Braun, a Communist, in his book *Wer soll die Kriegsrechnung bezahlen?* [Who should pay the war debts?] estimates the ratio of debts to national wealth as follows: in the victor countries, Britain and France, the ratio of debts to aggregate national wealth is over 50 percent; in Italy the percentage is between 60 and 70, and in Russia 90. As you know, however, these debts do not disturb us, because we followed Keynes's excellent advice just a little before his book appeared—we annulled all our debts. (*Stormy applause*)

In this, however, Keynes reveals the usual crankiness of the philistine: while advising that all debts should be annulled, he goes on to say that, of course, France alone stands to gain by it; that, of course, Britain will not lose very much, as nothing can be got out of Russia in any case; America will lose a fair amount,

but Keynes counts on American “generosity”! On this point our views differ from those of Keynes and other petty-bourgeois pacifists. We think that to get the debts annulled they will have to wait for something else to happen and will have to try working in a direction other than counting on the “generosity” of the capitalists.

These few figures go to show that the imperialist war has created an impossible situation for the victor powers as well. This is further shown by the enormous disparity between wages and price rises. On March 8 of this year, the Supreme Economic Council,¹⁸ an institution charged with protecting the bourgeois system throughout the world from the mounting revolution, adopted a resolution that ended with an appeal for order, industry, and thrift, provided, of course, the workers remain the slaves of capital. This Supreme Economic Council, organ of the Entente and of the capitalists of the whole world, presented the following summary:

In the United States of America food prices have risen, on the average, by 120 percent, whereas wages have increased only by 100 percent. In Britain food prices have gone up by 170 percent and wages 130 percent; in France, food prices 300 percent and wages 200 percent; in Japan, food prices 130 percent and wages 60 percent. (I have analyzed Comrade Braun’s figures in this pamphlet and those of the Supreme Economic Council as published in the [London] *Times* of March 10, 1920.)

In such circumstances the workers’ mounting resentment, the growth of a revolutionary temper and ideas, and the increase in spontaneous mass strikes are obviously inevitable, since the position of the workers is becoming intolerable. The workers’ own experience is convincing them that the capitalists have become prodigiously enriched by the war and are placing the burden of war costs and debts upon the workers’ shoulders. We recently learned by cable that America wants to deport another 500 Communists to Russia so as to get rid of “dangerous agitators.”

Even if America deports to our country, not 500 but 500,000 Russian, American, Japanese, and French “agitators,” that will make no difference, because there will still be the disparity between prices and wages, which they can do nothing about. The reason why they can do nothing about it is that private property is most strictly safeguarded, is “sacred” there. That

should not be forgotten, because it is only in Russia that the exploiters' private property has been abolished. The capitalists can do nothing about the gap between prices and wages, and the workers cannot live on their previous wages. The old methods are useless against this calamity. Nothing can be achieved by isolated strikes, the parliamentary struggle, or the vote, because "private property is sacred," and the capitalists have accumulated such debts that the whole world is in bondage to a handful of men. Meanwhile the workers' living conditions are becoming more and more unbearable. There is no other way out but to abolish the exploiters' "private property."

In his pamphlet *Angliya i mirovaya revolyutsiya* [Britain and world revolution], valuable extracts from which were published in our *Vestnik Narodnogo komissariata inostrannykh del* [Bulletin of the people's commissariat of foreign affairs] of February 1920, Comrade Lapinski points out that in Britain coal export prices have doubled as against those anticipated by official industrial circles.

In Lancashire things have gone so far that the price of shares rose 400 percent. Bank profits are at least 40 to 50 percent. It should, moreover, be noted that in determining bank profits all bank officials are able to conceal the lion's share of profits by calling them not profits but bonuses, commissions, and so on. So here, too, indisputable economic facts prove that the wealth of a tiny handful of people has grown prodigiously and that their luxury beggars description, while the poverty of the working class is steadily growing.

We must particularly note the further circumstance brought out very clearly by Comrade Levi in the report I referred to, namely, the change in the value of money. Money has everywhere depreciated as a result of the debts, the issuing of paper currency, and so forth. The same bourgeois source I have already mentioned, namely, the statement of the Supreme Economic Council of March 8, 1920, has calculated that in Britain the depreciation in the value of currency as against the dollar is approximately one-third, in France and Italy two-thirds, and in Germany as much as 96 percent.

This fact shows that the "mechanism" of the world capitalist economy is falling apart. The trade relations on which the acquisition of raw materials and the sale of commodities hinge

under capitalism cannot go on; they cannot continue to be based on the subordination of a number of countries to a single country—the reason being the change in the value of money. No wealthy country can exist or trade unless it sells its goods and obtains raw materials.

Thus we have a situation in which America, a wealthy country that all countries are subordinate to, cannot buy or sell.¹⁹ And the selfsame Keynes who went through the entire gamut of the Versailles negotiations has been compelled to acknowledge this impossibility despite his unyielding determination to defend capitalism and all his hatred of Bolshevism. Incidentally, I do not think any manifesto, be it Communist or revolutionary in a general sense, could compare in forcefulness with those pages in Keynes's book that depict Wilson and "Wilsonism" in action. Wilson was the idol of philistines and pacifists like Keynes and a number of heroes of the Second International (and even of the "Two-and-a-Half" International) who exalted the Fourteen Points²⁰ and even wrote "learned" books about the "roots" of Wilson's policy; they hoped that Wilson would save "social peace," reconcile exploiters and exploited, and bring about social reforms. Keynes showed vividly how Wilson was made a fool of and how all these illusions were shattered at the first contact with the practical, mercantile, and huckster policy of capital as personified by Clemenceau and Lloyd George. The masses of the workers now see more clearly than ever, from their own experience—and the learned pedants could see it just by reading Keynes's book—that the "roots" of Wilson's policy lay in sanctimonious piffle, petty-bourgeois phrasemongering, and an utter inability to understand the class struggle.

In consequence of all this, two conditions, two fundamental situations, have inevitably and naturally emerged. On the one hand, the impoverishment of the masses has grown incredibly, primarily among 1.25 billion people, that is, 70 percent of the world's population. These are the colonial and dependent countries whose inhabitants possess no legal rights, countries "mandated" to the brigands of finance. Besides, the enslavement of the defeated countries has been sanctioned by the Treaty of Versailles and by existing secret treaties regarding Russia, whose validity, it is true, is sometimes about as real as that of the scraps of paper stating that we owe so many billions. For the first time

in world history, we see robbery, slavery, dependence, poverty, and starvation imposed upon 1.25 billion people by a legal act.

On the other hand, the workers in each of the creditor countries have found themselves in conditions that are intolerable. The war has led to an unprecedented aggravation of all capitalist contradictions, this being the origin of the intense revolutionary ferment that is ever growing. During the war people were put under military discipline, hurled into the ranks of death, or threatened with immediate wartime punishment. Because of the war conditions, people could not see the economic realities. Writers, poets, the clergy, the whole press were engaged in nothing but glorifying the war. Now that the war has ended, the exposures have begun: German imperialism with its peace of Brest-Litovsk has been laid bare;²¹ the Treaty of Versailles, which was to have been a victory for imperialism but proved its defeat, has been exposed.

Incidentally, the example of Keynes shows that in Europe and America tens and hundreds of thousands of petty bourgeois, intellectuals, and simply more or less literate and educated people have had to follow the road taken by Keynes, who resigned and threw in the face of the government a book exposing it. Keynes has shown what is taking place and will take place in the minds of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people when they realize that all the speeches about a "war for liberty" and the like were sheer deception, and that as a result only a handful of people were enriched while the others were ruined and reduced to slavery.

Is it not a fact that the bourgeois Keynes declares that, to survive and save the British economy, the British must secure the resumption of free commercial intercourse between Germany and Russia? How can this be achieved? By canceling all debts as Keynes proposes. This is an idea that has been arrived at not only by Keynes, the learned economist; millions of people are or will be getting the same idea. And millions of people hear bourgeois economists declare that there is no way out except annulling the debts; therefore, "Damn the Bolsheviks" (who have annulled the debts), and let us appeal to America's "generosity"! I think that, on behalf of the congress of the Communist International, we should send a message of thanks to these economists, who have been agitating for Bolshevism.

If, on the one hand, the economic position of the masses has become intolerable and, on the other hand, the disintegration described by Keynes has set in and is growing among the all-powerful victor countries, a negligible minority, then we are in the presence of the maturing of the two conditions for the world revolution.

We now have before us a somewhat more complete picture of the whole world. We know what dependence upon a handful of rich men means to 1.25 billion people who have been placed in intolerable conditions of existence. On the other hand, when the peoples were presented with the League of Nations Covenant, declaring that the league had put an end to war and would henceforth not permit anyone to break the peace, and when this covenant, the last hope of working people all over the world, came into force, it proved to be a victory of the first order for us. Before it came into force, people used to say that it was impossible not to impose special conditions on a country like Germany, but when the covenant was drawn up, everything would come out all right. Yet, when the covenant was published, the bitterest opponents of Bolshevism were obliged to repudiate it! When the covenant came into operation, it appeared that a small group of the richest countries, the "Big Four"—in the persons of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando, and Wilson—had been put on the job of creating the new relations! When the machinery of the covenant was put into operation, this led to a complete breakdown.

We saw this in the case of the wars against Russia. Weak, ruined, and crushed, Russia, a most backward country, fought against all the nations, against a league of the rich and powerful states that dominate the world, and emerged victorious. We could not put up a force that was anything like the equal of theirs, and yet we proved the victors. Why was that? Because there was not a jot of unity among them, because each power worked against the other. France wanted Russia to pay her debts and become a formidable force against Germany; Britain wanted to partition Russia and attempted to seize the Baku oil fields and conclude a treaty with the border states of Russia. Among the official British documents there is a paper that scrupulously enumerates all the states (fourteen in all) that some six months ago, in December 1919, pledged themselves to

take Moscow and Petrograd. Britain based her policy on these states, to whom she granted loans running into millions. All these calculations have now misfired, and all the loans are unrecoverable.

Such is the situation created by the League of Nations. Every day of this covenant's existence provides the best propaganda for Bolshevism, since the most powerful adherents of the capitalist "order" are revealing that, on every question, they put spokes in each other's wheels. Furious wrangling over the partitioning of Turkey, Persia, Mesopotamia [Iraq], and China is going on between Japan, Britain, America, and France. The bourgeois press in these countries is full of the bitterest attacks and the angriest statements against their "colleagues" for trying to snatch the booty from under their noses. We see complete discord at the top, among this handful, this very small number of extremely rich countries.

There are 1.25 billion people who find it impossible to live in the conditions of servitude that "advanced" and civilized capitalism wishes to impose on them. After all, these represent 70 percent of the world's population. This handful of the richest states—Britain, America, and Japan (although Japan was able to plunder the Eastern, the Asian countries, she cannot constitute an independent financial and military force without support from another country)—these two or three countries are unable to organize economic relations and are directing their policies toward disrupting policies of their colleagues and partners in the League of Nations. Hence the world crisis; it is these economic roots of the crisis that provide the chief reason for the brilliant successes the Communist International is achieving.

Comrades, we have now come to the question of the revolutionary crisis as the basis of our revolutionary action. And here we must first of all note two widespread errors. On the one hand, bourgeois economists depict this crisis simply as "unrest," to use the elegant expression of the British. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely insoluble.

This is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie is behaving like barefaced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their

doom. All that is true. But nobody can “prove” that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions and suppress some movement or uprising of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to “prove” in advance that there is “absolutely” no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry or playing with concepts and catchwords. Practice alone can serve as real “proof” in this and similar questions. All over the world, the bourgeois system is experiencing a tremendous revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now “prove” in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organization, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilize this crisis for a successful, a victorious, revolution.

It is mainly to prepare this “proof” that we have gathered at this congress of the Communist International.

To illustrate to what extent opportunism still prevails among parties that wish to affiliate to the Third International and how far the work of some parties is removed from preparing the revolutionary class to utilize the revolutionary crisis, I shall quote the leader of the British Independent Labour Party, Ramsay MacDonald. In his book *Parliament and Revolution*, which deals with the basic problems that are now engaging our attention, MacDonald describes the state of affairs in what is something like a bourgeois-pacifist spirit. He admits that there is a revolutionary crisis and that revolutionary sentiments are growing, that the sympathies of the workers are with the soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat (note that this refers to Britain) and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the present dictatorship of the British bourgeoisie.

But MacDonald remains through and through a bourgeois pacifist and compromiser, a petty bourgeois who dreams of a government that stands above classes. Like all bourgeois liars, sophists, and pedants, MacDonald recognizes the class struggle merely as a “descriptive fact.” He ignores the experience of Kerensky, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries of Russia and the similar experience of Hungary, Germany, and so on, in regard to creating a “democratic” government allegedly standing above classes. MacDonald lulls his party and those workers who have the misfortune to regard this bourgeois as a socialist, this philistine as a leader, with the words “We know that

all this" (that is, the revolutionary crisis, the revolutionary ferment) "will pass, settle down." The war, he says, inevitably provoked the crisis, but after the war it will all "settle down," even if not at once!

That is what has been written by a man who is leader of a party that wants to affiliate to the Third International. This is a revelation—the more valuable for its rare outspokenness—of what is no less frequently to be seen in the top ranks of the French Socialist Party and the German Independent Social Democratic Party, namely, not merely an inability, but also an unwillingness to take advantage, in a revolutionary sense, of the revolutionary crisis or, in other words, both an inability and an unwillingness to really prepare the party and the class in revolutionary fashion for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That is the main evil in very many parties that are now leaving the Second International. This is precisely why, in the theses I have submitted to the present congress, I have dwelt most of all on the tasks connected with *preparations* for the dictatorship of the proletariat and have given as concrete and exact a definition of them as possible.

Here is another example. A new book against Bolshevism was recently published. An unusually large number of books of this kind are now coming out in Europe and America; the more anti-Bolshevik books are brought out, the more strongly and rapidly mass sympathy for Bolshevism grows. I am referring to Otto Bauer's *Bolschewismus oder Sozialdemokratie?* [Bolshevism or social democracy?] This book clearly demonstrates to the Germans the essence of Menshevism, whose shameful role in the Russian revolution is understood well enough by the workers of all countries. Otto Bauer has produced a thoroughgoing Menshevik pamphlet, although he has concealed his own sympathy with Menshevism. In Europe and America, however, more precise information should now be disseminated about what Menshevism actually is, for it is a generic term for all allegedly Socialist, Social Democratic, and other trends that are hostile to Bolshevism. It would be tedious if we Russians were to explain to Europeans what Menshevism is. Otto Bauer has shown that in his book, and we thank in advance the bourgeois and opportunist publishers who will publish it and translate it into various languages. Bauer's book will be a useful, if peculiar, supplement

to the textbooks on communism. Take any paragraph, any argument in Otto Bauer's book and indicate the Menshevism in it, where the roots lie of views that lead up to the actions of the traitors to socialism, of the friends of Kerensky, Scheidemann, and so on—this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in "examinations" designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated. If you cannot answer this question, you are not yet a Communist and should not join the Communist Party. (*Applause*)

Otto Bauer has excellently expressed in a single sentence the essence of the views of world opportunism; for this, if we could do as we please in Vienna, we would put up a monument to him in his lifetime. The use of force in the class struggle in modern democracies, Otto Bauer says, would be "violence exercised against the social factors of force."

You may think that this sounds queer and unintelligible. It is an example of what Marxism has been reduced to, of the kind of banality and defense of the exploiters to which the most revolutionary theory can be reduced. A German variety of philistinism is required for you to get the "theory" that the "social factors of force" are to be found in numbers, the degree of organization, the place held in the process of production and distribution, activity, and education. If a rural agricultural laborer or an urban worker practices revolutionary violence against a landowner or a capitalist, that is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, not violence against the exploiters and the oppressors of the people. Oh no! This is "violence against the social factors of force."

Perhaps my example sounds something like a jest. However, such is the nature of present-day opportunism that its struggle against Bolshevism becomes a jest. The task of involving the working class, all its thinking elements, in the struggle between international Menshevism (the MacDonalds, Otto Bauers, and company) and Bolshevism is highly useful and very urgent to Europe and America.

Here we must ask: How is the persistence of such trends in Europe to be explained? Why is this opportunism stronger in western Europe than in our country? It is because the culture of the advanced countries has been, and still is, the result of their being able to live at the expense of a billion oppressed people.

It is because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more in this way than they could obtain as profits by plundering the workers in their own countries.

Before the war, it was calculated that the three richest countries—Britain, France, and Germany—got between 8 and 10 billion francs a year from the export of capital alone, apart from other sources.

It goes without saying that, out of this tidy sum, at least 500 million can be spent as a sop to the labor leaders and the labor aristocracy, that is, on all sorts of bribes. The whole thing boils down to nothing but bribery. It is done in a thousand different ways: by increasing cultural facilities in the largest centers, by creating educational institutions, and by providing cooperative, trade union, and parliamentary leaders with thousands of cushy jobs. This is done wherever present-day civilized capitalist relations exist. It is these billions in superprofits that form the economic basis of opportunism in the working-class movement. In America, Britain, and France we see a far greater persistence of the opportunist leaders, of the upper crust of the working class, the labor aristocracy; they offer stronger resistance to the Communist movement.

That is why we must be prepared to find it harder for the European and American workers' parties to get rid of this disease than was the case in our country. We know that enormous successes have been achieved in the treatment of this disease since the Third International was formed, but we have not yet finished the job. The purging of the workers' parties, the revolutionary parties of the proletariat all over the world, of bourgeois influences, of the opportunists in their ranks, is very far from complete.

I shall not dwell on the concrete manner in which we must do that; that is dealt with in my published theses. My task consists in indicating the deep economic roots of this phenomenon. The disease is a protracted one; the cure takes longer than the optimists hoped it would. Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Without their leadership of the workers,

the bourgeoisie could not remain in power. This has been proved not only by the history of the Kerensky regime in Russia; it has also been proved by the democratic republic in Germany under its Social Democratic government, as well as by Albert Thomas's attitude toward his bourgeois government. It has been proved by similar experiences in Britain and the United States. This is where our principal enemy is, an enemy we must overcome. We must leave this congress firmly resolved to carry on this struggle to the very end, in all parties. That is our main task.

Compared with this task, the rectification of the errors of the "left" trend in communism will be an easy one. In a number of countries antiparlamentarism is found, which has not been introduced by people of petty-bourgeois origin so much as fostered by certain advanced contingents of the proletariat out of hatred for the old parliamentarism, out of a legitimate, proper, and necessary hatred for the conduct of members of parliament in Britain, France, Italy, in all lands. Directives must be issued by the Communist International, and the comrades must be made more familiar with the experience of Russia, with the significance of a genuinely proletarian political party. Our work will consist in accomplishing this task. The fight against these errors in the proletarian movement, against these shortcomings, will be a thousand times easier than fighting against those bourgeois who, in the guise of reformists, belong to the old parties of the Second International and conduct the whole of their work in a bourgeois, not proletarian, spirit.

Comrades, in conclusion I shall deal with one other aspect of the subject. Our comrade chairman has said that our congress merits the title of a world congress. I think he is right, particularly because we have here quite a number of representatives of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and backward countries. This is only a small beginning, but the important thing is that a beginning has been made. At this congress we see taking place a union between revolutionary proletarians of the capitalist, advanced countries, and the revolutionary masses of those countries where there is no or hardly any proletariat, that is, the oppressed masses of colonial, Eastern countries. It is upon ourselves that the consolidation of unity depends, and I am sure we shall achieve it. World imperialism shall fall when the revolu-

tionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming resistance from petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper crust of labor aristocrats, merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history and have been regarded merely as the objects of history.

The imperialist war helped the revolution when, from the colonies, the backward countries, and the isolation they lived in, soldiers were levied by the bourgeoisie for this imperialist war. The British bourgeoisie impressed on the soldiers from India that it was the duty of the Indian peasants to defend Great Britain against Germany; the French bourgeoisie impressed on soldiers from the French colonies that it was their duty to defend France. They taught them the use of arms, a very useful thing, for which we might express our deep gratitude to the bourgeoisie—express our gratitude on behalf of all the Russian workers and peasants, and particularly on behalf of all the Russian Red Army. The imperialist war has drawn the dependent peoples into world history. And one of the most important tasks now confronting us is to consider how the foundation stone of the organization of the soviet movement can be laid in the noncapitalist countries. Soviets are possible there; they will not be workers' soviets, but peasants' soviets, or soviets of working people.

Much work will have to be done; errors will be inevitable; many difficulties will be encountered along this road. It is the fundamental task of the Second Congress to elaborate or indicate the practical principles that will enable the work, till now carried on in an unorganized fashion among hundreds of millions of people, to be carried on in an organized, coherent, and systematic fashion.

Now, a year or a little more after the First Congress of the Communist International, we have emerged victors over the Second International. It is not only among the workers of the civilized countries that the idea of the soviets has spread; it is not only to them that they have become known and intelligible. The workers of all lands are ridiculing the wiseacres, not a few of whom call themselves Socialists and argue in a learned or almost learned manner about the soviet "system," as the German sys-

tematists are fond of calling it, or the soviet "idea," as the British Guild Socialists call it.²² Not infrequently, these arguments about the soviet "system" or "idea" becloud the workers' eyes and their minds. However, the workers are brushing this pedantic rubbish aside and are taking up the weapon provided by the soviets. A recognition of the role and significance of soviets has now also spread to the lands of the East.

The groundwork has been laid for the soviet movement all over the East, all over Asia, among all the colonial peoples.

The proposition that the exploited must rise up against the exploiters and establish their soviets is not a very complex one. After our experience, after two and a half years of the existence of the Soviet republic in Russia, and after the First Congress of the Third International, this idea is becoming accessible to hundreds of millions of people oppressed by the exploiters all over the world. We in Russia are often obliged to compromise, to bide our time, since we are weaker than the international imperialists, yet we know that we are defending the interests of this mass of 1.25 billion people. For the time being, we are hampered by barriers, prejudices, and ignorance that are receding into the past with every passing hour, but we are more and more becoming representatives and genuine defenders of this 70 percent of the world's population, this mass of working and exploited people. It is with pride that we can say: At the First Congress we were in fact merely propagandists; we were only spreading the fundamental ideas among the world's proletariat; we only issued the call for struggle; we were merely asking where the people were who were capable of taking this path. Today the advanced proletariat is everywhere with us. A proletarian army exists everywhere, although sometimes it is poorly organized and needs reorganizing. If our comrades in all lands help us now to organize a united army, no shortcomings will prevent us from accomplishing our task. That task is the world proletarian revolution, the creation of a world soviet republic. (*Prolonged applause*)

Zinoviev: Comrade Lenin's speech will not be translated into the other languages at this session; the written translation of his speech will be distributed to the delegates. (*He then recognizes Comrade Rosmer.*)

Alfred Rosmer [Committee for the Third International, France]: On behalf of the workers and peasants of France, I thank the toilers of Petrograd for their fraternal welcome, which deeply moved all the delegates from France. It was an excellent idea to welcome all the delegates in Smolny, in order to show the sufferings and ordeals through which the Russian proletariat achieved the victory we celebrate today.

Comrade Kalinin's words, that it is time the international proletariat showed its solidarity with the Russian people, are deeply engraved into the memories of us all. The French workers know that they have not yet come to the aid of the Russian people energetically enough—in part because they did not know about conditions here, in part because they were misled by malicious propaganda, and in part because they were not strong enough to translate their will into reality. Now, on our return home, we French delegates will be able to tell the French workers and peasants what is happening in Russia. We promise to work ten times harder to make the French workers and peasants understand that people are fighting and dying here for the whole world's common cause. We promise to bend every effort to move the French workers to join the ranks of active proletarians. We consider it our duty to extend especially heartfelt greetings to the proletariat of Red Petrograd, whose heroism and incomparable devotion shattered all attempts at counterrevolution and won the respect of the world proletariat.

(Rosmer proposes the text of the following greetings to the proletariat of Petrograd.)

TO THE PROLETARIANS OF RED PETROGRAD

Brothers:

The Second World Congress of the Communist International, which is commencing its sessions in Red Petrograd, addresses its first greetings to you, the working men and women, Red Army soldiers, sailors, and all the toilers of Petrograd. As delegates of workers' organizations around the world, we felt it our duty to convene the first session of the congress in your city of Petrograd so that we may pay the tribute of respect and love to

the proletariat of Red Petrograd, who first rose up against the bourgeoisie and, by a heroic effort of strength and will, brought down the power of capital in one of the bourgeois world's most important strongholds.

Proletarians of all countries know how much you, the proletarians of Petrograd, have suffered and starved during the last three years, how many of your best sons fell at the front defending the noble cause of communism. The workers of the entire world love you all the more dearly because at the moment of greatest danger for Petrograd and the whole Soviet republic, you never wavered. Instead you defended the bloodstained red flag with the courage of lions, with the unflinching bravery and steadfastness of the Petrograd proletariat. The Communist International tells you that the Petrograd commune is worthy of carrying forward the cause of the Paris Commune and, avoiding its weaknesses and mistakes, of leading the proletarian battalions to victory. The Communist International is convinced that in the future the workers of Red Petrograd will continue to be the best troops in the international workers' army.

Long live the magnificent Petrograd proletariat!

Long live the Communist International!

Zinoviev: The congress wishes to send greetings to the Red Army of the Russian republic. Comrade Serrati, the Italian workers' representative, has the floor.

Giacinto Serrati: On behalf of the Italian Socialist Party, which has joined the Communist International, I greet the glorious Red Army of Russia, defender of the world proletariat's lofty ideal. When the World War broke out, the betrayers of the working class in Italy wanted this class to take up the cause of the bourgeoisie. They propagated the theory that the proletariat could win peace and attain its objectives once it was armed. The Italian Socialist Party broke with the social traitors. It said that with or without guns, it had always fought on the side of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

And now the great Red Army has demonstrated that in practice. It has inscribed in history in golden letters that iron and guns are weapons only if the working class knows how to use them, only if it understands that all this serves it only in the achievement of the proletariat's great ideals in struggle against

the bourgeoisie of the entire globe.

That valiant Red Army, which is fighting and winning victory after victory against Wrangel in the south and the Poles in the west, is not alone. The British workers, the Italian sailors, and the German sailors in Kiel are fighting alongside it. And proletarians everywhere use strikes and other means to prevent the instruments of death from reaching the Polish front. In some cases they prove in bloody struggle that they do not want to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. Everywhere there are defenders and supporters of the great proletarian Red Army.

The day is near when this army will consist of proletarians not only of Russia but of the entire world. Then will all toilers, united by a common consciousness of the noble ideal of socialism, constitute the most powerful and invincible of armies, able to bring down capitalism once and for all and put an end to its entire legacy. Then will proletarians around the world and the brave soldiers of the Red Army finally liberate themselves from the obligation of making war. Then can they liberate the entire world, not with cannon but by peaceful labor, from everything that has always oppressed the working class.

On behalf of this lofty ideal—without taking up the services that the Red Army has already rendered to the world proletariat—I move in the name of all the parties represented in the Communist International that we hail the Red Army and the Red fleet of the Russian Soviet Republic.

TO THE RED ARMY AND THE RED FLEET OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Brothers:

The Second World Congress of the Communist International sends warmest fraternal greetings to the entire Red Army; to the whole fleet; to every Red unit from the smallest to the largest; to you, Red Army soldiers and Red sailors, collectively and individually; and especially to the comrades at the front. The toilers around the world are gripped with suspense as they watch, full of love, your struggle against the capitalists and estate owners, the tsarist generals and imperialists.

The workers of the whole world have gone through your defeats with you and celebrate your victories with you. The toiling population of the whole world has watched eagerly as you, at the cost of great efforts, defeated Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and Miller and foiled the intrigues of the British and French capitalists.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International warmly greets the Red Army, which at this moment, on the western and southwestern fronts, is fighting the White Polish *pans* [lords] sent by the Entente bourgeoisie to strangle the Russian workers' and peasants' Soviet republic.

Red Army brothers, your war against the Polish *pans* is the most just war that history has ever known. You are fighting for the interests not only of Soviet Russia, but of all toiling humanity, for the Communist International.

Only with arms in hand can the toiling masses throw off the yoke of the rich and destroy wage slavery. You were the first to turn your weapons against the oppressors. You were the first to create a disciplined and powerful Red Army of the workers and peasants. You were the first to show the way to the oppressed and exploited around the world. For that proletarians of all countries bless you.

The Communist International knows that your victory over the enemies of the workers and peasants was purchased with countless victims and sacrifices.

We know that you do not spare yourselves. We know how many of the best sons of the Red Army have given their lives for our cause. History will never forget your heroism. Know, comrades, that the Red Army is today one of the main forces of world history. Know that you are no longer alone. The toilers of the whole world are on your side. The time is close at hand when the international Red army will be created.

Long live the great, invincible Red Army!

Long live the army of the Communist International!

Zinoviev: The congress proposes to send a special appeal to the workers of the world on behalf of a detachment of our forces that is currently in a particularly difficult situation and is making enormous sacrifices. I am referring to the Hungarian proletariat. Comrade Steinhardt, representative of the Austrian Com-

munists, has the floor.

Karl Steinhardt [Communist Party of Austria]: Comrades, as the First Congress of the Communist International drew to a close last March, followed immediately by the opening of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, we received in Moscow a telegram from Comrade Béla Kun. In it he reported that the Hungarian workers had seized the reins of power and the Hungarian council republic had been established. We were all very happy to hear this news. Nonetheless, closer consideration of the circumstances surrounding this great event caused us no small alarm. For soviet power in Hungary was won not through years of bloody struggle against the bourgeoisie; instead, power was taken from the bourgeoisie without a fight. Moreover, our allies in this battle were known in the International as belonging to the most backward layers of the Social Democratic parties internationally. Our ally was the Hungarian Social Democracy.

And then our fears were in fact realized. From the very beginning the Hungarian Social Democracy, which had fused with the Communist Party, carried out sabotage. This fusion was the Hungarian Communist Party's biggest mistake. The leading bodies of the Hungarian trade unions carried out sabotage; the bourgeoisie, international capital, all united to bring down the Hungarian soviet government.

The inevitable happened. Threatened by the Romanians, those boyars,²³ those depraved brutes; hard-pressed by the British mercenaries, who, alongside Horthy, are forever disgraced in history; threatened by Czechoslovakia in the north; without support from Austria, because the Social Democracy in Austria had declared war against us; and without support from Germany—from its first days the Hungarian soviet government was forced to wage a desperate struggle.

But comrades, this was nonetheless a great event. For the first time in the history of communism a soviet republic arose in the midst of the Western capitalist countries, in the midst of the enemy camp. In the eyes of the Western capitalists, that was a crime for which they exacted atonement by every available means.

Even to talk about the atrocities that have occurred in Hungary during the past year is repugnant. Nothing could be more

inhuman than what Horthy's hordes are now doing to the workers, regardless of whether they are Communists, Social Democrats, or even Christian Socialists. As a result Hungary is now defenseless.

It is the duty of the Communist International in this historic place, at this extraordinary time in history, to raise a protest—not a protest in words, however, but one of powerful action against Horthy's gangs.

The workers of Czechoslovakia have united so that neither weapons nor a cartload of war matériel is sent to Poland. In Austria and Germany our workers' councils have united so that not a single freight car is sent against Soviet Russia. We too must unite so that, together with our brothers, we can rapidly turn Horthy's Hungary into soviet Hungary, a civilized country once again! We must try to defeat these gangs with all available means.

Therefore, comrades, I ask you to adopt unanimously and without debate the following appeal to all proletarians—and not just to adopt it, but to act on it in each country and every day. That is what counts, comrades.

SAVE THE HUNGARIAN PROLETARIAT!

To proletarians of all countries:

Working men and women! Soviet Russia is today victoriously repelling the attack by the criminal clique of Polish nobles. The tide of workers' anger against capitalist governments is rising throughout the entire world. Revolutionary proletarians at the congress of the Communist International are forging a great alliance of the multimillioned army of workers. Yet there is one country that is covered with the corpses of its best revolutionary fighters.

That country is Hungary. International capital, that vile and repulsive monster, has slain the young Hungarian soviet republic. For the campaign against it, all the forces of the old world joined together: professional murderers with general's braid and Christian priests, London bankers and the aristocratic riff-raff of Romania, French profiteers and social traitors of all

countries, Black mercenaries and “civilized” pillars of culture.²⁴ Hard-pressed on every side, its arms and legs broken, the Hungarian soviet republic died in horrible agony on the calvary of the counterrevolution. It will rise again as soon as we can hasten to its aid.

This bestial counterrevolution, led by the dregs of the band of officers under Admiral Horthy, the hireling of Britain, is now performing its hideous dance on the workers’ corpses. There is no atrocity, no base and brutal cynical act that the unrestrained violence of the “order” imposed by these Christian generals would not employ.

Thousands have been hanged and shot; tens of thousands have been jailed, slain, or insidiously assassinated, have been dumped in the sewers, have disappeared without a trace, have been robbed, raped, or crippled by torture. That is the order that has been restored by the democratic “League of Nations” with the help of the heroes of the Second International.

“Woe to the vanquished!” cries the British colonel as he shoots down Communist workers. “Woe to the vanquished!” cries the brutish estate owner as he rapes a woman worker. “Woe to the vanquished!” cries the White Guard jailer, slamming the bars on those workers who have not yet been buried.

Proletarians and women workers:

At this hour, as the crunching of bones of the dying Hungarian proletariat reaches our ears, it is your duty to raise your voices and stay the criminal hand of the bourgeois executioners, who skin people alive, force them to eat human excrement, rape women, and slit open the stomachs of Communist women.

Even those lackeys of capital, the heroes of the social-patriotic Amsterdam trade union International, frightened by their own baseness, have announced a boycott against White Guard Hungary. And their commission has uncovered thousands of piratical atrocities by the Hungarian government and the whole Horthy gang. Thus the heroes of Amsterdam are such traitors that they betray even their own betrayal.

The World Congress of the Communist International, on behalf of the millions of workers who are on the verge of world war against capital, directs this appeal to the entire proletariat:

Arise, one and all, to struggle against those who murder Hungary.

Use every available means in this struggle.

Stop trains carrying weapons. Blow up every military transport bound for Horthy's Hungary.

Render harmless the officers rushing to murder workers.

Disorganize the production of all weapons without exception by means of mighty and repeated waves of strikes. Arm yourselves. Spare no effort in word or deed to subvert the imperialist army. Surround the land of murderers and cutthroats with a wall of hatred!

Workers, by your indifference you yourselves become executioners' assistants.

Join the fighters! Save your proletarian honor! Save the long-suffering Hungarian proletariat.

Workers of Hungary, take heart! The proletariat of the whole world is with you. The Communist International sends you this expression of its love and brotherhood.

Soviet Hungary is dead; long live soviet Hungary!

Julian Marchlewski [Communist Workers Party of Poland]: Permit me to describe to you the situation in Poland. The Russian workers know that in 1905 and 1906 the revolutionary Polish workers were pioneers of the revolution against Russian tsarism. As for the cause of liberating the Polish state (it was liberated in appearance only, to be sure, since this country became a tool of the Entente)—although throwing off the yoke under which the Polish people groaned was a task of the revolution, the Polish workers were unable to take advantage of this fortunate combination of circumstances.

The fact is that the European war, the imperialist war, scattered the Polish proletariat in all directions. Hundreds of thousands of Polish workers were driven into Russia, hundreds of thousands into Germany. That is why impostors, gentlemen who have the support only of the petty bourgeoisie, could usurp power and then, with the aid of the Entente, assemble powerful forces for the fight against Soviet Russia.

The Polish Communists fought this crime from the very first, a struggle that has cost a great deal of blood. As you know, the invasion of Russia began with an infamous, disgraceful murder committed by Polish gendarmes against the Red Cross mission that was led by one of our finest: Comrade Wesolowski.²⁵ You

have read that the outrages being committed in Poland against the Communists are equaled, in all likelihood, only in Hungary. You know that our social traitors there, Daszynski and company, are acting in concert with the bourgeoisie, even more flagrantly, perhaps, than the Russian Mensheviks and the German Scheidemanns.

Now, however, the time has come when the Polish proletariat will see clearly, and when the imperialist narcotic that affected part of the working class of Poland will be dispelled. And now, with the victorious Red Army advancing and helping to destroy the force that has ruled Poland until now, we are very confident that the cause of the Polish revolution will make rapid progress.

But, comrades, we must remember that we are undertaking something quite difficult. For Lord Curzon's impudent action, which the Soviet government had to reject, contains a threat.²⁶ Perhaps the British and French armies will not rush to aid White Guard Poland against the Polish revolution and Soviet Russia, but our enemies will try to set the Romanian army on us, and perhaps also the army that Mr. Noske has already organized for them.²⁷ Perhaps hundreds of thousands of German volunteers will rush to the Polish front to throttle revolutionary Poland and Soviet Russia.

And therefore, comrades, we must remember that we must differentiate ourselves from the Second International. We must be an International not of words but of deeds. It is your duty now to help make certain that this criminal war is quickly brought to an end. And then, I have no doubt, the bourgeoisie's hordes that now menace us will end up as defeated armies always have. When the Russian, German, and Austrian armies were defeated, they became revolutionary. That will happen in Poland, too, and then the Polish soviet republic will triumph.

But in this struggle, for this victory, we still face an uphill battle. We Polish Communists vow to you that we will not relent, and we ask for your support, comrades.

Zinoviev: The congress proposes to issue a political manifesto on this important question. I give the floor to Comrade Levi, delegate of the German Communists.

Paul Levi [Communist Party of Germany]: Comrade Serrati has just described with eloquence the feelings of the proletariat of Europe and the world toward the Red Army. You applauded his

words very enthusiastically, and I must say I am astonished that you can still applaud when the European proletariat's sentiments are conveyed to you.

For the European proletariat's feelings about the Russian revolution and the Red Army have been clear for a long time now. And all their feelings notwithstanding, it was European and German proletarians who imposed the Brest-Litovsk peace on Russia. It was German proletarians who marched through the Baltic countries and who crushed the revolution in the Ukraine and in southern Russia.²⁸ But the time is now approaching when the German and European proletariat must show that it is able to go beyond feelings of sympathy to the only thing that can help the Russian revolution—the living deed.

At this very moment the Red troops are advancing further and further in Poland, approaching ever closer to Warsaw. But it is here, in Poland, that the Red armies for the first time will try their strength against European imperialism face to face. The forces they have fought until now—the Denikins, Yudeniches, and Kolchaks—were but wretched henchmen. Around Poland, however, European imperialism is mustering its forces. Poland is not just a roving mercenary of the Entente but a forward position of European imperialism. Here a test of strength will now take place. This is where the European proletarians must now show how well they understand and are able, in Poland itself, to deal blows against not only the Polish bourgeoisie but European capitalism as well—to beat it until it breaks. Here the first joint action that proletarians of all countries must carry out together awaits them. And in this spirit we propose to you that we issue the following appeal from this place, upon which the eyes of the proletariat of the whole world are focused today.

LET NO SHIP, NO TRAIN LEAVE FOR WHITE GUARD POLAND

To proletarian men and women of all countries:

The Second World Congress of the Communist International convenes at a moment when White Poland, the bulwark of world capitalist reaction, is collapsing under the heavy blows of the Red Army of the Russian workers and peasants. What all revolu-

tionary men and women workers of the whole world passionately longed for has come to pass.

The Russian workers and peasants rose up against the brazen Polish White Guards just as forcefully as they did to crush the Russian counterrevolution, the armies of Yudenich, Kolchak, and Denikin. The Polish capitalists and large landowners disdained Soviet Russia's honest peace proposals. Counting on assistance from world capital, they hurled their troops at Soviet Russia, confident that it had exhausted its energy struggling against the counterrevolution. Now they face a major military defeat.

In panic their armies are retreating from the Ukraine and from White Russia with the armies of Soviet Russia in hot pursuit. World capital's bandits, the Polish large landowners and capitalists, now loudly lament that Poland is in grave danger.

They appeal to the governments of the capitalist countries to rush to their aid as quickly as possible lest the barbarians of the Russian revolution destroy European civilization. And we saw that the British government, which armed Poland for its criminal campaign against Soviet Russia, refused together with its allies to restrain Poland when on April 8 Soviet Russia proposed negotiations in London. We see that very same capitalist Britain brazenly threatening Soviet Russia with another Entente-organized invasion if it does not sign an armistice with the Polish aggressors.

The world capitalist profiteers, who play with the destiny of peoples as with pawns in their game, are now posing as defenders of "independent" Poland. As recently as 1917, the French government was still prepared to leave Poland in the hands of Russian tsarism if the latter would recognize in return French imperialism's claims to the left bank of the Rhine. During the war the British government frequently told the German government privately through its agents that it would hand over Poland to the Central Powers if only German imperialism would let go of Belgium, from which Britain could be threatened. Now all these dealers in human flesh are screaming that Soviet Russia threatens Poland's independence. They seek to use this slogan to prepare world public opinion for another military campaign against the Russian workers and peasants.

Working men and women of the world! We do not need to tell

you that Soviet Russia has no plans of conquest whatsoever against the Polish people. Soviet Russia defended Poland's independence against attack by the executioners of the Polish people, against Hoffmann and Beseler.²⁹ Soviet Russia was ready to conclude peace even with the Polish capitalists and, merely in order to achieve peace, it not only recognized Poland's independence but even conceded extensive border territories to Poland.³⁰

There are thousands of brave Polish fighters in the Soviet ranks. Soviet Russia is intimately bound to the Polish working masses by decades of common struggle. The Polish people's right of self-determination is for Soviet Russia a sacred, inviolable right. Were not even a single soldier to defend Poland, Polish soil would remain the property of the Polish people, and the Polish people would be able to determine freely its destiny.

But as long as Poland is ruled by the clique of capitalist adventurers and large landowners, who plunged it into the criminal adventure of war, as long as Entente capital supplies Poland with arms, Soviet Russia will be engaged in a defensive war. If today Soviet Russia gives the Polish White Guards a breathing space, if Soviet Russia allows them to reorganize their defeated army and to reequip it with Entente aid, then tomorrow Soviet Russia again will be forced to recall hundreds of thousands of its best sons from the fields and workshops and send them off to another war of self-defense.

Working men and women! The capitalist rabble of the whole world rage about threats to Poland's independence in order to prepare another campaign against Soviet Russia. Your slave owners tremble at the prospect that a pillar of their rule, of their world system of reaction, exploitation, and enslavement is collapsing. They fear that if White Guard Poland collapses under the Red Army's blows and the Polish workers take power, it will be easier for the German, Austrian, Italian, and French workers to free themselves from their exploiters and that the British and American workers will follow suit.

When the capitalist rabble wail and thunder about threats to Poland's independence, they do so from the fear that your servitude, your dependence, working men and women, might give way to freedom from the shackles of capitalist slavery. Therefore, it is the task of proletarians of all countries to do

everything they can to prevent the governments of Britain, France, America, and Italy from furnishing any form of aid to the Polish White Guards.

Proletarians of the Entente countries! Your governments will continue to deceive you. They will continue as before to claim that they are not lending aid to Poland. It is your duty to stand guard at every port, on all borders, so that no train, not a single ship with provisions or weapons leaves for Poland. Be on your guard. Do not be deceived by phony declarations of the destination of the shipments—they can also be shipped to Poland by roundabout routes. And if governments or private capitalists do not accede to your protests, go on strike, show your strength, for you must not under any circumstances help the Polish large landowners and capitalists butcher your Russian brothers.

Proletarians of Germany! If White Guard Poland collapses, Entente capital will make peace with the German generals and capitalists. It will help them arm huge mercenary armies. It will use those armies to crush the German proletariat in order to turn Germany into a base for the fight against Soviet Russia. It will not hesitate to lay Germany in ruins in order to have a forward position for the struggle against Soviet Russia and soviet Poland.

Working men and women of Germany! The time has come to put into practice what you promised a thousand times in great demonstrations: to stand by your Russian brothers and to struggle with them for your liberation. Let no attempts to support White Guard Poland be made on German soil. Allow no more recruitment of mercenaries on German soil. Closely check all railroad trains bound for the east. Keep Danzig [Gdansk] under strict watch and do whatever the situation demands. No freight car may depart, no ship may sail from Germany for Poland.

Proletarians of all other countries! Remember that the enemy now is White Poland. To destroy it is the task of the hour.

Proletarians of all countries! Take care not to be misled by the phrases of treacherous or vacillating labor leaders nor to be beguiled by governments' promises. It is time to act. It is time to muster all forces to blockade White Guard Poland, to amass all forces in order to turn the world proletariat's solidarity with Soviet Russia into action.

Working men and women! Your solidarity with Soviet Russia is

your solidarity with the Polish proletarians. The Polish proletariat, led by the Communist Party, has fought uninterruptedly against the war with Soviet Russia. Poland's jails are filled with our Polish brothers, with Poland's Communists. The defeats handed to the Polish White Guards have awakened immense enthusiasm in the hearts of Polish workers. A strike wave is sweeping Poland. The Polish workers are trying to take advantage of their exploiters' defeats to deal the weakened class enemy its death blow and join the Russian workers in the common struggle for liberation.

The blockade of Poland directly aids the Polish workers' liberation struggle. It is the way that Poland will be freed from the chains that shackle it to the chariot of the victorious capitalists of London and Paris; the way it will develop into the independent republic of Polish workers and peasants.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International calls out to you, proletarian men and women of all countries: Go into the streets and show your governments that you will not tolerate any aid to White Poland nor any interference against Soviet Russia. Stop all work. Cripple all transportation whenever you see the capitalist clique of your country, despite your protests, preparing further intervention against Soviet Russia. Let no train or ship pass through to Poland. Show that proletarian solidarity exists in deeds, not just in words.

Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the Red Army of Russian workers and peasants! Down with White Poland! Down with the intervention! Long live soviet Poland!

This is the cause to which we call the proletarians of the world, and "Russia expects that every man will do his duty."³¹

(After this the vote is taken on the four greetings, and all are adopted. The first session of the congress adjourns.)

INAUGURATION OF MEMORIAL TO LIEBKNECHT AND LUXEMBURG³²

After adjournment, the delegates set out for the Field of Mars, accompanied by a huge crowd of workers, soldiers, and sailors

in an endless procession. At the grave of fighters for the revolution, they lay a wreath bearing the inscription "The Second Congress of the Communist International of proletarians of all countries—to brothers fallen in the struggle for communism."

In the evening the cornerstone is laid of a monument to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. A large international rally is held to mark the occasion. Comrade Zinoviev opens the meeting, giving the floor to Comrade Lenin, who says: "Comrades, in every country of the world, Communists must make unprecedented sacrifices. They are dying by the thousands in Finland, Hungary, and other countries. But all these persecutions cannot stop the growth of the Communist movement. The heroism of such leaders as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg gives us courage and the conviction that communism will be entirely victorious."

After Comrade Sadoul, who hails the proletarian revolution in Russia as the continuation of the Paris Commune, Comrade Levi speaks. "You are erecting a monument of stone to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg," he says, "but you should know you are building an even better monument: the world revolution that you have initiated. I know, Petrograd workers, that you will raise that monument to completion."

Comrade Münzenberg of the western European Communist youth league then extols the memory of the two great martyrs. "Karl Liebknecht was the teacher of the youth," Münzenberg says. "He taught us to fight against all oppression, for a better humanity." Delegates from Spain, Italy, India, and Mexico follow. They all tell of the great influence the struggle of the Russian proletariat has had on the workers of their countries. They vow not to rest until the communist idea has claimed victory in their own countries.

After the gathering there is a modest supper followed by a concert. The next morning the delegates travel to Moscow for the continuation of the congress.

Session 2, July 23, 1920¹

Role and structure of the Communist Party (PART 1)

(Lenin opens the session.)

(Serrati rises to read the rules of procedure.)

RULES OF PROCEDURE

1. The congress's plenary sessions will meet from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. and from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.
2. Reporters will receive one hour as well as an additional half hour for their summary.
3. Supplementary reporters will receive the same time.
4. On procedural questions, speakers may have two minutes and will be recognized only once.
5. Each delegate may speak twice on each question—the first time for ten minutes and the second time for five minutes.
6. Requests to speak must be made in writing.
7. A roll-call vote will be taken only upon request by three delegations having decisive vote.
8. Every motion (even motions on procedure) must be given to the Bureau in writing (in one of the two official languages).² The mover will be recognized only after complying with this formality.

(Serrati reads the agenda proposed by the Bureau.)

1. The role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the proletariat conquers power
2. The trade unions and the factory committees
3. Parliamentarism
4. The national and colonial questions

5. The agrarian question
6. The attitude to take toward the new Center currents and the conditions for their admission into the Communist International
7. The statutes of the Communist International
8. The organization question (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations, and so forth)
9. The youth movement
10. Elections
11. Other business

John Reed [Communist Labor Party, United States]: In the name of twenty-nine delegates, I demand a change in the order of business. We propose that the question of parliamentarism be taken before that of trade unions and shop committees. The latter question is an essential point for us of the Western countries. It is necessary to have a full discussion on the trade union question, and much time is needed for the translation and study of the material that has bearing on it and also to prepare amendments on the subject.

I demand that during the discussion on this subject the English language be made one of the official languages. I have here a list of more than forty delegates who understand English. There are, for example, many more delegates who understand English and not French than those who understand French and not English.

Serrati: On behalf of the Presiding Committee I urge the congress to reject the motion. The comrades who are asking today that the trade union question be discussed third requested in the Executive Committee that it be discussed first. The Executive Committee was fully aware of the importance of the different questions when it set the proposed agenda.

As for the official languages, we state that we cannot allow English in addition to German since that would complicate the debate too much. The English comrades may speak English in any case, and all measures will be taken to have speeches translated for them immediately. We based our decision on the need to speed the debates.

(A vote is taken on John Reed's motion. It is defeated by a majority, with 14 votes in favor.)⁵

(Comrade Zinoviev rises to speak on the question of the role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the proletariat conquers power.)

REPORT ON THE ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Zinoviev: Comrades, unfortunately I must speak on a rather complicated question in a language that I have mastered only imperfectly. However, complete theses on this question are available in all four languages,⁴ and I can therefore limit my present remarks to a few of their most important points.

We live in a time when all values are up for reevaluation and when some circles deny the role of the party—and even the need for it to exist. It is strange that even among workers in advanced countries such as Britain, America, and France there are relatively strong currents that do not understand the role of their own political party and even deny it outright. Perhaps the most significant thing about the present difficult situation is precisely that this kind of question is posed. I see this as the culmination of the crisis that the workers' movement and socialism experienced during the war. That this question is posed at all now among rather broad layers, and is often posed quite sharply, is the consequence and expression of the crisis and bankruptcy of the Second International.

As you know, quite a few comrades call themselves communists and are in touch with the mass movement yet deny or misunderstand the party. We find the most complete expression of their position (or mood, actually) in Comrade Pannekoek, whose pamphlet on this question we have published and will distribute today or tomorrow.⁵ In this pamphlet you will find blind worship of the masses, whom he attempts to counterpose to the party as such. I believe that on this question Pannekoek's pamphlet is the best propaganda against any group that does not understand the party's role and denies it, as for example is the case with the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD) and with Pannekoek.

What is the Communist Party?

I explain in my theses that the Communist Party is part of the working class—its most advanced, class-conscious, and therefore its most revolutionary part. One could reply that it should be that way, but is not always so. That is true. Some parties that belonged to the Second International followed policies of such a character—they regressed so far—that in the end the best, most conscious part of the working class really did not belong to them. And yet I believe we must insist that the Communist Party, as it develops, comes to include the best and most conscious part of the working class. In our opinion it is impossible to counterpose the masses to the party in this respect. You cannot counterpose the head to the torso. You cannot counterpose a person's right hand to his body. And the point is precisely that the party is the head of the working class. Organization is the proletariat's right hand in its struggle for emancipation.

In the Russian revolution we saw masses of thousands, of millions. We worked hand in hand with them, suffered defeats, won victories with them. But we noted again and again that the working masses could act successfully only when they were led by a powerfully organized party that showed them the way.

Sometimes comrades who oppose the need for the party fancy themselves the "left" opposition. In my opinion that is not the case. That is not opposition from the left but quite the opposite. This antiparty mood expresses a vestige of bourgeois influence on the proletariat. The bourgeoisie drinks wine and exhorts the proletarian to drink water.

Every good bourgeois belongs to a political party by the age of twenty-one. But to the workers they give propaganda against joining parties and catch workers on that hook rather often.

Even today, after three years of revolution, we still find that rather broad layers of the working class in Russia can be caught with that hook.

Exhorting the workers not to join parties is a very conscious policy on the part of the bourgeoisie. It cannot go to the workers and say, "Join our bourgeois party," because the workers would not listen. So it propounds a "theory" that tells workers, "You do not need a party. You can be content with trade unions and other organizations. You need not rack your brains over political programs." And since the bourgeoisie disposes of powerful means of propaganda such as the schools, the press, art, and

parliament, it has learned how to alienate a rather large part of the working class from the idea of a party and to instill in it the false idea that workers do not need a party. The layers that resist the idea of a party and think that they are on the left do not understand what is going on. They repeat what the bourgeoisie, using its whole apparatus, has inculcated in them for decades.

One more thing. The comrades who think that in our epoch it is possible to struggle without leadership by the party prove thereby that they actually do not understand the revolutionary epoch, that they misconceive it. If they grasped that we actually have entered an epoch of the most determined and bitter class struggles, then the first thing they would see is that in such an epoch we need a general staff, a centralized party. Clearly, after the Second International collapsed, after so many parties failed, with the German Social Democratic Party and the French party leading the way, at such a time the idea gains currency among many workers that what is bankrupt is the very concept of the party itself. It is often said that the concept of the party as such went bankrupt in the war. We respond to this in point 4 of the theses:

“The Communist International insists that the collapse of the old ‘Social Democratic’ parties of the Second International must never be depicted as a collapse of the proletarian party in general. The epoch of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat gives birth to a *new* party of the proletariat: the Communist Party.”

We also insist on this to the revolutionary syndicalists, comrades of the IWW, and the Shop Stewards’ movement, whom we regard as friends and brothers but who have taken an erroneous position on this question. The bankruptcy of the social-patriotic parties, the bankruptcy of the Second International, is not bankruptcy of the party as such. One could turn the tables and say to the syndicalists: Legien went bankrupt along with the so-called free unions, the Yellow free trade unions in Germany;⁶ the French syndicalists led by Jouhaux have gone bankrupt, too. But we do not conclude from this that the idea of trade unions is bankrupt. Neither can we say, therefore, that because the Second International and many political parties went bankrupt the principle of the party as such is utterly bankrupt. Recently the “left” muddlehead Rühle declared solemnly that together with

bourgeois democracy the principle of the party as such was headed for bankruptcy. That is sheer stupidity. The soviet system does not exclude a proletarian party but on the contrary presupposes one—a party, to be sure, made of different stuff than the Social Democratic parties of the Second International, that is, a truly communist party that organizes the vanguard of the working class and through it leads the whole working class to victory.

Let us now take up the roots of this rejection of the party. We see that its deepest roots lie in the impact of bourgeois ideology. We have absorbed what bourgeois propaganda has instilled in us for decades—that workers can be “nonparty,” that they do not need a political party, and that the trade unions are enough. That is a concession to bourgeois ideology, nothing else.

The second cause is that during the period of the imperialist war, right before our eyes, a large number of the old Social Democratic parties were transformed into parties that betrayed the cause of the working class. We say to our comrades in the ranks of the syndicalists, the IWW, and the Shop Stewards' movement that these times are not characterized by rejection of the party. In our epoch, when struggles are becoming ever more heated and determined, we must say: The old parties are shipwrecked. Down with them! Long live the new Communist Party, which must be created in line with new conditions.

The same will be true of parliamentarism. The betrayal by so many Social Democratic members of parliament has turned a large part of the working class into opponents in principle of parliamentarism. But it is already clear that the new epoch must produce new figures—in bourgeois parliaments as well—comrades who conduct themselves as fighters and show the working class by their actions that even in bourgeois parliaments there can be real Communists, like Karl Liebknecht. We will persuade not only through verbal propaganda but through action.

The activity of quite a few parties shows that it is possible to form a new, truly proletarian, Communist party. Our theses say to the syndicalists that, objectively, the propaganda by the revolutionary syndicalists and the followers of the IWW against the need for an independent workers' party has benefited only the bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionary “Social Democrats.”

Insofar as the syndicalists and Industrialists agitate against the Communist Party, which they wish to replace with trade unions

alone or some kind of amorphous “general” workers’ unions, they share common ground with outright opportunists. Thus for several years after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the Russian Mensheviks preached the idea of the so-called workers’ congress, which was supposed to replace the revolutionary party of the working class. So-called laborites of every variety in Britain and America preached to the workers the need to create amorphous workers’ associations instead of a political party—and in fact they pursue completely bourgeois policies.

The revolutionary syndicalists and Industrialists want to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but do not know how. They do not realize that the working class without a political party of its own is a body without a head.

Revolutionary syndicalism and Industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, stuffy, counterrevolutionary ideology of the Second International. Compared to revolutionary Marxism, that is, to communism, syndicalism and Industrialism are a step backward. The statement by the “left” Communists of Germany at their founding congress in April that they are founding a party but “not a party in the traditional sense” is an intellectual capitulation to the views of syndicalism and Industrialism that are reactionary.

I have talked to good friends, revolutionary syndicalists, who tell us, “We will do everything that you suggest to us; we will form a soviet government and lead the working class against the bourgeoisie. But the syndicalists and our trade unions will do all that. What need is there for a party?” I say to these friends: For your desire to establish a soviet government to become a reality, you must have the program of that government right away. You must have a program for the agrarian question, foreign policy, domestic policy. You must explain to us how you will act toward the middle peasants, how you will organize the army, what your program is on the question of education, and so forth. But the minute you begin to formulate your views on all of these questions and set them forth precisely, you begin to develop into a party.

We say the same thing to our nonparty workers in Russia. There are many thousands of workers here who still have no party affiliation but support us and march with us. We organize conferences of these nonparty workers; we discuss all compli-

cated questions with them. We say to them: We must solve the food question, the question of the war with Poland. We must have an answer to the agrarian question and to the question of education. Do you want to help us find the answers? You do? Then let us discuss it. And if we arrive at agreement in all these questions—why, then, that will make up a large part of the program of the Communist Party. If we want to unite the best elements, then we need an organization. That organization is the Communist Party.

We must say the same thing to the comrades we admitted yesterday with decisive vote,⁷ who will and must become Communist. We must tell them that the larger the class party we have, the more rapid and easy will be the road to victory. And since the struggle must be waged now, this party must elaborate the program not in the heat of battle but right now, day by day. It must attract the most conscious elements of the working class so that when the decisive hour strikes it can absorb the best elements. In every factory the best people must be members of our party. To be sure, at first they will be in the minority, but since they have a clear program, since they are the best informed, since the workers trust them, when the time comes they will become leaders of the mass movement. The struggle that is being prepared is a gigantic one; no one has yet imagined its true dimensions. Only now are we beginning to understand how massive will be the struggle that we must wage.

It is not amorphous workers' unions living from hand to mouth that will show the working class the correct road, but rather a party that encompasses the best of the working class, is built over decades, and is a firm nucleus. The important thing is that we organize the vanguard of the working class so that it can actually lead the masses in this struggle.

Logically it is clear that the comrades who are against forming a party, without realizing it themselves, sometimes take as their starting point not the epoch of unsparing struggle but rather an old, peaceful epoch in which all party work was almost exclusively propaganda (and often bad propaganda at that). They do not understand that although propaganda can and must still make up a major part of our party work, it is not the only thing. Instead, now is the time for action. Civil war has arrived. Now we must have revolutionary action day by day and hour by hour. We

will get nowhere with organizations that themselves do not even know what they will say tomorrow about the most burning questions of proletarian policy.

We need a party. But what kind of party? Here we must state very clearly what we have to say to the rightist elements. We do not need a party like those of the Second International or some of the parties of the Center today. Such parties play an objectively reactionary role. It is clear for example that the German Social Democracy played and continues to play not a revolutionary but rather a directly counterrevolutionary role in the true sense of the word. There is no need to demonstrate that. Clearly, the great difficulty of the working-class struggle in Germany today flows from the existence there of a large, well-organized, but bourgeois Social Democratic Party.

We do not need parties that continue to follow the worst traditions of the Second International. We do not need parties that have the simple principle of accumulating as many members as possible and that become petty-bourgeois parties organizing the labor aristocracy. Very often in such parties the labor bureaucracy becomes a caste, pursuing only its own interests. We do not need parties that, for example, run candidates for election who joined the party only yesterday. We do not need parliamentary fractions in which instead of workers we have forty-six professors, forty-five or more lawyers, and about which one would have to say, "Forty-five lawyers, all arrayed? Proletarian revolution, you are betrayed!" (*Applause*) We do not need parliamentary fractions like those in Germany and Italy, in which there are people who at the most important moment—we know this very well—will either take the side of the bourgeoisie or straddle the fence and sabotage our struggle.⁸

We must keep close track of our parties' social composition, as if with a magnifying glass. We must make sure that no anti-proletarian elements get in. We must strive to have genuinely proletarian parties. It is understandable that today a large number of workers—and not the worst of them but workers who are honest about struggling against the bourgeoisie—are confused when they see parties like the Social Democratic party, when they see parliamentary fractions like those in Italy. Italy has almost reached the boiling point. The working class is for communism, for revolutionary policies, but a man like Turati, who

has pursued bourgeois policies for decades, still speaks for the party in parliament. Under such circumstances it is understandable that currents emerge that reject the party as such. The same thing is the case with the Independents in Germany, who have a parliamentary fraction in which men like Henke say largely the same thing as Scheidemann, only in slightly different words. It is understandable that there too very good revolutionaries say, "Better no party at all than a party like that." But to say, "Better no party than a party like that" is to draw the wrong conclusion. We say: No, if this or that party is bad, then we should form a good party at all costs. We should first organize ourselves as a minority. We should work step by step to get the best working-class elements into our ranks.

Thus, when we are asked what kind of party we need, we must reply that we have a great many parties that even want to join the Communist International about which we must say: There you have an example of how a Communist party should not look. You should sound the alarm at once, convince the best part of the working class to purge that party, to split it if necessary, and form a genuinely Communist party at all costs.

I would like to say one more thing regarding the kind of party we must have. Here we must also bring up the question of organization in general.

What kind of party do we need from an organizational point of view? In each individual case we must adapt to the specific circumstances. There are phenomena that appear in the workers' movement in every country, but there are also cases in which we must adapt to specific national circumstances. I do not want to talk about these concrete cases. I will mention only one thing. There is a current that opposes the principle of strict centralization of the party. There are circles that reject the party in general, and there are also circles that agree a party is needed but not a centralized party with iron discipline. And this is maintained not only by intellectuals, by revisionists, but also by a section of the IWW and the Shop Stewards.

Let us consider the general question of whether or not we really need a centralized party.

The experience of the Russian revolution is much discussed. The most important experience of this revolution is that had we not had a centralized party built along military lines, with iron

discipline, organized over the course of twenty years, by now we doubtless would have been defeated twenty times over. That is the experience of the Russian revolution, and every rank-and-file worker, every member of our party, will confirm this lesson. That is what we have learned.

Do not treat the matter lightly; think about what civil war means in reality. It is easy to say: Now we will begin the civil war! But it is rather difficult to fight a civil war to the end when it must be carried on for one, two, or three years. Many thousands of comrades must be sent to the front and thousands will be killed. Party members must be asked to make great sacrifices, and decisions of enormous consequence must be made within twenty-four hours or even twenty-four minutes. To accomplish anything at all it is necessary to have the workers' absolute confidence.

A titanic struggle lies ahead of us. The hour has now in fact struck when we will lift the sword against the bourgeoisie. This fact prompts us to say with regard not only to national parties but to the International as well that we need a centralized organization with iron military discipline. Only then will we achieve what we really need. In this respect we must learn from our enemies. We must understand that in our difficult situation we can be victorious only if we are organized very strictly and very well. We will take this up in greater detail when we come to draw up the statutes of the Communist International and need to discuss this question in an international framework.

Sometimes we hear some comrades say, "Well, as long as we live under the bourgeois order, as long as we have not yet taken power, perhaps we really need the party. But once we have won the victory we definitely will not need one." I have talked this over with good German Communist workers and have heard these views. Here again allow me to appeal to the experiences of the Russian party. Precisely after we took power, after we formed the government, the role of the party did not diminish but rather increased with each passing day. Never has the importance of the party here in Russia been so great as it is precisely now, after we have won the victory. In every important question, effective supervision by the party is needed.

Today, people like Kautsky come along and say that in Russia you do not have the dictatorship of the working class but the

dictatorship of the party. They think this is a reproach against us. Not in the least! We have a dictatorship of the working class, and that is precisely why we also have a dictatorship of the Communist Party. (*Applause*) The dictatorship of the Communist Party is only a function, an attribute, an expression of the dictatorship of the working class. What is the party in our country? It should not be confused with other parties, made up of lawyers. In our country it consists of 600,000 to 700,000 of the best workers, the vanguard of the proletariat. And it is clear that these, the best representatives of the working class, are looking after its affairs. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat is at the same time the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The party supervises the different organizations and has the right to purge them, and indeed that is how it must be during the proletarian revolution. After the victory the party's role does not diminish but, on the contrary, becomes greater.

The concept of soviets has now captured the imagination of the workers of almost the entire world. The working class believes—half consciously, half unconsciously—that humanity is moving toward the soviet system. That is true. But sometimes the conclusion is drawn from this that if we have soviets we do not need a party; that soviets replace the party; that the party should be dissolved into the soviets; that the party should “adapt” to the soviet idea.

Here too we must invoke the experience of the first victorious proletarian revolution. The reason why in 1917 in Russia we won the soviets so quickly (for eight months they opposed a working-class policy) is that we had a firm, effective, resolute party. And the reason why the influence of communism in the soviets is so strong now is that we have a strong party. The soviets do not exclude the party. On the contrary, they directly presuppose it. The party is their leading force, their most important component, their head and brain. In addition, we wish to say frankly to the comrades that we need a strong Communist party, one that will grow larger day by day, not only when we are merely talking about these soviets but precisely when we already have them. In response to this, it is often said that almost the entire working class belongs to the soviets, whereas only a minority belongs to the party, and that is the way it will always be. It will not always be that way; even now it is no longer the case.

In the epoch of the Second International it was often said that the majority of the working class would never belong to the Social Democratic party. That was correct at the time. As long as the bourgeoisie holds power, as long as it controls the press, education, parliament, and art, a large part of the working class will be corrupted by the propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its agents and driven into the bourgeois camp. Obviously, the bourgeois press steals part of the working class from the party. But as soon as there is freedom of the press for the working class, as soon as we gain control of the schools and the press, the time will come—it is not very far off—when gradually, day by day, large groups of the working class will come into the party until, one day, we have won the majority of the working class to our ranks. Today the outlook is already very different. Thus, we need the party even when we have the soviets.

The old, so-called classical division of workers' organizations into party, trade unions, and consumer cooperatives is now wrong. Now there is another division: party, soviets, and trade unions. Perhaps there will be modifications, perhaps there will be new forms, perhaps this or that revolution will produce something new. That will probably happen, but as far as we can see now, insofar as the Russian revolution offers an example, the present division is: Communist Party, soviets, and trade unions. We must spread the idea of communism in the parliaments, the trade unions, in the party organizations. But the guiding force, the spirit of the entire movement is the party.

Neither a soviet government nor the revolutionizing of the trade unions nullifies the need for the party. Some may say, "If the trade unions are Yellow, then we need a party, but if they are good, if they are revolutionary, we do not need one." I do not agree. Even if the trade unions are revolutionary, even if they are consistently communist through and through, as they are in our country, we still need the party.

We saw the IWW's diagram showing how it envisions the future. They visualize the whole thing as a central trade union council in the middle surrounded by a great many individual trade unions. Fine. But by what means will they take power? How will they form a Red army? Clearly there can be no proletarian revolution without a Red army. Will they also set up on a trade union basis a metalworkers' Red army? A parallel textile

workers' Red army, and so forth? A general council of Red armies of these trade unions? That is impossible. Nor can we solve the food question with such a structure.

We must have a state organization, and only the party can direct it, because a state political organization is one that encompasses the best working-class elements of the entire country.

In Russia we now have trade unions that work hand in hand with us. But that was not always so. Before the October revolution the trade unions were controlled by the Mensheviks. At the beginning of the July Days the majority supported the Mensheviks.⁹ We set up Communist cells in the trade unions, then fractions, and now the great majority is on our side. And despite that, the role of the party has not diminished but instead has become much greater. Insofar as these trade unions are communist, they subordinate themselves to the party, and indeed there is no other way. This view goes back to Marx, who opposed the concept that the party deals only with the political side of the movement while the trade unions deal with the economic side. That is not so. According to Marxism, the Communist Party is an organization that affects every aspect of the workers' movement without exception. Its principles must be a guide for the soviets and trade unions, for the schools, for the cooperatives—for all organizations that unite the working class. That is true Marxism.

The Communist Party is not merely a political body; it deals not only with political questions; it is not an electoral machine or a parliamentary apparatus, as the opportunists would have it. It is an organization to which the best parts of the workers' movement belong. It guides all of society's bodies as well as the workers' struggle as a whole, in all of its expressions. That is why we say to those who believe that amorphous workers' unions can replace the party: You are wrong. In this case too, we need a Communist party, a Marxist party to guide the trade unions, give them fresh blood, show them the way, and serve as their guiding star.

Therefore, we believe that the Communist congress should now say bluntly: Since we are on the eve of the proletarian revolution, every worker must understand clearly that just as before the seizure of power, so too during the armed insurrection and afterward, after we have taken power, we need a Com-

munist party that is a workers' party in composition, that does not admit petty-bourgeois elements. It can have temporary political alliances with such elements, but not inside the party. It cannot admit petty-bourgeois elements and form an alliance with them inside the party. In the spirit of Karl Liebknecht it must practice revolutionary parliamentarism in counterrevolutionary parliaments and send into parliament revolutionary rank-and-file workers, not skillful lawyers who are skillful only at championing the cause of the bourgeoisie. We must have a party that at all times, at every moment, in every difficult situation, can show the soviets the correct, revolutionary road.

Comrades, imagine for a moment that during the Paris Commune of 1871 we had had a communist party. It is clear why we did not have one—the necessary, important preconditions for it were absent. But if at that time we had had a decidedly communist party, even a small one, although the French working class might still have been defeated, nevertheless it is clear that our French precursors would not have made as many mistakes. Needless to say, we do not want to diminish the Paris Commune's heroism; we do, however, want to guard against its mistakes.¹⁰

A great many countries face a situation in which insurrection on a grand scale can break out overnight. And truly, we are going to suffer heavy, useless losses unless there are Communist parties in each of these countries—small parties, perhaps, but firm and conscious. We must make good what has not been done. In countries such as Britain and America where we do not have strong Communist parties, where the comrades balk at forming a Communist party, the time will come when they will bitterly regret that. Once the struggle begins, it will be apparent from the consequences how foolish it was not to forge the weapon in time, not to ignite the guiding star that, when the time comes, will show the workers the road ahead.

Comrades, I believe I can end there and, by way of summary, repeat that if we want to make use of the experiences of the Russian revolution, we must embrace one central idea above all others: we need a Communist party—a centralized party with iron discipline. There is no alternative in the raging civil war that we are going through. There is no other way than to have an iron party, cast in one pour. You should take from the

Russian workers the one thing that really merits imitation.

Yes, our movement also has great weaknesses. We are aware of that and have no desire to be schoolmasters. But I will say this much: day by day for more than twenty years we have been forging this weapon, the party, the Bolshevik Party, which has now become the Communist Party. That is a good example. In prison, in Siberia, in exile, in foreign countries, the party was always the guiding star. The best thing that we instilled in the Russian worker is love for the party. To the advanced Russian worker the party is sacred; it is the best of all that exists, more precious than life, dearer than all else, the highest, the guiding star. And this example is one in which the working class of the whole world should follow the Russian working class. (*Loud, prolonged applause*)

David Ramsay [Shop Stewards' movement, Britain]: I am sorry to say that the Communist International seems not to be sufficiently informed as to what the Shop Stewards' movement really is, in spite of the documents and reports it has in its possession. I must remind you that when the Shop Stewards' movement originated, labor organizations were in a state of disruption, and the Shop Stewards worked very hard to get a communist movement started.¹¹ We are continuing today to exert all our efforts to promote the growth of the communist movement. Our entire propaganda work is carried on in this spirit, and we pledge all our members and organizations belonging to the communist wing to carry on their activity with this end in view.

William McLaine [British Socialist Party]: At the conclusion of point 6, there is an instruction to the Communist parties to maintain the closest possible connection with the general working-class movement. But it is not clear enough, and it is therefore convenient for me at this juncture to introduce an amendment that is of special interest to the British movement. We wish the Communist International to lay down without any ambiguity the line of conduct we ought to pursue in our special circumstances.

In Britain there is a large workers' party that is not communist but to which one communist party is affiliated. The British Labour Party, to which I refer, is the mass party of the British working-class movement. It is not a party in the ordinary sense;

that is to say, its members have not joined as individuals fully pledged to support the party but have joined in great groups as their trade unions have affiliated. The British socialist movement has long discussed the question as to whether the communists ought to join this movement or not. The British Socialist Party (BSP) has replied in the affirmative, but some other sections have said no. The Labour Party is not a socialist party, but it represents the general body of organized labor at the present stage of its political development. It is in fact the political department of the trade union movement. Our Shop Steward comrades agree that it is necessary to work inside the trade union industrial movement, but they deny the usefulness of working inside the trade union political movement. We say, on the contrary, that it is possible to use the machinery, national and local, of the Labour Party, use its conferences and meetings for the purpose of communist propaganda, and by so doing lead the workers to communism.

It has at its disposal a large apparatus. It has the press and representatives in Parliament and on city councils. It would be suicide to reject the opportunity to use this large apparatus to make propaganda in the trade union movement and elsewhere. The group that I represent does not wish to commit suicide in this way. We would like to get appropriate instructions from the Communist International while we are here. Moreover, I stress that the BSP and other parties with its position were all the more confirmed in this view when the Labour Party, which is neither socialist nor revolutionary, nevertheless began moving gradually more and more to the left. The fact that, under pressure from the masses, the right-wing leaders and old organizations are slowly disappearing is one more reason to remain affiliated to this organization.

We remain in the Labour Party not because we wish to strengthen that party but because the masses are there and can be reached there. We can and do denounce the leaders from the platform, in the *Call*, and wherever we have the opportunity. If we do not affiliate, we lose a valuable field for communist activity.

I wish to express my great satisfaction with the statement of Comrade Ramsay. He said that he is for communist unity in Britain, and I am very pleased to hear it. In the past the Shop

Stewards' movement has been antiparliamentary and even anti-political in its work and propaganda. This has made the position of the communists more difficult, and I state that if his declaration means that he and his friends will join the communist party and will be loyal members of it, working for the victory over capitalism, no one will be more pleased, if this is so, than the members of the BSP.

The amendment I wish to move is signed by both delegates of the BSP, and it is as follows:

"In those countries where the noncommunist, organized, working-class political party is the dominant factor in working-class politics, the Communist Party may join this party for the purpose of organizing and giving expression to the growing communist opposition within it and to divert the political aims of organized labor into communist channels. This should be done, however, only on condition that the Communist Party retains its freedom to conduct its work of communist propaganda and organization."

Angel Pestaña [National Federation of Labor, Spain]: The trade union movement is much more important than it is being given credit for. This is true of both tendencies that exist within this movement, the right wing just as well as the left. Trade unions must not be judged according to whether or not they are close to communism. Russia is the best example of this. What matters is the spirit that reigns in the unions; this spirit should be revolutionary. Comrade Zinoviev asserts that certain groups of workers deny the necessity of a workers' political party solely because they are under bourgeois influence. This is much too simple an explanation. Is it possible to believe that revolutionary movements, such as syndicalism, are based solely on reactionary propaganda? Obviously not. Nor is it true that trade union leaders have said they want to abstain from all politics. It is not true that they avoid all such work. There have even been times when the bourgeoisie of Spain told workers to be active in politics, telling them that was in the workers' interests.

I am in a rather difficult position since I do not belong to any political party and my politics might be misinterpreted. I never said that the trade unions should pursue exclusively economic goals. Everything depends on the prevailing spirit in them. I do not think that the Communist Party of Russia can take credit for

creating the Red Army that it controls. That is not how things work. I can invoke the example of the French revolution to prove that there is always an army as well as a political party, which work together to attain power.¹² The main thing is that the trade unions, as revolutionary and militant organizations, exist and that these trade unions be able to accelerate the beginning of the struggle and the revolution.

*Jack Tanner [Shop Stewards' movement, Britain]:*¹³ The main point of Zinoviev's argument was the absolute necessity for a strongly disciplined, highly centralized Communist party and also that the dictatorship of the proletariat is synonymous with the dictatorship of the Communist Party. He has not clearly proved his argument. What has taken place in Russia and what is now taking place must not be set up as a model for all other countries.

In Britain we are sure things will be quite different. The situation there differs altogether from the situation in Russia before the revolution. For us in the Shop Stewards' movement, the dictatorship of the proletariat means something entirely different from the meaning conveyed by Comrade Zinoviev. The Shop Stewards understand by the "dictatorship of the proletariat," insofar as it is concretized in the factory stewards' councils, something quite different from Comrade Zinoviev, for whom it is a dictatorship of a minority.¹⁴ Members of the political parties may not agree with this, but they must understand that we have in Britain a much greater number of class-conscious proletarians than there were in Germany—who are prepared and who are capable of assuming the dictatorship. The dictatorship of the proletariat has a real and very definite meaning to us British revolutionary workers.

McLaine said that the Shop Stewards are antipolitical, alleging that we refrain from political activity. This is not true. Many of us are antiparlamentarist, but that does not mean we are against political action in the proper sense of the term. McLaine said further he was glad to hear from Ramsay's speech that the Shop Stewards were coming back to work with the BSP. But he cannot claim that the BSP is the only revolutionary party in Britain.

Very many participants in the Shop Stewards and other economic movements opposed forming a party because they were

convinced that working in a political party was a pure waste of time. They are partisans of revolution, now as before. Political opinion today strives to divert workers away from direct action, making out that Parliament is the key factor. We, however, were the first to take a stand for direct action not only to achieve economic goals but for goals more general in character.

Most of the active men in the Shop Stewards' movement have been members of the Socialist political parties, but have left them because in their view these organizations were not traveling along the right path. We have never ceased believing or propagating the principles of communism. There is no question of returning like repentant sinners to the fold. We have never forsaken our ideas. But by our activities among industrial workers, we have done much more to put them into practice than most of the political parties.

Did McLaine mean to assert that the BSP was the only revolutionary party in Britain, or the only force making for revolution in that country? A number of those who are active in the Shop Stewards' movement are not greatly concerned about the formation of a party because they have been convinced from their experience in other parties that it was a loss of time to share in the work of such parties, especially the BSP.

But because these individuals are "unattached" it does not follow that they are less revolutionary; on the contrary, they are more so. They have come up against practical problems, and, tackling them from a revolutionary standpoint, they realize the difficulties they have to overcome and are preparing for them. Some criticism has been leveled against the Industrialists. But have they not proved their tactics and methods to be right? Have not the Socialist political parties learned anything from the Industrialists? Why, it was only quite recently in Britain that some of the political parties hesitatingly endorsed direct action, the general strike, and so forth. The Shop Stewards have always propagated "direct action," and the political parties are beginning to understand its implications and adopt its methods. Now efforts are being made again to get the workers to resort to Parliament, though all are agreed that it must be abolished as soon as possible. The British workers are losing faith in parliamentary action; strong efforts will have to be made to revive their faith—only to destroy it again later. You will get nothing

but antagonism from the class-conscious workers on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. They will say the communists are trying to mislead them. And remember that the workers in the Shop Stewards' movement are going to be the shock troops in the revolution. We have been the first to advocate direct action not only for economic purposes, but for political and general aims.

Zinoviev said that only through a political party can one be active in the various areas of social and cultural life. It depends what he means by "party." We have in Britain bodies under the name of social committees and soviets where questions of a social character are dealt with. The Russian comrades must not base their judgments solely on the experience of Russia. They have been removed from all contact with the masses in other countries for some years. Only when Zinoviev has been in Britain and other western European countries and has studied the conditions and the new outlook of the workers and compared them with the conditions in Russia, only then can he pass proper judgment on politics and their relation to the revolution.

Let me ask the Russian and other comrades if there is nothing more for them to learn from the struggles, movements, and revolutions of other countries. Have they come here not to learn but only to teach? We have to make the revolution in Britain; our Russian comrades cannot do that. They can help, but we must do the act, and we are learning and preparing for that end.

In conclusion, let me point out the reasons why the Second International went down. The main causes were that it was without character, too loose in form, and its aims vague and indefinite. But the Third International must not go to the other extreme and become too dogmatic. We must provide every organization with freedom of movement within its respective country to deal with and adjust itself to any special conditions. The Third International must be founded upon a basis such that the different parties can find common ground on the most important principles and methods. Everything else must be left to the various parties themselves.

Mátyás Rákosi [Communist Party of Hungary]: Hungary under the councils was more advanced in every respect than Soviet Russia. The Hungarian workers were more culturally devel-

oped, the country more centralized, the railroads more developed, the roads in better condition, agriculture on a higher level.

We were closer to the western countries than to Soviet Russia in every respect. Nevertheless, on every point our experiences confirm the correctness of the Russian conception of the Communist Party. As long as our Communist Party, on the Russian model, was strictly centralized, strictly disciplined, and its members were admitted only after passing certain tests and treated strictly, our party, like the Russian one, was the vanguard of the proletariat. As soon as it united with the Social Democrats, thereby admitting the backward layers of the proletariat and a large part of the petty bourgeoisie that belonged to the Social Democratic Party, our party ceased to express the will of the best proletarian forces.

Moreover, when the dictatorship was established, there arose a great need for class-conscious, self-acting workers. We had to use all able forces from the unified party in the various soviets, which completely drained the party and made it unfit for anything. Thus, even in political questions requiring that we call upon the entire proletariat, we were forced to appeal to the trade unions, which encompass almost the entire proletariat. This led to a situation rather similar to the one that the IWW people or the Shop Steward comrades desire: the trade unions fulfilled the functions of the party. It turned out that under the [soviet] dictatorship the trade unions undergo a great change of function and assume different tasks. The trade unions had to fulfill a great many new tasks, such as reorganizing production, establishing work discipline, and so forth. They were so preoccupied with admitting a flood of new members that they could not fulfill even these tasks adequately.

In any country after the dictatorship is established there are bound to be difficulties and dislocation, in part because the trade unions cannot solve all of the enormous number of unpostponable questions that beset them from the very first hour of the revolution and cause a certain amount of disruption. In Hungary, because the party was unfit, we had to turn over to the trade unions not only these tasks but also political ones such as creating the Red Army and the school system, later on food distribution, and so on. But it turned out that they could not

solve these problems. Although they took on these tasks, they were unable to achieve satisfactory solutions in any area—not only because they were for the most part reactionary (some trade unions were already revolutionary before the dictatorship), but also because they were inherently unfit to solve political problems. After a few months we faced the absolute necessity of founding a strong, new Communist party. This forced us to fulfill another difficult task in addition to the difficult ones that came with the dictatorship, one that already had been solved in Russia before the dictatorship by the existence of the Communist Party. We had to construct, within a short space of time, a party patterned after the Russian model in every respect. Internal decay and the military defeats thwarted this objective.

But I must repeat, the experiences of the Hungarian council republic confirmed in every respect the views of the Russian comrades, and wherever we deviated from them we made great mistakes and paid for them with enormous casualties. Afterward, when we tried to reorganize our forces, we realized that the greatest flaw in rule by the Hungarian councils was that during the dictatorship we did not have a stronger and better disciplined party. We then began organizing a strictly centralized party with iron discipline. I am certain that the new party under a second council dictatorship in Hungary will implement all the principles of the Russian Communist Party and will support and confirm the experiences of the Russian comrades.

David Wijnkoop [Communist Party in the Netherlands]: By the rules of procedure, I am to speak German. I would prefer to say what I have to say in English because it pertains to what the British comrades said.

I do not think it wise that the congress approve Comrade McLaine's amendment. The theses by Comrade Zinoviev say nothing about these matters, and I daresay the British comrades are very glad of that, because it enables them to fight out their own affairs in their own country. Now Comrade McLaine comes along and says, "We want the approval of the International for our entry into the Labour Party," and everyone knows that the BSP wishes to remain in the Labour Party. Well, I say that should not be done here. It is very difficult to decide this matter, as Comrade Lenin said in his pamphlet "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. I want to leave it up to the British comrades

to reach their own decision, both for that reason and because an effort is being made in Britain to create a united Communist party. Comrades Ramsay and Tanner have spoken excellently on this question, and they know that the Labour Party question can place many difficulties in the path of unity.

If the international congress takes a stand now, in advance, in favor of the BSP remaining in the Labour Party, that will mean either that no united Communist party will be established in Britain or that it will come into being without the BSP. In my opinion, neither would be good. The Communist Party will have to be established with the help of the BSP, and agreement on the terms should be reached in Britain itself. If we were to adopt here such a far-reaching motion on this British question, you would first have to discuss the issue, and it would be difficult to go into the Labour Party's whole history and special circumstances.

Now I wish to make one more comment on something else, namely, what Comrade Tanner said here. My party does not share Comrade Tanner's point of view, but I do wish to say that I listened to Comrade Tanner because I sensed in his remarks the desire to come into the Communist International. Comrade Tanner warned against being too dogmatic. And he is quite right. In the pamphlet that I mentioned, Comrade Lenin warns against left-wing dogmatism. He said that pure dogmatism is really only a cliché, and clichés should be avoided. If we disapprove of dogmatism toward the right, then we should disapprove of it toward comrades on the left as well.

Comrade Tanner very correctly pointed out that conditions in other countries are very different from those in Russia. The Russian comrades know that very well. It has been said often enough that, after all, as hard as the Russian revolution was, it was easier than the revolution will be in other countries. Construction is a different matter from revolution. We should not follow the Russian example in a doctrinaire way; we should learn from it. But we cannot simply, unthinkingly, apply the Russian model to western European or American conditions. Comrade Tanner said that one should not be dogmatic but rather be a bit flexible and pliant. That is the only way to arrive at an International that can and must bring together the truly revolutionary groups.

Levi: In discussing the nature of the party we must start by

contrasting party and class, which are related to one another as subject to object or as a kernel to a shell, where together they make up the whole nut. If we then ask how the party differs from the class, we can say only that there is one thing in particular that distinguishes the party as such, and that is its clarity, its clear head, its clear objective, its clear, sharply defined nature, and its clear, sharply defined program. If such a unified conception of the party's meaning and goals is what we have in mind, then I agree with what Comrade Zinoviev says in the theses: "Only if the proletariat is led by an organized and tested party that has strictly defined goals and a clearly elaborated program of immediate measures for both domestic and foreign policy will the conquest of political power not take place as a mere episode but instead serve as the starting point for lasting, communist construction of society by the proletariat."

Just as the kernel withers without a shell, so too will the party inevitably wither and become a sect if it fails to find the road enabling it to penetrate the life of the revolutionary masses. And I believe that inasmuch as we here are Communists, we agree that a party must be clear and resolute; we do not need to discuss that here. For us the central question is finding the road to the masses, and in my opinion any road that leads to the masses must be tried. There are the trade unions, the councils (where council organizations are formed), the parliamentary battlefield, and even nonparty organizations—at least insofar as they grow out of the very heart of social life, that is, out of its social and economic stratification.

There is one point, however, where I feel I must differ with the reporter. That is when he says in point 6 of the theses, "Communists support in every way the formation of broad, unaffiliated workers' organizations alongside the Communist Party. Communists consider systematic organizational and educational work in these broad workers' organizations to be their most important task. But precisely in order to make this work successful, to prevent enemies of the revolutionary proletariat from gaining control of these broad workers' organizations, the advanced, communist workers must form their own, independent, united Communist party."

In my opinion, this thesis can be given an excessively broad interpretation.¹⁵ Something must be said, I believe, so that the

forming of workers' fractions and organizations for nonparty workers does not become simply a game, and so that new organizational forms are not invented unless they grow solely from economic and social necessity. We must be extremely cautious about forming new organizations, and, where such organizations exist, we must avoid spreading them arbitrarily and unconditionally. In saying this I particularly have in mind Germany, where the trade unions have grown to almost nine million members. Nonetheless, there were comrades there who, in the rush toward new types of organizations, went so far as to try to induce us Communists to abandon this big field where we can do work.¹⁶

I also believe that extreme caution is called for in creating not only nonparty but also party organizations. Here we will have to draw many a lesson from our German history, from the German Communists' experiences.

For that reason, the question that the British comrades raised will indeed have to be decided by this congress. I am completely convinced—and on this point we in the West European Secretariat were at odds with the Amsterdam bureau—that the BSP absolutely must remain in the Labour Party, through which it is linked to the masses.

But special caution is needed in creating new formations that call themselves "nonparty." I believe that at this congress too there are delegates who differ with us Communists on the extent to which it is necessary to form nonparty organizations instead of party organizations that have clearly stated political goals. I leave it to more qualified comrades—the Spanish comrade, for example—to speak to this question, but I must say that I am not optimistic about their answer, and I speak from some experience. It seems to me that clarifying the differences between communism on the one hand and the anarchist views of the Spanish comrade on the other is quite out of line with the tasks of this congress, nor does it serve the interests of what the world today is demanding of the Communist International, namely, fully defining a course of action. We get no closer to carrying out this task by focusing the discussion on a question that the majority of the western European working class settled decades ago. On the contrary, it is the task of this congress to tell the British comrades not to hold the unaffiliated organizations

in contempt and not to resign from the Labour Party. The congress must outline, once and for all, a consistent, clear line for all cases like this.

McLaine: Since it is so late, 10:00 p.m., I move to adjourn and continue debate in the next session.

Serrati: On behalf of the Bureau, I move that the session continue, and I call upon the commission to explain Comrade Zinoviev's theses point by point.

(Serrati's motion is put to a vote and adopted.)

Serrati: The Italian delegation accepts Comrade Zinoviev's theses in their entirety because they analyze corporatism, syndicalism, Industrialism, anarchism, and relativism,¹⁷ pointing out the petty-bourgeois spirit of these movements. The theses defend the cause of the proletariat, centralization, and discipline in the name of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat through the Communist Party. But we think that certain formulations contained in the theses lack clarity, for example those on the question of the middle peasants. It is important that the exact meaning of this term be specified, otherwise we risk falling into possibilism.¹⁸ Those who are termed "middle" actually represent the most backward element.

Concerning point 6, we agree with Comrade Levi. Communists must make every effort to create communist organizations, not neutral ones, although they must work in the latter. Comrade McLaine requested that the BSP be authorized to remain in the Labour Party. In this case I rather agree with the Shop Stewards' representatives, who regard the Labour Party as a political party. During the war it took a purely political orientation, as demonstrated by Henderson's activity. If we permit Communists to remain in such organizations, we will once again open wide the door to possibilism.

Another point in the theses says that Communists may join neutral or even reactionary groupings, such as the Christian trade unions. But these Christian groups are by no means neutral. To join, you have to be Christian.

The congress must also examine the question of Communists joining the Freemasons, an organization permeated with the spirit of petty-bourgeois radicalism and political opportunism. We ask the congress to forbid Communists to join such organizations.

Lenin: Comrades, I would like to make a few remarks concerning the speeches of Comrades Tanner and McLaine. Tanner says that he stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but he does not see the dictatorship of the proletariat quite in the way we do. He says that by the dictatorship of the proletariat we actually mean the dictatorship of the organized and class-conscious minority of the proletariat.

True enough, in the era of capitalism, when masses of workers are subjected to constant exploitation and cannot develop their human capacities, the most characteristic feature of working-class political parties is that they can involve only a minority of a class, in the same way as the really class-conscious workers in any capitalist society constitute only a minority of all workers. We are therefore obliged to recognize that it is only this class-conscious minority that can direct and lead the broad masses of the workers. And if Comrade Tanner says that he is opposed to parties, but at the same time is in favor of a minority that represents the best organized and most revolutionary workers showing the way to the entire proletariat, then I say that there is really no difference between us.

What is this organized minority? If this minority is really class conscious, if it is able to lead the masses, if it is able to reply to every question that appears on the order of the day, then it is a party in reality. But if comrades like Tanner, to whom we pay special heed as representatives of a mass movement—which cannot, without a certain exaggeration, be said of the representatives of the British Socialist Party—if these comrades are in favor of there being a minority that will fight resolutely for the dictatorship of the proletariat and will educate the masses of workers along these lines, then this minority is in reality nothing but a party. Comrade Tanner says that this minority should organize and lead the entire mass of workers. If Comrade Tanner and the other comrades of the Shop Stewards' group and the Industrial Workers of the World accept this—and we see from the daily talks we have had with them that they do accept it—if they approve the idea that the class-conscious Communist minority of the working class leads the proletariat, then they must also agree that this is exactly the meaning of all our resolutions.

In that case the only difference between us lies in their avoid-

ance of the word *party* because there exists among the British comrades a certain mistrust of political parties. They can conceive of political parties only in the image of the parties of Gompers and Henderson, parties of parliamentary wheeler-dealers and traitors to the working class. But if by parliamentarism they mean what exists in Britain and America today, then we too are opposed to such parliamentarism and to such political parties. What we want is new and different parties. We want parties that will be in constant and real contact with the masses and will be able to lead those masses.¹⁹

I now come to the third question I want to touch upon in connection with Comrade McLaine's speech. He is in favor of the British communist party affiliating to the Labour Party. I have already expressed my opinion on this score in my theses on affiliation to the Third International.²⁰ In my pamphlet I left the question open. However, after discussing the matter with a number of comrades, I have come to the conclusion that the decision to remain within the Labour Party is the only correct tactic. But here is Comrade Tanner, who declares, "Don't be too dogmatic." I consider his remark quite out of place here. Comrade Ramsay says, "Please let us British communists decide this question for ourselves." What would the International be like if every little group were to come along and say, "Some of us are in favor of this thing and some are against; leave it to us to decide the matter for ourselves"? What then would be the use of having an International, a congress, and all this discussion? Comrade McLaine spoke only of the role of a political party. But the same applies to the trade unions and to parliamentarism.

It is quite true that the majority of the finest revolutionaries are against affiliation to the Labour Party, because they are opposed to parliamentarism as a means of struggle. Perhaps it would be best to refer this question to a commission, where it should be discussed and studied, and then decided at this very congress of the Communist International. We cannot agree that it concerns only the British communists. We must say, in general, which are the correct tactics.

I will now deal with some of Comrade McLaine's arguments concerning the question of the British Labour Party. We must say frankly that the party of communists can join the Labour Party only on condition that it preserve full freedom of criticism

and is able to conduct its own policy. This is of supreme importance. When, in this connection, Comrade Serrati speaks of class collaboration, I affirm that this will not be class collaboration. When the Italian comrades tolerate, in their party, opportunists like Turati and company—that is, bourgeois elements—that is indeed class collaboration. In this instance, however, with regard to the British Labour Party, it is simply a matter of collaboration between the advanced minority of the British workers and the vast majority of workers.

Members of the Labour Party are all members of trade unions. It has a very unusual structure, to be found in no other country. It is an organization that embraces four million workers out of the six or seven million organized in trade unions. They are not asked to state what their political opinions are. Let Comrade Serrati prove to me that anyone there will prevent us from exercising our right of criticism. Only by proving that will you prove Comrade McLaine wrong.

The British Socialist Party can quite freely call Henderson a traitor and yet remain in the Labour Party. Here we have collaboration between the vanguard of the working class and the rear guard, the backward workers. This collaboration is so important to the entire movement that we categorically insist on the British communists serving as a link between the party—that is, the minority of the working class—and the rest of the workers. If the minority is unable to lead the masses and establish close links with them, then it is not a party and is worthless in general, even if it calls itself a party or the National Shop Stewards' Committee—as far as I know, the Shop Stewards' committees in Britain have a national committee, a central body, and that is a step toward a party.²¹ Consequently, until it is refuted that the British Labour Party consists of proletarians, this is cooperation between the vanguard of the working class and the backward workers. If this cooperation is not carried on systematically, the Communist Party will be worthless and there can be no question of the dictatorship of the proletariat at all. If our Italian comrades cannot produce more convincing arguments, we shall have to definitely settle the question later here, on the basis of what we know, and we shall come to the conclusion that affiliation is the correct tactic.

Comrades Tanner and Ramsay tell us that the majority of

British communists will not accept affiliation. But must we always agree with the majority? Not at all. If they have not yet understood which are the correct tactics, then perhaps it would be better to wait. Even the parallel existence, for a time, of two parties would be better than refusing to reply to the question as to which tactics are correct. Of course, acting on the experience of all congress delegates and on the arguments that have been brought forward here, you will not insist on passing a resolution here and now, calling for the immediate formation of a single Communist party in each country. That is impossible. But we can frankly express our opinion and give direction.

We must study in a special commission the question raised by the British delegation and then say that affiliation to the Labour Party is the correct tactic. If the majority is against it, we must organize a separate minority. That will be of educational value. If the masses of the British workers still believe in the old tactics, we shall verify our conclusions at the next congress. We cannot, however, say that this question concerns Britain alone—that would mean copying the worst habits of the Second International. If the British communists do not reach agreement on the question of the organization of the mass movement, and if a split takes place on this issue, then better a split than rejection of the organization of the mass movement. It is better to rise to definite and sufficiently clear tactics and ideology than to go on remaining in the previous chaos.²²

*Leon Trotsky [Communist Party of Russia]:*²³ Comrades, it might seem rather strange that three-quarters of a century after publication of the Communist Manifesto the question should arise at an international Communist congress as to whether or not a party is needed. Comrade Levi emphasized precisely this side of the debate when he observed that for the great mass of the western European and American workers, this question was decided long ago, and that in his opinion discussing this question will hardly help raise the prestige of the Communist International. For my part, I consider that the opinion expressed here with such Marxist magnanimity to the effect that the great mass of workers is already very well aware of the need for a party stands in rather sharp contradiction to historical events. Obviously, if we had Messrs. Scheidemann or Kautsky or their British supporters here before us, we would not have to teach these

gentlemen that the working class must have a party. They formed a party for the working class and placed it at the service of the bourgeoisie, of capitalist society. But if what we have in mind is a proletarian party, we see that in different countries it is now going through different phases of its development.

In Germany, that classic land of the old Social Democracy, we see that its colossal working class, on a high cultural level, is forging steadily ahead, dragging with it great chunks of its old traditions. On the other hand, we see that precisely those parties that claim to speak in the name of the great majority of the working class—the parties of the Second International, which express the moods of a part of the working class—are forcing us here to pose the question whether or not a party is needed.

I know that a party is necessary, and I know its value very well. I have Scheidemann on the one hand, and on the other, American, Spanish, and French syndicalists who not only want to fight against the bourgeoisie differently from Scheidemann, but in addition really want to tear its head off. And that is precisely why I say that I prefer to debate with these Spanish, American, and French comrades in order to show them that the party is indispensable to the mission assigned them by history—the destruction of the bourgeoisie. I will prove this to them in a comradely way, on the basis of my own experience, but I will not hold up to them the Scheidemanns' long years of experience and say that the question has already been resolved for the majority.

Comrades, we see how great is the influence of antiparlimentary tendencies in the old countries of parliamentarism and democracy, such as France, Britain, and so on. In France I had occasion to note at the beginning of the war, just when the Germans stood before the gates of Paris, how the first brave voice of protest against the war came from the ranks of a small group of French syndicalists—my friends Monatte and Rosmer, among others. At that time we could not pose the question of forming a Communist party; such forces were too few. However, with Comrades Monatte, Rosmer, and others with an anarchist history, I felt like a comrade among comrades. But what did I have in common with the likes of Renaudel, who understands the need for a party very well, or with Albert Thomas and other gentlemen whose names I will not mention in order to avoid violating the rules of decency?

Comrades, the French syndicalists do revolutionary work in the trade unions, and when I talk today with, for example, Comrade Rosmer, we find that we share common ground. The French syndicalists, defying the traditions of democracy and its lies and illusions, say, "We do not want a party; we want proletarian labor unions—and in them a revolutionary minority that applies direct action." The French syndicalists themselves were not quite certain what they meant by this "minority." It was an anticipation of future development, which did not prevent those same syndicalists, despite their prejudices and illusions, from playing a revolutionary role in France and from producing the small minority that has come to join us at this international congress.

What does this minority mean to our friends? It means the best part of the French working class, which has a clear program and an organization in which they discuss all questions—and not only discuss but also decide—an organization bound by a certain discipline. However, through experience of working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie, through their own experience and that in other countries, French syndicalism will be required to form a Communist party.

Comrade Pestaña says, "I do not want to take up this question. I am a syndicalist, and I do not want to talk about politics, much less about the party." That is extremely interesting. He does not want to talk about the Communist Party so as not to insult the revolution. That means that criticizing the Communist Party, criticizing the need for it, seems to him, in the framework of the Russian revolution, like an affront to the revolution. And indeed it is, for as things developed here, the party came to be identified with the revolution. The same thing is true in Hungary.

Comrade Pestaña, an influential Spanish syndicalist, has come to us because there are comrades here who have much more in common with the syndicalists. There are also comrades here who are parliamentarists, so to speak, and there are comrades here who are neither parliamentarists nor syndicalists but are for mass actions, and so on. What do we offer him then? We offer him the international Communist Party, that is, the unification of the most advanced elements of the working class, who bring their experience here, exchange it with one another, criticize each other, make decisions, and so forth. When Com-

rade Pestaña returns to Spain with these decisions, his comrades will ask him, "What did you bring back from Moscow?" Then he will present the theses to them and propose voting either for or against this resolution, and the Spanish syndicalists who unite on the basis of these theses will be the Communist Party of Spain.

Today we received a proposal from the Polish government to conclude peace. Who decides this question? We have the Council of People's Commissars, but it has to be subject to some supervision. Whose supervision? That of the working class as an amorphous, chaotic mass? No. The Central Committee of the party is convened to discuss the proposal and to decide whether it should be answered. And when we wage war, create new divisions, and must find the best forces for them, where do we turn? To the party. To the Central Committee. And it instructs every local committee to send Communists to the front. The same is true for the agrarian question, the food question, and all other questions. Who will solve these questions in Spain? The Communist Party of Spain, and I am certain that Comrade Pestaña will be one of the founders of that party.

Now Comrade Serrati, to whom it is not necessary to demonstrate the need for a party since he is himself a leader of a large party, asks us ironically what in fact we mean by "middle peasants," by "semiproletarians," and if we make various concessions to them, is that not opportunism? But what is "opportunism," comrades? The working class, represented and led by the Communist Party, is in power here. But we have not only the advanced working class, we have also backward and unaffiliated elements, who work part of the year in the village and part of the year in the factory. There are diverse layers of peasants. None of that is created by our party; we inherited it from the feudal and capitalist past. The working class is in power, and it says: I cannot change all that overnight; here I must make concessions to backward and barbaric relationships.

Opportunism manifests itself when those representing the toiling class make concessions to the ruling class that facilitate its remaining in power. Kautsky charges that our party makes excessive concessions to the peasantry. The working class, in power, must hasten the development of a large part of the peasantry from the feudal way of thinking to communism, and it

cannot avoid making certain concessions to the backward elements. In this way, I believe, the question, which has been answered in a way that Comrade Serrati finds opportunist, is not a question that can lower the dignity of the Communist Party in Russia. But even if it could, if we had made one, two, or three mistakes, that would mean only that we have to maneuver under very complicated circumstances. Even though we held power, we retreated before German imperialism at Brest-Litovsk, then before British imperialism. Here we are maneuvering among the various layers of the peasantry, attracting some to us, repelling others, and repressing still others with a mailed fist. That is maneuvering by a revolutionary class in power. It can make mistakes, but these mistakes are part of the party's assets, which synthesize the accumulated experience of the working class. That is how we conceive of our party. That is how we conceive of our International.

Augustin Souchy [Free Workers Union of Germany]: In drawing up theses for the international workers' movement we must not begin with theoretical, preconceived assumptions. Instead we must recognize the tendencies that are emerging in the workers' movement in various countries and try to develop them further and make them more revolutionary. Our theories ought to be no more than the conscious continuation of tendencies and forms of struggle arising from the working class's struggle against the bourgeoisie. These are, in Britain, the Shop Stewards' movement; in America, the IWW; the factory committees in Norway.²⁴ All of these are tendencies that were born from the conditions of struggle between capital and labor.

It is wrong to advance theoretical considerations in an attempt to direct these movements onto other paths, saying that they are not communist. If we forsake the empirical road and take one that is doctrinaire, we cannot create an International of struggle.

For that reason I do not want to theorize so much as merely to discuss the tendencies that have emerged during the revolution. We must pay attention to these tendencies and try to develop them. We must try to understand the soul of the living workers' movement, which did not originate in the heads of individual theoreticians but springs from the heart of the working class itself.

I come here representing the syndicalists and do not wish to take up the Russian comrades' arguments in theory. But since syndicalism has been made out here to be a semibourgeois movement, I must try to prove that this is not the case. So I must enter the realm of theory in order to deal with the theories presented here.

Thus, Comrade Zinoviev claimed that the bourgeoisie tells the working class not to organize itself politically and that if syndicalism exhibits a tendency not to organize workers into a political party, this can be traced to the fact that such prejudices come from the bourgeoisie and determine this tendency of syndicalism. This does not correspond to the facts. What does the bourgeoisie say, for example, about the syndicalist movement? About the IWW and other, similar movements? Comrade Zinoviev, do you believe that the bourgeoisie approves of the industrial movement and does not attempt to take action against it as it does against political parties? The bourgeoisie does not want the proletariat to establish political parties. Does the bourgeoisie want the proletariat to establish industrial movements? Absolutely not.

From the persecution of syndicalists in every country we see that the bourgeoisie fears this movement as much as it does any other political movement. For this reason we cannot accept the position that the industrial movement poses no danger to the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it can be shown by examples that the syndicalist movement is just as damaging to the bourgeoisie as the political revolutionary movement and that the bourgeoisie does not fear political parties as such. On the contrary, political parties are rooted in the bourgeoisie. If we look at the French revolution we see that the Jacobins, in whose footsteps the bourgeoisie followed, promoted the idea of establishing political parties. What is inherited from the bourgeoisie is not the idea of establishing industrial parties but that of establishing political parties. If we want to engage in theoretical juggling, I can prove that to you very easily.

Comrade Zinoviev went on to say that we want to adopt not the old parliamentarism but new forms of it. Here, too, I do not want to elucidate the question from a theoretical standpoint, but instead refer to the tendencies that exist in the modern workers' movement. It must be granted that among revolution-

ary workers the tendency toward parliamentarism is disappearing more and more. On the contrary, a strong antiparliamentary tendency is becoming apparent in the ranks of the most advanced part of the proletariat. Look at the Shop Stewards' movement or Spanish syndicalism: they are antiparliamentary. The IWW is absolutely antiparliamentary. And not only that. You may say that the syndicalists in Germany are insignificant, but there are more than 200,000 of us. I want to point out that the idea of antiparliamentarism is asserting itself ever more strongly in Germany, not just because of the influence of syndicalist theories but as a result of the revolution itself. We must take note of this. In Germany today most Communists are antiparliamentary. We must view the question in this light. After having thrown parliamentarism out the front door amid great fanfare, we must not try, from a theoretical, doctrinaire position, to smuggle it in by the back door saying it is good for agitational purposes.

Comrade Trotsky dealt in his contribution with the most important points. Comrade Zinoviev says that the trade unions have no program for the day after the outbreak of revolution. He pointed out that the trade unions would not be able to solve the economic and social tasks. Well, I would like to ask what organizations are competent to organize a society's economic life. Any kind of bourgeois forces who come together to form a party, who are not in touch with economic life? Or forces that stand at the roots of production and consumption? Everyone has to admit that only the latter organizations, which have the most intimate contact with production, are qualified to organize economic life and to take it into their hands. There can be no doubt—we see it in Russia, too—that the trade unions have an enormous role to play in economic life.

Ramsay: I will try to be as brief as possible. I am speaking here as a communist who rejects the position of the BSP and who does not approve of membership in the Labour Party. I stress that only the BSP holds this position. All other groupings are against participating in the Labour Party. I believe it would be a tactical mistake to try to give instructions from here on this question, because in order to determine that from here and give instructions—specifically, to be able to grant the BSP or other parties the right to join or not to join the Labour Party—you

would have to be acquainted with the whole situation in Britain. It would do great harm to the British party, because the entire British working class is sick and tired of the Labour Party's tactics.

Serrati: It has been proposed that the debate be closed. All in favor, raise your hands. All opposed, raise your hands. The motion passes. The Bureau moves that a commission be appointed this evening to discuss this question. It nominates the following comrades:

Fraina, *United States*

Ramsay, *Britain*

McLaine, *Britain*

Meyer, *Germany*

Graziadei, *Italy*

Steinhardt, *Austria*

Bukharin, *Russia*

Kabakchiev, *Bulgaria*

Wijnkoop, *Netherlands*

Zinoviev, *Executive Committee of the International*

These comrades should meet tomorrow afternoon to discuss the objections to the theses and then make a report to the plenary session tomorrow evening at 8:00 p.m.

(It is proposed that Comrade Levi replace Comrade Meyer.)

I ask all in favor of this commission to raise their hands. *(The vote is taken.)* All opposed. *(Vote)* The commission is elected. The comrades on the commission are asked to remain here for a few more minutes.

(The session is adjourned.)

Session 3, July 24, 1920

Role and structure of the Communist Party (PART 2)

(9:00 p.m.)

Serrati: The commission appointed yesterday evening has completed its work and is ready to report. As the members of the Bureau have not yet arrived, I propose waiting a while before opening the session.

(The session opens at 10:00 p.m.)

Serrati: We are two hours late. But the Bureau is proposing a manner of proceeding that will permit shortening the debates considerably. Five commissions of eleven members each will be appointed to study the various theses. Every delegation will have the right to propose one representative for each commission. The Bureau will choose from among the names proposed by the delegations. Each commission will appoint a reporter, and the congress will have the final decision.

Pestaña: The Bureau's proposal does not seem logical to me. I propose leaving it to the delegations of the various nationalities to determine for themselves the members of the commissions.

Serrati: The Bureau would gladly accept that proposal if it knew all the delegates present, but we are seeing many of them for the first time.

Pestaña: Precisely because the Bureau admits it does not know the members of the delegations very well, I find it more logical to entrust to the delegations themselves the responsibility of determining the members on the commissions.

Serrati: The Bureau will determine not the quality but only the quantity. The quality will be determined by the individual delegations.

Pestaña: Will the question then be discussed?

Serrati: Of course, and the congress will be able to express itself freely.

I will take a vote on the Bureau's motion.

(The Bureau's motion carries by a large majority.)

I will read the rules of procedure:

The congress will be divided into commissions that will discuss the theses on the principal questions on the congress agenda.

Each commission will consist of from seven to eleven members.

Each national delegation will have the right to nominate one member to each commission.

The Bureau will make the final selection of the members of each commission.

Each commission will choose a reporter, who will report to the congress on that commission's proposed resolution.

The commissions should study and propose resolutions on the following agenda items:

1. Parliamentarism
2. Trade unions
3. National and colonial questions
4. Agrarian question
5. Conditions for admission to the Communist International
6. Statutes, organizations, youth, women
7. Current world situation and the tasks of the Communist International

The Bureau has received the following statement of the American delegation to the Second Congress of the Communist International:

"In accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the requirements of the American Communist movement itself, it is necessary to unite the two Communist parties.

"Accordingly, we greet the formation of the United Communist Party, composed of the Communist Labor Party and a substantial portion of the Communist Party. But this unity is not complete.¹

"The complete unification of the American Communist movement being imperative, we, delegates of the Communist

Party and the Communist Labor Party, agree (1) to work as one group at the congress; (2) to call upon the Executive Committee of the International to intervene again, in mandatory fashion, to compel any elements who may resist complete unity to unite on the basis of the International; (3) to abide by the decisions of the Executive Committee of the International on the question of unity."

Communist Party of America:
*Louis C. Fraina, Alexander
Stoklitsky; Communist Labor
Party of America: John Reed,
John Jurgis, Alexander Bilan*

(Applause)

The following telegram reached us from the International Socialist League of South Africa:

"To the Secretary of the Third International, Moscow

"Dear Comrades:

"At the annual delegates' meeting of the International Socialist League of South Africa, held in Johannesburg, January 4, 1920, it was unanimously decided to affiliate to the Third International. I have been in communication with the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, and through them with Comrade Rutgers of the Amsterdam bureau, who advises me to send this request for affiliation through them to you.

"We enclose constitution and rules, which will, I think, convince you that our policy is on all fours with that of the Communist parties of Europe and elsewhere. Any further information that may be required we will be pleased to supply on hearing from you.

"For the social revolution,

"Yours fraternally,
W.H. Andrews
Secretary Organizer
International Socialist League
of South Africa"

(Applause)

Serrati: The various national groups are asked to appoint their

members for the commissions.

The Bureau proposed setting up a commission to verify credentials. The Bureau asks for ratification of a commission composed of Comrades Rosmer, Meyer, Bombacci, Bukharin, Radek, and Rudnyánszky.²

(The congress adopts the proposal. Discussion continues on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution.)

Reed: I propose that the English language be recognized as one of the official languages at the congress. The number of English-speaking delegates in this hall exceeds the number of those using French, for example. We have been promised an English translator, but we have not got him yet.

Serrati: We will try to accommodate Comrade Reed regarding an interpreter. But as he has already repeatedly been informed, the Bureau cannot accept Reed's motion to permit the use of English as an official language.

Angelica Balabanoff [*Executive Committee of the Communist International*]: Comrade Reed, this is the third time you have made this motion. The question has been settled.

SUMMARY

Zinoviev: Comrades, I am to report to you on the work of the commission we elected yesterday. The commission consisted of representatives from eight countries: Germany, Russia, France, Britain, America, Italy, the Netherlands, and Bulgaria.³ Also present were representatives of the Shop Stewards' movement and the revolutionary syndicalists. I am happy to be able to report to you that the commission adopted the resolution unanimously. (*Applause*)

I will inform you of the changes that the commission decided to make, and I must say in advance that the stylistic work remains to be done. The commission chose three of its members as a small editing subcommission, but it has not yet been able to complete its work. It is a matter only of purely stylistic corrections.

The commission decided, first of all, to write a different introduction to the theses, since the introduction was written before

the congress and we now want to formulate it differently. The new introduction is as follows.

(*Zinoviev reads the new introduction.*)

In thesis 3, which discusses the confusion of the terms *party* and *class* and cited only Russian examples, we decided to give a large number of parallel examples from the workers' movement in other countries.

Thesis 5 takes up our disagreements with the revolutionary syndicalists and supporters of the IWW. This thesis too was adopted unanimously. It was decided to insert two more sentences. One is intended to point out that for us armed insurrection, not the general strike, is the ultimate means. And that is one more reason why we should have a tightly disciplined party.

It seems to us that many comrades from the ranks of the revolutionary syndicalists, the IWW, and perhaps also the Shop Stewards' movement underestimate the importance of a militant political party, because many of them think that we view the folded-arms tactic, the general strike, as the ultimate weapon. That is not the case.

The decisive weapon of struggle is armed insurrection, and what that requires is organization of the revolutionary forces, their organization on a war footing, and therefore a centralized party. And we decided to add that to make it clear to every revolutionary syndicalist worker.

The best of the syndicalists have always said that the role of the revolutionary minority (*la minorité initiative*)⁴ in the revolution is very large. That is true. We take them at their word and say: Because that is true, you should understand that a revolutionary minority with a communist outlook is precisely what a communist party is. So we are adding that argument as well to the theses.

Then the commission talked quite a bit about thesis 6, which also was criticized from various quarters yesterday. Thesis 6 takes up the question of our policy toward the nonparty organizations.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, we decided not to use the word *nonparty* but instead to use the expression *that are not parties*. But that is only a stylistic change. The discussion in the commission showed us that this is a very important point on which we must arrive at somewhat closer agreement.

Some comrades thought that what is involved here is neutral trade unions. That is not the case. We are decidedly against trade union neutrality and explain that this is simply impossible. When we talk of nonparty organizations, we are referring to something entirely different.

We need a strictly centralized party. But we need a party that always has contact with the masses. The most important thing that we have to say to Communists in every country is that at every stage of the struggle we must have close contact with the working masses. This can be attained in different ways, including through cooperation with nonparty organizations, that is, with organizations, groups, and conferences that are not parties. What we have in mind can best be shown by a few examples.

In Britain the Hands off Russia organization has made a name for itself and is winning considerable influence.⁵ It is a nonparty movement but it has mobilized rather large masses. In our opinion, Communists absolutely must participate in such a movement. They should play the leading role in it and determine its direction. In addition, rather large national and international conferences of Victims and Disabled Veterans of the World War have been convened recently. Here we have millions of people organizing themselves on this basis, even if only temporarily. Should Communists stand aside? On the contrary! We must influence these organizations.

A third example, taken from Austria, is the housing question. It has grown very acute in Vienna, and the working class has become very discontented. There is a workers' council in Vienna, but it is controlled by the social patriots, who do not want to make concessions to the workers. There is thus great unrest in Vienna and other cities, and it is possible that temporary, amorphous, proletarian tenants' organizations will form. Should Communists stand aside? By no means. Even though there is a Communist organization in Vienna, we must and should support and guide such an association, which is not a party, and lead these people to communism.

And now an example from the Russian revolution. Our party is quite strong, and yet we organize conferences of nonparty proletarians—and nonparty peasants, too. These conferences are very important for us. There are large circles of workers who

say proudly, "We are not party members." We take such workers at their word and tell them, "You are independent, but you are proletarians. We want to organize a conference of all the independent workers in this factory or this district or in this city. Do you want to take part in such a conference?" They say yes. A conference takes place. What questions will it discuss? The most burning questions: the food question, the question of the Polish war, the education question, and so forth.

Should we stand aside from that conference? By no means. We attend such conferences, we participate in them, we organize a nucleus of Communists for them, and in that way lead toward our party today the great mass of yesterday's nonparty workers. That is one of the best forms of contact with the masses.

These conferences are amorphous organizations, perhaps semiorganizations, but they enjoy many rights as a result of our decrees. For example, they can elect inspectors who have the powers of government inspectors in various important matters. Perhaps that could be organized differently. But this example is very important.

And we draw this thesis to the attention of parties like the British and American parties and several others that are still young and unfortunately still have little contact with the masses. It is very important to grasp that much closer contact with the workers and poor peasants can be achieved by this means. We believe that much remains to be done in this respect in every country, including Germany, in order to enroll in the party not only the best but also the broadest layers of the proletariat and lead them to communism.

Only minor changes were made in the other theses. For the British and American comrades it is important to know that when we refer to the laborites saying, "Laborites of every stripe in Britain and America preach to the workers the creation of amorphous workers' associations instead of a political party," we added "the Yellow laborites." That refers not to the Shop Stewards but to the Hendersons. The Yellow laborites make propaganda for nonaffiliation, or they form vague, exclusively parliamentary political associations, as we put it. The Labour Party is one such vague association. At least that is how the Hendersons want their party to appear.

Those are the most important changes that we made. We decided to deal with the McLaine amendment separately. He agreed to that. We will discuss thoroughly the situation in the British party—and perhaps the situation in the American party, too—in a special commission and give the British and American comrades a precise answer to this question.

That is what the commission did, and, as I emphasized, the commission adopted the resolution unanimously.

I would like to add a few words on some arguments against my report that were advanced yesterday and have not yet been answered. First, the objection by Comrade Pestaña, the Spanish syndicalist. He says, “Well, if we must have a party, then it must be the result of the revolution, as in France. After all, the Jacobin party was born only as a result of the French revolution.” Comrade Pestaña meant that we should do the same today, in the face of a proletarian revolution. For him a party comes into play only as a result of the revolution. Is that correct? I do not think so.

Even if this were true—and it is not—would it really be a reason why we today, in 1920, when we must fight against a whole world of bourgeois parties that are armed to the teeth, should pose the question in terms of forming a party only as a “result” of the revolution? What should we do during the revolution? Who will organize the workers’ best ranks at the beginning of the revolution? Who will prepare it and elaborate and disseminate a program? I believe we will have to tell every worker, including every revolutionary syndicalist who is serious about the proletarian revolution—and I know that Comrade Pestaña is among those comrades who take the question of revolution seriously—that the conclusion we draw from this must be that we do not wait for the revolution to come and take us by surprise and for a party to crystallize out as a result. Instead we must say that we will begin to organize such a party right now without hesitating for a single hour.

In addition, Comrade Pestaña says that in Russia it was not the Communists who made the revolution, but the people. That is correct. We certainly do not wish to deny that the people made the revolution, if one can even speak of “making” revolutions. But the Communist Party is the best section of the working people—no more, but no less either. And it is not such a small

thing to be an organized nucleus that takes the lead of the popular masses, gathers around itself the best people, and leads the masses of workers forward.

I would like to say a few more words about "autonomy," which was mentioned yesterday. Yesterday we heard from various quarters that it should be left to the party of the country concerned to decide this or that question and that autonomy should not be violated. I believe those are echoes of the kind of autonomy advocated by the Second International. That must be frankly stated.

Yes, of course each party must have a certain amount of autonomy. There can be no objection to that. But there is autonomy and autonomy. As we know, the revisionists adopted the slogan of autonomy fifteen years ago and raised it continually, not only on an international scale but within their own party, saying that Berlin, Leipzig—every city, in short—must be autonomous.⁶ The experience of our Russian revolution teaches that if we were to interpret it this way, there would be no party; instead there would be several parties. That is in fact the way it is now in France; there they speak of "the Paris party," "the Lyons party," and so forth. That is the technical term. That is autonomy in the sense inherited from the Second International. We do not need a party that is "autonomous" in every city. We need a party that is centralized nationally just as it is internationally.

I know very well that if we now create statutes for the Communist International based on the principle of centralism, this will not mean that we already have a homogeneous revolutionary International. We still have to win that through struggle. And it goes without saying that there is no way other than to subordinate oneself. It is better to make mistakes occasionally and still submit to the whole, rather than to implement a kind of "autonomy" that means fragmenting the working class. In the statutes of the First International, Marx said, "If we remain wage slaves, if the working class's struggle continues for so long without success, it is because we are so fragmented, because the workers do not understand the need for a close-knit organization."⁷ The fifty intervening years represent a long period of history. The imperialist war showed us—and by now every worker understands it—that the fate of the working class of each country is tied to the fate of the working class of every other country. The

war showed us that all too plainly. What must be done now is to draw the necessary conclusions and convince the masses, so that they understand they must have such a centralized international organization.

Unanimous adoption of the resolution, which expresses the historic significance of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution—a unanimity that I hope we will achieve at this very congress—is of great historic importance. Socialism has gone through a terrible crisis. Everything is in turmoil. In every country there are different groups; the workers are searching for the right road. We must not, as the Second International did, persecute or deride workers who are not yet in complete agreement with us but who are on our side; that happened in the Second International the minute leftward tendencies appeared.⁸

On the contrary, we must take such comrades into our ranks, study the questions with them, discuss with them, and expose their errors so they will be cured of them. This will be the best proof that the Communist International is viable. The very essence of the International is that we unite all the revolutionary forces of the working class, regardless of whether yesterday they were syndicalists or belonged to the Shop Stewards' movement, so long as they are comrades who have come to understand what revolutionary struggle means, who are for the dictatorship, and who have shown that they want to fight alongside us. They must be in our ranks. Then they will understand every question more clearly with each passing day.

If we carry out these guidelines in life and translate every word into action, that will mean that we are finally beginning to create a truly international, homogeneous Communist party, which is what we really should be. We should be one single Communist party with detachments in different countries. (*Applause*) That is the meaning of the Communist International. When the Russian communists first set the example and called themselves Communists instead of Social Democrats, the proposal was made that we call ourselves not Communist Party of Russia but simply Communist Party. We should be a single party that has sections in Russia, Germany, France, and so forth, a party that goes its way quite consciously and systematically. Only then will we succeed in marshaling our forces. Only on that condition will every group in the international working class

always be able to receive the greatest possible support from other countries at any particular moment. We must say this to the comrades very clearly and distinctly.

Today the parties that have already joined the Communist International still contain an alien element that does not belong in our midst. I am referring to the reformists. We say this in every speech and will keep on saying it until this finally comes to an end. At the beginning of the imperialist war the phrase was coined, "The enemy is in your own country." It referred to the bourgeoisie. As long as we continue to tolerate a reformist wing in a party that calls itself communist (such as the Italian party, for example), as long as we have complete reformists in our ranks (that is, bourgeois ideologists), we must sound the alarm and say: The enemy is in our own house. (*Applause*)

Therefore, we tell our Italian comrades: The enemy is in your own house; you must drive it out.

Because we are on the road to victory the reformists want to worm their way into our midst. They have a good nose, these gentlemen. They smell their defeat, and if you throw them out the window, they come back in through the door. (*Applause*) Sometimes they sign our resolutions, yet they remain what they were. They remain reformists, they remain champions of the bourgeoisie's cause in the camp of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie continues to exist today only through the help of the social patriots, who do not understand that the bourgeois class is our enemy. Today the bourgeoisie could not last six more months were it not for the social-patriotic gentlemen, were it not for the Yellow International in Amsterdam, were it not for people who sit in the workers' parties and trade unions in order to sabotage our struggle.

A rank-and-file worker from Helsingfors [Helsinki], Finland, who worked illegally for a year and a half under the Finnish White Terror, told me not long ago how difficult the struggle is there and how the Finnish workers organize despite that. One of the things he said was, "Back home every rank-and-file revolutionary worker knows that when the time comes, the first thing to do is to break with the White Social Democrats; first settle the score with the traitors." (*Loud applause*) Have no fear, the bourgeoisie will have its turn; its hour will strike. But first settle the score with these traitors to the workers, who bear the guilt for

the fact that thousands of our comrades were massacred and that the White Terror rages everywhere.

These simple feelings of a Finnish worker are the genuine political truth, a truth that contrasts with the results of the bad diplomacy of a few of our good comrades. Turati wrote a good workers' anthem twenty-five years ago;⁹ perhaps he is a good family man now. Should we therefore keep this saboteur of the proletarian party in the party? Maybe Hilferding will deign to concede one more time that the bourgeoisie must be grabbed by the throat. Does that mean we should entrust the editing of our publication to this traitorous social patriot and social pacifist?

No, that will not do. The rank-and-file Finnish worker is right; he grasps the situation well after all that he personally has suffered during these terrible years. We want to tell our comrades very clearly and frankly that it may be a great tragedy for many an old comrade, who will have to break with his old friends. But there is nothing to be done about it; a new period in history has begun. We tell the best of these old leaders, "You must understand that a new epoch has dawned; you must say, 'We were wrong. We come to you; now we want to continue to carry the proletarian revolution forward with you.'"

That will be the meaning of the unanimous adoption of the theses on the important role of the Communist Party in the coming, growing, approaching proletarian revolution. (*Loud applause*)
(*Recess*)

Zinoviev: I declare the session open. We will now discuss the point on the role of the Communist Party. It is not certain whether we need a discussion or can simply vote. In my opinion we can simply vote, but the congress should decide. The theses read as follows:

THESES ON THE ROLE AND STRUCTURE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY BEFORE AND AFTER
THE TAKING OF POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT¹⁰

The world proletariat is on the eve of decisive struggles. The epoch in which we live is that of open civil wars. The decisive

hour is approaching. In almost every country where there is a sizable workers' movement, the working class faces a series of bitter struggles with arms in hand.

More than ever before the working class needs a united organization. It must now prepare tirelessly for these struggles and not lose a single precious hour of time.

If during the Paris Commune (1871) the working class had had a tightly organized communist party, even a small one, the French proletarians' first heroic uprising would have proven much more powerful, and many mistakes and weaknesses could have been avoided.

The struggles that lie in store for the proletariat now, in a different historical situation, will be far more fateful than those of 1871. Therefore, the world congress of the Communist International calls to the attention of revolutionary workers throughout the world the following points:¹¹

1. The Communist Party is a *part* of the working class—its most advanced, most class-conscious, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is created through natural selection of the best, most class-conscious, most self-sacrificing, and most farsighted workers. The Communist Party has no interests different from those of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is distinguished from the working class as a whole in that it grasps the whole historical path of the working class in its entirety and at every bend in that road endeavors to defend not the interests of individual groups or occupations but the interests of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organizational and political lever that helps the most advanced section of the working class guide the entire mass of the proletariat and semiproletariat onto the correct road.

2. Until the time when the proletariat conquers state power, consolidates its rule once and for all, and secures it against bourgeois restoration, the Communist Party will encompass in its ranks only a minority of the workers. Until the seizure of power—and during the period of transition—the Communist Party may be able under favorable conditions to exercise undivided ideological and political influence over all proletarian and semiproletarian layers of the population, but it will not be able to unite them all into its ranks organizationally. Only after

the proletarian dictatorship has wrested away from the bourgeoisie such powerful tools of influence as the press, the schools, parliament, the church, the administrative machinery, and so forth; only when the final defeat of the bourgeois order is clear to all—only then will all or almost all workers begin to join the Communist Party.

3. The concepts of party and class must be kept strictly separate. Members of the “Christian” and liberal trade unions in Germany, Britain, and other countries are undoubtedly part of the working class. The more or less considerable sections of workers that follow Scheidemann, Gompers, and associates are undoubtedly part of the working class. Under certain historical conditions it is entirely possible for the working class to be permeated by large reactionary layers. The task of communism is not to adapt to the sectors of the working class that lag behind but rather to raise the entire working class to the level of the Communist vanguard. Mixing up these two concepts—party and class—can lead to very serious errors and to confusion. Thus, for example, it is clear that despite the moods and prejudices of a certain sector of the working class during the imperialist war, the workers’ party had to oppose those moods and prejudices at any price and champion the proletariat’s historic interests, which demanded that the proletarian party declare war against the war.

So it was, for example, in 1914, at the beginning of the imperialist war, that the party of the social traitors in each country supported “its own” bourgeoisie and consistently claimed that this stand corresponded to the will of the working class. They forgot that even if that were so, even given such a state of affairs, it would have been the duty of the proletarian party to oppose the moods of the majority of the workers and, against all odds, represent the historic interests of the proletariat.

So it was at the beginning of the twentieth century that the Russian Mensheviks of that time (the so-called Economists) rejected open political struggle against tsarism, arguing that the working class as a whole was not yet mature enough to understand political struggle.

So it is that the right-wing Independents [USPD] of Germany, in all of their half measures, always point to “what the masses want,” never understanding that the reason for the party’s exis-

tence is to go before the masses and show them the way.¹²

4. The Communist International insists that the collapse of the old "Social Democratic" parties of the Second International must never be depicted as a collapse of the proletarian party in general. The epoch of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat gives birth to a *new* party of the proletariat: the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International categorically rejects the idea that the proletariat can make its revolution without an independent political party. Every class struggle is a political struggle. This struggle, which inevitably becomes transformed into civil war, has as its goal the conquest of political power. Political power cannot be seized, organized, and directed other than by some kind of political party. Only if the proletariat is led by an organized and tested party that has strictly defined goals and a clearly elaborated program of immediate measures for both domestic and foreign policy will the conquest of political power not take place as a mere episode but instead serve as the starting point for lasting, communist construction of society by the proletariat.

That same class struggle also demands that the different forms of the proletarian movement (trade unions, consumer cooperatives, factory committees, educational work, elections, and the like) be unified in a single framework and under common leadership. Only a political party can be such a unifying and leading center. To renounce creating and strengthening such a party, to renounce subordinating oneself to it, is to renounce unity in the leadership of the proletariat's individual combat units advancing in the various arenas of struggle. The proletariat's class struggle calls for concentrated agitation, illustrating the different stages of the struggle from a single vantage point and constantly directing the proletariat's attention to specific tasks common to the class as a whole. Without a centralized political apparatus, that is, without a political party, this cannot be accomplished.

Objectively, therefore, the propaganda of the revolutionary syndicalists and supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World against the need for an independent workers' party has served and serves only to support the bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionary Social Democrats. In their propaganda against

a communist party—which they aim to replace with trade unions exclusively or with some kind of amorphous “general” workers’ unions—the syndicalists and Industrialists have a point of agreement with undisguised opportunists.

For several years after the defeat of the revolution of 1905, the Russian Mensheviks preached the idea of a so-called congress of workers, which was supposed to replace the revolutionary party of the working class. “Yellow laborites” of every stripe in Britain and America preach to the workers the creation of amorphous workers’ associations or vague, purely parliamentary combinations instead of a political party; simultaneously they carry out thoroughly bourgeois policies. The revolutionary syndicalists and Industrialists want to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but do not know how. They do not see that the working class without an independent political party is a body without a head.

Revolutionary syndicalism and Industrialism are a step forward only in comparison to the old, musty, counterrevolutionary ideology of the Second International. But compared to revolutionary Marxism, that is, to communism, syndicalism and Industrialism represent a step backward. The statement by the “left” KAPD at its founding congress in April that the party it was founding was “not a party in the traditional sense” represents ideological capitulation to those syndicalist and Industrialist ideas that are reactionary.

The working class cannot achieve victory by the general strike alone, by the policy of folding its arms. The proletariat must resort to armed insurrection. Whoever understands that will also not fail to grasp that an organized political party is needed and that amorphous workers’ unions are not sufficient.

Revolutionary syndicalists often talk about the big role that a determined revolutionary minority can play. Well, a truly resolute minority of the working class, a minority that is communist, wants to act, has a program, and wants to organize the struggle of the masses: *that is precisely what the Communist Party is.*¹³

6. The most important task facing a truly communist party is to remain in *intimate contact* with the broadest possible layers of the proletariat at all times.

In order to attain this, Communists can and should also be active in organizations that are not parties,¹⁴ but contain large

layers of the proletariat, such as disabled veterans' organizations in some countries, the Hands off Russia committees in Britain, proletarian tenants' associations, and so on. Especially important is the Russian example of the conferences of what we call the nonparty workers and peasants. Conferences like these are organized in almost every city and working-class district as well as in the countryside. Very broad masses—even among backward workers—take part in elections to these conferences. Highly topical issues are placed on the agenda: the food question, the housing question, military questions, educational issues, political tasks of the day, and so forth. Communists work diligently to influence these conferences of nonparty workers—and with very great benefit for the party.

Communists consider systematic organizational and educational work in these broad workers' organizations to be their most important task. But precisely in order to make this work successful, to prevent enemies of the revolutionary proletariat from gaining control of these broad workers' organizations, the advanced, communist workers must form their own, independent, united Communist party, one whose action is always organized, one that at every turn of events and in every form the movement takes is able to safeguard the interests of communism in general.

7. By no means do Communists abstain from mass workers' organizations outside the party. Even if these foundations have a distinctly reactionary character (Yellow unions, Christian unions, and so forth), in certain situations Communists do not shrink from participating in them and utilizing them. The Communist Party constantly carries out propaganda in these organizations. Tirelessly it shows workers that the idea of having no party affiliation as a principle, deliberately fostered among them by the bourgeoisie and its accomplices, aims at diverting the proletariat from the struggle for socialism.

8. Clearly the old, "classic" division of the labor movement into three forms—party, trade unions, and cooperatives—is outmoded. The proletarian revolution in Russia created the fundamental form of the proletarian dictatorship, the soviets. The new classification that we are moving toward everywhere is (1) party, (2) soviet, (3) production association (trade union).¹⁵ But the party of the proletariat—that is, the Communist Party—must also constantly and systematically lead the workers' coun-

cils and the revolutionary production associations. The organized vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, which *must direct* the struggles of the entire working class in the economic and political arenas as well as in the field of education, must be the living spirit not only of the production associations and workers' councils but of all other forms of proletarian organization as well.

The emergence of soviets as the fundamental historic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way diminishes the leading role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. The "left" Communists in Germany state (as in their appeal to the German proletariat of April 14, 1920, signed "Communist Workers Party of Germany") "that the party as well is *increasingly adapting to the concept of the councils* and acquires a proletarian character." (*Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung*, no. 54) This is a muddled expression of the idea that the Communist Party must *dissolve* into the councils, that the councils can *replace* the Communist Party.

This idea is fundamentally wrong and reactionary.

In the history of the Russian revolution we went through an entire stage in which the soviets marched against the proletarian party and supported the policies of agents of the bourgeoisie. The same thing could be observed in Germany. Something similar is possible in other countries as well.

To enable the soviets to fulfill their historic tasks, there must rather be a strong Communist party, one that does not simply "adapt" to the soviets but is able to make them renounce "adaptation" to the bourgeoisie and White Guard Social Democracy, a party that through Communist fractions in the soviets is able to win them to follow its lead.

Anyone who proposes to the Communist Party that it "adapt" to the soviets, who sees such adaptation as a way to strengthen the party's "proletarian character," is doing the party and the soviets a highly questionable service and understands the significance neither of the party nor of the soviets. The stronger the party that we create in each country, the sooner the "soviet idea" will triumph. Today, many "Independents" and even right-wing Socialists also pay lip service to the "soviet idea." We will be able to prevent these elements from twisting the idea of soviets only if we have a strong Communist party that can decisively influence the policies of the soviets.

9. The working class needs a Communist party not only up until the conquest of power, not only during the conquest of power, but also after power has been transferred to the hands of the working class. The history of the Communist Party of Russia, which soon will have been in power for three years, shows that the importance of the Communist Party does not decrease after the working class conquers power but, on the contrary, increases extraordinarily.

10. Nevertheless, on the day that the proletariat conquers power, its party remains, as before, only a part of the working class—precisely that part of the working class that organized the victory. The Communist Party carried out its struggle—whether for two decades as in Russia or for several years as in Germany—not only against the bourgeoisie but also against the “Socialists” who transmit bourgeois influence into the proletariat. It assimilated into its ranks the staunchest, most farsighted, and most advanced working-class fighters. Only the existence of such a united organization of the most advanced sectors of the working class makes it possible to overcome the many difficulties obstructing the workers’ dictatorship the day after the triumph. The organization of a new proletarian Red army; the actual destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and its replacement by the seeds of a new, proletarian state apparatus; the struggle against craft tendencies of individual workers’ groups; the struggle against local and regional “patriotism”; paving the way for the creation of a new work discipline—in all of these areas, the decisive voice of the Communist Party should be heard. Its members must inspire and lead the majority of the working class by their own example.

11. The need for a political party of the proletariat will disappear only with the complete dissolution of classes. Along the road to this ultimate victory of communism it is possible that the historic significance of the present three basic forms of proletarian organization (party, soviets, and production associations) will change and that a unified type of workers’ organization will gradually crystallize out. The Communist Party, however, will completely *dissolve into the working class* only when communism ceases to be an objective for struggle and the entire working class has become communist.

12. The Second Congress of the Communist International not only affirms the historic tasks of the Communist Party in

general but also tells the international proletariat—if only in general outline—what kind of communist party we need.

13. The Communist International believes that especially in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Communist Party must be organized on the basis of iron proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully in the long and harsh civil wars that have broken out, the Communist Party must establish iron, military discipline in its own ranks. The experiences of the Communist Party that led the working class through three years of civil war in Russia demonstrate that without the strictest discipline, without complete centralism, and without complete, comradely confidence on the part of every party organization in the party's central leadership, the workers' victory is impossible.

14. The Communist Party must be organized on the basis of democratic centralism. The most important principle of democratic centralism is election of the higher party organs by the lowest, the fact that all instructions by a superior body are unconditionally and necessarily binding on lower ones, and the existence of a strong central party leadership whose authority over all leading party comrades in the period between one party congress and the next is universally accepted.

15. A number of Communist parties in Europe and America are forced to lead an illegal existence as a result of the state of siege that the bourgeoisie has declared against Communists. It must be remembered that in such a situation it is sometimes necessary to waive strict application of the principle of election and allow leading party institutions the right to co-opt members, as was done in Russia at one time. Under a state of siege the Communist Party is unable to avail itself of a democratic referendum on every important question. Rather it must grant its central leadership the right to make important decisions for all party members whenever necessary.

16. At the present time, promoting a broad "autonomy" for individual local party organizations only weakens the ranks of the Communist Party, undermines its ability to act, and fosters petty-bourgeois, anarchistic, and liquidationist tendencies.

17. In countries where the bourgeoisie or the counterrevolutionary Social Democracy is still in power, the Communist parties must learn to combine legal and illegal activity in a planned way. However,

the legal work must be under the actual control of the illegal party at all times. Communist parliamentary fractions in both central (national) and local (provincial or municipal) governmental institutions must be completely subordinate to the control of the party as a whole—quite aside from whether at any particular time the party as a whole is legal or illegal. Parliamentary deputies who in any way refuse to subordinate themselves to the party must be expelled from the ranks of the Communists.

The legal press (newspapers, publishing house) must be completely and unconditionally subordinate to the party as a whole and its national committee.

18. The basis of all of the Communist Party's organizational activity everywhere must be the creation of a *Communist cell*, wherever there is a number—however small it may be—of proletarians and semiproletarians. In every soviet, in every trade union, in every consumers' cooperative, in every factory, in every residents' committee (tenants' council)—wherever there are even three individuals who support communism, a Communist cell must be formed immediately. Only the Communists' unity makes it possible for the vanguard of the working class to lead the working class. All Communist Party cells that do work in non-party organizations are completely subordinate to the party organization as a whole, quite aside from whether the party is operating legally or illegally at that particular time. Communist cells of every kind must be subordinate to one another as precisely as possible in a strict hierarchy.

19. The Communist Party originates almost everywhere as an *urban* party, as a party of industrial workers who live mainly in the cities. In order for the victory of the working class to be achieved as easily and rapidly as possible, it is necessary for the Communist Party to become the party not only of the cities but also of the villages. The Communist Party must develop its propaganda and organizational activity among agricultural workers and among small and middle peasants. The Communist Party must work very conscientiously to organize Communist cells in the countryside.



The proletariat's international organization can be strong only if the ideas formulated here on the Communist Party's role

become firmly established in every country where Communists live and fight. The Communist International has invited to its congress all trade unions that acknowledge its principles and are prepared to break with the Yellow International. The Communist International will organize an international section composed of trade unions that stand on the principles of communism. The Communist International will not refuse to work with any workers' organization outside of the party that wishes to wage a serious revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the Communist International will draw the attention of proletarians of the whole world to the following points:

a. The Communist Party is the principal and fundamental weapon for the emancipation of the working class. From now on, every country must have not just groups or currents but a Communist party.

b. Each country shall have only one united Communist party.

c. The Communist Party must be organized in accord with the principle of strictest centralization, and in the epoch of civil war it must exercise military discipline in its ranks.

d. Wherever there are even as few as a dozen proletarians or semiproletarians the Communist Party must have an organized cell.

e. In every institution outside of the party there must be a Communist Party cell, strictly subordinated to the party as a whole.

f. While firmly and steadfastly defending the program and revolutionary policies of communism, the Communist Party must always be linked as closely as possible with the broad workers' organizations, avoiding sectarianism just as it avoids unprincipled conduct.

(Recess)

VOTE ON THE THESES

Serrati: This session is now open. The commission appointed yesterday evening to study the theses on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution has completed its work. The theses were accepted with a few modifications. Do we need

to have a new discussion or can we proceed to the vote? (*Numerous voices: "No, no, let's vote."*) Then we will vote immediately.

All in favor of the theses with amendments reported here are asked to raise their hands. All opposed, raise your hands. Are there, by any chance, abstentions? The theses are adopted unanimously. (*Applause*)

We propose a recess of half an hour so that the delegations can nominate their candidates to the commissions immediately. The Bureau will then review the lists and present a final slate to the congress.

Balabanoff: We will now vote on the motion from the Bureau. All in favor of it raise their hands. All opposed. The motion carries unanimously.

(*Half-hour recess*)

ELECTION OF COMMISSIONS

(*Serrati reads the Bureau's nominations on the composition of the commissions.*)¹⁶

Serrati: We will vote on the Bureau's motion on the composition of the commissions as it stands.

(*The vote is taken. The Bureau's motion is unanimously adopted.*)

Lazar Shatskin [*Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International*]: I wish to propose an amendment concerning the organizational commission. I would like to move that representatives of the youth International be put on the commission, which will also be discussing the question of the youth movement. The youth have prepared theses to be discussed by this commission,¹⁷ and they must therefore also have the right to defend them. It is strange that the authors of these theses, despite their request, have not been placed on the commission.

Zinoviev: The Presiding Committee intended that two sub-commissions be chosen, one on the woman question and one on the youth question. Several young people, not just one or two, are to take part in these subcommissions, and several representatives of the women's movement are to participate on them, not just one. As we see it, the organization question—the statutes of the Communist International—is very important. But

there are other questions to take up. Therefore, the Presiding Committee decided to form two subcommissions of the organizational commission: one on the women's movement and one on the youth question. I believe that best serves our needs and will meet with the approval of the congress.

(The vote is taken; the Bureau's motion is adopted unanimously without amendment.)

Zinoviev: We have elected a commission to draft the conditions for admission to the Communist International. There is a motion that the congress also invite the representatives of the USPD and the French Socialist Party to take part in this commission. Their parties are the ones concerned, and their presence during the discussion of these questions would be very desirable.

Wijnkoop: If I understand the proposal correctly, comrades, the USPD and the Socialist Party of France are to be invited to our commission on affiliation to the Communist International. I must say I do not understand this and on behalf of my party I declare my opposition to it.

In the Executive Committee we have already moved that these two parties not be admitted to the congress at all because they are not communist parties. My party feels that there should be no negotiations at all with the USPD, a party that now sits on the Presiding Committee of the Reichstag; we must not have anything to do with a governmental party. In our opinion negotiations with such a party are excluded.

It is a little different with the French party—not much, but a little better.

I need not tell you our position on admitting this party into the Communist International. I will speak about that later. I can comprehend that the question of admitting such a party into the Communist International can be posed, but it can be considered only if the party has officially applied for admission to the Communist International. So far, however, I know of no such declaration. I have not heard of one, and we will discuss it when it is submitted. Likewise, such parties and their delegates can be given the right to take part in the congress only if they have applied to join the Communist International.

At this time we do not know whether either one of the two parties has applied to us for admission into the Communist

International. But if such an application is received from the USPD, it must be rejected out of hand. We cannot negotiate with a governmental party.

As far as the French party is concerned, we must first receive its application. But if an application has not been received, these parties certainly cannot be admitted to the commission that will discuss proposals concerning future conditions for admission. They do not belong to us, they are not revolutionary, and they are not communist. I will say no more. I made other motions in the Executive Committee, but they were rejected. I now move that these parties not be admitted to our commission.

Karl Radek [Communist Party of Russia]: Comrades, first of all, the motion by the Dutch delegate contradicts the congress's completely sound line of thinking. The Credentials Commission gave the USPD delegates voice and consultative vote. When someone has the right to discuss, he also has the right to know the conditions under which he may join an international association.

But formal considerations aside, the motion goes against sound logic. All of us know that we are engaged in negotiations with the USPD on its admission to the Communist International. Everyone knows that millions of German workers who support this party have fought most energetically for it to join the Communist International. When these great masses of workers send their delegates here to discuss with us the conditions for admission to the Communist International, consenting to Comrade Wijnkoop's motion would be not only an act of discourtesy toward these delegates but an act—I will not characterize it more precisely—against the mass of German workers.

It is obvious that the USPD delegates must have the opportunity not only to inform us about what they want but also to be informed about what we want. Admission into the Communist International does not take place as Comrade Wijnkoop imagines it, something like, "Does the accused have anything to say in his defense?" It is an act of negotiation between parties that want to unite. For this reason I propose that Comrade Wijnkoop's motion be rejected without further ado.

Vilem Van Leuven [Communist Party in the Netherlands]: Comrades, my fellow delegate Comrade Wijnkoop declared that, on behalf of the Dutch party, he opposed the proposal to admit the

USPD and the French party to the commission. He is perhaps—or even probably—right when he says that. I say he is probably right. But it must be noted that the question has not been discussed in our party. We had no way of knowing that we would encounter this case here. So he may be right. I personally look at the matter somewhat differently. For example, I believe the USPD delegates have come here under pressure from the left wing of the party, that is, from the masses of workers. But when Comrade Wijnkoop speaks against admitting them here, I agree with him.

In the Executive Committee we had the opportunity to question these German delegates. Radek asked nine questions and others asked at least that many. I too asked questions there, namely, the ones posed on page 107 of Comrade Lenin's theses.¹⁸ That is where the conditions for full unification are stated. As I said, other comrades, such as Comrade Levi, asked questions just as I did. Now I am extremely taken aback that—before the answer to these questions has been obtained and, consequently, without knowing the real goals of the journey that these men made here—they are going to be admitted. I am very surprised by that. If Comrade Radek says that Comrade Wijnkoop's statements contradict sound logic, then I ask whether it is logical to admit these people here without receiving a reply to the questions that were asked.

Radek: I demand that the debate be closed. Let us vote.

Henri Guilbeaux [Communist Federation of Soviets, France]: I share Wijnkoop's opinion. As for the French Socialist Party, it has not made formal application to join the Communist International. It sent two representatives to Moscow to enter into negotiations, but they are not authorized to request affiliation for their party. It is therefore inadmissible for them to participate in the work of the Communist International.

Serrati: It is not a matter of participating in the work, but of providing the commission with information and explanations.

Guilbeaux: They had sufficient opportunity to learn and explain in numerous meetings of the Executive Committee.

But I repeat: they will hinder the propaganda of our comrades who are promoting the Communist International, all the more because since they have been in Moscow they have sent a series of messages to France that will only increase the confusion

there.¹⁹ I therefore ask that they not be permitted to take part in the work of the commission.

Radek: Comrades, when you admit with voice and consultative vote a delegation from a large party, you must understand what that "voice and consultative vote" means and not then open up a discussion about it. But since the two Dutch comrades and Comrade Guilbeaux have argued strongly that a voice and consultative vote should consist of complete silence, I will take the liberty of speaking on the issue one more time.

Comrade Van Leuven said that the Executive Committee had asked the representatives of the USPD a whole series of questions, which they have not yet answered. As secretary of the Executive Committee I can point out that they have not yet responded to the questions because a second meeting has not yet taken place and because we asked the comrades to withhold their response in order to learn about the questions before the congress. Clearly, if you ask questions, you should wait for answers.

The best way for Comrade Van Leuven to probe the soul of the USPD is precisely to allow it to take part in the commission that will discuss its admission to the Communist International.

We have brought a great many charges against the USPD, and I believe I deserve no less credit for combating the USPD in the Communist International than Van Leuven and Wijnkoop taken together. But if the USPD representatives consider some of these charges to be factually incorrect, they must be given the opportunity to defend and substantiate their viewpoint. As for the French party, it was also said here that the two parties had not submitted applications for admission. If that is true, why then did we give them voice and consultative vote? Why are we negotiating with them? I do not regard this discussion as one that can contribute to clarification but rather as the expression of verbal radicalism behind which there is no revolutionary will to act.

Ernst Däumig [Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany]: It is not my intention to address the substance of the question before the congress. Let the congress rule on our admission as it sees fit. Nor do I have any reason to address Comrade Wijnkoop's remarks, which are not clouded by any knowledge of the facts. But a longtime political activist like him should know that

the USPD is not a governmental party but on the contrary is in opposition to the government. I vigorously protest the reference to my party as a nonrevolutionary party. My party has thousands of victims who have shed their blood, thousands who are dead or wounded, thousands who are in prison or before the courts. I object to our party being called a nonrevolutionary party. We will discuss everything else when the commission meets.

Wijnkoop: Comrades, I think the mere fact that Däumig is already trying out his demagoguery at this congress is disgraceful. I must point out that, as far as I know, this is the same Däumig who even during the Kapp putsch was telling the workers that they should not arm themselves.²⁰ Such, then, is the man who appears here in Russia, where everyone knows that victory can be achieved only through civil war. But Comrade Radek said here that we are engaging in verbal radicalism.

Radek: You're crazy!

Wijnkoop: He says I am crazy. Oh, I see, he is taking it back. I say this because as you can see, Comrade Radek is dragging this discussion down to an ever lower level. But the comrades here do not seem to know what it means in the western European countries to place people like Däumig or politicians like Cachin on the same level here in the Communist International with the Communist and revolutionary parties that have been involved in this work for a long time. I warn you of the consequences of this. I will conclude, as my time is running out. I hope that the comrades will give these people here no more than their due, namely, in the case of the USPD, nothing at all, and in that of the French Socialists, should they apply for admission, the confidence they deserve.

Zinoviev: Comrades, I do not need to repeat to you that we are fighting and will continue to fight these vacillations and half measures of the USPD's right wing. But what Comrade Wijnkoop has said here is simply ridiculous and compromises not our congress but rather Wijnkoop and the party that sent him here.

Clearly, we should have and do have the greatest respect for the ten or eleven thousand members of the USPD who are now in jail. They are fighters and proletarians struggling for the cause of socialism. I do not know how many members of Wijn-

koop's party are in prison now or how many times Wijnkoop himself has gone before the bourgeois courts or how often he has been in prison for the cause of the proletariat. We will quarrel and cross swords with the comrades from the USPD twenty times over. But there is one thing we must not forget: thousands of Independent workers have been shot by the bourgeoisie and the capitalist rabble, and we will never forget that through all these struggles the members of the USPD were the hard core of the revolutionary army.

Wijnkoop: Not in Crispien's case!

Zinoviev: I say very clearly that for the Communist International, the objectively revolutionary role of these 800,000 workers—who are led badly, vacillatingly, and with half measures but are members of the USPD all the same—will weigh more heavily for the proletarian revolution in the scales of history than those few thousand Dutch Tribunists and Christian Socialists taken together.²¹ We said before and we say again that we will negotiate with any mass party and seek a rapprochement with it, even if it makes mistakes, as long as it wants to struggle with us for the proletariat's cause. We will treat the revolutionary workers in the USPD just as we treat the workers in the Shop Stewards' movement, who are not yet communists. If we were to make concessions to Kautsky's rotten ideology, you would be right, but we have not done that. It would be absurd and ridiculous if we listened to Comrade Wijnkoop, who speaks for a party that after fifteen years of party activity has fifteen hundred members, and failed to admit representatives of a party that organizes hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file workers in its ranks, workers who always fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communists and are honest and revolutionary, as proletarians always are. I therefore insist upon my motion that we invite these comrades, speak openly with them, and tell them our conditions. And we are convinced that within two months the great majority of the workers in the USPD will belong to the Communist International, not just morally but formally as well. (*Loud applause*)

Levi: Comrades, until this evening I believed that Comrade Wijnkoop was one of those people who, although not informed, could at least be informed. Two days ago I tried to explain to him that the Presiding Committee of the German Reichstag is

appointed in a purely mechanical way according to the number of deputies in each party fraction. The Presiding Committee is in no way involved in the formation of the government. Participating in it does not imply any participation in the government, because the Reichstag Presiding Committee has nothing at all to do with the government. Two days ago Comrade Wijnkoop appeared to have absorbed some of this information.

So this evening, when he throws everything to the winds and once again brings up the term "governmental party," he shows that what counts for him is words and nothing else. And he demonstrates it by coming here and talking about German affairs like someone who has never read a German newspaper. I say you would not laugh so foolishly if you had experienced with us one-tenth of the revolutionary struggles that we have been through side by side with the Independents. Yes, we have fought the USPD; we still fight them all the time, urge them on, and tell them every day to their faces where they have sinned. But when people from the Netherlands come along—people who have never yet lifted a finger for the German revolution and the world revolution—when they come along and throw around charges, then we will testify for Hector;²² we have to say that tens and hundreds of thousands of German workers did indeed fight in the ranks of the Independents, and the comrades who are here were forced to come here by those hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of German workers. The party's entire intellectual and organizational apparatus opposed these hundreds of thousands, and the hundreds of thousands forced them; they had to go to Moscow.

And now in Moscow a man steps up who was ready to perform great revolutionary deeds when a seat in the Dutch parliament was at stake by promising not to fight against the Entente at the moment when Soviet Russia was in deadly peril.²³ That is what I say to you, Comrade Wijnkoop. That's right, you have not yet defended yourself against this charge. And so I say that if we have reason to discuss further with these comrades from the USPD where they have sinned and to tell them what we demand of them, you, Comrade Wijnkoop, are the last one who has the right to assume the role of prosecutor.

I want to remind you of something else. I want to remind you of the summer of last year, of the most difficult period of our

illegality, when nearly all of our comrades were in prison. At that time we turned to your party for support; we asked your party comrades to come to us. We asked the comrades of your party, on whose behalf you express such indignation here, to send us Pannekoek and Gorter.

Wijnkoop and Van Leuven: That's a big lie!

Levi: I repeat, in that most difficult moment, when we could not even staff our newspaper's editorial board, when we demanded of the Dutch comrades only that they send us editors, no one came!

Van Leuven: Dittmann and Crispien are not in their graves.

Levi: If the comrade who gets so upset is going to say Dittmann and Crispien are not in their graves, I would like to say in reply that I am not yet in my grave either, and you, comrade, certainly are not. You too had the opportunity to die in Germany, and hundreds and thousands of workers from the USPD died, and you stayed in the Netherlands on your bags of coffee, and today you are a revolutionary.

Radek: A stockbroker.

Bukharin: I am against making too much noise over representatives of a party that is so revolutionary that it gave an additional mandate to a member of a Christian preachers' organization. Therefore, I move that we end the discussion and proceed with the agenda.

(The Bureau calls for a vote on Bukharin's motion. The motion passes by an overwhelming majority.)

(Zinoviev takes a vote on the Bureau's motion on admitting the representatives of the Independent party and the French Socialist Party. It passes by a very large majority.)

(The subcommissions are elected.)

(Comrade McLaine proposes that a commission be appointed to study the current situation of the Labour Party.)

(The vote is taken and the motion passes.)

Zinoviev: I would like to move that we schedule when the commissions should meet. The Presiding Committee proposes that the following four commissions should meet tomorrow: (1) national and colonial questions, at twelve noon; (2) trade union question, also at noon; (3) parliamentarism, also at noon; and (4) the commission that will discuss the conditions for admission to the Communist International, at five o'clock. All four

commissions will work here—two in the main hall and two others in the adjoining rooms.

Then on Monday [July 26] the remaining three commissions will meet: the organizational commission at eleven o'clock; the Agrarian Commission at eleven o'clock; the commission that will take up the main tasks of the congress at one o'clock. If the commissions do not finish tomorrow, they will work on Monday as well. Then the plenary session will be held on Monday evening at eight o'clock, at which time we hope that at least one or two commissions will have completed their work.

Serrati: This session of the congress is adjourned.

National and colonial questions

(PART 1)

Zinoviev: I declare the congress in session. I would like to ask all delegations to please hand in as soon as possible the written reports on the situation in your parties. So far we have received only three reports, and we urge you to deliver the material to us within the next two or three days.

Several commissions have been at work since the last plenary session, but they have not finished yet. The Commission on the National and Colonial Questions has made the most progress in its work and is able to report. We propose to the congress that the national and colonial questions be discussed today. Are there any objections? Apparently not. The discussion is therefore open. Comrade Lenin has the floor as reporter.

REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Lenin: Comrades, I shall confine myself to a brief introduction, after which Comrade Maring [Henk Sneevliet], who was secretary of our commission, will give you a detailed account of the changes we have made in the theses. He will be followed by Comrade Roy, who has formulated the supplementary theses. Our commission has unanimously adopted both the initial theses, as amended, and the supplementary theses. We have thus reached complete unanimity on all major issues. I shall now make a few brief remarks.

First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction. In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete economic facts and to proceed from concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems.

The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces. The vast majority of the world's population, over a billion, perhaps even 1.25 billion people, or, if we take the total population of the world as 1.75 billion, about 70 percent of the world's population, belongs to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies as, for example, Persia, Turkey, and China, or else, conquered by some big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties. This idea of a division, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through the theses, not only the first theses published earlier over my signature but also those submitted by Comrade Roy. The latter were framed chiefly from the standpoint of the situation in India and other big Asian countries oppressed by Britain. Herein lies their great importance to us.

The second basic idea in our theses is that in the present world situation following the imperialist war reciprocal relations between peoples, as well as the world political system as a whole, are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the soviet movement and the soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. Only by beginning from this standpoint can the Communist parties in civilized and backward countries alike pose and solve political problems correctly.

Third, I should like especially to emphasize the question of the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. This is a question that has given rise to certain differences. We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the "bourgeois-democratic" movement. It is beyond doubt that any national movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic move-

ment, since the overwhelming mass of the population in the backward countries consists of peasants, who represent bourgeois-capitalist relationships. It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge in them, can pursue communist tactics and a communist policy without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support.

However, the objection has been raised that if we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements. Yet that distinction has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries, since the imperialist bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to implant a reformist movement among the oppressed nations too. There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often—perhaps even in most cases—the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is, joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. This was irrefutably proven in the commission, and we decided that the only correct attitude was to take this distinction into account and, in nearly all cases, substitute the term *national-revolutionary* for the term *bourgeois-democratic*.

The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to which the heroes of the Second International also belong. Reformist parties already exist in the colonial countries, and in some cases their spokesmen call themselves Social Democrats and Socialists. The distinction I have referred to has been made in all the theses with the result, I think, that our view is now formulated much more precisely.

Next, I would like to make a remark on the subject of peasants' soviets. The Russian Communists' practical activities in the former tsarist colonies, in such backward countries as

Turkestan, and so forth, have confronted us with the question of how to apply communist tactics and policy in precapitalist conditions. The preponderance of precapitalist relationships is still the main determining feature in these countries, so that there can be no question of a purely proletarian movement in them. There is practically no industrial proletariat in these countries. Nevertheless, we have assumed, we must assume, the role of leader even there. Experience has shown us that tremendous difficulties have to be surmounted in these countries. However, the practical results of our work have also shown that despite these difficulties we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent political action, even where a proletariat is practically nonexistent.

This work has been more difficult for us than it will be for comrades in the western European countries, because in Russia the proletariat is engrossed in the work of state administration. It will readily be understood that peasants living in conditions of semifeudal dependence can easily assimilate and put into effect the idea of soviet organization. It is also clear that the oppressed masses, those who are exploited not only by merchant capital but also by the feudalists and by a state based on feudalism, can apply this weapon, this type of organization, in their conditions too. The idea of soviet organization is a simple one and is applicable not only to proletarian but also to peasant feudal and semifeudal relations.

Our experience in this respect is not as yet very considerable. However, the debate in the commission, in which several representatives from colonial countries participated, demonstrated convincingly that the Communist International's theses should point out that peasants' soviets, soviets of the exploited, are a weapon that can be employed not only in capitalist countries but also in countries with precapitalist relations, and that it is the absolute duty of Communist parties and of elements prepared to form Communist parties everywhere to conduct propaganda in favor of peasants' soviets or of working people's soviets. This includes backward and colonial countries. Wherever conditions permit, they should at once make attempts to set up soviets of working people.

This opens up a very interesting and very important field for our practical work. So far our joint experience in this respect

has not been extensive, but more and more data will gradually accumulate. It is unquestionable that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the soviet republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support.

There was quite a lively debate on this question in the commission, not only in connection with the theses over my signature, but still more in connection with Comrade Roy's theses, which he will defend here. Certain amendments to his theses were unanimously adopted.

The question was posed as follows: Are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance toward progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal, in that event it will be a mistake to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. We should create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries and at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants' soviets and strive to adapt them to the precapitalist conditions. In addition, the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that the backward countries, aided by the proletariat of the advanced countries, can go over to the soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.

The necessary means for this cannot be indicated in advance. These will be prompted by practical experience. It has, however, been definitely established that the idea of soviets is understood by the mass of the working people in even the most remote nations, that the soviets should be adapted to the conditions of a precapitalist social system, and that the Communist parties should immediately begin work in this direction in all parts of the world.

I would also like to emphasize the importance of revolutionary work by the Communist parties not only in their own but also in the colonial countries, and particularly among the troops employed by the exploiting nations to keep the colonial peoples in subjection.

Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party spoke of this in our commission.¹ He said that the rank-and-file British worker would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule. True, the jingoist and chauvinist-minded labor aristocrats of Britain and America present a very great danger to socialism and are a bulwark of the Second International. Here we are confronted with the greatest treachery on the part of leaders and workers belonging to this bourgeois International. The colonial question was discussed in the Second International as well. The Basel Manifesto is quite clear on this point, too.² The parties of the Second International pledged themselves to revolutionary action, but they show no sign of genuine revolutionary work or of assistance to the exploited and dependent nations in their revolts against the oppressor nations. This, I think, applies also to most of the parties that have withdrawn from the Second International and wish to join the Third International. We must proclaim this publicly for all to hear, and it is irrefutable. We shall see if any attempt is made to deny it.

All these considerations have formed the basis of our resolutions, which undoubtedly are too lengthy but will nevertheless, I am sure, prove of use and will promote the development and organization of genuine revolutionary work in connection with the national and the colonial questions. And that is our principal task.

Zinoviev: The commission secretary, Comrade Maring, has the floor.

REPORT BY MARING ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Maring [Communist Association in the Indies]: Comrades, I will report on the work of the Commission on the National and

Colonial Questions. The commission examined Comrade Lenin's theses as well as Comrade Roy's supplemental theses. The following changes and additions were made to Comrade Lenin's theses:

At the end of thesis 1, instead of "destruction," read "abolition of classes."

Thesis 3, first sentence, reads, "The imperialist war of 1914 revealed with particular clarity to all nations and oppressed classes around the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois-democratic rhetoric. The war showed in life that the Treaty of Versailles of the celebrated 'Western democracies' is an even more brutal and foul act of violence against weak nations than was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of the German Junkers and the kaiser." This sentence was changed as follows: (*reads*)⁵

Thesis 4, German edition, page 52, line 3 from the bottom, should read, "and toiling masses of all nations and countries."

In thesis 5, page 52, line 16, "rallies round itself" should be struck and replaced with "and should rally the oppressed peoples around itself." In the same thesis, line 20, "that their only salvation lies with the revolutionary proletariat and the victory of soviet power."

In thesis 6, line 10 from the top, instead of "the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement," read "the revolutionary liberation movement." In line 11 of this thesis the words "workers and peasants" should be struck.

In thesis 8, line 5 from the top, instead of "without basis" read "based on."

Thesis 9, lines 7 to 11, should read, "to which the bourgeois democrats, including those that call themselves 'socialist,' confine themselves."

Thesis 10, line 2, add the word "merely" to read "merely in word."

Line 13, after the word "prejudices" add parenthetically "which are expressed . . . in all possible forms, such as racism, national chauvinism, and anti-Semitism."

Thesis 11, paragraph 1, should read, "All Communist parties must," and so on.

Paragraph 2 should read: "The struggle necessarily must be waged against the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, the Christian missions, and similar elements."

Paragraph 3 should read: "It is necessary to struggle against the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian movements and similar currents."

In paragraph 4, after the words "to give," add "organizing the peasants and all exploited into soviets where feasible."

In paragraph 5, on lines 2, 6, and 17, the words "bourgeois-democratic" should be changed to "revolutionary."

Paragraph 6, line 5, should read, "the imperialist powers with the help of the privileged classes."

In thesis 12, strike the sentence beginning with "On the other hand" through "appear."

Comrade Roy's theses were thoroughly examined by the commission, which adopted the text that Comrade Roy will communicate to the congress. I think that it is possible to introduce all these changes into the theses right away.

M.N. Roy [Mexican Communist Party]: Comrades, as a representative of British India I have submitted supplementary theses to the congress and the commission that must be read out since they were not printed. I will now read these supplementary theses, which are as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS⁴

1. One of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International is to determine more precisely the Communist International's relationship to the revolutionary movements of politically oppressed countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India. The history of the world revolution has come to a point where a proper understanding of this relationship is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subjugated countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe as a result of the centralization of world capitalism (for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battlefronts during the war, and so on).

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies.⁵ Without control of the extensive markets and the vast fields for exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. Except for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalist structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism has succeeded so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Superprofits gained in the colonies are the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as it is not deprived of this source of superprofits the European working class will not find it easy to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of extensive and intensive exploitation of human labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recover from their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism is in a position to make concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the production of the lower-paid workers in subject countries, it will not hesitate to sacrifice even the entire surplus value in the home country, so long as it preserves its huge superprofits in the colonies.

4. The breakup of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen its sphere of activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the politically and economically subjugated countries. These two forces must be coordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be assured.

5. The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the entire world for the overthrow of the

capitalist order and the establishment of communism. The Third International is a fighting body that must assume the task of uniting the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them, the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of coordinating the revolutionary movements in Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movements in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples, prevented them from developing socially and economically side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. The indigenous craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialist countries; consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce cereals, fodder, and raw materials for export abroad. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big landowners, financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

Foreign domination obstructs the free development of social forces; its overthrow is therefore the first step toward a revolution in the colonies. Thus to help to overthrow foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie but to open the way to the liberation of the smothered proletariat there.

7. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements that grow further apart from each other every day. One is the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movement, with a program of political independence under the bour-

geois order, and the other is the mass action of the ignorant and poor peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavors to control the latter and often succeeds to a certain extent. But the Communist International and its affiliated parties must struggle against this and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the cooperation of the bourgeois-nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.⁶

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist parties⁷ that will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses of the backward countries may reach communism not through capitalist development but led by the class-conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

8. The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois-democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties that strive to be in close connection with the working masses. The Communist International should establish relations with the revolutionary movement in the colonies through these parties or groups, because they are the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries. They are not very large today, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses, and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of each imperialist country must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and through them give moral and material support to the revolutionary movements as a whole.

9. The revolution in the colonies will not be a communist revolution in its first stages. But if the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard from the outset, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray but will go forward through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, in many of the oriental countries it would be extremely erroneous to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure communist principles. In its first stages, the revolution in the colonies must be carried out with a program that will include many petty-bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, and so on. But this in no way implies that the leadership of

the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda for the soviet idea and organize peasants' and workers' soviets as soon as possible. These soviets will work in cooperation with soviet republics established in the advanced capitalist countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Roy: I have accepted certain of the alterations that the commission has made in my theses.

I draw the special attention of the congress to these most important questions. I am most pleased to have the opportunity to take part for the first time in a serious discussion of the colonial question at the congress of the revolutionary proletariat. Until the present time the European parties did not pay sufficient attention to this question. They were too busy with their own affairs and ignored the colonial questions, although these questions are now of great importance for the international movement.

England is at the present moment the most powerful imperialist state, the chief reason being its vast colonial possessions. It has acquired great importance, power, and a firm social position. All this should be looked upon as the result of its colonial possessions. And although the same cannot be said of Germany, since this country is now deprived of its colonies, the question of colonies is nevertheless of significance not only for England. It is necessary that the German comrades devote their attention to this question, for it has acquired international significance.

The economic interrelation between Europe and the colonies is at the present time the foundation of the entire system of capitalism. Surplus value, which was in the past produced in England, is at the present time partly produced in the colonies. Furthermore, surplus products that are manufactured in England itself are exported to the colonies. In this way, England has organized her production in such a manner that it can

produce only a three-month supply of food annually.

England has at all times exploited its workers in the most brutal manner. The same system of expropriation, impoverishment, and oppression of human personality in the laborer is applied by that country to all subjected nationalities. British India alone possesses a population of not less than 315 million. In addition to British India, England also exploits several million colored people in the colonies.

Since the Communist International has decided to take up this question, the next step is to find the best way of furthering the development of the colonial movement. Until lately there were in the colonies only bourgeois-national revolutionary movements, whose only aim has been to replace the foreign exploiters in order to be able to do the exploiting themselves. If we do not look at the matter in too doctrinaire a way, if we take a closer look at it here at the congress, we will correctly assess the great importance that the nationalist-revolutionary movement in the East Indian nations has for the Communist International.

Great changes took place in India during the war and immediately thereafter. While English capitalism formerly had always hindered the development of Indian industry, of late it has changed that policy. The growth of industry in British India has gone on at such a pace as can hardly be imagined here in Europe. During recent times the industrial proletariat of British India has increased by 150 percent, and the capital employed in British Indian industry has risen 2,000 percent. That gives an idea of the rapid development of the capitalist system in British India. The same also applies to Egypt, the Dutch [East] Indies, and China.

At the same time, a new movement among the exploited masses has started in India, which has spread rapidly and found expression in a gigantic strike movement.⁸ This mass movement is not controlled by the revolutionary nationalists but is developing independently, in spite of the fact that the nationalists are endeavoring to make use of it for their own purposes. This movement of the masses has a revolutionary character. Although it cannot be said that the workers and peasants constituting it are class conscious, the movement is nevertheless revolutionary. This is evident by its daily activity. This stage of the

revolutionary movement of the masses opens a new field of activity for the Communist International, and it is only a question of finding the proper methods for gathering the fruits of that activity.

Naturally, a revolution started by the masses will not, in the first stage, be a communist revolution, for revolutionary nationalism will play a part. But at any rate this revolutionary nationalism is going to lead to the downfall of European imperialism, which would be of enormous significance for the European proletariat.

I conclude my speech with an urgent appeal to the delegates of the congress in no wise to reject the support that colonial peoples are now offering the revolutionary proletariat. And I hope the congress will take my point of view very seriously. I hope my theses will prompt the comrades to weigh their views against mine, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by this debate to bring greater clarity to the Communists of Europe and America. (*Applause*)

DISCUSSION

Reed: There are ten million Negroes in America, concentrated mostly in the southern states. In recent years, however, many thousands have gone North. The Negroes in the North are in industry, while in the South the majority are agricultural workers or small tenant farmers. The condition of the Negroes, especially in the southern states, is terrible. They are barred from all political rights. The Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives Negroes full citizenship. Most southern states, however, disenfranchise the Negroes. In other states where Negroes have the legal right to vote, they are killed if they dare to exercise it.

Negroes cannot ride the same railroad cars with whites, enter the same hotels and restaurants, or live in the same parts of town. There are separate and inferior schools for Negroes and separate churches. This segregation of Negroes is called the Jim Crow system, and the ministers of southern churches preach a Jim Crow heaven. In industry, Negroes are unskilled workers.

Until recently, they were excluded from most unions of the American Federation of Labor. The IWW, of course, organized Negroes; the old Socialist Party, however, made no serious effort to do so. In some states Negroes were not admitted into the party at all; in others they were segregated into separate branches, and in the southern states generally the party's constitutions forbade the use of party funds for propaganda among Negroes.

In the South generally, the Negro has no rights under the law and does not enjoy its protection. Negroes can be killed by white men with impunity. One frightful institution of southern white men is the lynching of Negroes. This is mob murder, which commonly takes the form of drenching the Negro with oil, hanging him from a telegraph pole, and setting him on fire. The whole town—men, women, and children—comes out to see the show and carry home as souvenirs pieces of the clothing and flesh of the Negro, who has been tortured to death.

I have too short a time to give the historical background of the Negro question in the United States. Descendants of a slave population, the Negroes were emancipated while still politically and economically undeveloped—merely as a military measure during the Civil War. They were later given full political rights in order to provoke a vicious class war in the South that would prevent the development of southern capitalism until the northern capitalists had seized all the country's resources.⁹

Until recently, the Negroes showed no aggressive consciousness of race. The first awakening of the Negroes came after the Spanish-American War, in which the Black regiments fought with extreme bravery, returning home with a sense of equality with white soldiers. Until that time, the only movement among Negroes had been a sort of semiphilanthropic educational movement headed by Booker T. Washington and supported by the white capitalists. This movement established schools to train Negroes to be good servants in industry. Their spiritual fare consisted of the good advice to reconcile themselves with their lot as an oppressed people.

Following the Spanish war, an aggressive reform movement arose among the Negroes demanding social and political equality with whites. With the outbreak of the European war, half a million Negroes were drafted into the American army and

shipped to France where they were quartered with French troops. There they suddenly found themselves being treated as equals—socially and in every other way. The American General Headquarters appealed to the French high command to exclude Negroes from all places frequented by whites and to treat them as inferiors.

After the war the Negroes, many of whom had been decorated for gallantry by the French and Belgian governments,¹⁰ returned to their southern hometowns where they were lynched because they dared to wear their uniforms and medals on the streets.

At the same time, a powerful movement was taking place among the Negroes who had remained behind. Thousands of them went North into the war industries, where they came into contact with the mainstream of the labor movement. The high wages paid lagged behind the immensely high prices of the necessities of life. In addition, the Negroes were quicker to rebel against the exhaustion and frightful overwork than the white workers, who had been used to this terrible exploitation for many years.

The Negroes went on strike with the white workers, swiftly joining forces with the industrial proletariat. They proved extremely receptive to revolutionary propaganda. At that time, a magazine called the *Messenger* was launched, edited by a young Negro Socialist named Randolph. It combined socialist propaganda with appeals to Negroes' race consciousness and called for the organizing of self-defense against the brutal attacks by whites. This magazine, however, urged the closest possible union with white workers, even though the latter sometimes took part in the pogroms against Negroes. It stressed that it was the capitalists who in their own interests fomented animosity between the white and Black races.

The return of the army from the front abruptly threw four million white workers onto the job market. Unemployment followed immediately. The impatience of the demobilized soldiers became so ominous that the employers, hoping to channel the discontent in a different direction, were forced to tell the soldiers that their places had been taken by Negroes, thus inciting white workers to massacre Negroes.

The first of these outbreaks happened in the national capital,

Washington, where petty government officeholders came back from the war to find their places taken by Negroes. Most of these officeholders were southerners anyway. They organized nighttime attacks on the Negro part of town in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. Much to everyone's astonishment, the Negroes poured into the streets fully armed, and a battle raged in which the Negroes fought so well that three whites were killed for every Negro. Several months later, in Chicago, another revolt erupted that lasted several days and resulted in many casualties on both sides. Still later there was a massacre in Omaha. In all of these fights, Negroes showed for the first time in history that they were armed, well organized, and absolutely unafraid of the whites.¹¹ The effect of the Negro resistance was, first, belated government intervention and, second, the opening of the American Federation of Labor unions to Negro workers.¹²

Among the Negroes themselves, a great race consciousness arose. Today there is a layer of Negroes that advocates armed insurrection against whites. Returned Negro war veterans have formed self-defense associations everywhere to combat whites who support lynch justice.

But while Communists should energetically support the Negro defense movement, they should discourage all ideas of a separate, armed insurrection by Negroes. Many people think that a Negro uprising would be the signal for the general revolution in America. We know that without the cooperation of the white proletariat it would be the signal for the counterrevolution. The *Messenger* is rapidly increasing its circulation, with its tone of outright defiance, and now more than 150,000 copies are distributed each month. At the same time, socialist ideas have taken root and are spreading rapidly among the Negroes employed in industry.

If we consider Negroes an enslaved and oppressed people, we confront two problems: on the one hand, that of a strong racial and social movement; on the other, that of a powerful proletarian labor movement that is rapidly gaining class consciousness. Negroes have no demands for national independence. All movements among the Negroes aiming for separate national existence fail, as did the Back to Africa movement of a few years ago.¹³ They consider themselves first of all Americans at home

in the United States. That makes it very much simpler for Communists.

For American Communists the only correct policy toward the Negroes should be to see them primarily as workers. Despite the Negroes' backwardness, the tasks posed for agricultural workers and tenant farmers in the South are the same as those we must solve with respect to the white agricultural proletariat. Communist propaganda work can be carried on among Negroes working in industry in the North. In both sections of the country every effort must be made to organize Negroes into common labor unions with the whites. That is the best and fastest way to break down race prejudice and foster class solidarity.

But the Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement for social and political equality, which is spreading quickly among the Negro masses today as race consciousness grows rapidly. Communists must use this movement to point out the futility of bourgeois equality and the necessity of social revolution—not only to free all workers from servitude but also as the only means of freeing the Negroes as an enslaved people.

*Louis Fraina [Communist Party of America]:*¹⁴ The previous speaker referred to Negroes as an oppressed people in the United States. But there are two other oppressed peoples of a different sort: foreign workers and those living in the colonies.

The terrible suppression of strikes and the revolutionary movement in general is by no means a consequence of the war. It is rather an intensified political expression of the earlier treatment of unorganized, unskilled workers. Strikes by these workers are brutally suppressed. Why? Because these workers—who make up approximately 60 percent of the industrial proletariat—are for the most part foreigners, and in fact they are in the same situation as the colonial peoples. After the Civil War (1861-65), capitalism developed very rapidly. The West, which had been undeveloped until then, was opened by the building of transcontinental railroads. The investment capital for this development came from the eastern states and Europe. But the immigrants were the human raw material that was “developed” by imperialist force and violence in exactly the same way that it “developed” the peoples of the backward colonial countries.

The concentration of industry and monopolization, all the typical preconditions for internal imperialism, grew to maturity

before the United States could unleash its external imperialism.

The horrors visited upon the colonial peoples were no different from those endured by immigrant workers in the United States. For example, when the coal miners in Ludlow went on strike in 1912, soldiers were used to drive them from their homes and force them to live in tents. One day, while the men were a few miles away fighting the mine guards, a contingent of soldiers surrounded the tents and set them on fire, and hundreds of women and children perished in the flames.¹⁵

Under these conditions, the class struggle in the United States often turns into a racial struggle. And just as an uprising of Negro workers would spark not a proletarian revolution but a bourgeois counterrevolution, so too this could be the case with an uprising of immigrant workers. The great task is to unite these movements among Americans into one revolutionary movement.

All of Latin America must be regarded as a colony of the United States, not just its colonies in the strict sense such as the Philippines, and so on. The United States completely controls Central America with its army of occupation.¹⁶ But it also controls Mexico and South America, where this is expressed in two ways. It does this, first, by economic and financial penetration, which has increased since the German enterprises in those countries were expropriated. Second, it applies the Monroe Doctrine, which originally protected America from the monarchical system but has become a tool for the consolidation of U.S. imperialism and of its supremacy in Latin America.¹⁷ A year before the war, President Wilson construed the Monroe Doctrine as giving the American government the power to prevent the British capitalists from acquiring new sources of petroleum in Mexico.¹⁸ In other words, Latin America is the colonial base of U.S. imperialism. While the economic situation of every other country in the rest of the world continues to deteriorate, U.S. imperialism is growing stronger by throwing itself into the exploitation and development of Latin America. It is absolutely necessary to fight this imperialism by launching revolutionary movements in Latin America, just as it is necessary to act against British imperialism by starting revolutionary movements in its colonies.

Until now the movement in the United States has paid no

attention to the Latin American movement. As a result, the latter derives its ideology from Spain instead of from the United States. The Latin American movement must rid itself of this backwardness, just as it must free itself of its syndicalist prejudices. The American Federation of Labor and the reactionary Socialist Party are trying to create Pan-American organizations, but not in order to pursue revolutionary ends.

The Communist movement in the United States in particular and the Communist International in general must become actively involved in the movement in Latin America. The movement in the United States and in Latin America must be seen as one movement. Our strategy and tactics must proceed from the perspective that the American revolution encompasses America as a whole. The destruction of U.S. imperialism—the realization of which by itself would ensure the world revolution—is the fundamental task of the Communist International. This in turn can be accomplished only by means of a gigantic revolutionary movement encompassing America as a whole, in which every national entity subordinates itself to the common problem of making the American revolution.

Radek: At congresses of the Second International, frequent protests were raised against the ravages of the imperialist governments in the colonial lands. Even now the colonial question is discussed in detail at the conferences of the Second International, and we see Huysmans, Henderson, and associates handing out independence right and left, even to peoples that do not demand it at all.¹⁹

If it were only a matter of trumpeting protests to the world against imperialist policies and “recognizing” the independence of colonial peoples, then our task would be very simple. But when it comes to the practical struggle in the colonial countries, we are breaking entirely new ground. The important thing is not merely to outline the fundamentals of communist policy, not to suck it out of our thumbs, but to develop it by studying the concrete colonial relationships. The point is to proceed to real, practical support for the struggle in the colonies.

Comrade Lenin quoted Comrade Quelch, who declared in the colonial commission that if an uprising should break out in India, the jingoist press would succeed in influencing a large section of the British workers to permit themselves to be used in suppress-

ing the uprising. If Quelch only wants to point out that a strong imperialist current exists among British workers, that is a question of fact. But if this observation were to lead to our British comrades remaining passive during a colonial uprising, telling themselves that because of this mood they can do nothing more than adopt protest resolutions, then we would have to say that the Communist International has yet to teach its members the ABCs of communist politics. If the British workers, instead of confronting the bourgeois prejudices, support or passively tolerate British imperialism, then they are working for the suppression of every revolutionary movement in Britain itself.

It is impossible for the British proletariat to free itself from the yoke imposed on it by capitalism unless it steps into the breach for the revolutionary colonial movement. When the time comes that the British workers rise up against their own capitalist class, they will confront a situation in which Britain can cover at best 30 percent of its foodstuffs out of its own production. They will confront the situation of American capital trying to blockade proletarian Britain. For even if the American capitalists' ships are not able to cut off the delivery of food to proletarian Europe in the long run—because the Americans must sell—it is very possible that British capital will be able for a year or two to buy up the American grain to prevent it from reaching Britain. In this situation the fate of the British revolution will in large part depend on whether the peasants and workers of Ireland, India, Egypt, and so forth will see the British workers as their defenders, or whether they will have grown accustomed to seeing the British working class as the accomplice of British imperialism.

The [1920] Labour [Party] congress in Scarborough adopted an important resolution calling for independence for India and Egypt. Not a single Communist stood up to tell the congress that the MacDonalds support the British bourgeoisie by deceiving the British workers with such talk of the independence of India, Ireland, and Egypt. It is sheer hypocrisy, a fraud, when the same people who, on the occasion of the Amritsar massacre, could not bring themselves to characterize General Dyer in Parliament as a common murderer, pose as the defenders of colonial independence.²⁰ We greatly regret that our comrades in the Labour Party have not torn the mask from the face of these

frauds. The International will judge the British comrades not by the articles they write in the *Call* or in the *Workers' Dreadnought*. It will judge them by the number of comrades thrown into prison for agitating in the colonial countries.

We point out to the British comrades that it is their duty to support the Irish movement with all their resources, to agitate among the British troops, to thwart the policy that the British transport and railroad workers are now following of allowing troop transports to embark for Ireland. It is very easy now to speak in Britain against intervention in Russia since even the bourgeois left is against it. It is harder for the British comrades to stand up for Irish independence and for antimilitarist activity. But we have a right to demand this difficult work of the British comrades.

We will have more to say on this question and on that of parliamentarism, but it is important right now to show the British comrades from the Shop Stewards who want to support the Communist movement how childishly they are behaving, what an opportunity for struggle they are letting slip, by not participating in the struggle in Parliament. The peasants of India cannot know that our Shop Stewards are struggling against their oppression. But if one of them were to call things by their right name in Parliament, even without making long speeches, he would certainly be thrown out by the Speaker of the House, and Reuters would not fail to report to the whole world that a traitor had been found in the British Parliament who called a murderer a murderer.

British capital, based on a strong bourgeoisie, cannot be overthrown in London, Sheffield, Manchester, and Glasgow alone. It must be defeated in the colonies. That is its Achilles' heel, and it is the British communists' duty to go to the colonies and to fight there in the front ranks of the rising masses of people and to support them.

In the old International, we know of hardly a single case in which a Social Democratic party became a champion of the liberation of the colonial peoples. When the unfortunate Hereros were driven into the desert by the thousands, the German Socialists abstained on the vote, declaring that, not knowing the reasons for the uprising, they had no opinion on the matter.²¹

It is the Communist International's duty to create an atmosphere in which it will be impossible to participate here at the congress without being able to prove practical assistance to the colonial uprising. This is one of the most important life-and-death questions for the Communist International. So just as we must try in every land to win to our struggle even the petty-bourgeois elements who are being driven toward the proletariat, so too the Communist International must be a star that guides the way for the insurgent peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Communist International must beat world capitalism with the aid not just of the European masses, but also of those of the colonies. Capitalism will base itself upon the colonial peoples not only economically, but even militarily. The social revolution in Europe will still have to deal with Black troops.²² The duty of the Communist International is to move into action.

The Russian Soviet Republic has taken this course. If people in Britain interpret our painstaking work in the East, our conscious agitation to build soviet organizations in Turkestan and in the Caucasus, and our sending out the first feelers toward Persia and Turkey as things the Soviet republic does to make problems for the British, they misunderstand the Soviet government's foreign policy. This is part of the program of the Communist International, it is Soviet Russia fulfilling its duty as part of the Communist International. We see the agitation in the East not as auxiliary assistance in the struggle against European capitalism. We consider it to be the fulfillment of a duty laid upon us by the permanent interests of the European proletariat.

Our assistance cannot consist of artificially building Communist parties where the foundations for communism are not present. It can take the form only of direct assistance to the liberation struggles of these peoples.

Comrade Lenin has pointed out that there is no theoretical necessity for all peoples to go through the phase of capitalism. Not all peoples who are today capitalist got to capitalism through the stage of handicraft production. Japan passed from feudal conditions to the phase of imperialist civilization. When the proletarian masses in Germany, France, and Britain succeed in winning socialism, we will then go to the colonial peoples not only with all modern means that were left to us by capitalism,

but with production methods that socialism will create. We will help them find the direct path from feudal barbarism to a production in which they can use modern technology without having to go through the phase of handicrafts and handicraft production.

We stand at the beginning of a new epoch. European capitalists fear the awakening of the Eastern peoples. They jabber about the "Yellow Peril," and we can say that as long as capitalism continues to exist, there is a Yellow Peril. The proletarianized peasant in China or Turkey who is being swindled will have to emigrate in search of work. In self-defense he will participate in great migrations of peoples. But communism need fear no Yellow Peril; we can extend our hand to all oppressed peoples because we bring not exploitation, but fraternal assistance.

Serrati: I propose that the speakers' list be closed. There are still twelve to go.

Rosmer: A motion has been made to close the speakers' list.

Wijnkoop: I think that we cannot close the list yet. This is an important matter, at least for the future. The debate has not even begun. Perhaps there will be no debate.

Serrati: I pointed out that we still have another twelve speakers. Perhaps Comrade Wijnkoop is right in saying that the real discussion has not yet begun. But I see that the debates are taking a course that they should not. Here we have talked about the Blacks, Korea, the Åland [Ahvenanmaa] Islands,²³ and so forth, and we have discussed a whole series of specific national questions, when we ought to be dealing with these questions in general terms. I think that we should adjourn the debates until tomorrow and close the speakers' list, asking the comrades not to speak on specific questions, but to take up only general questions.

Guilbeaux: I propose that we end this session now, but not close the speakers' list. The discussion has not yet begun. We would be stifling a very important question if we closed the list now, and it is absolutely necessary that all representatives of the colonial peoples give reports to the congress. We could reduce each speaker's time, but I do not think that we should prevent anyone from speaking.

Maring: I want to urge that Comrade Serrati's motion not be adopted. It would not be good if we failed to give the represen-

tatives of the colonies the opportunity to say a brief word about the movement. Comrade Serrati himself knows that none of the Italians were represented in the colonial commission today, so it is surprising that he could make such a motion.

Radek: I speak against the Presiding Committee's motion. I understand that those present here are familiar with the question. But our debates cannot start from the consideration that one or another individual is acquainted with the matter. Rather, the political significance of the colonial question must be considered. We have a political interest in the workers reading the record of the proceedings and seeing that the representatives of the oppressed peoples spoke here and participated in our deliberations. We cannot establish general rules of communist tactics for everyone, but even a rank-and-file worker can contribute a great deal to depicting the conditions in his country. Everyone should say what he knows, and the more concretely he speaks the better. I see that the representatives from Ireland want to speak. It is extremely important that British imperialism see that there are forces there that are allied with us and want to fight with us.

Serrati: I would not want anyone to think that I proposed that there be no discussion. First of all, I want to explain that my proposal was made in the name of neither the Bureau nor the Italian delegation. We just spent ten minutes talking about the question of Blacks in Chicago. We cannot dissect the questions into their smallest components. They must be summarized in very clear and very concrete speeches. Let no one believe that I do not want the comrades from the backward countries, as they are called in Comrade Lenin's theses, to speak. When I proposed that the speakers' list be closed, it is because representatives from the backward countries—China, Persia, Korea, Japan, Turkey—are already on the list. If additional comrades from backward countries ask to speak, we will end up hearing the history of the various peoples of the world. Therefore, I move that we end the session, and in the next one we will see if we should close the list or must extend it.

Wijnkoop: I move that we vote on Serrati's motion. We can decide what to do in the next session.

Serrati: Because the opposition is so strong, I withdraw my motion.

Rosmer: Discussion will continue the day after tomorrow at 10:00 a.m.

(The session ends at 2:30 a.m.)

Session 5, July 28, 1920

National and colonial questions

(PART 2)

(The session begins at 11:00 a. m. with Comrade Zinoviev chairing. The debate on the national and colonial questions is continued.)

Ahmed Sultanzadeh [Communist Party of Iran]: The Second International studied the colonial question at most of its congresses. It drew up elegant resolutions, which, however, were never put into effect. Often these questions were debated and positions adopted without the participation of representatives of the backward countries. What is more, when the Russian and British hangmen suppressed the first Persian revolution and the Persian Social Democrats turned for help to the European proletariat, then represented by the Second International, they were not even granted the right to put a resolution on this matter to a vote.¹

The Second Congress of the Communist International today marks the first time that this question is being dealt with thoroughly, with the participation of representatives of almost all the colonized or semicolonized countries of the Orient and America. The resolution adopted by our commission completely satisfies the hopes and expectations of the toiling masses of the oppressed peoples and serves as a stimulus to advance the soviet movement in these countries.

At first glance it may seem odd to speak of a soviet movement in feudal or semifeudal countries. Nevertheless, if we pay close attention to the social conditions in these countries, our doubts must disappear. Comrade Lenin has already spoken of the experiences of the Communist Party of Russia in Turkestan, Bashkiria, and Kirghizia. Given the good results produced by the soviet system in these countries, the soviet movement in Persia and India—countries where class differentiation is proceeding with giant strides—must spread powerfully.

In 1870 all these countries were dominated by merchant capital. The situation has changed little. The colonial policies of the

great powers turned these countries into markets and sources of raw materials for the great European centers by hampering the development of national industry. The influx of European light industrial products into the colonies was the deathblow for indigenous industry.

The rapid growth of capitalist industry in the European countries quickly proletarianized the mass of old craftsmen and created a new ideology for them. But this was not the case in the Orient, where conditions forced thousands of unfortunates to emigrate to Europe and America. In these colonized or semi-colonized countries there are also peasant masses who live under conditions that are truly almost impossible. The entire Orient is passing through the period of feudal servitude. The burden of taxes and tribute there falls mainly on this unfortunate section of the population. The peasants, the only productive class, must feed great legions of merchants and exploiters, bosses and tyrants. Weighed down by such oppression, this subjugated class in the Orient cannot create a powerfully organized revolutionary party.

The ruling classes there lack unity in their interests and, consequently, in their world outlook, so a great variety of demands can be found. The interests of trading circles require continuing the colonial policies of the great powers. The bourgeoisie's interests, on the contrary, are harmed by foreign interference. While the clergy protests against importing goods, thundering in its sermons against the infidel countries of Europe, the merchants do not hesitate to ally with these countries. There is no unity among the ruling classes, nor can there be.

These factors, taken together, have created a revolutionary atmosphere, and the next thunderstorm of national revolution in these countries can quickly turn into a social revolution.

In general, that is the situation in most Asian colonial countries. Does that really mean, as Comrade Roy would have us believe, that the fate of communism throughout the world depends on the victory of the social revolution in the Orient? Certainly not. Many comrades in Turkestan, for example, have fallen into this error.² It is true that the capitalist drive in the colonies awakens the revolutionary spirit. But it is just as true that the capitalist exploitation of the colonies creates a counter-revolutionary spirit among the labor aristocracy in the metro-

politan centers. Capitalism consciously tries thereby to obstruct the revolution by striving to win over small, privileged layers of workers with crumbs from the capitalist table.

Let us assume that the communist revolution begins in India. Will the workers of this country be able to withstand the assault of the entire world bourgeoisie without help from a big revolutionary movement in Britain and Europe? Of course not. The suppression of the revolution in Persia and China is clear proof of that. If the Turkish and Persian revolutionaries are now throwing down the gauntlet to all-powerful Britain, that is not because they are now stronger but because of the imperialist bandits' weakness.⁹ The thunder of revolution in the West shook the Orient to the roots, giving strength to revolutionaries in Persia and Turkey. The age of world revolution has begun.

It seems to me that the point in the theses that envisions supporting the bourgeois-democratic movement in the backward countries can apply only to countries where this movement is still embryonic. If we were to proceed in accordance with the theses in countries where we already have ten or more years of experience behind us or where bourgeois democracy is a prop and a foundation of the state, as in Persia, that would mean driving the masses into the arms of the counterrevolution. We must create and support a purely communist movement counterposed to the bourgeois-democratic movement. Any other assessment of the facts could lead to regrettable consequences.

Antonio Graziadei [Italian Socialist Party]: First of all, I must say that I will speak only for myself.

After the last changes made in the final draft of Lenin's theses and after the commission's corrections and clarifications, especially to thesis 11, which caused me a lot of concern in its original version, I am happy to be able to support, in general, what Comrade Lenin is proposing.

If I have understood correctly, Lenin poses the question in the following manner: just as in every nation there are exploited and exploiters, so too in international relations there are nations that exploit all the others.

The petty-bourgeois concept of human rights in the abstract adopted by the Second International tended to mask the class struggle. In the very same way, the theory of the equal rights of

nationalities tends to conceal the economic and moral conflict between imperialist and oppressed nations.

Earlier two mutually contradictory errors were made. The Second International had a tendency to pose the national problem as it was presented by the bourgeoisie. Some Socialists, on the other hand, resisting this basic and fatal error, believed they could free themselves from this important problem by simply ignoring it.

Lenin, on the contrary, tried to give a truly Marxist and realistic view of the problem. I say "Marxist" in the sense that Lenin remains true to the only inviolable aspect of Marxism—its method. In fact, Comrade Lenin's critical and materialist approach corresponds both to the situation before the war and, even more, to what has emerged since the imperialist war.

There is absolutely no contradiction between Lenin's theses and our definition of the 1914 war. The war that we called imperialist was not equally so for all nations. We must make this distinction because the small nations and especially the colonies were pulled into the war as satellites of the great powers and were the first victims of imperialism.

Only the richest and strongest nations were able to benefit from such a long and ruinous war. The smaller nations saw the economic preconditions for their real independence disappear. Their condition was enormously worsened, even if territorial adjustments, as they used to say, were made in their favor.

Two facts resulting from this are now predominant: first, the struggle against Soviet Russia by the great imperialist powers, drawing in their wake the smaller nations (Poland, Romania, and others), and, second, the possibility for Soviet Russia in this struggle to find a powerful weapon in the risings of the small nationalities and colonies against the predatory imperialism of the great nations.

But even if that is all true, I must still note that we cannot separate the Communist International from the government of the Russian soviets. It was only the victory of the latter that permitted the founding of the Communist International and its success, just as the fall of the Paris Commune resulted in the demise of the First International. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the work our Russian comrades are accomplishing with such heroism and skill against so many enemies could lead,

under the pressure of necessity and against their will, to a sort of left opportunism, which an organization like the Communist International should seek to avoid. A very strict definition of our principles is therefore necessary. It is important to stress that action in countries where true imperialist capitalism exists must be, for this reason, different from that in the backward countries and colonies.

Furthermore, the local parties should be given certain guarantees.

Here, therefore, are several amendments to Lenin's theses that I am proposing. In presenting them to you, I state that I hold not to the letter of these additions, but to their spirit.

I propose that thesis 11 begin as follows: "In the countries where conditions permit the ruling classes to carry out an imperialist national policy, and where consequently a sufficiently strong industrial proletariat also exists, the corresponding Communist parties must launch a direct and implacable struggle." Then continue with the text: "With respect to . . ." and so forth.

Thesis 11, part a, line 1: instead of "must support," read "must take an active interest in."

Lines 3 to 4: instead of "the responsibility of assistance," read "the responsibility of this active interest."

Thesis 11, part e, line 5: instead of "the duty to support," read "the duty to take an interest in."

Line 13: instead of "must enter into a temporary alliance," read "must maintain temporary relations."

Instead of the commission's addition [to thesis 11a], "and the form . . . must be discussed with the corresponding Communist Party," substitute "the active interest of the Communist International in such a movement depends on the corresponding Communist parties having discussed the form of their activity and on fulfillment of the following conditions, as well as all others that the situation and experience show to be necessary."

In thesis 12, leave out the last part of the next to last sentence, from the words "and the responsibility" to the words "this mistrust."

The word "support" used in the theses is narrower than the term "active interest." It has only one situation in mind, and the most dangerous at that. The "duty to take an active interest" implies "support," but only as one of the possibilities. It would

be better if everywhere we could quickly take advantage of national movements to advance the situation. The same can be said of "alliances." They are only one possibility, and not the most desirable at that.

Liu Shaozhou [Chinese Socialist Workers Party]: The end of 1918 found China in the throes of civil war. In the south a provisional revolutionary government ruled for a time. Its object was to conduct a most bitter struggle against the Beijing government. The famous leader of the first Chinese revolution, Sun Yat-sen, initially headed the southern government. He soon withdrew from the government, however, as a result of conflicts within the southern government with holdovers from the old bureaucracy. Since then he has not officially participated in government affairs.

Today the southern government continues the struggle against the Beijing regime. This fight is being waged under the slogans proclaimed by the Sun Yat-sen group, whose basic principle is to restore to their rights the old parliament and the old president and to force out the Beijing government. This struggle is being conducted with varying success, but the southern government doubtlessly has better prospects for victory, although the northern regime could think otherwise because of its excellent financial situation. A few days ago we learned that the southern government's troops have occupied Hunan, one of the central provinces, and were headed toward Beijing.

When the old reactionary Beijing government joined the Allied countries in 1917 in the coalition against Germany, it promised the country all sorts of benefits from participating in the war. The revolutionary parties protested the war and resisted it, but in vain—war was declared. The Chinese people nevertheless believed these promises and nursed hopes until the Versailles conference was called. How great then was their disappointment when Versailles not only gave China nothing, but on the contrary secured to Japan the rights and territorial conquests it had acquired during the war at China's expense.

After the delegation returned from Versailles, a movement began against the government and against Japan that should not be underestimated. Students, organized in associations centered in Shanghai, took the lead in this movement. They led a broad campaign of agitation through rallies, strikes, appeals,

and so on. They also agitated for boycotting Japanese goods. The results of this movement were very limited; it was forcefully repressed. In a great many cases demonstrators were shot down. Nevertheless the movement played a significant role by awakening in the masses a sense of outrage against the government.

Recently the students, understanding that they can achieve nothing alone, have begun to draw in the working masses. The Chinese workers also began to show what they are capable of, though they represent only the still very young industrial proletariat. So in the course of the past year, we have seen in Shanghai a series of strikes, admittedly with purely economic aims. But the Socialist Party, centered in Shanghai, is winning ever-growing popularity among the workers. This party is Marxist. From their periodical, which bears the modest name the *Weekly [Critic]*, it is clear that this movement is to be taken very seriously. In their May 1 issue we find the slogans: "Those who do not work should not eat," and "The entire world should belong to the proletariat." This newspaper constantly propagates the idea of socialism as opposed to nationalism, insisting on a fraternal alliance with Soviet Russia. It protests last year's Sino-Japanese treaty,⁴ which aimed at the conquest of Siberia. In all its articles the newspaper emphasizes that the proletariat should fight the bourgeoisie and that the principles of nationalism and bourgeois democracy must yield to the principle of socialism. This newspaper is extremely popular. We see here the beginning of an organization including not only the industrial proletariat but also the craftsmen.

The crisis of European industry has also been felt in China, which is flooded with an extraordinary number of foreign goods. Chinese industry is not developing, and the Chinese proletariat finds itself in a deplorable situation. In brief, China's intellectuals, students, and workers have a wealth of opportunity for revolutionary agitation. As for the peasantry, although there are no large landholdings in China, we see that the rich peasants are gradually buying up land, which increases the number of poor peasants. Obviously this portion of the population will willingly follow the urban proletariat into the revolutionary movement.

China today consists of a number of virtually autonomous

provinces, headed by governors-general invested with full powers. All these governors, like the members of the government, are members of the military party, Anfu, that is, the party of the old military bureaucrats, most of whom held important posts under the monarchy. All of these governors are virtually independent of the Beijing government, and if they stick to the fight against the south, they do so strictly for their personal interests. The tax system is completely in the hands of the governors, who decide at will how much they give the central government. As a result, the government's resources are obviously very limited, so that it is forced to resort to loans, mainly from Japan. Of course, this sort of service is not rendered for free, and Japan thus acquires in return ever more rights and material benefits in China. In a number of Chinese provinces, Japan rules as omnipotently as in a conquered land. On the other hand, the autocracy of governors that I just described and the existence of an undisciplined army numbering two million, obedient to anyone offering money, offer a picture of total anarchy. Taking this into account, it is easy to understand the opposition and the constant revolutionary ferment among the masses.

At the present time the main representatives of the opposition to both Chinese governments can be found in Shanghai. Sun Yat-sen and his group of supporters from the first revolution are there, as are the central federation of students, the workers' associations, and the Socialist Party. All these groups, united in the struggles against Japan, against the Chinese government, and against the bourgeoisie, are filled with a firm revolutionary consciousness.

To summarize what I have said, it should be stressed once again that there is a wide field in China today for revolutionary propaganda. The Communist International congress must turn its full attention toward this situation. Supporting the Chinese revolution is important not only for China but for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. At this moment there is only one single factor that can oppose voracious Japanese imperialism, which has strong roots in Asia and is extending its imperialist designs into Siberia, to the islands of the Pacific, and to South America. This factor is a strong and powerful revolutionary movement among the working masses of China.

Pak Chin-sun [Korea]: We are discussing the colonial question

here today under circumstances completely different from those at the founding of the Second International thirty years ago. The whole task of the Communist International on the colonial question consists of correcting the errors made by the leaders of the Second International. The entire history of the Second International and its ignominious collapse showed that the western European proletariat cannot win the fight against its bourgeoisie so long as the bourgeoisie maintains its sources of strength in the colonies.

The official leaders understood this. Nevertheless the heroic struggles of the colonial peoples were alien to these parliamentary ideologists, and always, when they approached the problem of the East, of the colonial peoples, they trembled no less than did bourgeois ideologists. But here, at our congress, the work of the commission has already shown that all the delegates of the East and of the western European proletariat too are conscious that the happy day, the day of the Communist International's triumph, the day of the social revolution, will dawn only when all these colonial peoples rise up in revolt, when the western European proletariat deals the deathblow to its bourgeoisie, when the colonial peoples strike the western bourgeoisie in the heart.

Consciousness of the need for a common revolutionary struggle by the Eastern peoples and the western European proletariat has grown ever greater, and Russia, the link between the entire proletarian West and the revolutionary East, has now really enabled us to discuss the painful question of the cause of the opportunism, the cause of the Second International's indecision. I hope that our congress will adopt resolutions on the colonial question that will accelerate the revolutionary ferment, the revolution in the East.

Now I would like to talk about the revolutionary movement under way in our country, Korea. Certain questions we have already decided. I would like to take a brief moment on how some of the questions posed here have taken shape in life, since many of them have already been posed by the revolutionary movement there. Ten years ago the entire Korean people watched the annexation of Korea with apathy.⁵ They were just as apathetic toward the fiery speeches about democracy, about Korea's independence, about a free and happy life. And sud-

denly now, for eighteen months, they have been fighting and showing exemplary dedication and sacrifice. We cannot say that the general cultural level of the Korean people has risen greatly in the course of these ten years. During these years, the Japanese could not raise the class consciousness of the Korean masses nor their national consciousness. Just as our teachers here have said that revolution is the locomotive of history, we must say that economics is the fuel that drives the locomotive along the track of revolution.

And now, with the occupation, Korea is a most unhappy country. Take the peasantry. They face taxes about 300 to 350 percent higher than before annexation. Of course, that ruins the peasantry, and the policy of the Japanese agrarian bank in forcing resettlement from Japan proper to Korea angers the majority of the peasants, especially the middle peasants. In addition, the Japanese do not give Koreans the opportunity for an education that will be useful in life and do not permit student youth to attend institutions of higher learning that train engineers and good military instructors. Therefore, not only a portion of the intellectuals but all the student youth, as well, have turned against the Japanese occupation.

Now let us have a look at the bourgeoisie. Through their colonial policy, which aims to maintain Korea as a colony, the Japanese rob the Korean bourgeoisie of the possibility of building factories and mills in Korea. That is another reason why the Korean bourgeoisie is hostile to Japan. For these reasons the bourgeoisie has fought in alliance with the toiling masses, and in the last two or three years we have not been able to differentiate clearly between the two. And we will not be able to do so until economic conditions make this possible.

Our party will nevertheless take pains to carry out this class differentiation and to lead the revolutionary movement, which in Korea carries the stamp of a purely agrarian movement. Every feudal lord and every large landowner knows today what the national liberation movement is in Korea. It is a movement directed not only against Japanese imperialism, not only against the yoke of foreign imperialism, but also against our own bourgeoisie, most of whom are large landowners. Finally, when the time comes for Korea to shake off the national yoke, two, perhaps three years will suffice for the bourgeoisie to grasp that an

independent Korea cannot bring them the good fortune they expected. They know that an independent Korea means losing all material advantages, which is why they are even now against the Korean revolution, tying their fate to Japanese imperialism.

The Versailles conference was at the heart of the differences of opinion in our revolutionary movement this past year. The right wing, which unites all the nationalists, the big political parties that form a united national bloc, and the associations of petty-bourgeois groups that supported the League of Nations and expected Wilson, that supposed savior, to free the enslaved peoples of the East—they all insisted that a delegation be sent to the peace conference. We knew very well that the imperialists of America, Japan, and Britain would under no circumstances be so generous as to give up the advantages that the colonies accord them. So we posed the question point-blank: Paris or Moscow?

Our historical assessment proved to be correct. At the Versailles conference the Korean delegation had no success, and our influence among the masses began to grow and is still growing. Our party is now one of the big parties, enjoying significant mass influence. And I hope that it will make the theses adopted at this congress its guiding principles. Our party, which always marches under the banner of the Communist International, has now indissolubly linked its destiny to the revolutionary movement of the entire world proletariat. It will fulfill its duty. Together with the revolutionary proletariat around the world, it will stride to the final goal, the construction of communism. Our party will be one of the main forces that will transform enslaved Korea into a part of the federated world soviet republic.

Roderic Connolly [Industrial Workers of the World, Ireland]: Comrade Lenin's theses laid down the general tactics of the Communist International in relation to the national-revolutionary movements in oppressed countries. In order to apply these theses effectively, the Communist International must be correctly informed about the economic and historical development of these countries. In addition, it must be able to form a correct estimate of the revolutionary importance of the different forces operating in each country. Therefore, we propose not to deal with the theses in general but to give a detailed report of the situation in Ireland.

The solution of the question of Ireland as a subject nationality may be considered from three standpoints: that of the national-revolutionary movement, that of the petty-bourgeois Social Democrats and liberals, and that of the Communist International.

The first considers Ireland as a separate national entity, politically and economically oppressed by England for seven hundred years, and sees absolute independence from the British Empire as the only solution. To accomplish this, however, requires the establishment of a bourgeois-democratic Irish republic modeled on the democratic republics of western Europe. Otherwise Ireland cannot develop economically and culturally.

From the liberal standpoint, which was adopted by the petty-bourgeois Social Democrats with few if any essential amendments, Ireland was considered as having become economically and politically a part of the empire. Therefore, to satisfy its nationalist cravings required only a few reasonable political concessions in the shape of limited self-government within the empire, but not so much political independence as to threaten the safety of the imperial state.

But in the case of the Third International, the matter is not so easy. The situation of all small nationalities and colonies in this final stage of capitalism is somewhat complex. In most of these oppressed nations or races there are revolutionary movements directed against imperialism. Though the fight of the Communist International is directed along other lines, the revolutionary upheavals that develop with the striving of these nations to liberate themselves from imperialism must be utilized to strengthen the world revolution. Any force that tends to hinder the free play of the imperialist states against the developing world revolution must be encouraged and actively supported by the Communist International. It must not only help these nationalist movements as a whole but must simultaneously strengthen and unite whatever Communist groups or tendencies there are in the struggle. The direct result of such a policy would be the formation of a Communist party that will be forced by the military dictatorship of the imperialists to become centralized and strongly disciplined and capable of waging a successful fight against the national bourgeoisie in the struggle for power, for the state, following its release from the imperialist yoke.

Recognizing this, we insist on specifying how the Communist International will assist these national-revolutionary movements. The only method that would lead to the result indicated above is for active assistance to go only through the agency of whatever Communist groups exist in these countries, however feeble.⁶

Especially is this the case in Ireland. If the International or its section in Britain failed to assist the revolutionary movement solely through the Communist groups, these groups would be weakened. For this is the only method whereby they may become prominent and important during the first part of their existence in the revolutionary struggle. The nationalist revolutionaries will avail themselves of every weapon against British imperialism. If the Communist International's struggle can be applied only through the agency of these small Communist groups, this will force the Irish nationalists to remain neutral toward the Communists as the latter gather new force and strengthen themselves. They may even have to actively assist the Communist groups by unconsciously facilitating these groups' propaganda.

Regardless of whether Ireland remains subject to the present military dictatorship or establishes a bourgeois state, the absence of a Communist movement in Ireland would lead directly to it becoming a possible basis for counterrevolutionary activity against the struggling social revolution in England, especially given that the fleet will play a large part in the English struggle. Ireland possesses magnificent harbors and submarine bases for a White fleet blockading England.

This brings us back to the first part of our report, which examined the importance of Ireland's strategic position to the cause of communism. We consider the world situation to be a fierce struggle between, on the one hand, Soviet Russia, the center of world revolution, and the small states grouped around her; and, on the other, the League of Nations dominated by British imperialism. It cannot then be denied that Ireland—in constant revolutionary upheaval, in the heart of the empire, and keeping 200,000 British troops engaged—is a positive factor for the international revolutionary movement. However, it is necessary to do everything possible to prevent Ireland from being used as the base for the executioners of the English revolution, as outlined above.

As regards the Irish living in America and dispersed throughout the empire, it is well known what an active interest they take in the political development of the home country and how quickly they respond to its lead. That being so, as Irish politics tend toward communism, a vast mass of the Irish in the British dominions and the United States will follow the lead from Ireland, strengthening the Communist movements in these countries and assisting the international proletarian movement in general.

*(Comrade Connolly then reads the report, published in its entirety in number 11/12 of Communist International.)*⁷

Eamonn MacAlpine [Workers' Communist Party, Ireland]: I beg to call the attention of the congress to point 12 of the theses:

"The age-old, ongoing enslavement of the colonies and weak peoples by the imperialist great powers left the toiling masses of the enslaved countries with feelings not just of bitterness but of mistrust toward the oppressor nations in general, including against the proletariat of these nations."

This illustrates well the attitude of the Irish working masses toward the English proletariat. The Irish workers frequently fail to make a distinction between the governing classes of England and the English workers. This attitude on the part of the Irish workers explains the fact that the English labor movement has hitherto shown itself incapable of understanding the problem presented by Ireland.

Most Polish revolutionaries I have spoken to with regard to present-day conditions in Ireland are struck with the similarity between these conditions and the Poland of 1905. The inference is obvious, and, while we have the present revolutionary epoch on our side, we must not lose sight of the possibility that the English bourgeoisie may make use of Ireland's national aspirations in a revolutionary social crisis. Hitherto, in its attitude toward Ireland, the British revolutionary movement has either displayed condescending tolerance or has followed the Social Democrats in giving verbal support to the aspirations of the revolutionary nationalists.

The fact that Ireland is an important weapon against British imperialism and that, on the other hand, it may be transformed into a dangerous instrument against social revolution seems to have been forgotten completely. The Shop Stewards seem to be

the first movement to sense the importance of the Irish question and its relationship to the British revolutionary movement. The discussion and the resolutions adopted by them at their conference in London at the beginning of this year had the effect of arousing the interest of the Irish workers in this movement and has already done something toward creating better relations between the two proletariats.

It is of the utmost importance that the British communist movement show an active sympathy with Ireland, that it conduct agitation among English troops in Ireland and prevent the English unions from transporting troops and munitions to Ireland. It is interesting to note that the action of the British labor movement on this question has resulted in the breakaway of the Irish railwaymen from the National Union of Railwaymen. Within the past few months, the engineers [metalworkers] in the southern part of Ireland have broken away from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

There must, however, be no connection between the British communists and the Irish nationalist movement directly, but rather only through the communists in Ireland—or after consultation with them. It is equally important that while the British communists support the nationalist struggle, they must differentiate themselves from it, pointing out that their attitude toward Ireland is not a bourgeois humanitarian reaction against oppression but the result of the common class interests of the proletariat and peasantry of both countries.

“The attitude of the British workers toward Ireland is the barometer of the social revolutionary feeling in Great Britain,” said Herman Gorter recently. And it might be said that the attitude of the English communists toward Ireland is the measure of the clarity of communist thought in England. With regard to the statement made in the commission that the British workers will regard as treason to England the support of the colonial revolutionary struggle against British imperialism, it must be said that the sooner the British workers get familiar with such treason to the bourgeois state the better for the revolutionary movement. If it were for nothing else than the education of the workers, such support is very necessary.

With regard to the amendment proposed by our Italian comrade, Graziadei, that in clause (a) of thesis 11 we substitute the

words “show active interest” for “render assistance,” I would vigorously oppose it. It is a Wilsonian phrase, and, like all phrases of that gentleman, means nothing. It is another way of cutting this clause out entirely and savors of the Second International’s method of dealing with the small nationalities.

There are several points that I wished to touch upon, but the time at my disposal makes it necessary that I should mention them only briefly. The situation in Ulster, or at least in the northeast portion of that province, differs from that in the rest of the country. In many respects it presents to Communists a less complicated problem than do the other parts of the country. The majority of the population of this section is antinationalist and antagonistic to the rest of the country. While this itself is a complication, the class issue is more clear cut. Political oppression here is not confused in the minds of the workers with economic oppression. The fact that Ulster is the industrial center of Ireland, that the nationalist issue is subordinated, and that it considers itself an integral part of the British Empire with equal rights, makes the problem similar to any large industrial center in England.

I would have liked to deal with the question of cooperatives, which are developing into an important part of the Irish economy, but time will not permit. The growth of cooperatives on the land is doing much to destroy the private property ideology, which presents such difficulty to Communists in dealing with the peasants. The cooperatives are developing the idea of large-scale communal production offsetting the petty land hunger of the agricultural laborers and semiproletarians.

We support the theses together with the additions proposed by Comrade Roy and incorporated in them.

Ismael Hakki [Bureau of Communist Organizations, Turkey]: (Speaks in Turkish.) I would like to discuss Comrade Lenin’s theses, especially the part that deals with Islam. This question, in particular, demands of us a better understanding.

Since the time that the Turkish sultans conquered Syria and Assyria [Iraq], since the route to Islam’s holy places fell into their hands, from that time on the Turkish rulers have striven to unite the whole of the East, Africa, and other countries inhabited by believers in Islam. When the sultans possessed the holy places, and especially when they gained the railroad lines; when

the heart of Islam, so to speak, was in their hands—from that moment the Turkish sultans did their utmost to preach Pan-Islamism, aiming to unite around Turkey all peoples, all Muslim countries, in the East and in Africa.

But in 1908 the Young Turk revolution broke out,⁸ and power passed into the hands of the Young Turks. The liberal bourgeoisie, which took power into its hands, began to seek new ways to unite all these peoples. Meanwhile in Russia the Tatars, Turkestanis, Bashkirs, Caucasian Turks, and a large number of other peoples were groaning under the tsar's lash. Thus precisely at that time the idea of Pan-Turkism arose, counterposed to the idea of Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism was not able to unite the various peoples with their different languages. The idea of Pan-Turkism, which the Young Turks now took over, strove to fuse all Turkish peoples, from Kazan to Turkestan and beyond and to the Caucasus, with the whole of Turkey and a portion of Persia. The Pan-Turks strove to unify this huge territory. But all these dreams were condemned to remain only on paper.

After the Russian revolution and the division of Turkey by the European imperialists, when the Janus face of the British and French capitalists was fully revealed to the Turkish peoples, a new movement began in Turkey, a liberation movement. The Anatolian movement, now headed by the democratic parties, is the best answer to the shameless exploitation to which Turkey was subjected by the Entente. The occupation of Constantinople [Istanbul], in particular, poured oil onto the flames, and the movement grew even more rapidly. The revolutionary government in Anatolia is gathering about itself all the forces opposed to the Entente, forces driven by a centuries-old hatred of imperialism. It is now preparing the struggle against European imperialism. The toilers of Turkey will not allow themselves to be enslaved once again by the Entente; thanks to the Russian revolution, the best friend of Turkey's toilers, they will very soon achieve complete freedom. Together with the toilers of all countries, they will take up the struggle against the imperialists of the whole world.

Serrati: It has been moved that the discussion be closed. Twelve speakers are still signed up. Are there any other proposals?

Jakob Walcher [Communist Party of Germany]: A lot can still be

said about the questions under discussion. But I think that no positive outcome can result from such a discussion. Therefore, I propose that the debate be closed.

Maring: I strongly urge that Walcher's motion not be adopted. It makes no sense. We just decided to give the representatives of the backward countries the opportunity to speak their minds on this question at the congress. I would like to point out that the representatives of all the colonies have spoken except Java,⁹ that this colony is foremost after British India, and that only in Java does a Marxist leadership exist and is the work being carried out in a Marxist spirit. I would like to hope that the German delegation has at least some interest in being informed about conditions that we know nothing about.

I ask the congress to allow the representatives of the colonial peoples the opportunity to speak, as was decided yesterday evening.¹⁰

Ester Frumkina [Communist Party of Russia]: I propose that the floor be granted only to those speakers on the list who wish to make a definite proposal.

Wijnkoop: I am against giving the floor now only to those who have made some kind of motion. We have already heard important motions here that have not been discussed. We must have the chance to discuss them. I think we must give the floor to anyone who wants to speak.

Serrati: I would like to note that no one proposed not giving the floor to the speakers already on the list.

S.A. Lozovsky [Communist Party of Russia]: I propose giving the floor only to representatives of countries that have not yet spoken.

Serrati: But a general motion was made to end debate. All those who support the motion to end discussion, raise your hand.

The majority is opposed to closing the debate. We will vote on Comrade Lozovsky's proposal.

It is adopted by a large majority.

Comrade Maring has the floor.

Maring: Comrades, the question of the Dutch East Indies is one of the most important. I would like to discuss three points here. First, I would like to share some experiences about the movement in the East Indies; second, make some remarks on

points of principle concerning the theses; and third, make a few practical suggestions for the work in the colonies. I hope that at the next congress some Javanese and Malaysians will be here, able to participate in the debates. However, since my work for seven years has been most closely connected with the movement in the Indies, I hope that the congress will be interested in the experiences I have had as a revolutionary Marxist in these countries.

In my opinion, no other question on the entire agenda has such great importance for the further development of the world revolution as the national and colonial question. The other questions are merely disputes in the workers' movement that always recur when the revolution is stagnating. There is no time for such discussions when the revolution is on the march.

The Dutch colonies may be considered the most important after British India. They are among the richest colonies in the world. Their population is larger than Japan's and almost as large as Germany's. Of the fifty million inhabitants, most live on the four main islands—Java, Sumatra, Bali, and Lombok—which have forty million inhabitants. Of the three hundred years of colonial pillage of these countries, the last period is most important for us. Capitalist development has been under way there since 1870. Contrary to what the Italian comrade said, in 1905 an imperialist period began in the Netherlands that developed very forcefully. In ten years Dutch domination has been consolidated in a large part of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and New Guinea. This coincides completely with what Comrade Rosa Luxemburg said in her *Accumulation of Capital*, and what Comrade Henriette Roland-Holst noted,¹¹ namely, that capitalism's predatory appetite is boundless, becoming restless whenever it hears of new goldfields, oil deposits, and so forth that are not being exploited, inciting the government to new expeditions, and thinking that there can never be enough money and people to use for pillaging the world and suppressing tribes and peoples in backward regions.

Since 1905 capitalist development in these Asian countries has been very rapid. We need only note that 1.5 billion guilders¹²—one-third of the Netherlands' entire capital assets—are now invested in the colonies; that in 1917 at least 25 million pounds sterling flowed out of the colonies to the Netherlands; that besides Dutch capital, American, Japanese, and British capital in

the sugar, cocoa, coffee, and other plantations are doing good business. That gives an idea of how great is the significance of the new capitalism in the Far East for the reconstruction of world capitalism as a whole. I would like to point out that according to the most distinguished Dutch capitalist newspaper, even if we abolished private enterprise in Europe, if all the enterprises were nationalized here, there are new opportunities in the colonies, richer and greater than those in Europe, for the whole capitalist class.

To end this brief sketch, a few words about the condition of the population. The Far East is robbed by 150,000 Europeans, for whom in their daily functioning, as Rudyard Kipling said, the Ten Commandments cease to apply east of the Suez Canal. Besides the Europeans there are also one million Chinese and a number of Japanese who are now also contributing to developing large-scale industry in Java. To understand that these Eastern countries also are significant for the revolution, only one figure is needed: on Java alone there now are two hundred large sugar mills with a significant proletariat. The condition of the peasants, who make up the larger part of the population—on Java alone there are twenty-five million, counting their family members—is such that they have a yearly income of 110 Dutch guilders, which is taxed at 20 percent, an annual housing budget of only 6 guilders, and a yearly outlay for their farm implements of only 3 guilders.

The peasants have their piece of land, but in reality they are being completely proletarianized, because they have to mortgage part of their land to European capital. Picked clean by the privileged classes of Java, they cannot live as peasants and must go into the sugar mills. Today there is a proletariat in Java of one million with an average income of half a guilder per day. Java is also caught up in inflation, and most Javanese now can no longer obtain their rice once a day throughout the year. Considering these facts, you can imagine how ripe Java is for revolutionary propaganda. Illiteracy is so great that of every thousand adult men only fifteen can read and write and less than 10 percent of all children go to school. Hearing that, you can perhaps understand how a Marxist feels when he sees the tremendous work being done today in Russia in the field of education. How his heart yearns for the Eastern peoples as well to be

able to participate in this cultural work.

I will not go further into the conditions of the population. I have given a written report to the secretariat that will be published in *Communist International*.¹³ I just want to give these facts now because I have the impression that apart from a few delegates even this congress of the Communist International has not entirely grasped the great importance of the question of the Orient.

I would like to say something about the movement in Java that originated in 1907 as a nationalist movement and initially had a revolutionary character. An East Indian Zubatov changed the movement's character, and you can now say that the influence of the truly revolutionary-nationalist movement in the Dutch Indies is very small.¹⁴ Much more important is the mass movement, which has around 1.5 million members. Since 1912 it has united peasants and proletarians in a single alliance, and it has made very rapid progress. Although the name of this organization—Sarekat Islam—is religious, it has taken on a class character. This movement's program encompasses the struggle against sinful capitalism, a struggle directed not only against the government but also against the Javanese nobles. From this you can appreciate that the revolutionary socialist movement must establish strong ties with this mass organization, with Sarekat Islam. In 1916 the government tried to interest this movement in its military propaganda, but the result was that a strong opposition developed in Semarang among the younger members.

When the European Socialists finally decided to do their duty toward the Far East and to develop a movement there, they succeeded in establishing contact with the local Sarekat Islam associations. A significant number in this mass organization are not consciously socialist, but they are revolutionary in the sense that Comrade Roy pointed out for British India.

Yesterday, in the commission, I heard one of the Britishers say that mass action in India could only result in misfortune and massacre, because the masses are not ripe. I believe that only through mass action can a truly socialist movement of revolutionary resistance be organized, an effective force with which to resist capitalism. We found in Java that the middle class had no success in interesting the masses in the national question. But

when we went to the proletariat in the cities and in the sugar regions and talked about the low wages, the mortality rate, the heavy taxes, and so forth, we won some confidence for the revolutionary socialist movement. This feeling lives in the masses, who are very receptive to our propaganda. In Java you can read in every Malay newspaper about the progress that Soviet Russia's ideas are making in the world. That is very significant for a congress such as this.

Whereas the Socialist movement neglected the colonies for years, the capitalists assessed their importance better than many revolutionary socialists. The capitalists understood what developing the East can do for capitalism.

In 1917 a strong movement developed among the revolutionary socialists. The reformists openly sided with the government party, saying of our friends: these people will bring us exactly the same misfortune as Trotsky and Lenin did to Russia. When you hear that in 1918 there were no mass meetings in the cities or sugar regions attended by fewer than 3,000 to 4,000 workers, you understand that a new spirit has awakened in these brown people, one that is very important for our entire movement. Of course, as is to be expected of revolutionaries, we have also worked among the sailors in the colonial fleet and the soldiers. At the end of that year a strong wave of reaction ensued. The leader of the soldiers and sailors and I were chased out of the Indies by the government, and many friends were arrested and sentenced. The thirteen members of a soldiers' council received forty years' imprisonment. Reports we later received showed that this movement is continuing to spread, not because of the agitators but because the economic conditions have developed to the point that a mass movement is possible and the basis exists for revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

On the second point, I would like to say that I see no difference between Comrade Lenin and Comrade Roy's theses. They mean the same thing. The difficulty lies only in finding the correct approach to the relationship between the revolutionary-nationalist and socialist movements in the backward countries and colonies. In practice this problem does not exist. It is essential there to work together with the revolutionary-nationalist forces, and we are doing only half the job if we deny this movement and pose as doctrinaire Marxists. Rather than accept-

ing for the colonies Cunow's so-called Marxism, we must understand that capitalist development there can be bypassed. Just as Comrade Radek showed, in the case of Japan, that its development was different than Europe's, so the colonies also are developing in a different way.

I was especially pleased yesterday evening to hear Comrade Radek make clear to the congress that we do not go to the Indies to exploit, but to bring them the best that the proletariat has achieved, the hope of a new life and cultural and economic freedom. He pointed out the British workers' duty, showing that they must not forget the colonies in their political and trade union agitation, for they aid the capitalists if they do not support the revolutionary struggle in the colonies. And in my view, so long as the British workers cannot understand this, they may get a lot of votes at the elections, but they are not carrying out any work of truly revolutionary significance. We cannot be content with adopting long resolutions; we must accomplish something practical in the Far East.

I have shown the possibilities for agitation. Soon we will go to the congress in Baku. Still, we have no illusions that this congress will be of great significance for the Far East. That is impossible. I would suggest that the theses adopted here be published by the Communist International in several oriental languages and be distributed especially among revolutionaries of China and the Indies. Further I would propose that a propaganda office for the Communist International be organized for the Far East too—and also for the Middle East. Since the movement now has such great importance, it is vital to unify in one office the work that already exists there and to carry on concentrated propaganda, which cannot be sufficiently led from Moscow.

To close I have just one more request. Yesterday Comrade Reed said that the Negroes should come here to take a look at the conditions in Russia. I propose that the Communist International make it possible for the leaders from the Far East to live here for half a year. They should take some courses on communism in order to get a good understanding of what is happening here and so be able to implement the concept of the theses, create soviet organizations, and do communist work in the colonies. I ask for this because Moscow and Petrograd constitute a

new Mecca for the East, and the capitalist governments will try everything to prevent our Communist hajjis from making the pilgrimage to Moscow and Petrograd. We must give the Eastern revolutionaries the chance to train themselves theoretically, so that the Far East can become a living member of the Communist International.

Frumkina: I think that we should also take into account the national minorities, that is, minorities that do not possess a defined territory.¹⁵ I am astonished to see that the Second International's mistake is being repeated here. We talk of territorial autonomy but do not take the national minorities into account. I would like the national minorities in the various countries to be taken into consideration, and I therefore propose an amendment to point 9.

First, however, I would like to remind those present of the experiences of the Communist Party and the Soviet government in Russia. The organizations of the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet institutions have special departments and commissariats for national minorities that attend to the affairs of the national minorities and everything that concerns, for example, the Jewish question.

I propose the following addition on page 43, at the end of thesis 9, before thesis 10: "At the same time all Communist parties must, in their general policies and propaganda, lead a determined struggle against the bourgeois concept that this or that national majority has the exclusive right to control the territory it inhabits. Communist parties must oppose the conception of nationalist Socialist groups who regard the national majority as the absolute ruler and treat as foreigners the workers of national minorities without territory living in their country (Poland, Ukraine).

"If revolutionary groups give unconditional support to the independence struggles of oppressed countries inhabited by many peoples, without categorically demanding that the rights of national minorities living in these countries be realized in life (and these rights can be absolutely guaranteed only through the dictatorship of the proletariat), the danger arises that the previously oppressed petty-bourgeois masses may turn into oppressors.

"The Soviet regime and the Communist Party of Russia pro-

vide the working masses of all nations with the real possibility of cultural development, thanks to the detailed specialization of state administration (departments for education of national minorities, commissariat for the affairs of the nationalities, and so on). They set as their goal a truly fraternal coexistence of all nations. These experiences must be taken as a necessary basis for the national programs of all Communist parties."

There is a tendency to regard all minorities without territory as alien, foreign elements. So it is in Poland and the Ukraine. It is important for all countries to note the experience of the Soviet government and the Communist Party of Russia, which give the toiling minorities of all nationalities the opportunity for full cultural development by placing at their disposal the necessary organizations, such as those to educate national minorities, and commissariats that champion the interests of the national minorities.

This example must serve all Communist parties as the foundation for resolving the national question.

Furthermore, I propose adding to thesis 11, page 56, after the words "in these countries," the following words: "as in those where national minorities are fighting to assert their rights."

In thesis 6, after the words "the backward countries," add: "and nations."

After thesis 6 add the following remark: "An example of the fraud to which the working masses of an oppressed nationality can fall victim, a fraud that must be credited to the Entente as well as the bourgeoisie of the relevant nation, is the question of the Zionists in Palestine. They claim to be founding an independent Jewish state, but, given that the Jews are only a minority in Palestine, the Zionists force the Arab working masses there under the British yoke."¹⁶

This unprecedented fraud must be exposed all the more energetically since the Zionists carry out their work in all countries among the backward Jewish working masses, trying to create proletarian groups with Zionist tendencies such as Poale Zion, which lately have been trying to utilize communist phraseology.

Now I will cite one of the most striking examples of the Zionist movement.

In Palestine the Jewish population is not a majority, but a

minority, which is seeking to subjugate the masses of the country's workers to Entente capital.

We must fight most energetically against these efforts. The Zionists are trying to win supporters in all countries and through their agitation and their propaganda serve the interests of the capitalist class. The Communist International must combat this movement most energetically.

John Murphy [Shop Stewards' movement, Britain]: Since we were forced to leave the room, we could not participate in choosing representatives of the different nations who are to speak on the colonial question. I ask that the British delegates be allowed to elect two of their comrades, that is, one representative from each of the two tendencies represented here.

Serrati: Does the congress agree to vote again and grant the British delegates' request? (*The congress indicates its agreement.*)

The British comrades are asked to elect two delegates.

McLaine: I shall not waste any time on the subject of whether one section of the British movement has done more than another to combat British imperialism and aid the subject colonial peoples. The British revolutionary movement is not a very strong movement and has not done very much in this connection. I must, however, take issue with Comrade Radek who said that the British workers did nothing to hinder British attacks on Russia except pass resolutions. That is refuted by General Golovin's secret report to Sazonov, describing his interview with Churchill, which stated that Churchill regretted he could not give more assistance to Kolchak and his friends because of the opposition of the British working class. Such aid as Britain gave to the Whites had to be given secretly.

A wrong construction has been put on the words of Comrade Quelch who, in committee, said that a great revolutionary uprising in India would be regarded as treason to Britain and would enable the British government, by their control of the press, to rally the British people against the Indian workers. Quelch did not mean that we should desist from revolutionary activity on that account, but that we should recognize facts and take care not to have several Amritsars on a large scale.

The task of the Third International is to suggest lines of action and to lay down principles that lead toward the world revolution. The greatest obstacle to world revolution is imperi-

alist capitalism, and the greatest imperialist capitalist state is Britain. Therefore the colonial question is very largely a question of how best to attack British capitalism. It receives its support from the exploitation of the workers at home plus the exploitation of the colonial peoples. In the early days of its development, British capital was self-supporting; now it draws tribute from all the world. Subject races everywhere are exploited to support parasitic British capital. Imports are now much greater than exports, which proves that Britain as such is a parasite. In the future British capital will try to arrange for the British workers to receive the full value of their labor, on condition that they will agree to the exploitation of the subject races.

Our duty, therefore, is to fight in the revolutionary struggle at home and to assist all real colonial revolutionary movements. Any revolutionary national movements that are fighting for real separation from the British Empire are helping advance the world revolution because they are striking at the fountainhead of imperialist reaction, namely, Great Britain. All such movements should be helped.

Wijnkoop: Yesterday evening I said that the question under discussion here is very important, and that is now clear. We should consider the fact that imperialism and the World War made it downright impossible for the industrial countries to continue sending the necessary machines and finished products needed by the agrarian countries and, conversely, that the political events of the World War have also prevented agricultural products from reaching the proletarian masses in the industrial countries. If you think this through to the end, you will see that this problem goes much further than any other on the agenda.

Now we must keep clearly before us what is actually resolved in Comrade Lenin's theses and those of Comrade Roy. Through the discussion their theses came into agreement, and now they really say that we must work in the colonial countries not for national rule, as the bourgeoisie preaches, but rather for workers' and peasants' soviets, and it is certain that to reach this goal, we must support revolutionary movements.

The word *support* is used concretely, because we really mean it. We want to give support. We want to support the revolutionary action of these masses, even when it is not a socialist movement—to support it through the intermediary of any Commu-

nist parties that may exist in the colonies. The starting point for this tactic is that it is not necessary that foreign imperialism forcibly introduce capitalism as an unavoidable stage for the transition to communism in the noncapitalist countries. On the contrary, we want to prevent this whenever possible through our tactics and our support for the revolutionary movement. So we are fighting not only against the political domination of foreign imperialism, but also against the penetration of a national capitalism. Therefore, in my opinion, the main point in the theses by Comrades Lenin and Roy is support for the revolutionary-nationalist mass movements and struggle against the belief that the penetration of capitalism in the colonies is a necessary precondition for the transition to socialism.

If we view the question in this light, we cannot accept Comrade Graziadei's amendment. For if I understood him correctly, he is proposing that these theses not be applied to Italy, so that the Communists will not support the rising nationalist movement there. He is afraid that Italy will perhaps be counted among the backward countries and considers his amendment necessary for this reason.¹⁷ But I think this is superfluous, for it seems to me that no one will suppose that the sections in thesis 11 could refer to a country like Italy. They refer only to states and nations that are backward in character, so that a country like Italy cannot fall under this heading at all. In the commission as well we weighed whether it would not be useful to define more precisely what is meant by a backward country. We decided against this. If we were to adopt Comrade Graziadei's amendment, we would immediately have other problems, such as with Bulgaria or Greece. Such questions will always arise, and they can be decided only in practice by the Communist Party of each country, with the help of the theses and guidelines that the Communist International will provide here. Therefore it is not advisable to adopt Comrade Graziadei's insertion, although I think his practical goal is good.

Likewise with the other particular changes he suggests. The Irish comrade has already polemicized against the amendment to change "active support" to read "active interest." Perhaps this speaker did not understand Comrade Graziadei, but if these words can be interpreted in this manner, that fact alone makes them incorrect. We must oppose this amendment. We want the

workers to have an active interest in communist struggles; we also want them to support revolutionary-nationalist movements. Comrade Graziadei wants the same but says it would be better expressed with the words he proposes. Support is precisely what we speak of in the theses. I therefore propose that we reject Comrade Graziadei's wording.

I agree with what Comrade Frumkina said. I do not know if the motion is good. If it is inappropriate for any particular country, it should be dealt with in the commission.

Comrade Maring said so much about Java that we do not need to add anything here. I agree with him completely. In order to show that a truly capitalist development exists there, with all its characteristic traits, it suffices to say that the two hundred sugar mills that Comrade Maring spoke of are in the hands of three trusts, which also reach into other businesses and industries. That is a symptom of the highest stage of capitalism. The proletariat must fight against this and is doing so.

Now on Comrade Radek's remarks. I am glad that Comrade Radek said that British capitalism can be beaten not in London, but in the colonies. I truly believe that many British comrades do not understand this. Comrade Radek understands it very well, but this must be viewed in a general sense and not narrow-mindedly. Comrade Radek asks how many of the British comrades have been in prison for agitating in the colonies; I say that the British comrades need not answer such a question. We do not ask whether or not comrades have been to prison. We ask whether comrades have done their duty, and Comrade McLaine answered that succinctly. In my opinion, Comrade Radek exaggerated parliamentarism in this respect. He believes that whenever a word is said in Parliament against imperialism, Reuters will report it. In fact, Reuters does not report such things. In the Netherlands, we heard only much later and by another means that some women held a demonstration in Parliament. Reuters does not report such matters.

Walcher: Comrade Radek did not say that at all!

Wijnkoop: And now, in conclusion, one more point. It has been said that we must go to the colonies. This is naturally not the most important thing for the Communist parties of each country. We cannot send all our agitators to the colonial countries. We must create the necessary preconditions so that every

colonial country can develop its own revolutionary movement. Granted, we need agitators for this, but it is not a matter of sending our agitators into the colonies. If we recognize the work in the colonies as a barometer of the revolutionary significance of a party, then it is precisely the Dutch party that has done everything in its power. It had comrades in the colonies, like Sneevliet [Maring], Baars, and Brandsteder, who supported and developed the revolutionary movement of the indigenous people. The Tribunists and the Dutch Communists were the most active in this, so no one has the right to talk about their party as has just been done. It was precisely the Dutch party that showed how closely linked this question is with the revolutionary struggle. If we are feared and persecuted in the Netherlands, it is not because we can unleash a revolution in that country—and in fact we cannot without linking up with England or Germany—but because we bring no joy to the capitalist gentlemen in their colonial affairs.

A.N. Merezhin [Communist Party of Russia]: The Jewish sections of the Communist Party of Russia agree completely with Comrade Frumkina's assessment of Zionism and of the Jewish Communist Party—Poale Zion, and I do not want to repeat this. I want to deal with another question now, that of defending the rights of minority nationalities living in territories with mixed populations. The parties of the Second International devised a way to defend these rights through national-personal autonomy—the theory of Otto Bauer and Renner.¹⁸ In the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania an attempt was made to put this theory into practice. National-personal autonomy was established there under the Central Rada and other petty-bourgeois governments.¹⁹ This attempt must be considered and evaluated. We can only conclude that this experience showed national-personal autonomy to be completely bankrupt.

The transfer of power from the big bourgeoisie to the petty-bourgeois, republican-democratic bourgeoisie in no way reduced national oppression. When the social traitors took power, they went beyond all bounds. Although they granted national-personal autonomy in words, in the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat they committed even more atrocities than tsarism. Inexorably a uniform nationality was forcibly imposed, despite the officially proclaimed national-personal au-

tonomy. But why talk about this when these same petty-bourgeois parties, which on paper had declared themselves ready to recognize national-personal autonomy, were engaged in nothing less than the physical annihilation of national minorities through the most gruesome pogroms, attacks, and so on, especially the so-called Ukrainian National Directory and the Pilsudski, Moraczewski, and other governments.

Nevertheless, something else must be mentioned. It must be noted that national-personal autonomy in and of itself worsens the situation of the proletariat of the minority nationalities. That is because the petty bourgeoisie of the minority nationalities consists primarily of urban petty bourgeois, and this urban petty bourgeoisie of the minority nationalities is considerably less revolutionary than the petty bourgeoisie of the majority nationalities. This is because in the national majority, the petty bourgeoisie, especially in eastern Europe, consists primarily of peasants, who are revolutionized in the struggle with the large estate owners. In fact the proletariat of the minority nationalities often has had to appeal to "outsiders" against the national-personal autonomy "given" to it. Face to face with its own bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat was isolated and in a worse situation than if it had no national-personal autonomy.

For the above-mentioned reasons, I suggest that the following thesis be adopted, to come after thesis 3:

"The experience of the mutual relations between majority nationalities and minority nationalities in territories with mixed populations (the Ukraine, Poland, Belorussia) has shown that the transfer of power from the hands of the big bourgeoisie to the hands of the petty-bourgeois groups that are forming republican-democratic states does not reduce, but on the contrary greatly sharpens internal national frictions. Republican democracy, forced by its struggle against the proletariat to substitute national war for the class struggle, quickly became permeated with xenophobia. It easily converts to its own use the experiences of the old masters of national oppression and applies them ardently. Inciting the popular masses of one nation against those of another, it uses the state apparatus to organize mass pogroms aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Thus we see the growth of anti-Semitism under the Ukrainian 'democracy' in late 1917 and early 1918 under the Central

Rada, the gruesome pogroms in late 1918 and the first half of 1919 organized by agencies of the 'Ukrainian National Directory,' the pogrom movement in the 'Polish Democratic Republic' under the party of the Second International (Polish Socialist Party, the Moraczewski government), as well as in the mixed government (Pilsudski-Skulski). This same experience showed that no 'democratic' forms within a republican-democratic order, including the national-personal autonomy defended by Austrian Social Democracy, can ensure protection of the rights and cultural interests of the minority nationalities in areas with a mixed population or guarantee their true equal rights and equal influence in affairs of state.

"National-personal autonomy, based on universal suffrage, leads not only to dividing the proletariat into national groups but also to completely distorting revolutionary struggles, shackling the proletarian forces, and even to worsening the cultural condition of the proletariat of the minority nationality. This is because within each minority nationality the national petty bourgeoisie, which is larger and stronger than the proletariat and consists primarily of city dwellers, is significantly more reactionary than the petty-bourgeois majority of the majority nationality, which consists of peasants revolutionized in the struggle against the large landowners."

I would also like to touch on the special question of the pogroms.

The Jewish sections of the Communist Party of Russia propose the following resolution on this question:

"Whereas in its bloody campaign against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the world counterrevolution falls with particular cruelty upon the poorest Jewish population of Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Palestine, and elsewhere; and

"Whereas by oppressing the poorest part of the Jewish population, which makes the cruelties not only of tsarism but also of the medieval Inquisition pale by comparison, world counterrevolution is striving to sow discord and enmity among workers of the various nationalities in order to divert their attention from the immediate struggle against the bourgeois order.

"The Second Congress of the Communist International declares to the entire world:

"1. Guilt for all the recent pogroms against Jews in the

Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Palestine, and elsewhere falls completely and totally on the Entente, which heads up all the counterrevolutionary undertakings against the communist revolution.

"2. The Entente morally supports and supplies with every possible kind of instrument of destruction White Guards of every stripe, who cover every territory they occupy with hundreds of thousands of innocent victims. The Entente does not lift a finger to halt those who incite pogroms, paying no heed to the protests of the toiling masses against the pogroms.

"Indeed, the agents of the Entente, whom we find in the ranks of the counterrevolutionary armies of Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, and other countries, participate directly in these pogroms. We saw this most clearly in the pogrom in Jerusalem in April of this year,²⁰ which was organized by agents of the British government.

"3. The parties belonging to the Yellow Second International, ruling in the Ukraine as the 'Ukrainian National Directory' and in Poland as the Pilsudski government, are moral and physical participants in pogroms that resulted in the extermination of hundreds of thousands of women and children. In their struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat, they have flooded the Ukraine and Poland with rivers of innocent blood.

"Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International, expressing the will of the revolutionary world proletariat, protests most vehemently the pogroms against the Jews, which are the work of the world counterrevolution. It calls upon the workers of all countries to struggle actively against them in word and deed in order to unmask the hypocritical diplomats of the 'League of Nations,' to expose their true shameful role, and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat everywhere, which alone is able to end all pogroms, tear down all national barriers, and establish the true brotherhood of peoples around the entire globe.

"In particular the Second Congress of the Communist International turns to the workers of all enslaved nations with the call to rally closer around the banner of the Communist International, which will bring to the whole of humanity the final liberation from all the injustices of the capitalist order."

Murphy: It is one of the ironies of this congress that the delegates most vitally interested in the most important questions before the congress are hindered from following the discussions by the exclusion of the English language. I cannot say all I would wish to say and therefore must confine myself to certain outstanding issues.

No one will dispute the fact that England and America are the greatest imperialist nations of the world. All will agree that the revolution cannot extend very far without vitally affecting the colonies and subject peoples under their control. Of America I shall say nothing at this moment. As for England, in addition to its colonies in the strict sense of the word, it rules India, Ireland, Egypt, South Africa, and more. The liberation of the peoples of these lands means the fall of her empire. This task of liberation is thrust just as much upon the proletariat of Britain as upon the proletariat of the colonies in the countries I have named.

It was once easy to subscribe to internationalism, but today we have passed from the day of pious resolutions to that of revolutionary practice, and it is useless to say we sympathize with subject peoples, and so forth, unless such sympathy is translated into deeds. Within Ireland, India, and Egypt, revolts have occurred repeatedly, yet one cannot say that the British proletariat or the revolutionary movements have done much to render real assistance to these peoples. Rather have we heard complaints about premature uprisings and so on. Such parochialism must be swept away. We must affirm not only that it is necessary "to sacrifice the interests of the one country to the interests of the world proletariat,"²¹ but, moreover, that the proletariat of the dominant powers must make a supreme effort to assist by deeds the strivings of the subject peoples to be free.

The best way for the British proletariat to avoid Amritsar incidents is to create a movement capable of challenging the perpetrators of such incidents, and to be in contact with the colonial movement and the movement of subject nationalities such that simultaneous proletarian action can be attained.

The tempo of the revolutionary movement varies in different countries. Ireland has been revolutionary for years, while the British movement has, in its insularity, extended little more than pious sympathy. This will not do. It is essential that the Communist parties in these countries rid themselves and their proletar-

iat of insularity. The Communist International must be organized in such a way that organic contact can be maintained between the masses of the dominant nations and of the subject nations and colonies, in order to make possible the breakup of empires and institution of the practice of internationalism.

Michael Kohn [Socialist Workers Party of Palestine]: Because of certain speakers, who intervened unexpectedly, the debate has taken a turn with which no one who knows the exigencies of a communist national policy can agree. Before I go into the contributions by Comrades Frumkina and Merezhin, which caused this turn in the debate, I would like to make a few remarks.

The theses on the national question take up above all the peoples concentrated in a single territory, that is, oppressed nationalities dominated by a foreign power. Minority nationalities living mixed in among other peoples are in general not discussed. Only thesis 9 talks of guarantees of the rights of minority nationalities.

In the commission I proposed an addition to this thesis, to the second sentence of the section after the words, "uniting in the struggle against the bourgeoisie," which reads, "Second, to support social institutions that enable the cultural and socioeconomic needs of the toiling masses of the minority peoples to be met." It is necessary to develop very precise organizational measures to be demanded and defended by Communist parties in each country. But the commission came to agree that thesis 9 expresses very clearly, if only in general terms, the need to defend the rights of minority nationalities and to establish social institutions to realize these rights, and that we should avoid introducing detailed demands into the theses. For these reasons I was prepared to withdraw my amendment. Faced, however, with the danger that Merezhin's motion could pass, perhaps out of lack of opposition and ignorance of the circumstances, I again introduce the motion I just read and propose it to the congress. This thesis corresponds completely with the demands of Poale Zion, the party I belong to.²² The Jewish proletariat would be entirely satisfied to be accorded social institutions enabling it to fulfill its cultural and socioeconomic needs, insofar as this can be accomplished within the general framework of the Soviet constitution and does not conflict with the military needs of the Soviet state.

Comrade Merezhin's resolution on national-personal autonomy is based on an incorrect view of the facts and, above all, on incorrect reasoning. He says that the attempts to implement national-personal autonomy in the Ukraine led to harmful results, since the majority in the institutions of national autonomy—and thereby power—was placed in the hands of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which is reactionary. But he forgets that this took place while there was a democratic government and that these institutions were chosen through universal suffrage. The outcome cannot come as a surprise to any Communist. If, on the other hand, institutions to satisfy the cultural and socio-economic needs of the minority nationalities were set up with specific, strictly delineated autonomy under the control of the Soviet regime and led by the Communist proletariat of the nationality in question, harmful results are no more likely than in any other social institution.

In addition, I do not think that either Comrade Frumkina's motion demanding national autonomy or my own needs to be posed explicitly, since the soviet governments, prompted by the needs of the proletariat and based on their own constitutions, will have to grant to the minority nationalities as well the option of self-administration.

Further, I would like to point out briefly that Comrade Merezhin has fallen into a quite typical misunderstanding. He says that Renner and Otto Bauer advanced a theory demanding national-personal autonomy. That is wrong. Both of these leaders of the Austrian opportunists developed the theory of national autonomy only for the majority peoples and demanded for the minorities merely a few legal guarantees.²³

As for Comrade Merezhin's resolution on anti-Semitism, I refer to the passage added by the commission to thesis 10, which emphasizes with sufficient clarity the necessity of combating this reactionary phenomenon. Comrade Merezhin's long resolution leaves the impression that on this question as well we wanted to use the congress to stage a jousting match among the representatives of the Jewish proletariat on the role of the Entente. I think that the congress has more important things to do.

What must be said on the phenomenon of national hatred and xenophobia and the pogroms instigated by the reactionary

powers is expressed clearly enough in the thesis I have mentioned.

Partly for that same reason I must speak most emphatically against Comrade Frumkina's resolution. We certainly agree with the content of the first part. Bourgeois Zionism, if it is not to prove itself utopian from the start, must necessarily march in the service of British imperialism. Naturally, this bourgeois movement must be most bitterly combated, come what may. And it is precisely the Communist Poale Zion movement that is waging this fight most energetically. But what the congress and the whole Communist International has to say on this is already expressed in thesis 11, clause (f).

This section begins: "It is necessary continually to expose and explain to the broadest masses of toilers of all countries and nations, and especially the backward ones, that the imperialist powers, with the help of the privileged classes in the oppressed countries, are perpetrating a fraud. They are creating state structures that pose as politically independent states but are economically, financially, and militarily totally dependent upon the imperialist powers."

Comrade Frumkina's resolution is therefore totally superfluous, since there is no need here to struggle against bourgeois Zionism. Otherwise the congress could also be induced to formulate long-winded resolutions against other bourgeois-nationalist so-called liberation movements that stand in the service of various Entente powers. What is really intended here becomes clear in the second half of the resolution. Here you have a real example of the harmful squabbling that has poisoned the political life of the Jewish workers for many long years. Comrade Frumkina's party, the Communist Bund, just wants to use the occasion to warm up its soup on the fires of petty party squabbles, which she hopes to kindle at the congress. Comrade Frumkina, the representative of a party that only yesterday supported all the counterrevolutionary governments in Russia, whose leaders Dan and Lieber were among the most prominent figures in the Menshevik counterrevolution,²⁴ claims that we—Poale Zion—hide our activity behind a communist veil. She singles us out for that comment, although we were the first of the Jewish parties in Russia to side with the Bolsheviks in the struggle against the counterrevolution. In all other countries, as

well, we took up the struggle for the world revolution before all the other currents in the Jewish working class.

She bases her resolution on a few general claims that are devoid of any knowledge of the relevant regions. I want to share with you some ideas on this question, since it concerns countries that have not been discussed here, although they have come within the sphere of British imperialism and in the future will play a role that will be significant in every respect. I mean the countries of Arab Asia: Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia.

Comrade Frumkina tries to present the movement that swept the Arab East during the World War as a national liberation movement. In reality, what we have here is the ambitions of the nomadic tribes of the Arabian desert, mainly the Hejaz. Under the influence of their religious leaders, the tribal elders, they sought to establish the oldest form of slavery over the settled population of these countries, that is, a feudal organization of rule by these tribal leaders over the peasants. The Communist International supports this movement and its leaders—Faisal, the king of the Hejaz; the emir of Fezzan; and other such “freedom fighters”—a very strange undertaking!²⁵

What is the real situation in the Arab East? The great mass of the population consists of Arab fellahin who, under the heavy weight of the Turkish government, remained in the most primitive economic conditions. But a fortunate circumstance existed there that prevented complete pauperization: the existence of a form of common ownership of land, apparently based on certain primitive-communist provisions of Islamic law. The bedouin sheikhs, who lead the so-called national movement, aim to bring about a still worse exploitation of the working population by expropriating the land of the fellahin. In this they are fully supported by British imperialism. The British bourgeoisie was the first to carry out a most radical “liberation” of the peasant population from its land, as we can read in the chapter on primitive accumulation in the first volume of *Capital*. Clearly, Comrade Frumkina wants to see the Communist International promote such a “liberation,” carried out by the bedouin chieftains with the support of the British bourgeoisie.

What is our position, that of the Communist Poale Zion, on Palestine? First, we do not want to set up a state, certainly not with the support of British imperialism. But we are convinced

that in the process of engaging the Jewish masses in production, leading them to useful and socially necessary work, during an epoch of social revolution, a certain number of Jews will emigrate from countries where masses of them now live, for example, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and especially Poland. Some of these emigrants will go to Palestine and be channeled into agriculture.

From this we demand simply to be able to emigrate freely and colonize this country, so long as it is in the hands of the British or another bourgeoisie. We raise this demand only to regulate the emigration and colonization activity of the Jewish and any other proletariat, insofar as such activity is at all possible for the proletariat within the capitalist order. We raise it in support of and in solidarity with the proletarian Communist International and in the most bitter struggle against the Jewish and world bourgeoisie.

When the development of the social revolution leads to Palestine becoming a soviet state, joining a federation of other soviet states, then the question of Jewish colonization of this country will become part of the general question of drawing the Jewish masses into productive work and their participation in the social construction of the free, working, humane society. The solution to this question will be found in the framework of the rational use of nature's riches in sparsely populated colonial countries and an appropriate use of previously unutilized or very badly utilized human labor power in industry.

But these views of ours have nothing to do with the idea of a Jewish state, much less a bourgeois Jewish state. On the contrary, our movement, which arose in all countries out of the needs of the Jewish proletariat, is everywhere on the front lines in the fight against imperialism. In Palestine, indeed, in all of Arab Asia, the Socialist Party of Palestine (Poale Zion), which is affiliated with us, is the only proletarian communist group that, under very difficult conditions, is combating British imperialism. It is called upon to lead the toiling masses of the Arab East in this struggle. (*The chairman interrupts the speaker.*)

The proposed resolution ignores the most important social facts and will lead the congress down absurd paths. For it is an indisputable fact that the Jewish bourgeoisie first brought into the land modern capitalist forms of economy and exploita-

tion—against which the Communist Bund through Comrade Frumkina would recommend feudalism, if we were to choose between different systems of exploitation. So too the immigrant Jewish worker represents the sole modern, truly propertyless proletarian, filled, moreover, with class consciousness and inspired by a revolutionary will to struggle. The Arab masses, who work on lands of Jewish large landowners and Arab effendis, have their own land for the most part and can be characterized only as semiproletarians. Their natural vanguard, who must pull them into the revolutionary struggle and fill them with political consciousness, is our party there, which conducts very lively revolutionary propaganda among them, true to the principles of the Communist International. (*The chairman asks the speaker to conclude.*)

Comrade Frumkina's resolution contradicts not only plain facts but also the word and spirit of the theses, which demand supporting Communist proletarian groups, wherever they exist, against bourgeois-national revolutionary ambitions. This resolution would do extraordinary damage to the Communist movement of the Jewish proletariat throughout the world and the Communist movement of the Arab East in particular. I therefore ask that the congress not allow itself to be used by the worst sectarian squabbling and to reject this resolution, for which a polite word escapes me.

Frumkina: I protest against the accusation made against the Bund. It has always sided with soviet power, even when it was not yet in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Zinoviev: I propose that we vote on the theses and refer the amendments to the commission. I hope that the commission, in its assessment, will decide unanimously. If, contrary to our expectations, differences of opinion should arise, the commission will present them to the congress.²⁶

Serrati: I would have liked to deliver a speech on this question, but now prefer to limit myself to a brief declaration on my vote.

In the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" proposed to the congress by Comrades Lenin and Roy, I find not only certain contradictions but also in particular a grave danger for the position of the Communist proletariat in the advanced countries, which must remain clearly hostile to any class collaboration, especially in the period before the revolution.

The definition of "backward" countries is too vague and imprecise not to be open to chauvinist interpretations.

In general, campaigns by bourgeois-democratic groups for national liberation are not revolutionary, even when they resort to insurrectionary methods. They are undertaken either to benefit a nascent national imperialism or to serve the interests of a competitor of the country's former imperialist ruler. National liberation campaigns can never bring revolutionary results unless the working class remains clearly separate.²⁷ Even in the so-called backward countries, the class struggle can advance only by preserving the absolute independence of the proletariat toward all of its exploiters, even the bourgeois democrats called "revolutionary nationalists."

True liberation of the oppressed peoples can be accomplished only by the proletarian revolution and the soviet order, not by assistance lent by Communists even indirectly, through temporary alliances, with the bourgeois parties termed revolutionary nationalist.

These alliances can constitute a deformation of proletarian class consciousness, especially in the countries less educated in the struggle against capitalism.

The theses' insufficient clarity threatens to provide the pseudorevolutionary chauvinism of western Europe with a weapon against truly communist internationalist action.

Therefore, I declare that I will abstain on the vote.

Wijnkoop: What we are witnessing here is outrageous! If Comrade Serrati wants to abstain, that is of course his business. But during the entire discussion he never intervened to present his arguments, as he could have done and had a responsibility to do. Instead he comes forward now and says that these very well-prepared theses are counterrevolutionary. We have to discuss this. By making his assertion only now, he robs us of the possibility of speaking against him. And this from a comrade who is very highly regarded. The bourgeoisie and the workers to our right and left will come and say that our entire policy on the colonial question is counterrevolutionary.

The congress, if it has any self-respect, must force Comrade Serrati to discuss this matter here. I therefore propose that the content of this protest and his abstention on the vote be put up for discussion.

Serrati: I do not know if Wijnkoop has as much respect for me as Comrade Levi claims to have for him. My position has never provided grist for the mill of my party's opponents. And my activity in the international Communist movement is so clear and well defined that no statement of mine can be used to help those who oppose us. I have never wavered from my revolutionary stand; I have never signed any declaration, either in favor of Germany or France, to win votes in elections. I have always been very independent, and that is why my statements carry weight in the entire international Communist movement. I have responsibilities with respect to this movement, and I will fulfill them come what may. I do not care what the bourgeoisie thinks of me and have always enjoyed being a traitor in the eyes of the Italian bourgeoisie. But I do not like futile discussions. Comrade Wijnkoop talked a lot, and no one prevented him from doing so. As for me, I have nothing to discuss.

I am convinced that this congress should adopt the theses before it. You have the right and the duty to adopt them. There is no escaping this. But personally I find myself in a different situation. I have defended revolutionary socialism for six years in my newspaper and fought hard against similar theses. I do not want to reverse myself today. I have fought against the nationalist movement, and if I were to vote for such a resolution it would give rise to claims that there was a contradiction between my position in Italy and the resolution I voted for here. Therefore, dear comrades, I ask that you move to the next point on the agenda.

*Wijnkoop:*²⁸ You must speak your mind here.

Serrati: If you want me to discuss, I will discuss, but I find myself at somewhat of a disadvantage with respect to you. I will tell you, dear Dutch comrades, that I came here as an act of solidarity and not to criticize. You will allow me to hold true to this position to the end.

Zinoviev: In the name of the Russian delegation, I would like to declare that we consider Comrade Serrati's statement to be very uncomradely. Comrade Serrati had every opportunity to participate in the commission deliberations and to raise his objections there. That is what these discussions are for. The international congress has assembled to examine the experiences of each country and then to draw the balance. It is incom-

prehensible why anyone would put the congress in such a position. We cannot force anyone to participate in the discussion, but if Comrade Serrati makes an official statement against us, then we must make an official reply.

We are being accused of wanting to support bourgeois-revolutionary movements. That is not what we want. What was said was that Communists support every revolutionary movement. I do not know what particular struggles have taken place in Italy. We have had experiences in a number of countries and find that as Communists we must support every revolutionary movement.

I repeat that we have no alternative but to reply. Why Comrade Serrati did not want to bring his thoughts into the commission is incomprehensible to us. A new discussion is impossible. Let the Italian workers judge who is right, and I believe that ninety-nine out of one hundred Italian workers will say that the congress is right, and not Comrade Serrati.

Roy: Serrati called my and Lenin's theses counterrevolutionary.

Serrati: No, no!

Roy: I am sure that no proletarian can regard the assistance rendered to the oppressed peoples in their struggle against foreign oppression as being reactionary. Every national revolution in a backward country is a step forward. It is unscientific to distinguish the various forms of revolution. Every revolution is just one stage of the social revolution. The peoples of the exploited countries, whose economic and political evolution has been hampered, must pass through the stages that the European peoples traversed long ago. Anyone who regards it as reactionary to aid these peoples in their national struggle is himself reactionary and an advocate of imperialism.

I protest Serrati's declaration and request that it not be included in the record.

Wijnkoop: No representative of the revolutionary movement has the right to speak in such a way. Serrati boasts that he has never made a statement in favor of France or Germany. In my opinion this sentence contains an insinuation. I maintain that what was said here does not correspond to reality, and I propose to establish this fact. I ask that an inquiry be made into this matter. I therefore request that Comrade Serrati's statement not be included in the record, since it was not discussed at the

congress. Comrade Serrati will be free to present all his ideas at the next Italian party congress.

Serrati: I see nothing improper in opening an investigation on the charges that have been raised against the Dutch party. Personally, I made no charges. I only recalled what Comrade Levi said about this matter—something entirely different. I point out, since the comrade offers me the opportunity, that no discussion is allowed on a statement explaining a vote. I did not raise this question because I dislike disputes, but I find it peculiar that the comrades allow me to speak, when actually they do not have the right to discuss my explanatory statement. I find it even more peculiar that a comrade claims that my statement should not be included in the record. I could have moved that all the stupidities uttered here should be withheld from the record. I could have moved that the accusations Comrade Levi flung at Comrade Wijnkoop not be mentioned in the record. That is much more serious than the definite, clear, and precise statement I made, which I ask be included in the record.

Comrade Roy did not understand my statement. I say that he did not understand it, because I think I was clear enough. I said that the theses as proposed are not clear enough and could lend themselves to chauvinist and nationalist interpretations. If I had believed that the theses before us were counterrevolutionary, dear Comrade Roy, then I would have been honest and frank enough to vote against them, and there would have been nothing wrong with someone voting against a proposal formulated at a Communist congress.

Comrade Roy said that every revolution has a social character. But that was the argumentation presented to us during the war by all the agents and accomplices of the bourgeoisie. They said to us, "The revolutionary war is a social war, and you must participate." And we answered no, we will not participate.

Comrade Zinoviev made a declaration on behalf of the Communist Party of Russia that called on us to speak clearly and openly. I have always done so. But I also said very clearly that I find myself at a disadvantage in discussing this question, which cannot be discussed here as it was posed. I intended to propose a resolution on this question, and I did not do so because I believed it was not possible to have an objective discussion. I wanted to propose the following resolution:

"The congress sends its warmest fraternal greetings to all peoples tormented by the oppression of the imperialist states. It expresses its concrete and active sympathy to all oppressed and exploited peoples in their struggle against their exploiters.²⁹ It declares that the proletarian class, in its struggle against capitalist oppression, has the right to take advantage of national uprisings in order to lead them to social revolution."

The thinking behind this is very clear. Instead of saying that the Communist Party and the proletarian classes can unite with the petty-bourgeois movement to some extent and with certain guarantees, I say no, the working class can utilize a bourgeois-revolutionary movement for the purposes of a social revolution, but it cannot support the bourgeois class, even in backward countries. Otherwise it runs the danger of losing its class position and class orientation. The masses in backward countries can lose their class orientation more easily than those in advanced countries, since the proletariat there has as yet no firm class consciousness and often blindly follows its leaders.

Comrade Zinoviev declared that the proletarians themselves must judge the conduct of their representatives at the international congress. Certainly, when the delegates to the congress return home, they will report to those who sent them. And it is the masses who will judge our conduct.

I have always maintained a very intransigent attitude toward the petty bourgeoisie. I have stuck to this stance, particularly at the national council meeting in Florence, and the council approved my position.³⁰

Wijnkoop: Comrade Serrati tried to raise suspicions about our party, and he tried to raise additional suspicions against me because I had already spoken. But he himself wants to speak twice. I would not have imagined that Comrade Serrati, who himself moved that the discussion be closed, should now get the floor twice on a point of personal privilege. I would like to propose that I at least be allowed to speak.

Zinoviev: I propose that we vote on the motion to end the debate. Continuing these personal attacks is pointless. Comrade Serrati has the right to demand that the statement he made be included in the record. (*Interjection by Wijnkoop*.) The record is a mirror reflecting everything that takes place. Therefore, the statement must be included in the record. We propose that all

resolutions and motions be referred to the commission.

Wijnkoop: Not without discussion!

Levi: We will vote on ending the debate.

(Motion to end the debate is adopted with 5 opposing votes.)

Wijnkoop: I made a motion that the discussion absolutely must not be ended.

Levi: Who supports Comrade Wijnkoop's motion? Who supports opening the debate after it was just closed?

(Comrade Wijnkoop's motion is rejected with 8 votes in favor.)

Levi: The overwhelming majority rejected Comrade Wijnkoop's motion. We come to the vote on the theses as a whole. Now we are to vote on the theses; all motions will be referred to the commission. Should differences of opinion arise in the commission, another report to the congress will be brought in.

(The vote is taken on whether remaining questions should be referred to the commission. It is adopted unanimously.)

Frumkina: It has been said that the Bund participated in the Second International's counterrevolutionary agitation. The Bund did not participate in agitation against the socialist revolution. Rather, it threw all its forces into defending the Soviet government even before the Bund was communist. When the Second International crops up, someone should remind Comrade Kohn that the Poale Zion party in Palestine turned to the Second International for support and was quite pleased with it. Poale Zion's application that its representatives be admitted was turned down by the Executive Committee.

Serrati: Comrade Wijnkoop said that he wanted to conduct an investigation into the charges I made against the Dutch party. I emphasize that in no way did I raise accusations but only repeated what Comrade Levi said, which was not in any way contradicted by Comrade Wijnkoop, and what the comrades from the executive have said without evoking a protest.

Nicola Bombacci [Italian Socialist Party]: I have to state that I do not share Comrade Serrati's opinion, as expressed in his statement.

Wijnkoop: I did not ask for the floor on a personal question, but rather to make a motion. But now that I have the floor, I must explain that there is no truth in anything Comrade Serrati raised against our party on this point. Whether he is relying on

an untruth of Comrade Levi's is irrelevant. I must affirm that it is untrue and will remain untrue. The comrades from the Executive Committee did not say the same thing as Comrade Serrati. The Amsterdam bureau is not identical to the Dutch party. And this party has nothing in common with what Comrade Serrati raised, just because I criticized him. I propose that Comrade Serrati's protest also not be entered into the record, because it was not discussed here. I make this motion because Comrade Serrati can just as well make his protest, which in my opinion is a manifesto against this congress, at the Italian congress.

Pestaña: I represent no political party, but only a syndicalist organization, and do not wish to assume obligations I am not sure I can fulfill. I therefore will abstain on the vote.

Graziadei: My position is known from the statements I have made here. I will vote for the theses together with my proposed additions.

Zinoviev: We have before us Comrade Wijnkoop's motion that Comrade Serrati's statement not be entered into the record. We are of the opinion, and I ask for support for the Bureau's opinion, that such a vote is impossible.

Those who support this opinion please raise your hands. Opposed? It appears that no one is opposed. The congress will now end debate and move to a vote on the theses.

(The motion is adopted.)

Zinoviev: We now come to the vote on the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," which read as follows:

THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS³¹

1. An abstract or formal conception of the question of equality in general and of national equality in particular is in the very nature of bourgeois democracy. Under the guise of the equality of individuals in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal, legal equality of the property owner and the proletarian, the exploiter and the exploited, thereby grossly deceiving the oppressed classes. Claiming to uphold the supposed absolute equality of individuals, the bourgeoisie transforms the idea of equality, which itself reflects the relations of commodity

production, into a tool in the struggle against the abolition of classes. The real meaning of the demand for equality consists in its being a demand for the abolition of classes.

2. As the conscious expression of the proletarian class struggle to shake off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party, in line with its basic task of struggling against bourgeois democracy and exposing its lies and duplicity, should not base its policy on the national question on abstract and formal principles. Instead, it should first be based on an exact appraisal of specific historical and above all economic conditions. Second, it should clearly differentiate between the interests of the oppressed classes, the toilers, the exploited, and the general concept of the so-called interests of the people, which means the interests of the ruling class. Third, it should with equal precision distinguish between the oppressed, dependent nations that do not have equal rights and the oppressor, exploiting nations that do, in order to counter the bourgeois-democratic lies that conceal the colonial and financial enslavement of the immense majority of the entire world population by a narrow minority of the richest, most advanced capitalist countries—a characteristic feature of the epoch of finance capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 revealed with particular clarity to all enslaved nations and oppressed classes around the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois-democratic rhetoric.³² The war was justified by both sides with platitudes about national liberation and self-determination. Nonetheless, both the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest and those of Versailles and St. Germain showed that the victorious bourgeoisie ruthlessly sets even “national” borders according to its economic interests.³³ For the bourgeoisie even “national” borders are objects of trade. The so-called League of Nations is nothing but the insurance policy with which this war’s victors mutually guarantee their loot. The attempts to reestablish national unity, to “reunify with detached portions of land,”³⁴ are for the bourgeoisie nothing but attempts by the vanquished to assemble forces for new wars. The reunification of nations artificially torn apart is also in the interests of the proletariat. However, the proletariat can achieve genuine national liberation and unity only through revolutionary struggle and by overpowering the bourgeoisie.

The League of Nations and the entire postwar policy of the

imperialist states expose this truth ever more clearly and sharply, strengthening everywhere the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the advanced countries, as well as of all toiling masses of the colonies and dependent countries, and hastening the collapse of petty-bourgeois illusions about the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from these principles that the entire policy of the Communist International on the national and colonial questions must be based primarily upon uniting the proletarians and toiling masses of all nations and countries in common revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Only such a unification will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which it is impossible to abolish national oppression and inequality.

5. The international political situation has now put the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day. All events in world politics necessarily focus on one single central issue: the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Russian Soviet Republic, which rallies around itself both the soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries and all national liberation movements of the colonies and oppressed peoples. These peoples are learning through bitter experience that their only salvation lies with the revolutionary proletariat and in the victory of soviet power over world imperialism.

6. Consequently, we cannot limit ourselves at this time merely to recognizing or proclaiming the friendship of the toilers of various nations. Rather we must pursue a policy of implementing the closest possible alliance of all national and colonial liberation movements with Soviet Russia. The forms of this alliance will be determined by the level of development of the Communist movement within the proletariat of each country or of the revolutionary liberation movement³⁵ in the backward countries and among the backward nationalities.

7. Federation is a transitional form toward full unity of the toilers of all nations. Federation has already shown its usefulness in practice—in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's relations to the other soviet republics (the Hungarian, Finnish, and Latvian in the past, the Azerbaijani and Ukrainian at present), and also within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist

Republic itself toward the nationalities that formerly had neither a state nor self-government (for example, the autonomous Bashkir and Tatar republics in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic created in 1919 and 1920).

8. The task of the Communist International in this respect consists not only in further perfecting these developing federations based on the soviet order and the soviet movement but also in studying and testing their experiences. Recognizing the federation as a transitional form toward complete unification, we must strive for an ever closer federal association. We must take into consideration first, that the soviet republics, surrounded by imperialist states of the whole world that are considerably stronger militarily, cannot possibly exist without close association with each other. Second, a close economic alliance of the soviet republics is necessary, without which it is impossible to restore the productive forces destroyed by imperialism and ensure the well-being of the toilers. Third, that there is a tendency to create a world economy unified according to a common plan, controlled by proletarians of all countries. This tendency has already begun to appear quite openly under capitalism and is bound to develop further and be completed under socialism.

9. In the field of relations between states, the national policy of the Communist International cannot stop at the bare, formal recognition of the equality of nations. Such lip service, carrying no obligation to act, is the limit to which the bourgeois democrats confine themselves—both those who frankly admit to being such and those who call themselves “Socialists.”

Both within parliament as well as outside it, the Communist parties must incessantly expose in their entire propaganda and agitation the continually repeated violations of the equality of nations and guaranteed rights of national minorities in all capitalist countries despite their “democratic” constitutions. In addition, it must be explained persistently that only the soviet order can ensure true national equality by uniting first the proletariat and then the whole mass of the toilers in struggle against the bourgeoisie. Moreover, all Communist parties must directly support the revolutionary movement among the nations that are dependent and do not have equal rights (for example Ireland, the Negroes in America, and so forth), and in the colonies.

Without this last, especially important condition, the struggle against oppression of the dependent nations and colonies and recognition of their right to a separate state remains a dishonest facade, such as we see in the parties of the Second International.

10. Recognizing internationalism in word only, while diluting it in deed with petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism in all propaganda, agitation, and practical work, is a common practice not only among the centrist parties of the Second International but also among those that have left that International, and often even among parties that now call themselves Communist.

The fight against this evil, against the most deeply rooted petty-bourgeois, nationalist prejudices (which are expressed in all possible forms, such as racism, national chauvinism, and anti-Semitism)³⁶ must be given all the more priority as the question becomes more pressing of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national framework (that is, a dictatorship that exists only in one country and is incapable of carrying out an independent international policy) into an international one (that is, a dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several advanced countries, capable of exercising a decisive influence on all of world politics).

Petty-bourgeois nationalism declares that internationalism consists of the mere recognition of the equality of nations (although this recognition is strictly verbal) and considers national egoism to be sacrosanct. Proletarian internationalism, on the contrary, requires subordinating the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of this struggle on a world scale. It also requires that the nation that has overthrown its bourgeoisie has the ability and willingness to make the greatest national sacrifices in order to overthrow international capitalism.

Therefore, in the already fully capitalist countries that have workers' parties truly constituting a vanguard of the proletariat, the first and most important task is the fight against the opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policies of internationalism.

11. With respect to the states and nations that have a more backward, predominantly feudal, patriarchal, or patriarchal-

peasant character, the following points in particular must be kept in mind:

a. All Communist parties must support with deeds the revolutionary liberation movement in these countries. The form the support should take must be discussed with the Communist Party of the country in question, if there is such a party.³⁷ This responsibility of most energetic assistance applies above all to the workers of the country upon which the backward country is colonially or financially dependent.

b. A struggle absolutely must be waged against the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, the Christian missions, and similar elements.

c. It is necessary to struggle against the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian movements³⁸ and similar currents that try to link the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism with strengthening³⁹ the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialism and of the nobles, large landowners, clergy, and so forth.

d. It is especially necessary to support the peasant movement in the backward countries against the landowners and all forms and vestiges of feudalism. We must particularly strive to give the peasant movement the most revolutionary character possible, organizing the peasants and all the exploited into soviets where feasible,⁴⁰ and thereby establishing the closest connection between the western European Communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movement in the East, in the colonies, and in the backward countries in general.⁴¹

e. A resolute struggle is necessary against the attempt to portray as communist the revolutionary liberation movements in the backward countries that are not truly communist. The Communist International has the duty to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the backward countries only on condition that the components are gathered in all backward countries for future proletarian parties⁴²—communist in fact and not only in name—and that they are educated to be conscious of their particular tasks, that is, the tasks of struggling against the bourgeois-democratic movement in their own nation. The Communist International should arrive at temporary agreements and, yes, even establish an alliance with the revolutionary movement in the colonies and backward countries. But it cannot merge with this movement. Instead it absolutely must

maintain the independent character of the proletarian movement, even in its embryonic stage.

f. It is necessary continually to expose and explain to the broadest masses of toilers of all countries and nations, and especially the backward ones, that the imperialist powers, with the help of the privileged classes in the oppressed countries,⁴³ are perpetrating a fraud. They are creating state structures that pose as politically independent states but are economically, financially, and militarily totally dependent upon the imperialist powers. The Palestine affair is a crass example of Entente imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the relevant country working together to swindle the working classes of an oppressed nation. Under the cover of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, Zionism actually delivers the Arab working population of Palestine, where the toiling Jews constitute only a small minority, to exploitation by Britain.⁴⁴ In the present international situation, there is no salvation for the dependent and weak nations other than in alliance with soviet republics.

12. The age-old, ongoing enslavement of the colonies and weak peoples by the imperialist great powers left the toiling masses of the enslaved countries with feelings not just of bitterness but of mistrust toward the oppressor nations in general, including against the proletariat of these nations. Socialism was despicably betrayed during the years 1914-19 by the majority of the official leaders of this proletariat, when the social patriots used "defense of the fatherland" to conceal the "right" of "their" bourgeoisie to enslave the colonies and plunder financially dependent countries. Such a betrayal could only reinforce this completely justified mistrust.⁴⁵ Abolishing such mistrust and national prejudices can proceed only very slowly. They can be eradicated only after imperialism is destroyed in the advanced countries and after the entire basis of economic life of the backward countries is radically transformed. The class-conscious Communist proletariat of all countries therefore has a responsibility to give particular care and attention to the survivals of national feelings in the long-enslaved countries and peoples,⁴⁶ while making concessions to overcome more rapidly this mistrust and these prejudices. The victory over capitalism cannot be successfully accomplished without the proletariat and with it all working people of all countries and the nations of the

entire world voluntarily coming together in a unified alliance.

(A vote is taken. The theses are adopted unanimously with 3 abstentions. Applause.)

Zinoviev: All pending questions will be referred to the commission. If the commission is agreed on its decisions, the congress is to be informed of them; otherwise they must be submitted to the congress for decision. I will put the motion to a vote.
(The motion is adopted.)

A plenary session will take place tomorrow at eleven o'clock to discuss the conditions for admission to the Communist International. These discussions must be expedited, since the French delegates leave Moscow tomorrow.

(The session ends at five o'clock.)

Session 6, July 29, 1920 (Morning)

Conditions for admission

(PART 1)

(Serrati opens the session. Discussion is on the conditions for admission to the Communist International. Zinoviev gives the report.)

REPORT ON CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION

Zinoviev: We come to one of the most important questions on our agenda, the question that will determine what we, the Communist International, really are and what we want to be.

First, a short formal report on the work of the commission. It was, as you know, expanded to include the representatives of the USPD and the Socialist Party of France. Both delegations attended its sessions and took an active part in the discussions.

Much has been changed in the theses, but the overall content remains as before. We will, of course, present them to you with the changes, and you will have the opportunity to decide on them. Wherever we could take particular comrades' recommendations into consideration, of course, we were accommodating and adopted them.

Point 2, which is included in the French edition, is missing from the German text. It reads: "Every organization wishing to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically remove reformists and centrists from all positions of any responsibility in the workers' movement (party organizations, editorial staffs, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, cooperative societies, local governments) and replace them with reliable Communists without being deterred by the prospect that, especially at first, ordinary workers from the masses will replace 'experienced' opportunists."

Next, an important change was made in thesis 7, which previously said, "The Communist International cannot accept that notorious reformists such as Turati, Modigliani, and others have the right to be considered members."

The commission thought it correct to mention more than just the Italian opportunists, since we are a Communist *International* and therefore must denounce the reformists of other countries as well. Consequently, it decided to mention at least one such individual from each country. Thus, instead of "Turati, Modigliani, and others," the text now says "Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hilferding, Longuet, MacDonald, Hillquit, and others." (*Interjection: "Grimm."*) I realize that the list is incomplete. Perhaps the congress can complete it.

Theses 18 and 19 were also added. They read:

"18. The leading publications of parties in all countries are required to print all important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

"19. All parties that belong to the Communist International or have applied to join it are required to call a special congress as soon as possible but no later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International to consider all these conditions. In doing so, the central leaderships must see to it that all local organizations become acquainted with the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International."

Further, a personal proposal was received from Comrade Lenin.¹ It was discussed in the commission and adopted by a vote of 5 to 3 with 2 abstentions. However, on behalf of the Russian delegation, I must declare that we are inclined to withdraw it in its original form and to express it only as a request rather than as a condition or directive. We believe that it is sufficient that the congress express such a wish.

In addition, some further, stylistic changes were made, especially in the point where we speak of legal and illegal work. They will be presented to you later in final form.

Now I come to the motivation for the theses. On page 79 they originally stated: "Under certain conditions the Communist International could be in danger of being diluted by vacillating and indecisive elements that have not yet completely shed the ideology of the Second International."

The commission changed this and decided to be much more categorical here. It decided not to say "under certain conditions," but rather, "Communism is now in danger of being diluted." The commission was quite right in this. It really is true

that today the Communist International is already in danger of being diluted by parties that only a short time ago belonged to the Second International but come to us now under pressure from the masses—out of necessity, so to speak. Even if they wanted to, they could not easily shed their petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nature.

We were also threatened by many dangers when we held our founding congress, but the danger of being diluted and forced to admit too many heterogeneous elements did not yet exist at that time. Fifteen months ago we were still a small group that some tried to ridicule, saying, “Your whole Communist International can be seated on ten chairs; it has no influence. The big, old parties are still in the Second International.”

Now that has changed. Today the old parties want to join the Communist International. To the extent that the masses of workers have developed toward communism, we must admit them. But we must not forget that they come to us with all the old riffraff, with the old leadership that during and after the war waged a stubborn struggle against communism.

What was the Communist International when it was founded in March 1919? At that time it was no more than a propaganda association. And so it remained for the entire first year of its existence. It is no small matter to be a propaganda association on an international scale at a time when workers are searching for a new road after the horrible, devastating war that Europe has been through. But I must say, frankly, at that time the International was only a propaganda association organized on a grand scale, attempting to take the ideas of communism to the masses.

Now we want to become something bigger and something different. Now we do not want to be a propaganda association; we want to become a fighting organization of the international proletariat. In this respect the Second Congress must begin a new chapter. We want to organize ourselves as a fighting organization that will not only propagandize for communism but also make it a *reality* and create an international organization for that purpose.

I just read an article by Paul Louis in which he explains that the First International collapsed because it could not prevent the war of 1870-71. The same thing is supposed to have hap-

pened to the Second International: the World War broke out and could not be prevented; therefore it too collapsed. The First International in its day is supposed to have been in the same situation as the Second International today.

That is a lie—perhaps only half-deliberate, but that does not make it any less a social-patriotic lie. The First International *wanted* to prevent the war. *It struggled*, and it fell in struggle. The Second International *wanted to avoid this struggle and did avoid it*. The First International fell heroically; its best fighters were massacred in the struggle against the bourgeoisie during the Paris Commune. The Second International collapsed in a shameful way. We should make this clear to the working class. That is why we have to denounce this parallel—it has the effect of shoring up social patriotism and Kautskyism.

The First International was a highly centralized institution. It even tried to lead every major economic strike from one center. And to some extent it succeeded in that because the movement was still young and weak. Today we cannot have a center that is able to lead every major economic strike directly. Now economic strikes take place every day, every hour, without our even knowing they have occurred. For us there can be no talk of such a center, precisely because the movement has grown so enormously.

The Second International did not conceive of itself as a centralized organization. It was at best an assemblage. The First and Second Internationals were a kind of thesis and antithesis. Now when we must draw up conditions for new relationships, we attain a kind of synthesis in the social sense. We must recognize this clearly if we want to discuss conditions for admission.

A great many leading comrades who not long ago still belonged to the Second International are of the opinion that membership in the Communist International will impose no great obligations on them. I have a clipping from the *Berner Tagwacht*, published by Robert Grimm, containing an article by him. He says, "The Second International and its executive committee—that was just a mailbox." Quite so. But what does the author of this article propose to the Third International? True, he says that the Communist International must be different. It must organize "big campaigns" for different countries. That is, it must see to the creation of an information office; it must see to

it that “synchronized actions” are organized in the parliaments. There you see that it amounts to the same thing: a deeper and wider mailbox, but still a mailbox.

We do need an information office; I am not against that. Our information office is very bad. We must organize it better. Also, as regards parliamentary action, it would be good to proceed simultaneously in different countries and, for example, to brand the League of Nations as an association of thieves or to cooperate in formulating a motion against the reformists. But that is still far from a combat organization on an international scale. Even financial support is not the most important thing now. In fact, Grimm and his cothinkers have fundamentally the same conception of the Communist International as they have of the Second International: a larger, better-equipped, red-lacquered mailbox. That is what the Communist International must never become!

I have also read several statements by various “left” reformists such as Claudio Treves in *Revue Communiste*, published by the French comrades. Treves is for joining the Communist International immediately, but on the condition that no one has to make a commitment and that there be no slogans for particular countries. This means that they want to join immediately, but without committing themselves and with so much “autonomy” that they can continue doing what they have been doing.

This was expressed most blatantly by Mr. Modigliani, an Italian “me too” socialist. He is now formally a member of the Communist International, but for us he is no comrade. Not long ago he was in Paris and tried to persuade Longuet to join the Communist International, motivating it as follows: “Why not join the Communist International? It certainly commits us to nothing. All one has to do is send the Executive Committee a postcard every two weeks. That is all. Why not do that?”

Those who know Modigliani and his opportunist cynicism will recognize the true Modigliani behind these words. They believe, these gentlemen from the reformist camp, that they can enter the Communist International as you would walk into a hotel. Our entire history, our brief but important fifteen-month history, has shown every serious politician that there is no place in the Communist International for people who come in and continue to do as they please.

We want to build an *International of action*. We do not think, as Kautsky does, that the International is just "an instrument of peace."² No, it should be an instrument of *struggle*—in peacetime, during an insurrection, and before and after the insurrection. It should be a rallying point, a combat organization for that section of the international proletariat that is conscious of its objective and wants to struggle for it.

It is often made to seem that there is a certain contradiction between "West" and "East." Some have tried to drum into workers' heads that the Communist International is an organization of the working class of the East, while the working class in the West stands aside. The French leaders and the literati of the USPD have tried to present the matter as follows: "We (that is, the centrists) do not want to join the Communist International immediately and by ourselves. Rather, we must first draw into the Communist International the entire working class of the West."

Such a contradiction between "East" and "West" does not exist at all in reality. There is another contradiction: between communism and reformism, between social pacifism and communism. But the contradiction between East and West is pulled out of a hat. In every country there is the same three-way division of the movement: (1) an openly opportunist right, now the most important support of the bourgeoisie; (2) a more or less avowed middle (the swamp, the Center), which is also a support for the bourgeoisie; and (3) a left, which is more or less clearly communist or at least leans toward communism.

It is clear that the working class in the West, let us say for example in Britain, knows very well what is happening in Moscow. It knows what the Soviet government signifies. Every demonstration shows that the British working class is clear about that. It is high time to get rid of the myth of a gulf between "East" and "West" and to stop preaching to the German working class that it should wait for the "West."

Above all we should not forget the lessons of the Hungarian soviet republic. The Hungarian comrade already spoke about this during the discussion on the role of the party. It is a question of great historic significance. Let us recall how things stood. The Communist Party of Hungary made membership very easy for the Social Democrats; they were admitted in the

twinkling of an eye. When we discussed the conditions for admission in the commission, some Hungarian comrades said, "We have the feeling that many parties from the Second International are accepting our conditions now as readily as was the case during the Hungarian soviet republic."

The Hungarian party called itself Socialist-Communist. It seemed at first to be only a dispute over the name. The Hungarians were engaged in battle; we did not want to stab them in the back. Our Executive Committee made the mistake of approving the fusion of the parties, thinking that it is not all that important what the party calls itself. But later it became clear that it was a question of historic importance. Unfortunately, the Communists let the majority of the old Social Democrats into their house, and those gentlemen defected to the bourgeoisie at the decisive hour. That fact may be 50 percent responsible for the way the soviet republic developed in Hungary.

Some of our comrades in the Italian party said that at the next congress they would propose that their party, which now calls itself Socialist, be called Socialist-Communist. Here let us not forget the Hungarian example. This is not splitting hairs. The question is whether we can trust these venerable socialist gentlemen, who do not want to break with the old ideology and want to conceal that fact. The working class of Hungary and the rest of the world has sacrificed enough for the sake of learning that when you give reformism a little finger, it takes your whole hand, then your whole head, and ultimately destroys you.

The point is that the Communist International must be founded with a clear and unequivocal line. We must fight for communism; it will be won not in a month but after many fights, by an organization that is as centralized as possible and has a clear and definite policy. As for the gentlemen who think they can put us off with a postcard, we will slam the door on them before they manage to get in.

Now that the Second International has so shamefully collapsed, there is a real danger that the Communist International will become fashionable. Today the Second International is only a stinking swamp, a decaying corpse. Naturally, parts of it split off and try to continue their previous practices in the Communist International, using slightly different words. Some do it only half deliberately, but objectively that is the situation.

This danger exists, and we have to confront it decisively. Today I received an article from the July 13 *Freiheit* entitled "The Problem of the International." *Freiheit* thinks that no agreement can be reached if we insist on the opinions expressed in our open letter to the USPD of February 5, 1920, which I signed.³

Well, let me state very firmly and officially—and I hope the congress will agree—that in the main we will set the same conditions today that we set in the February 5 letter. And I state quite categorically that we reject collaboration of any kind with the leaders of the right wing, such as Kautsky, Hilferding, and Longuet. From the French we hear that Longuet may have changed his mind, that he may change his opinion. If he agrees with us now, all the better. We will welcome him if he accepts these views honestly and seriously. I say the same thing to German comrades who may change their views. But we declare very officially that we are not going to work with this right wing and its leaders.

I want to declare officially—not as a reporter for the commission but as a representative of the Russian delegation—that in our Central Committee we had a discussion and reached the following decision: If it should happen that our Italian comrades or others demand ties with these rightist elements, our party is prepared to stand entirely alone rather than form ties with such elements, which we view as bourgeois. I wish to state this on behalf of our party.

I would now like to look concretely at the situation both in parties that want to join the Communist International and are courting it, as well as in parties that already belong to it. I will try to do this country by country.

Very well then, first the parties that have not joined us so far but want to do so now. I have assembled voluminous material on the *French party*. I cannot present it all to you; I will point out only what is most important. Before I do that, let me explain that we do not want to twist anyone's earlier statements into a noose around his neck. Obviously anyone can be mistaken and regret it later. We will cite only matters involving principle and confine ourselves to what is most important.

Cachin's personal honesty cannot be doubted, and everyone acquainted with his past knows that he made a mistake but is an honest fighter. I have his [*L'Humanité*] article of January 7,

1920, on the League of Nations. In January he was still calling Mr. Wilson “the last great bourgeois” of our time. He also stated that the “American democracy” did everything it could to prevent what has happened. For a Communist that is very obviously an outright social-pacifist statement. And social pacifism is not socialism. It is the ghost of the late Jaurès, a leader who, unfortunately, was no better than a social pacifist. We must say that, for all the respect we have for his great merit. His tradition lives on in France and other countries.

This pacifism and Wilsonism are very stubborn phenomena and affect even some Communists. At the last congress we had the following example: Fritz Platten, a comrade of the Swiss left, brought a printed stenographic report of his speech in parliament in which he said that Wilson is an honest man who would like to resolve the problems of war peacefully. Thus, even our own people, who declare themselves for communism, are still sometimes led into temptation by social pacifism, because great masters have drilled it into us for decades.⁴

We have not fought social pacifism hard enough. It is high time we put an end to it and tell our French friends very clearly that it is much easier to accept the formal conditions for admission to the Communist International than it is to seize social pacifism by the scruff of the neck. Social pacifism is a dangerous bourgeois ideology that hampers us in our struggle. You can accept eighteen or even eighteen thousand conditions,⁵ but the point is that if you remain a social pacifist you are not a Communist and do not belong in the Communist International. You must therefore state honestly whether you are willing to break with it, once and for all.

There are still a few other things I have to say regarding the French comrades. An article by Frossard on relations with the Communist International appeared [in *L'Humanité*] on February 13, 1920. In it Frossard says, “As for our party’s policies, it is very likely that they will stay the same” even after joining the Communist International. “The elections are approaching,” he says, “and the Communist International absolutely will not prevent us from forming alliances” with other parties.

As you see, there are those who think of the Communist International as a good tavern, where representatives of various countries sing the “Internationale” and pay each other compli-

ments, then go their separate ways and continue the same old practices. That is the damnable custom of the Second International and we shall never tolerate it. I could cite a great many more quotations about the French comrades' practices, but I will let it go at that.

Regarding the editorials in *L'Humanité*, Cachin and Frossard told me that there is a sort of proportional representation. The centrists are allowed eight editorials a week, the left four, and Renaudel and company two or three. You realize that such an arrangement is quite preposterous. It is a kind of prescription—eight drops of distilled water, three drops of poison, and then four drops of milk as an antidote. (*Applause*) This cannot continue. Perhaps this practice can be explained by the history of the French movement, but it is one old tradition that must be abolished.⁶

Before leaving Paris, Frossard said, "I would like to go to Moscow without Renaudel; our discussion with the Russian comrades will be difficult, and it would be better if he stayed home." But in the letter in question, Frossard calls Mr. Renaudel "our friend." We must do away with this French affectation. And it is not exclusively French. In Modigliani's letter to Serrati and in Serrati's letter to Prampolini, each wrote, "My friend." This French and Italian method cannot be our method. I hope you will instruct the Executive Committee to demand monthly reports from every party so that it can see what is happening as clearly as in a mirror.

I come now to the *German Independents*.

I will limit myself to quoting you a few lines from the last letter of the USPD Central Committee, given to us by the USPD representatives.⁷ The first accusation reads:

"Simply in view of its position, the Executive Committee of the Communist International should be aware of its duty to be accommodating and show all due loyalty toward revolutionary workers' organizations from abroad that enter into negotiations with it. So it seems strange that it would base its letter to us on the thesis that 'the workers who belong to the USPD' think quite differently from 'the right wing of their leaders'—a thesis that runs through the whole letter like a red thread."

It is true that this thesis really does run through our declaration of principles like a red thread. At this time of relative

political calm there are some ten thousand USPD members in prison, and I have complete respect for these comrades. I say there are serious fighters, serious workers among them. We must attempt to link up with these workers. But that does not contradict my statement that a right wing exists, headed by Kautsky, Hilferding, and Ströbel. Crispin was with Hilferding in Lucerne and did not want to leave the Second International.⁸ There is a right wing.

We are told: Who pays attention to Kautsky now? Nobody. To this I reply: That is not true. Kautskyism is an international phenomenon, and some leaders in the central leadership of the USPD, who believe they have freed themselves from Kautsky, in fact repeat the policies that Kautsky pursues. The best we could do was to take into account that there are workers in the ranks of the USPD who are fighting seriously. They stand in opposition to the right-wing leaders, who sabotage the revolutionary struggle and until now have rendered the best of services to the bourgeoisie.

It is said that there are no right-wing leaders in Germany. It is disloyal of the Executive Committee, we are told, to make such a division into right-wing and left-wing leaders. We should have great loyalty toward the brothers who are actually fighting the bourgeoisie in other countries. But loyalty toward people like Kautsky, Hilferding, and Ströbel would be tantamount to a betrayal of the working class, and we will have no part of such "loyalty." Between us and Hilferding, who understood how to deal in a comradely manner with high-ranking British officers, lies an abyss. The red thread that runs through our letter consists precisely of this distinction between the workers, who fight with us, and the right-wing leaders, who sabotage the struggle.

The [USPD] Central Committee continues: "It is a complete mystery to us what basis there is for the accusation that the 'right-wing leaders' of the USPD have an 'orientation to the Entente.' Until now it has been mostly the right-wing parties that have accused us of this. Particularly last year, when we had to wage a struggle for the signing of the peace accord in the face of all the nationalist demagoguery and militarist intrigues, we were accused—especially by the reactionary bourgeois parties—of being 'agents of the Entente governments.' The further course of events has proved our position to be correct, just as pre-

viously the Russian Communists' position on the question of peace proved to have been dictated by cruel necessity. As everybody knows, because of this position, they were accused of having allied themselves with imperial German militarism."

When we in Russia were on the eve of the Brest peace treaty, the situation was clear. The working class in our country held power. It was starving but continued to fight. German imperialism grabbed us by the throat, and the German working class was too weak to give us help immediately. We said to ourselves: We have to make a temporary pact with these bandits to win a little breathing space (this expression was coined at that time), to gain time.

But what was the situation in Germany in 1918-19? Power was in the hands of the bourgeoisie—or in the hands of the Scheidemanns, which amounts to the same thing. Things did not go as they did in Russia. Scheidemann, the sly fox, said, "I will wash my hands in innocence; I am against the signing of the Versailles peace treaty." He betrayed the heroic German working class in a very shrewd manner. Scheidemann was portrayed as being opposed to the Versailles peace treaty. And then the USPD came and put its shoulder to the wheel in order to help Scheidemann, crying out in every key, "Peace must be concluded!" Now you say, "The situation in Germany was the same as that in Russia at the time of the Brest peace treaty." You have overlooked a small distinction—here in Russia the working class was in power and the bourgeoisie was prostrate, whereas in Germany the bourgeoisie was in power and the working class, sold out a thousand times, was prostrate.

Where did this "small" confusion come from? From this: In March 1919 many right-wing USPD leaders conceived the situation as, "Scheidemann or me—there is no great difference." (*Applause*) "We are both parts of one working class, parts of the old Social Democracy." This unconscious frame of mind within the USPD made it possible for such a glaringly false claim to be made, for a situation where the working class held power to be mistaken for one where the bourgeoisie held power, one where the Hindenburgs and Scheidemanns were grinding the working class under their boot.

We have often been told, "We have no great differences of opinion with you; Kautsky has no great importance in our

party." Is it not Kautsky's spirit that speaks from this letter, just delivered to us by the USPD delegates?

"As for the question of *terror* and *civil war*, it is the same as that of the dictatorship. Here too the specifically Russian form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is being elevated to a principle for the international proletariat. As a result, the *form* overwhelms the *content* and hinders the progress of the revolution by failing to give adequate consideration to circumstances that, with a different sociological content, can make necessary a different form of revolution.

"In examining the problem of force, the question arises of making a distinction between force and terror. Although the dictatorship of the proletariat, like every other dictatorship, even one in a democratic guise, cannot forego the application of forceful methods, nevertheless, its extent depends on the resistance of the counterrevolution. Terrorism as a political method means establishing a reign of terror; it means the application of forceful measures by the state, even against innocent people, in order, by means of intimidation and fear, to break every impulse to resistance.

"In contrast, it must be said that international Social Democracy has rejected such terror not only for reasons of humanity and justice but also for reasons of *expedience*. True, it can be said of force that it is simply the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new, and that it cannot bring forth the new society until it has fully matured in the womb of the old. Yet it must also be said of terror—and history has proved this a hundredfold—that its application expresses not the strength of a movement but rather its inner weakness.

"Our party therefore is acting . . . in accordance with both Marxist doctrine and historical experience when it refuses to glorify terror. Adherence to these principles does not mean, as the Executive Committee's letter would have it, 'demoralizing the workers' revolutionary consciousness'; rather, it means protecting the *long-term* interests of socialism. . . ."⁹

That was written after the January [1919] insurrection in Berlin, after the bourgeoisie had taken away the working class's most precious asset. That was written after all that we know about civil war in Russia, Finland, Georgia, Hungary, and so on. It did not come from the heart of a revolutionary. It was dictated

by a petty-bourgeois machine! I think it should read not “the long-term interests of socialism” but “the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie.” The statement is totally and entirely within the framework of Kautskyism. If, as Dittmann and Crispian stated here, Kautsky no longer has any importance, why does this reply copy every platitude, every stupidity, and all the counterrevolutionary claptrap that Kautsky ever wrote?

When we asked the left-wing USPD delegates here in Moscow, “Did you sign that?” they were unable to deny that they had. They said they had not had sufficient time; it was done “on the run.” That strikes a very unpolitical note. It is quite wrong for the Central Committee of the USPD to deal with such questions on the run. We see how the dead Kautsky is pulling the living Däumig under the water by the hair, instead of the vigorous Däumig shoving aside old Kautsky with his counterrevolutionary rubbish.

That is what I have to say about the USPD.

To continue. We must apply the same yardstick, whether or not a party already belongs to the International. The fact that it is a member should not exempt it from criticism. We *must* be critical and tell the truth.

First, I will take up the *Italian party*. We have always stressed, and we stress again now, that it is one of the best of the parties that left the Second International. The Italian working class is a heroic working class, and we all love it because it is serious about revolution and communism. Unfortunately we cannot say the same thing about its leaders.

“You are always talking about Turati,” says Comrade Serrati. “It gets boring.” Well, Comrade Serrati, we will not stop doing that as long as people like Turati are still in our ranks. At this moment Turati is a member of the Communist International because he is a member of the Italian party. Is that not a disgrace? If every member of the Communist International had a card, Turati and Modigliani would have Communist International membership cards too. Yet they are conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda in Italy.

A few days ago Turati took the floor in parliament to deliver a major speech, as he has done several times before in his life. Here is what he said: “Gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, you see that you are in a difficult situation, just as the working class is.

Therefore let us help each other. On the agrarian question, the housing question, and the question of food supply I propose to you a consistent, half-bourgeois program." *Avanti!* does not report how the Italian bourgeoisie reacted to that suggestion.

Subsequently, the Italian party took legal action against Turati. When such conditions prevail in a party, no one will say the party is serious. If it were, it would find better things to do than bring lawsuits against people who have been saying the same thing for thirty years because they are consistent reformists.

I also have before me a large collection of 200 or 300 Italian quotations. I cannot read them all. We will publish a who's who on the Italians and other countries,¹⁰ and I will send a copy of it to Comrade Serrati—a fragrant bouquet of quotations that he will enjoy very much. When Turati was asked why he remains in the party, he said, "Because it enables me to have an influence on the working class." Turati has nothing to hide; he openly proclaims his membership in the party because he can then take the floor in parliament and at mass meetings as a reformist with a socialist aura, as a member of the party. Inside the party he is better able to conduct his business. Why should he leave it? We advise our friends to pay attention to what Turati himself has said. Such gentlemen cannot be allowed to remain in our party and sabotage our struggle. We have too many open enemies to put up with enemies hidden inside our ranks.

Following a speech by the party representative Bombacci to a congress of the chemical workers' union, delivered before a gathering of trade unionists from all over the country, Turati was the first to take the floor, mouthing reformist nonsense. The Italian communist Bombacci then spoke rather blandly. Why is Turati allowed to appear before a trade union gathering and make a reformist speech to the workers, to which Bombacci replies so mildly? Obviously, as long as Turati is a member of the party, Comrade Bombacci cannot say, "He is our class enemy." We have better things to do than to give these gentlemen the opportunity to present their reformist views to the trade union rank and file in our name.

I will now turn to the *Swedish party*. Unfortunately Comrade Högglund and others who took part along with us in the founding of the Communist International are not here. However, we

must tell the truth about this question as well.

So far the Swedish Left has not taken the name Communist Party, and it is now clear that this is no accident. The comrades publish a theoretical journal called *Zimmerwald*. They have not gone beyond Zimmerwald.¹¹ The journal prints articles by German right Independents. And that is no accident, either, because they are sympathetic to each other. Most importantly there are still outright reformists in the Swedish Left.

I do not want to talk about Lindhagen, though he too is still a member of the party. On March 12, 1920, he quite openly proposed that Sweden join the League of Nations, conscientiously suggesting five amendments to the league's statutes. Although the party ran one article disavowing Mr. Lindhagen, he remains a member nonetheless. So he is formally a member of the Communist International!

Winberg, a deputy of the Swedish party, in an article raising the social-patriotic demand for disarmament,¹² declares that the war ministry could now be liquidated quite easily—that is, with the government's consent. He then goes on to say he hopes the right Social Democrats—meaning Branting—will support him fully on this question.

Ivar Vennerström, a well-known Swedish deputy, a leading comrade, expressed himself in such terms that Branting declared, "It appears the Left Social Democratic Party would like to marry us." Thereupon Höglund replied that personally at least he did not care to marry old Branting. The Left party's press, however, said that under the right conditions such a marriage could be discussed.

We must acknowledge the services that the Left Swedish Social Democracy has rendered to the Communist International. It is a young movement, which originated in the youth movement. We know that many people in it are truly revolutionary. But we must tell them clearly that we need a Communist party that does not discuss marriage with Branting, has long since jettisoned disarmament, and understands that we are called not to improve the statutes of the League of Nations but to bury it.

The draft program of the *Danish Left* says, "The party notes that destroying militarism would enhance the prospects of a bloodless revolution." Yes, certainly, if bourgeois militarism were to be destroyed, the chances for a bloodless revolution



Delegates arrive for Second Congress. Reed, lower right corner;
M.N. Roy, center right with beard.

WHITCOMB COLLECTION, HOOVER INSTITUTION

Overleaf

Left: Metalworkers of Putilov factory, Petrograd, greet delegates. Banner reads: "The Third International is the rising sun of a new era in human existence."

Right, top: Soviet official welcomes Cachin, who is flanked by Frossard, left, and Zinoviev, right.

Right, bottom: "For international revolution." Demonstration near Smolny, Petrograd, at time of Second Congress.





Soccer squad organized by British delegates to play Moscow team. Front row, from left: Beech, Van Ravesteyn, Gallacher, unidentified, unidentified, Murphy. Second row, from left: Shablin (in white shirt), Quelch, Tanner, Gildei, Reed, MacAlpine. Third row: M.N. Roy (between Quelch and Tanner), Ramsay (between Reed and MacAlpine).

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN ARCHIVES



Facing page

Subbotniks—voluntary Saturday labor by workers and soldiers, such as that participated in by some congress delegates.

Top: May 1, 1920.

Bottom: Unloading fuel in the “war against the cold.”

HUMBERT DROZ ARCHIVES





Lenin, Gorky, Zorin, Zinoviev, Phillips, M.N. Roy, Evelyn Roy (partially obscured), Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova (in white blouse), Bombacci.



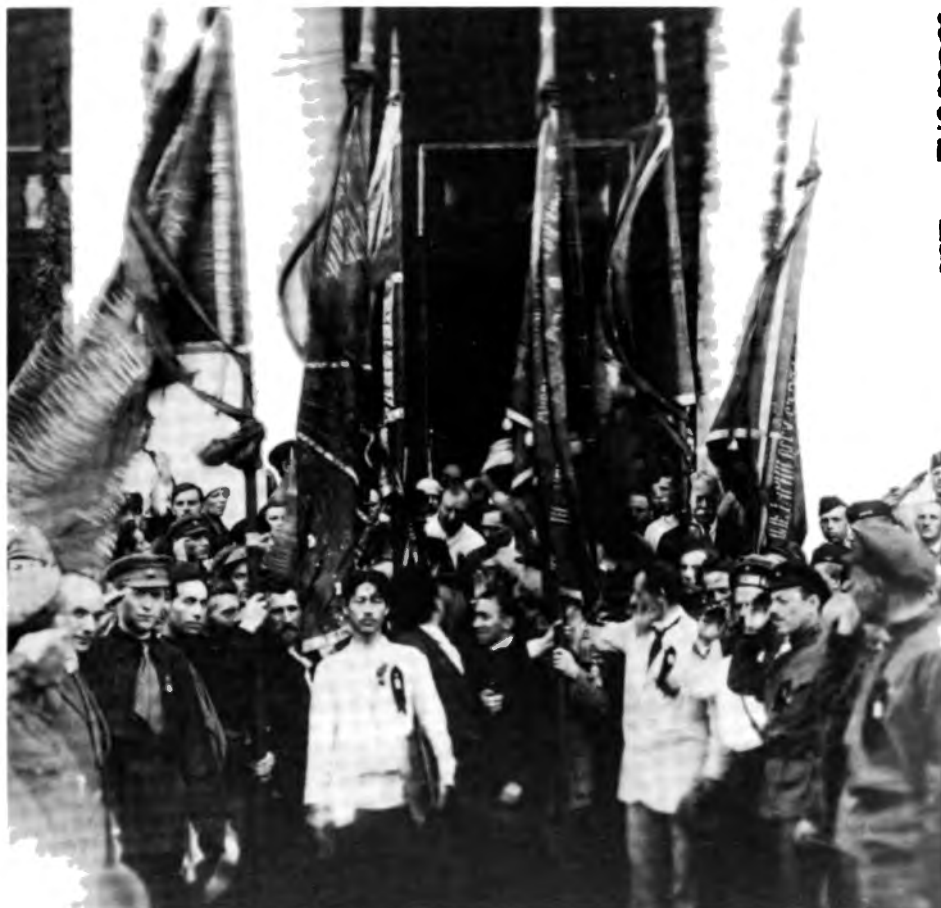
Lenin addresses opening session, July 19.
 Seated behind Lenin, from left: Klinger (writing), Presiding
 Committee members Rosner, Levi, Zinoviev, Serrati; standing
 behind Presiding Committee: Bombacci, Bukharin; seated to
 right of Lenin, Radek.

HUMBERT DROZ ARCHIVES

Facing page

Delegates leaving Urtsky Theater, July 19. Han En-hak at center.

INTERNATIONAAL INSTITUUT VOOR SOCIALE GESCHIEDENIS, AMSTERDAM



Overleaf

Top: Celebration in front of Uritsky Theater, July 19.

Inset: Fireworks over the Neva that evening.

BORIS KUSTODIEV (1878-1927)

Bottom: Two views of "Spectacle of the Two Worlds," presented on steps of former Petrograd stock exchange.









Delegates track Red Army's advances in Poland.

Facing page

Top: Contingent in July 27 demonstration of 400,000 that welcomed congress delegates to Moscow. Banner reads: "The working women's militia goes everywhere alongside the working men."

Bottom: Captured war matériel displayed in Red Square—"Gifts to the Third International from Clemenceau."

HUMBERT-DROZ ARCHIVES





Translation into English. Translating: Balabanoff.
 Surrounding her, clockwise: Fraina (behind her, arms folded),
 unidentified, Murphy, Mukherji, Quelch, unidentified,
 McLaine.

Facing page

Top: The congress in session.

Bottom: Delegate from Central Asia, probably Baba Akhunde
 Samilov, addresses congress.

HUMBERT DROZ ARCHIVES



Top: Translation into French. From left: (standing) Bombacci, Lepetit; Goldenberg (seated to right of Lepetit), Evgenia Pavlovna Oranovskaya (stenographer), Lefebvre (behind Oranovskaya). Translating: Humbert-Droz (reading from notes).

Bottom: Commission on tasks of Comintern. At left: Murphy, Levi (at end of table). At right: Lenin, Pak, McLaine.



would be improved. But that is precisely the point. How is it possible to destroy militarism without shedding the bourgeoisie's blood and our own?

Let me turn to the *Norwegian party*. The Central Committee tolerates a right wing inside the party. Scheflo said in the commission, "A portion of our membership is antisocialist." How did that come about? Because they take entire trade unions into the party. That will not do. We can have good relations with the trade unions; we can form Communist fractions in the trade unions; but admitting entire trade unions with 10 percent Christian Socialists and other antisocialist elements is an error. We draw that to the attention of our Norwegian party.

Turning to the *Yugoslav party*, it now calls itself the Communist Party. Earlier, however, we read quite a few reformist articles in our Yugoslav comrades' central organ. It is true that the party opposes them, but this is a situation that should not and cannot be tolerated. We must point out to our Yugoslavian party that it is absurd to have outright reformists in the party, to put the press at their disposal, and so forth. Aside from that, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is a magnificent party.

It may well be that other parties have something to say to us Russians. Obviously any party belonging to the Communist International must tell our Russian party if we commit a sin. That is its internationalist duty. We should see ourselves as a single international party with branches in every country, and every branch should have the right to "interfere" and tell the truth.

We have Communist parties that are truly communist, and they constitute the core of the Communist International. Unfortunately, however, there are several other parties that give the reformists the opportunity to deceive the working class and to steal some of the confidence the working class has in us. Clearly Treves, as a member of the senate, steals on a daily basis some of the trust the masses have in us, and Turati and Modigliani rob Bombacci and Serrati of some of the faith the masses have in them.

Some large, old parties want to join us. Some of the workers in these parties are for us, for establishing the dictatorship; others still waver. We do not propose that the French party and the USPD be admitted immediately but rather that the Executive Committee be authorized to continue negotiations, see

whether the conditions are being fulfilled, study the press daily, and after a time make a decision. In the commission the French comrades told us that for the most part they agree to our conditions. The representatives of the USPD said approximately the same thing. We will do everything possible to facilitate this rapprochement.

The most important thing is that every article they publish be studied carefully and conscientiously and that we be given official authorization, in the name of the congress, to follow whether these conditions are being fulfilled. You can accept eighteen thousand conditions and still remain a Kautskyist. It is a question of actions. We established these conditions in order to have a standard, an objective way to test whether the will of the congress is being carried out. In any event, I hope the congress will bring clarity and provide us with a point of reference so every worker is able to see clearly what the Communist International wants.

I say with complete certainty: Let the USPD central leadership do what it will; let the leaders of the French Socialist Party do as they please; the hearts of the workers of all countries are with us. They will be with us more every day because the final hour of the bourgeoisie and of the semibourgeois Second International has struck. The hour of real struggle for socialism has arrived. Sooner or later all workers will understand that. They will join us over the heads of their vacillating leaders, and a real organization of struggle of the revolutionary working class will be formed. (*Loud, prolonged applause*)

Balabanoff: The following motion has been made: "Parties belonging to the Communist International are urged to expel from their ranks members of the Freemasons, which is a petty-bourgeois organization." This means that comrades belonging to the Communist International—especially in the West—do not have the right to belong to the Freemasons. The motion was made by Comrade Serrati. The question will be discussed later. We present it now so that comrades will know that it is to be discussed.

Radek: After the commission meeting that discussed the conditions for admission to the Communist International, after the French and German comrades had stated their agreement with

the conditions, almost all of us who served on that commission were reminded of what Béla Kun said after unification with the Hungarian Social Democracy. He said it was his impression that it had been too easy. At that moment we had the same feeling; none of us can get rid of it.

Anyone who judges the French party and the USPD on the basis of more than just a few articles in their press will understand that I cannot take the position that what is past is past. Instead, here at the congress, I wish to remind the German working class how we view the USPD's development. A party cannot possibly change its character overnight by signing a piece of paper, by subscribing to conditions.

We must take two facts into account. One is the continuing radicalization of the German working class—a fact that impels us, forces us, and requires us to seek contact with the Independent workers and to see them as our comrades in struggle. After the first few months of the Ebert-Scheidemann government, the Independent workers took up the battle against it. When I arrived in Germany, my first impression was that nine-tenths of the workers were taking part in the struggle against the government.¹³ During the conflicts in January and March [1919], the Independent workers stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers and fought alongside them—arms in hand when necessary. Wherever our comrades were in jail, they sat beside Independent workers.

But at the same time we see that the majority of USPD leaders—leaders who seem outwardly to be the decisive factor in the party—not only failed to drive this development forward but were a restraining factor.¹⁴ They moved forward only because they were impelled by their own workers, and at every step they tried to confuse the workers.

Zinoviev has already quoted several passages of the USPD's letter. I would like to make several observations, as briefly as possible. The letter denies that the USPD violated solidarity with Soviet Russia and that it shares responsibility for the breach of diplomatic relations expressed by the deportation of the Russian mission. Supposedly, the Scheidemann government under Prince Max von Baden had already broken off relations. But when the Russian mission was in Borisov, protected by German machine guns, the USPD was already part of the government,

and it did not lift a finger despite numerous telegrams from the mission and negotiations with USPD representatives. The USPD said that Joffe should go back to Russia.¹⁵ First they had to see whether he had offended His Majesty's throne, and then it would be possible to discuss reestablishing relations. I need only quote the minutes of the Council of People's Representatives from the meeting of November 19, 1918. "Continuation of the discussion of Germany's relationship to the Soviet republic. Haase: 'I recommend a policy of delay. . . .' Kautsky (agrees with Haase): 'The decision must be delayed. The Soviet government will not last long; in a few weeks it will be finished.'"¹⁶ Those are the official minutes of the government meeting, and it is corroborated by an Independent who was part of the government along with Haase and Dittmann—by Barth, in his memoirs.¹⁷

Our charge that the Independents helped lead the German revolution onto the Allied powers' road is supported by the following fact. When the Soviet government carried out the symbolic act of notifying the People's Representatives that it was sending two trainloads of grain—not that we could do this every day but that it was necessary to link the fates of the two nations—Haase replied that the American government had agreed to deliver grain to Germany. He thanked us very much for the shipment but said to use it to feed Russia's hungry and suffering people.

As we stood around the long-distance machine and read this reply, we sensed that with this action, the bond that had survived the criticism of Zimmerwald and Stockholm had been wrenched in two.¹⁸ We were being told, "You are starvelings; therefore, we place our hopes in the powerful of this world, in American capitalism."

We will meet with the German Independent workers, but there are things about the history of a workers' party you do not forget. We want nothing to do with the leaders who, together with Haase, are responsible for the policies of November 1918. There are things a revolutionary does not do, no matter how badly he has been misled, and that includes violating solidarity with a working class that is offering its help.

When the USPD says, "We are against the League of Nations," we respond, "Today it is nothing very special to be against the League of Nations." After the peace of Versailles, when Hilfer-

ding, Dittmann, and Longuet met in Lucerne, they even proposed a revision of the treaty. What does that mean? They clamor for world revolution yet never give up hope that Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau will listen to reason.

In those days the character of the USPD stood out in sharp relief. We should not forget that in March, after our comrades had been put down in Berlin, while the cannon were still thundering Noske's goodwill, the USPD incorporated struggling for the dictatorship into its program.¹⁹ And when the workers demanded the dictatorship, the USPD blocked their path, confusing them.

It is our duty to be careful and to call out to the USPD workers: Always be prepared, always be careful, for there are people in the leadership of your party who at the decisive moment may switch the train onto the wrong track, who are capable of betraying your trust for lack of revolutionary understanding or revolutionary will.

Someone asked why those comrades did not join the Communist International after they resigned from the government and became a revolutionary party? I have here the debates from the USPD national conference on September 10, 1919, as reported in the September 11, 1919, issue of *Freiheit*. Here is what Hilferding said at that conference, and no one can say that he, like Kautsky, is dead as far as the party is concerned, because he is the party's *spiritus rector*, its intellectual leader. "In the question of affiliating to the Moscow International," he said, "we must take into account that we may be hitching our dinghy to a sinking ship, for the Communist International is Russian Bolshevism."

Right when the armies of counterrevolution—in particular those of Denikin and Kolchak—were marching on Soviet Russia, when it was clear to every worker who stood by the revolution heart and soul that it was time to rush to the aid of Soviet Russia with every available means, at that moment the man who leads the USPD stands up and says, "This ship is beset by storms on every hand; for God's sake, let us not tie our boat to it; we could drown."

The congress made no commitment to draw up a list of the comrades whose expulsion we demand. But it did pledge to call on the workers not to have a leader who plays the market on the

revolution, who dares to tell the German workers, "Do not side with the Russian workers, because they are in danger." We tell the German workers that if they rely on written conditions and put leaders in charge who behave that way in time of danger, they will be sold out and betrayed. We do not know when the hour of danger will strike, but we know what these speculators in revolution will do.

Speakers for the opposition [in the USPD] have said that they still count on the party's sense of independence, that it should do its own housecleaning. Clean your house not with a broom but with a red-hot iron. The point is not just to expel Hilferding from the party but to drive out the spirit of faintheartedness and the weak revolutionary will with a red-hot iron! If the USPD does not do that, affiliation will be a mere gesture. We will have won nothing but dead souls to the Communist International.

I have unshakable confidence that the left wing and the USPD workers will proceed differently than they have till now. Quite frankly, this is not a situation where we have the USPD Right over here and the battle-tested masses over there. Up to this point the Left has avoided openly fighting for its rights because it counted on forcing the USPD Right out of the party with various maneuvers.

You must fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communists against the party's past: against calling for revolution without believing in it and saying "it is here," as if it were something that had dropped from the sky. If you do not fight this, joining the Communist International will be nothing but lip service. It does not matter that Stoecker is for the Communist International theoretically or that Däumig writes articles on the dictatorship of the councils. The important thing is, if the leaders try to hold the party back, to pursue your own policy against them.

In the commission the USPD leaders went on record without reservation in favor of joining the Communist International. But Crispin, in the second edition of his pamphlet, explained that "founding the Communist International was a premature experiment." He also said, "How easy it seems to some people to resolve the question of the Communist International. 'To Moscow! Let us go to Moscow!' But that road does not lead toward a solution, unless we, as a revolutionary, socialist party, want to commit suicide." (Crispin, *Die Internationale*, p. 36.)

There are many walking corpses in the International. Crispien is our guest, and we are very glad to see him walk among us. He is here as a result of pressure from the workers. At the party's congress, he went on to state, "The Muscovites themselves closed the road to Moscow to us with their resolutions and actions against the Independents. Based on those resolutions, we could get into the Kremlin only if we were blindly to subordinate ourselves to the Communists and be swallowed up by the international Communist-syndicalist organization." (Ibid., p. 39.)

The USPD was forced to go to Moscow by pressure from the workers. They came here without criticizing our program and tactics after learning that the French delegates had already been sent here. The workers should draw their own conclusions from this and change the situation there. The USPD representatives are leaders who were beaten not by us but by the revolutionary workers, because they led the German workers badly. We see the USPD as a good, revolutionary party insofar as the masses of workers in it are concerned. The German workers' task is to finish the job and transform the USPD into a revolutionary party whose principles are not merely something written on paper but are realized and put into practice every day.

Marcel Cachin [Socialist Party of France]: Comrades, I will confine myself to reading you a declaration that Comrade Frossard and I just signed:

"Since Comrade Frossard and I were sent here among you for the clear and exclusive purpose of exchanging information, you will understand, comrades, that we cannot do anything more than make a brief declaration in our own names.

"We have read with the greatest attention the theses on the conditions for admission presented by the Executive Committee and the relevant commission. We have discussed them thoroughly with numerous authoritative comrades. Moments ago we heard Zinoviev's comments. We were not mandated to discuss them in depth. From these various sources of information we will take only the main and guiding ideas.

"You demand that the parties wishing to join you first renounce reformist and opportunist ideas in word and deed in their press and in their propaganda. You want them to show the futility of these ideas, to combat their every expression, and to

direct their efforts toward the necessity of revolutionary action in all its forms.

“We are in complete agreement.

“This essential demand will have practical consequences with which the parties asking to affiliate will have to conform. In the first place, every party member must make a decision and choose clearly between reformism and revolution. This is not a question of individuals, and you are right to insist on this. But in the present historical juncture, those who still try to collaborate with bourgeois society ‘at the moment when decisive social combat has begun everywhere’ do not belong in the ranks of the party of the working class.

“We are ready to demand of all our comrades that they act as socialists in the trade unions just as in the party. We are ready to collaborate fraternally with active revolutionaries from the syndicalist organization who acknowledge the necessity of political action.

“Furthermore, propaganda against imperialist ideology, its adherents, and its supporters must be pursued more energetically than ever before. Our Socialist group in parliament has voted against credits and the budget as a whole for more than two years. Our party has definitively condemned participating in the government. That has been our policy since peace was concluded. Should generalized war break out again, the current, criminal imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie would be primarily responsible. We would refuse to be associated with it in any form whatsoever, whether by voting for credits or by participating in the government. We would not fail to recall that in such circumstances, when national interests merge with those of the plutocracy, there is no higher duty for the proletariat than its class duty.

“Our party’s program must be revised to bring it into harmony with the spirit of the Third International. Increased centralization, strict control of parliamentary activity and the party press, rigorous discipline imposed on every member—these seem to be the basic conditions for the renewed activity inexorably dictated by the present times.

“You ask us to support unconditionally the soviet republics in their struggle against the counterrevolution. More resolutely than in the past, we will advocate to the workers the necessity of

refusing to transport munitions and equipment to the counterrevolutionaries. We will agitate by all possible means against such intervention among the troops sent to fight the soviet revolutions.

“Comrades, such is the declaration we can make to you while respecting the narrow limits of our mission here. We are convinced that if our friend Longuet had been able to be here, he would, after consideration, agree with us.

“We will return to France with your conditions. We will submit them faithfully to the party, together with all the literature of the Third International. At the same time we will pursue an active and zealous campaign on the situation of the Russian revolution.

“A congress will be convened in a few weeks, after all the party sections have learned the facts and seriously discussed them. Frossard and I will support joining the Third International. Until then it would serve no purpose to multiply the verbal affirmations and promises here before you. Breaking with the past, we will undertake a resolute action that the Third International will then be able to judge.”

Raymond Lefebvre [Committee for the Third International, France]: Comrades, at the Strasbourg congress, the Socialist Party decided to make contact with a certain number of Socialist parties so as, in the words of the French Socialist Party majority, to reconstruct the International.²⁰ One of these visits was to have been to Moscow, to the seat of the Third International, and it was in the course of one of these visits that Comrades Cachin and Frossard, dazzled by the prestige of the Russian revolution, appear to have completely changed their point of view, abandoning the one they had when they came here. The other day at this very table we heard our comrade Cachin say, “Reconstruction, what an absurd word.” That is a clear and jarring condemnation of an entire past.

Indeed, comrades, since the Strasbourg congress, the French Socialist Party—I am speaking of its majority grouping—has steadily and rapidly evolved toward the right,²¹ through a kind of mechanical process. The left faction, which has declared itself to be the Third International faction—the Lorient faction as it is called—has grown and even now is still growing rapidly, while the old faction—the Renaudel faction to use personal terminol-

ogy—has declined to such a degree that it hardly counts for anything in our party anymore (among the activists, at least, because it still has an absolute majority in the Socialist parliamentary group and in the municipal governments). So it was very natural that the current party majority should turn on those whose growing influence disturbs them.

At Strasbourg we saw the marriage of Renaudel and Paul Faure.²² And we endured the combined applause of the right and the center factions when Paul Faure, calling the revolutionaries' bluff, said ironically to the Third International tendency, "You always talk to the masses about revolution, but you do not know what revolution is. You do not know what is required to call forth a profound movement of the French masses, who showed November 10 that they are conservative and are afraid of you."²³ (For the majority of the French Socialist Party attaches a religious importance to electoral matters.) "The masses will not follow you in your demagogic evolution. You fancy that you are making propaganda because you hold ritual meetings, always attended by the same people, come to cheer for the same old stories. But ask the working class for powerful and effective action to block the expedition in Russia, or especially to take power. Then you will see how little they follow you."

Pressemanne, speaking specifically about the French peasantry, used similar arguments. Addressing himself to the French masses, he sought to portray the "extremists"—as the Third International faction is still called in France—as some kind of frenzied ranters, driven by an epileptic intransigence toward the old respected militants. They know nothing at all about organizational politics, he said. Pressemanne neglected to mention that he and his friends, true to the safe demagogic tradition, know better than to talk to the masses about revolution. They say only the minimum necessary to curry applause, without taking a single step that could lead to victory.

I would like to ask permission of the congress to make my charges more specific by giving a sort of quick sketch of the internal life of the French Socialist Party. In practice, what the masses see as the activity of the French Socialist Party is the activity of the parliamentary group. What goes on inside the party is hardly known except to the activists themselves, or,

when the occasion arises, it is stated in propaganda tours. But someone who does not go to meetings and does not read revolutionary papers—the man in the street, as they say in English—sees the parliamentary group and its debates, and for him that personifies socialism.

I am not at all exaggerating in saying that the French parliamentary Socialist group is just as deeply conservative as all the other bourgeois groups in this assembly. In their way of speaking I find none of the rancor or passion of someone constantly fighting an opposing faction. If I had time, I would try to give a series of quick biographies of the main heads of the Socialist group in parliament, men like Paul-Boncour, Varenne, and Albert Thomas, its undisputed leader.

Do you in the International really know the extent of the activity of someone like Varenne, this journalistic presence, manager of a number of bourgeois newspapers that appear and disappear one after the other but all have the same financial source? Or Albert Thomas, who collaborates with Jouhaux in the newspaper *Information Ouvrière et Sociale*, sustained by Monsieur Dulot, editor of *Le Temps*, the official newspaper of the French bourgeoisie? Finally, every one of these men is in parliament thanks to a peculiar electoral system, less by the general will of the Socialist workers than with the electoral help of a few anticlerical bourgeois. Hence the importance that men like Léon Blum attach to the second-rate question of relations with the Vatican.

I would like to be able to give you a few different examples but do not have time. As one typical example, I will cite the case of the deputy Aubry, a young teacher, who came from the far left of the French Socialist Party and was perverted in a few weeks by the contagious treason of the French Socialist group. Shortly after his election we saw him sign an appeal for the National Loan with General de Boissoudy and the Archbishop of Rennes, something that is done routinely, something that is standard practice in the Socialist group and that surprises no one.

A comic scene that candidly shows the revolutionary soul of a Socialist deputy happened the other day in the Chamber of Deputies. The public prosecutor of Rouen demanded the prosecution of the deputy from Pas de Calais, Barthélémy, who had held a public meeting in Sotteville with our comrade Méric.

Barthélémy was accused of having said that if the revolution broke out, he would be in the front ranks on the barricades and would meet death leading the proletarian troops. This crime was brought before the chamber immediately. But Barthélémy immediately went to the podium. "How," he exclaimed, "could a French Socialist deputy dare say or do such things? Talk about putting himself at the head of revolutionaries and getting himself killed? I never said such things." And so solid is the conservative reputation of the Socialist group, that the chamber believed him immediately.

I repeat, little things like this happen on a daily basis. Not long ago our comrade Maurin of the left wing of the Committee to Reconstruct the International spoke in the party administrative commission about the way propaganda is conducted in France. He explained, with a sort of cynical candor, that propaganda should be designed to aid the reelection of the comrades already elected, and to prepare the election of those who are not yet. Before making a speech they should ask the local authorities about the petty gossip of the area and do something thoroughly opportunist corresponding to the immediate material interests of the local electorate.

But there is something much more important here than the parliamentary life of a group discredited before the French masses. Today a deputy, with two or three exceptions, is considered a traitor or someone of no account. The French parliament is completely discredited in the eyes of the masses. That is perhaps the most tangible gain from the Socialist parliamentary group's treason.

The municipal governments are very important. The French Socialist Party has had big successes in municipal elections. We control the majority of town halls in the big cities of France. We have 1,500 to 1,800 local governments, which is an imposing number. A congress was held in Boulogne on the eve of my departure for Russia with the goal—laudable in and of itself—of coordinating the activity of these local governments, and a good number of questions were debated there.

First it was decided that rather than allow contractors to go bankrupt, it was better to load additional heavy taxes on the shoulders of the workers living under these local governments. The idea of allowing a certain number of contractors to go

bankrupt was considered revolutionary and immediately rejected.

When the question came up of preventing the Socialist local governments—I am obliged to give some random information that will permit the Third International to know what sort of gift it is being offered—as I was saying, when the question was raised of forbidding the party municipalities from taking part in the chauvinist celebrations of Bastille Day, the motion was withdrawn. It was a member of the current majority, Mistral, who refused to allow it to come before the [Socialist Party] National Council. As for the [Socialist Party's] Assembly of Local Governments, its majority sharply opposed this. Moreover, not long ago, in the aftermath of the May strike, when the government was hammering at party activists with all its strength, the venerable deputy Delory, an old militant whom you all know, himself begged the surprising honor of receiving two ministers in the city of Lille, where he is mayor, who were to award a military decoration to that city, the Croix de Guerre. That is how things are done in the local governments run by the French Socialist Party.

To conclude, comrades, after this it is not strange that the best revolutionary forces turned away from the party in disgust. At congresses, the Third International tendency is always accused of wanting to destroy unity. We, however, respond that we cannot destroy what does not exist—and unity does not exist. It does not exist because there are people in the party who should not be there, and people not there who should be. Unity will not exist until the day we have carried out a number of purges (the purges promised by the present party majority, which we are still waiting for) and until the syndicalist militants now straying toward anarcho-syndicalism add the weight of their activity to communism, in conformity with the theses developed here—in a Communist party, finally genuine, with firm discipline.

I would have liked to describe to you our May strike—its results, which are immense, and its lessons—but I do not have time. But you should know that those who claimed in Strasbourg that the masses would not march were lying.²⁴ The masses did march, in their entirety, and in enormous numbers, and only the leaders' desertion of the revolution caused defeat. So the only lesson to be drawn from this bloody experience is the

need to create a big Communist party.

The conversion of our comrades Cachin and Frossard is only an individual act. They will return to France and their declarations will be received with ardent attention. But given their long opportunist past and pliable spirit (in saying this, I declare my belief in our comrades' complete sincerity), I strongly fear that in steering the party toward the Third International they may well suggest a minimum program that would have the very serious drawback for us in France of being a purely platonic adherence to the Third International, and for you, comrades, the infinitely more serious drawback of allowing the treasonous spirit of the Second International to enter here.

I assure you that the atmosphere at home is suffocating. Everything must be changed. Two men changing their position should count for nothing in your decision. We should be implacable, and I state here that the masses in France will follow without flinching if you can show yourselves to be unflinching. We must not add to the Marxist theses of Moscow some French sub-theses from the Palais Bourbon. The application of the theses debated here will be nothing but a joke if the same men are charged with applying them who for six years have dishonored the word *socialism* and made it necessary to proclaim the word *communism*.

Graziadei: I had asked for the floor to discuss a question that in the meantime has already been raised by Comrade Serrati. But since discussion was not possible because of the form in which Comrade Serrati posed the question, I wish to speak anyway to propose that the following thesis be added to those before the congress:

"Any party that wishes to belong to the Communist International must prevent its members from belonging to the Freemasons. For Freemasonry is in many countries a political organization that, by its abstract, formal, and petty-bourgeois conception of social relations and by its very composition, serves the national and international bourgeois system. Its influence can be all the more dangerous since it is a secret organization."

Simply reading the resolution is enough to express my thinking. The question does not concern the Russians but is of very great importance in the Latin countries, Britain, and in America. Freemasonry enjoys great influence in these countries. It is

a political organization that strives to gain power and maintain it. It includes government officials, intellectuals, and businessmen. Based on conceptions clearly opposed to those of Marxist socialism, it attempts to conceal differences in the conditions of classes and nations behind an abstract and formal conception of theoretical rights. In addition it is a secret organization. Since in many countries we ourselves do not yet have clandestine organizations, we are at a disadvantage, compared with it. Comrades who belong to the Freemasons can monitor us, without we in turn being able to monitor them in their organization.

In Italy we have had an important experience in this regard. At the Ancona party congress in April 1914, we declared that comrades could not simultaneously be members of the party and of the Freemasons. A few months later the war broke out. We are now certain that without this decision, our party would never have been able to maintain such an intransigent position against the war. It would certainly have split at one of the most difficult moments. One of the main causes of the crisis that the French Socialist Party is going through right now is the presence in its ranks of a large number of Freemasons. I therefore ask the congress to take Serrati's motion, as well as my addition, into consideration and to accept the latter as an amendment to the theses presented by the commission. The congress should settle once and for all this question, which is of greatest importance for many countries.

Guilbeaux: The first year of the Third International was a year of formation, of constituting parties and groups. I think that now we have arrived at a new phase in the development of the Communist International, that of tendency struggles within its very bosom. The debates we have participated in since the congress began attest to the existence of this struggle between a right and a left wing, and I see this as a sign of the very great vitality of communism. But I seem to discern that the right is a tendency that can grow, and comrades from the left have a duty to start fighting this now.

The manifesto of the Communist International's first, founding congress said that centrism, rightly considered the most dangerous tendency in the socialist movement, had to be combated. This manifesto advised breaking with the Center and forming clearly Communist groups or parties in all countries. I

think it is symptomatic that the Second Congress of the Communist International is examining whether to take a new attitude toward the Center. The very fact that admitting certain centrist forces into the Communist International is conceded to be possible signifies a beginning of negotiations with reformism and centrism.

On the one hand, the proposed theses condemn the right wing of the Italian Socialist Party, represented by Turati, and, on the other hand, they appeal to the centrist parties such as the USPD and the French Socialist Party. I see a contradiction here. The difference between Cachin and Turati, although not great, does exist. During the war the Italian Socialist Party had a much more honorable position than the French Socialist Party, which was guilty of the most cowardly treason in many forms.

Furthermore, the theses presented here repeat that no Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian soviet republic, since the union of reformists and Communists cost soviet Hungary dearly.

Discussing with the representatives of the Center parties is a big danger. I am aware that we want to portray to them all the mistakes made since the beginning of the war, but there is a certain right wing in the Communist International and even in the Communist Party of Russia that has big hopes for the French Socialist Party and the USPD. It argues that these parties have the masses with them, whereas the French and German Communist parties are much less significant in the eyes of the masses. I myself think it artificial to attract the masses by addressing them through the intermediary of their old leaders, who represent the various tendencies of social patriotism, social pacifism, social confusionism, and social chameleonism.

I do not believe we should rejoice at seeing the representatives of certain centrist parties in Moscow, transported overnight into the special atmosphere of the revolution, declare themselves won to communism. I have no doubts as to their sincerity. But I wonder if, upon returning once again to Paris, to the poisonous atmosphere of the Socialist Party or of the Chamber of Deputies, they are not going to fall back into their old ways.

Remember that founding the Second International in 1889 took several years of preparation. The comrades now negotiat-

ing with the Socialist parties think they can create overnight an organization and a press that can serve the goals of the revolution. Their sin is a sort of futurism. We should organize the cadres of a solid Communist party. It is with these cadres that we will win the masses, and not through artificial methods.

Let me emphasize what Comrade Lefebvre has already demonstrated: the French Socialist Party is in general a parliamentary party and cannot be accepted here, despite the statements of its representatives. Unfortunately, the split that is essential has not yet been accomplished. Until it has, until there is a Communist party in France that the supporters of Comrade Loriot and the syndicalists around Rosmer and Monatte will join, we will not have won the masses. It is not by artificially transforming the French Socialist Party into a Communist party that we will win over the French masses.

If, after a test period of six months or a year, we accept parties that have betrayed and erred for many years, I fear they will end up being the majority in the Communist International and will succeed in replacing the Third International's red banner with one strongly resembling that of the Second International. We should not begin negotiations with parties who, despite their statements, offer us no pledge for the future.

Jakob Herzog [Communist Party of Switzerland]: The situation in the Swiss party must also be mentioned briefly in this discussion. As you know, at its last congress, this party decided to resign from the Second International and join the Communist International.²⁵ At the same time, however, it passed a motion stating that this decision first had to be submitted to a binding referendum of the Social Democratic Party membership. The referendum decided the party should withdraw from the Second International but not join the Communist International; instead the Executive Committee [of the SDP] was given the right and the duty to establish ties with all revolutionary parties in order to assemble a large, revolutionary International, in other words, a fourth International.

The Executive Committee did its best to comply with this decision. Meetings were held in Bern with the French Socialists, and the Executive Committee sent a comrade to Germany to begin negotiations with the USPD. When we Communists discovered the maneuver, the *Basler Vorwärts* in particular tried to

cover it up, enabling the party Executive Committee to extricate itself this time.

Lately, the Social Democracy in Switzerland has constantly carried out the same kind of back-and-forth, vacillating policy that we saw when it resigned from the Second International. As you know, it decided to support Kienthal and Zimmerwald. We revolutionary workers insisted that these resolutions had to be carried out in practice. Joining Kienthal and Zimmerwald did not settle the question, we said; instead it was necessary to carry out the program and try to carry out revolutionary actions, to take propaganda into the army and revolutionize the soldiers. In response, the party did everything it could to block our activity.²⁶

We were compelled to organize the revolutionary workers in the party into special groups. We tried to form Communist groups in all the larger towns. We consolidated them into a centralized organization and adopted a program. But we did not stop there. In keeping with the theses set forth at Zimmerwald, we resolved to begin holding actions and conducting propaganda in the army. We had to tell workers to organize big mass actions on their own, and, if the party leaders were opposed, against their will. That is the basis of the conflict and of the Communists' expulsion from the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. We carried out this propaganda systematically, distributing tens of thousands of leaflets in the army, which was no more than our duty as revolutionary Communists. That is why we were thrown out.

There was a big general strike in Zurich. I said that the general strike must be carried out, and when we propagandized for that, we were expelled from the party.²⁷ The entire organization of old revolutionary groups was expelled. In order to avoid political death, we were compelled to found the Communist Party. After intense activity we were able to launch Communist sections in all the larger towns. We succeeded in winning the sympathy of large masses of workers.

Now the party central leadership fears that the great mass of workers will come over to our side. That is the reason for the maneuver in Olten, the convening of a conference of the left socialists and centrists in the party, which decided to send two representatives to Moscow so that the Communist International

would admit Switzerland.²⁸ These people would then be able to say, "We are in the Communist International; we are revolutionary Communists." They think that joining the Communist International will enable them to maintain their hold on the masses of workers.

The task of this congress is to tell these people in the Social Democracy in Switzerland: You must prove in practice that you really intend to fight in a revolutionary way. Only when you have demonstrated that, can you be admitted into the Communist International.

There is a considerable danger that a large number of opportunist and centrist elements will come into the Communist International, and these elements could easily gain the upper hand in it. This danger must be combated very forcefully, and we must apply the same principle to the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland that we employ against the Independents and the French party. Only by screening these elements rigorously can we prevent the seeds of corruption from entering the Communist International and weakening its revolutionary activity among the masses in the years ahead.

Boris Goldenberg [Socialist Youth Federation, France]: As for me, I am not going to vote for Comrade Zinoviev's theses. I will not vote for them because they seem to me to contain a serious error in method. I will try to lay this out rapidly.

When we supporters of the Third International are asked why we remain within the Socialist Party, we answer as follows:

The war divided the international proletariat into two opposed camps. On the one hand is the counterrevolutionary camp representing the labor aristocracy, that layer of the proletariat that, through the development of capitalism, comes to resemble very closely the lower layers of the bourgeoisie. On the other is the revolutionary camp, representing the lower layers of the proletariat. Before the war these two camps coexisted within single Socialist parties in each country. The war proved that there was no possibility of an understanding between them. Before the war this antagonism expressed itself through faction fights within the Socialist party of each country. But after the war it was expressed through struggle waged arms in hand. As Comrade Lenin said, the weapon of criticism gave way to criticism by weapons.²⁹ One of these two opposed tendencies made

common cause with the bourgeoisie. The other, with whom we take our stand, showed itself to be the true representative of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Third International is the international organization of the revolutionary proletariat. What should be its attitude toward Socialist parties where the split between reformist, counterrevolutionary Socialists and revolutionary, communist Socialists has not yet taken place? That is the question you must answer here today.

The theses proposed by Comrade Zinoviev establish a certain number of conditions, by fulfilling which the centrist Socialist parties can enter the Third International. I cannot accept this kind of procedure. The Third International, as the international organization of the revolutionary proletariat, should contain only representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries, not forces that are not communist and that have shown themselves to be counterrevolutionary agents of the bourgeoisie.

These conditions, in their present form, would permit the French Socialist Party, the German Independent Socialist party, the Norwegian Socialist party, and so forth to join the Third International, providing they declare they accept the conditions or are starting to follow communist tactics. In my view, such a procedure can only increase the confusion that already reigns in these parties. Let me tell you specifically about the French Socialist Party, which I know better than the others.

The French Socialist Party represents, almost in its entirety, that special layer of the labor aristocracy that showed itself during the war to be deeply reactionary. All the leaders of the French Socialist Party, without exception, sided then with the bourgeoisie against the international proletariat. They voted for the war credits right up to the end of the war and even several months after the armistice. With us here is a representative of this parliamentary fraction that voted for war credits. With us here, as well, is a French deputy who declared last year in the French parliament that although he refused to vote for the three-twelfths of the yearly budget appropriations requested provisionally by the government, he was ready to vote for two-twelfths. Well, a part of these credits was specially earmarked for the counterrevolutionary expeditions of Kolchak and Denikin.

While the Russian proletariat was fighting desperately against the operations of these international bandits, the parliamentary representatives of the French Socialist Party were approving credits that fed these counterrevolutionary armies.

What has been the attitude of the French Socialist Party since the war? Lefebvre just said that the Strasbourg congress marked a retreat. But in my view, it showed what the French Socialist Party really is. In order to deceive the masses, the leaders of the French Socialist Party adopted revolutionary terminology. They called for the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. They said they supported historical materialism. But when we challenged them on the question of national defense, we saw that the alliance between Paul Faure and Renaudel, far from a freak of nature, reflected the real disposition of those who consider themselves on the right, in the center, or even on the left of the party. The French Socialist Party is a rotten party of petty-bourgeois reformists. Its entry into the Communist International will drag this rottenness in as well.

Comrade Zinoviev's theses set up a certain number of conditions for admission into the Third International. You have seen how easily these conditions were accepted, even by those who yesterday were its most bitter opponents. The representatives of the French Socialist Party present at this congress were among those who tried most tenaciously to discredit the Third International by every means at their disposal. If they are here, it is not because their hearts are with us, but because they feel that the Third International is the only revolutionary force in the world and no other organization can hold up against it.

They did all they could to try to create a patchwork organization against this Third International, a heterogeneous organization including all the forces wanting to join, provided that they come out against the principles of the Third International. They went all over Europe trying to find parties they could unite against the Third International. I still remember their attitude in the party and the Socialist press. They tried to discredit not only the ideas of the Third International, but even its most authoritative activists in the French Socialist Party. I remember the slander campaign against those representing the Third International in France.

These are the men we are going to ask to join the Third

International, solely because they say they accept its principles, solely because they have made a display of verbal adherence to these principles. It is not my intention to test the sincerity of Cachin and Frossard. I do not want to get into that. I only want to say that men who, despite their revolutionary rhetoric, have shown themselves to be confirmed counterrevolutionaries cannot become Communists in the space of a few weeks. The tone of the statement just read out to you shows how far Cachin and Frossard really accept the principles of communism.

When they return to France, what will be their attitude toward those who have long defended the principles of the Third International? In France there is a committee to spread these ideas among the masses and within the party. Up to now Cachin and Frossard were the most bitter adversaries of this committee and the party activists that make it up. What should their attitude be toward it now?

I want to know what our attitude will be when Cachin and Frossard return to France saying, "But we agree with the leaders of the Third International. We discussed with them. In reality, nothing separates us." I just read several issues of *L'Humanité* that report on Cachin and Frossard's visit to Russia and on their admirable reception by our Russian friends. They were admitted into a session of the Moscow soviet. There were merely a few friendly exchanges of views among comrades, who were not divided by any real disagreements. That is what *L'Humanité* asserts, and that is what Cachin and Frossard will assert in France on their return. They will repeat the statements they made even before their departure for Russia to the effect that if Comrade Lenin were in France, he would agree with them and not with us.

I protest against this artificial manner of having forces join the Communist International that are not fit for it. In the name of my imprisoned comrades, in the name of the true interests of the French proletariat, I declare that I cannot accept this way of doing things.

For the revolutionary French proletariat, there is but one way to struggle together with the Third International. That is to form a solidly organized Communist party in France containing only communist forces. The tragedy of the situation in France is that up to now this has been impossible for us to do. We were

forced to limit ourselves to a faction fight within the party. We could not undertake the task of organizing and educating, which represents the only way a firmly organized Communist party can be built.

I stand opposed to saying to the French Socialist Party: We are willing to admit you to the Third International under such and such conditions. Instead our stance must achieve what has been impossible up to now: opening up a breach between the reformist and revolutionary forces. Only such a break will make it possible to create a Communist party that includes the left Socialists and the communist syndicalists. In this way, communist organization and construction that has been beyond our reach can be undertaken. Such work is the only way to bring strength and success to not only the Communist International but the entire proletarian revolution.

Amadeo Bordiga [Italian Socialist Party]: I am submitting some observations that I propose be added to the introduction of the theses presented by the commission, and I also propose that you add another concrete condition that reads as follows:³⁰

This congress is of paramount importance. It must defend and secure the essential principles of the Third International.

When Comrade Lenin returned to Russia—April 1917, I believe it was—and sketched the main lines of a new program for the Communist Party, he spoke to us of reconstructing the International.³¹ He said this work should have two essential bases: getting rid, first, of the social patriots, and, second, of the Social Democrats, these Socialists of the Second International who saw the possibility of emancipating the proletariat without a class struggle carried to the point of taking up arms, without a proletarian dictatorship after the victory of the insurrection.

The achievement of the revolution in Russia brought us back to the terrain of Marxism, and the revolutionary movement, saved from among the ruins of the Second International, took its bearings from this program. The work that began then gave rise to the official formation of a new world organization. I think that in the present situation, one that is in no way accidental but is determined by the very march of history, we run the danger of seeing forces of Lenin's first and second categories penetrate among us, forces we had removed from our midst.

After the slogan "Soviet government" was proclaimed to the world by the Russian and the international proletariat, and following the end of the war, we saw the immediate rise of a revolutionary wave and the whole world proletariat began to move. We saw a process of selection in the old Socialist parties in all countries, giving birth to Communist parties, which took up the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, in the following period things came to a standstill, because the German, Bavarian, and Hungarian revolutions were crushed by the bourgeoisie.

Now the war is long past. The problem of the war and national defense is no longer immediately posed, and it is very simple now to tell us that in a future war the same old mistakes will not be made, the mistakes of the sacred union and national defense. To the centrists the revolution is far in the future. They do not think it is posed as an immediate problem, and they say they accept the theses of the Third International—soviet power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Red terror.

Thus it would be a big danger for us to make the mistake of accepting these people into our ranks.

The Communist International cannot speed up the course of history. It can neither create the revolution nor bring it about by force. We can only prepare the proletariat. But, comrades, our movement preserves the advantages gained from the experience of the war and the Russian revolution. That is what we have to pay the most attention to.

The forces of the right accept our theses, but insufficiently. They accept them with reservations; we Communists should demand total acceptance without restrictions, both in theory and in practice.

We have seen the first great application of the Marxist method and theory in Russia, a country where the level of class development was not high. So this method should be applied all the more readily and clearly in western Europe, where capitalism is better developed.

A distinction was made here between "reformists" and "revolutionaries." This is outdated language. There cannot be reformists any more, because the bourgeois crisis blocks all work for reforms. The right-wing Socialists know it. They declare that the government is in crisis and call themselves "revolutionaries,"

but they hope that the character of this struggle will not be the same as in Russia.

Comrades, I think the Communist International must be intransigent and firmly maintain its revolutionary political character. Unbreachable barricades must be erected against the Social Democrats. They must be required to make a very precise declaration of principles.

There should be a program, common to all the Communist parties of the world—which unfortunately is not possible at the present time. The Third International has no practical means of ensuring that these people will follow the communist program. Nevertheless, I propose adding the following condition.

In thesis 15 where we say, "Parties that still have their old Social Democratic programs are required to change them as rapidly as possible and to formulate a new, communist program that corresponds to the specific conditions of their country . . ." after the words "formulate a new, communist program," delete the words "that corresponds to the specific conditions of their country and is in keeping with the resolutions of the Communist International." Replace them with the words "in which the principles of the Communist International are reflected in an unambiguous manner and that correspond exactly to the resolutions of the international congresses. A party minority declaring itself opposed to this program should, by this very act, be excluded from the organization.

"The parties that, while changing their program and joining the Third International, have not fulfilled this condition, should immediately convoke an extraordinary congress in order to comply."

This question of the right-wing minorities must be clearly posed. I have not heard the representatives of the French Socialist Party state their position. They have not said that they would chase the Renaudels and others out of their party.

Those who vote against the new program should leave the party. The program is not a question of discipline—you either accept it or you do not. If not, you leave the party. The program is something common to all; it is not something established by a majority of party activists. That is what should be required of parties that want to be admitted to the Third International.

Finally, only today have we established that there is a differ-

ence between wanting to join the Third International and being accepted. I think that we must give the Executive Committee time after the congress to see that all the obligations laid out by the Third International are carried out. After this period, which we may call that of organization, the door should be closed. There should be no other road to admission than by personally joining the Communist Party of the country.

I move that Comrade Lenin's motion that was withdrawn be reinstated, that is, that the parties asking to be admitted have a certain proportion of communists in their leading bodies. I would prefer that they all be communists.

We must fight opportunism everywhere. But this task will be made very difficult if, at the moment measures are taken to purge the Third International, in doors are opened to all those who remained outside.

In the name of the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party, I declare that we in Italy are committed to fighting and chasing out the opportunists. But we would not want to see them leave us and enter the Third International elsewhere. Our view is this: having worked together here, we should return to our countries and create an international united front against the treasonous Socialists, against the saboteurs of the communist revolution.

Serrati: We want to inform you that the International Conference of Communist Women will open tomorrow, Friday, at six o'clock, in the Bolshoi Theater. We ask that you come.

Zinoviev: The session will resume this evening at 8:30.

(The session is closed.)

Session 7, July 29, 1920 (Evening)

Conditions for admission

(PART 2)

(The session opens at 8:30 p.m.)

Iliya Milkic [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]: I had not intended to take the floor on this question. I wanted to do no more than take part in the vote. But I consider it my duty to reply to what Comrade Zinoviev said here by explaining from this rostrum that the Yugoslav party is not an opportunist party.

Zinoviev: That is true.

Milkic: I am happy to hear that Comrade Zinoviev confirms my words.

In 1905 the Yugoslav Socialist party expelled some of its leaders who were for class collaboration. It did the same thing in 1912.¹

Certainly many will say, "Once it was a courageous party, but no longer." Comrades, that is quite false. Today Comrade Zinoviev gave me some Serbian newspapers where I read that the Yugoslav Socialist party has changed its name to the Communist Party. The central leadership's first act was to publish a spirited appeal on behalf of the Hungarian Communists.²

After taking note of all the reports on your activity, I can say without exaggeration that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia can serve as an example for all other Communist parties. I have firm confidence that its further policies will produce good results.

Our comrades have circulated a manifesto among the peasant masses urging them to free themselves from the yoke of the estate owners. The regime took the opportunity to persecute the author of the manifesto.

Let me end this short statement by saying that the Yugoslav Communist Party is a party the Communist International can be proud of. It does not deserve what Comrade Zinoviev said about it. Doubtless he said it to console the German Independents, one of the parties he criticized in the same way as the Yugoslavs.

Bombacci: I do not think it very useful to pursue the theoretical aspects of the question at hand.

Is it in the interests of the Third International to adopt this or that point? That is the question. A serious question, when talking of parties with a thirty-year history of reformist habits that prevents them from adapting to the spirit of the revolutionary epoch. The Italian Socialist Party joined the Third International, but nothing has changed since the Bologna congress where, in contrast to Comrade Bordiga, I opposed expelling the reformists and changing the name of the party.³ This is disturbing evidence that some of the Communist International's component parts are not able to show it true loyalty.

Expelling Turati would not suffice. Modigliani and fifty to sixty people constitute the reformist tendency. It is necessary to purge the entire party, not stopping at the old reformist leaders.

I am even more strongly opposed to admitting the French Socialist Party and the German Independents into the Communist International; these parties cannot adapt to the revolutionary communist spirit. I am going to propose an amendment on this matter to the theses under discussion. It will advocate a series of inquiries among the mass of members of these parties and give the Executive Committee the right to expel from the different parties members who obviously cannot be tolerated within Communist organizations. With these strong reservations, I would consent, if need be, to accepting those parties, despite my principled objections to them.

I also find it impermissible to allow any Communist to join freemasonry, which is a purely bourgeois institution. (*Applause*)

Luigi Polano [Italian Socialist Youth Federation]: I take the floor today on behalf of the Italian Socialist youth to inform you of its activity. This organization has existed since 1901. In general, it fully agrees with the Italian Socialist Party, although it has constantly pushed the latter toward the left. We have incessantly demanded that the Italian Socialist Party be purged of its reformist elements, and we hope that the Communist International will help us in this.

The International should demand more consistency of the Italian Socialist Party. This would result in a clearer understanding of its historic mission. Its main function is to prepare the revolution. This work is hobbled by the struggle within the party

between two ideologies: that of Social Democracy and that of communist forces. There is not the slightest chance of reconciling these two tendencies. How is it that the Marxist forces in the Socialist Party have not yet noticed this contradiction? How can they not understand its seriousness, not take steps to separate from the party all elements that obstruct the activity it is obliged to carry out?

The Italian Socialist Party joined the Communist International as a unit. Despite this, it still contains men like Modigliani, who continue to carry out the most energetic propaganda against the Communist International and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This same Modigliani recently stated that close relations must be established between the Socialist Party and petty-bourgeois elements. Turati, who is also, as you know, a member of the Italian Socialist Party, said just recently that communist policies were childish folly. A truly communist party cannot be composed of such heterogeneous elements.

The Communist International should help the Socialist youth in its work of cleansing the party.

I wish to draw the congress's attention to point 7 of the theses, which says that all parties wanting to join the Third International must immediately break with opportunist and centrist elements. I also call the congress's attention to point 18,⁴ which says that all parties joining the Third International must take the name Communist Party. And I strongly hope that the Italian Socialist Party will comply with the above-mentioned theses and will be a real Communist party.

But in order to accomplish this task, we need support. Do not forget that! But the Communist International cannot help the Socialist youth and the Italian Socialist Party if it admits groupings such as the French Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist party of Germany. Because it is really impossible to purge the Italian Socialist Party of its opportunist elements while admitting new forces like that into the Communist International.

Rákosi: The question before the Communist International is in many respects like the one we faced in our country about sixteen months ago when the Social Democracy in all its shadings—including parts of it quite dangerously similar to the

USPD—recognized its complete bankruptcy. It was forced under mass pressure to abandon its program and give full support to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist International. These people, it turned out, had yielded to pressure solely in order to remain in power, not because they recognized that their previous views were bad. We have had very sad experiences with these left Social Democrats, and I would like to warn the comrades against repeating their example today on a much larger scale.

I make this warning so vigorously because in every aspect of the speeches by Comrades Crispien and Dittmann I see characteristics of our Social Democrats, who accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat without hesitation, but like Däumig spoke against terror and demanded that the dictatorship “be lenient” at a time when experiences with White Guard atrocities in Finland, the Ukraine, and elsewhere were well known. If Comrades Crispien and Dittmann can come to Moscow to speak against terror with such serenity today, after three years of revolution, after seeing tens of thousands of Independents and Communists massacred, they are incapable of understanding this system. They will speak against terror even under their own soviet dictatorship and will wait until the White Terror teaches them a proper understanding of terror.

I see from the example of Comrades Crispien and Dittmann that their way of thinking is exactly like that of their Hungarian comrades; they all drink from the same well. The Hungarian Social Democrats studied the Russian experience carefully, not in order to avoid its errors but in order to find possibilities for justifying their own behavior. Just as Comrade Crispien saw the Russians as great experts in compromise, the Hungarian Social Democrats also went to great lengths to justify their lack of conviction. Besides having no understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the right Independents have a very dangerous way of functioning, which they demonstrated by compelling the other left-wing comrades to treat an outrageous USPD resolution against the Executive Committee of the Communist International as if it were representative of the USPD as a whole.

Wilhelm Dittmann [Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany]: Where did you get that information?

Rákosi: I got it from you and Comrade Däumig. I know very

well how such things are done. I warned against it because I see from the example of the Hungarian proletariat that people who after three years of world revolution do not know the meaning of terror and dictatorship are not going to become any wiser in the years ahead either. They will commit exactly the same errors, which will be paid for in blood by the German proletariat. When the dictatorship fell, it made our Social Democrats none the wiser, though they must have seen that they were wrong.

I do not know whether Comrade Dittmann is aware that a section of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party's membership calls itself "Independent" and that one of its leaders is an embittered enemy of the dictatorship who has done enormous damage to the proletariat. He is Vienna correspondent for *Freiheit* and writes lengthy articles in the spirit of Kautsky about conditions in eastern Europe. These articles cause no surprise because they conform to the spirit of *Freiheit*.

I would like to say that I support Lenin's motion that would make admitting the USPD subject to another condition not yet added to the theses,⁵ and I would support any condition restricting indiscriminate admission of the USPD and other centrists. I know from experience that these people change in word only, pretending to fight for the dictatorship, while in reality they do what they are now doing in Germany and what they did during the dictatorship in Hungary.

Serrati: In the evening Russian newspapers, I find a statement that was supposed to have been made by Deputy Dugoni, member of the Italian delegation, concerning his visit to Russia.⁶

I must say I do not know if these statements of Dugoni are authentic. In any case, I declare that no member of the Italian delegation authorized Deputy Dugoni to make them. We have sent radio messages and news to *Avanti!* on our stay in Russia. In these, we expressed our thoughts very precisely. Any other statements attributed to us are absolutely false. Since I heard something on this question this morning, I instructed Comrade D'Aragona, who left this very day for Italy, to ask the party leadership if the statements published in the Italian press and attributed to Dugoni really come from him.

If the answer is affirmative, I have asked that he be immediately expelled from the party.

Ernst Meyer [Communist Party of Germany]: Comrades, in our

consideration here of whether to admit the USPD to the Communist International we see once again that it is extremely difficult to get a clear idea of its overall character. All objections, every criticism of the USPD is answered by its representatives with references to other statements, other explanations made by other members. The overall picture that emerges is of a USPD that is not homogenous or clear in any respect, but rather displays, in the party's every aspect, quite ill-defined positions.

Typical of this characteristic of the USPD, which has been apparent since its founding, is its attitude toward the Communist International. It is true that the Leipzig party congress decided on affiliation with the Communist International,⁷ but careful examination shows that this is actually not a decision to apply for membership. The resolution calls first of all for discussions with so-called social-revolutionary parties in order to achieve unification with them; should these negotiations break down, a link is to be established with Moscow. In the declaration Comrade Crispian made on this at Leipzig, he expressly stated that this decision did not mean outright unification with Moscow, but, for the present, negotiations.

This decision is unclear, and if we look into its implementation then we are really groping in the dark. What have the Independents done to implement it since the Leipzig party congress? Why have they sent their representatives here? From the behavior of the delegates present it is not clear just what they want. They have not brought a proposal or statement that the USPD now wants to join the Communist International. When we asked them in the commission whether they wanted to discuss their entry into the Communist International—an identical question was raised in the Executive Committee—rather than a direct answer we received the following statement: "These discussions do not mean we place any special conditions on our unification with the Communist International. They are simply to clear away the tangled web of misunderstandings that apparently exists in Moscow and in the Communist International toward us." But these alleged misunderstandings need hinder no one from declaring whether or not he agrees with the Communist International.

The latest letter from the USPD Central Committee likewise contains no clarification of its attitude to Moscow. An attempt is

made there to disprove certain propositions in the Executive Committee's letter, but nothing is said about what they want, in what form and under what conditions they propose to carry out affiliation to the Communist International and why this has not yet taken place.

On this point, however, an answer is provided by the internal debates between the USPD's left and right wings. It is quite clear that there are elements like Kautsky, Hilferding, and Ströbel who even today are eyeing the Second International from inside the USPD and would much prefer going to Basel or Geneva instead of Moscow. Only because the masses have barred the way to Lucerne is the USPD slowly feeling its way toward Moscow, in order to comply with the masses' desire for affiliation to the Communist International. For there is no doubt that the broad masses of the USPD want immediate unification with Moscow. When Moscow's [February] letter to the USPD was published by the KPD and discussed in public meetings, USPD members almost everywhere said, "It is wrong that our Central Committee has chosen to proceed merely through negotiations and has not published this letter."

A large part of the USPD leaders are still eyeing the Second International, which explains the reluctance to come straight-away to the Communist International. These leaders were and still are afraid to identify themselves with Russia and the Communist International. In the Central Committee's letter to the Moscow Executive Committee all sorts of criticisms are made of Moscow's conduct, not just of its letter but also of the politics practiced here. The Executive Committee is accused of trying to transfer Moscow's methods purely schematically to other situations. In other words, they refuse to identify themselves with Russia, criticizing, even if timidly, the Communists' conduct while rejecting the application of so-called purely Russian methods to Germany. All in all, a purely communist tactic is rejected in favor of trying to take an opportunist path, which basically means the negation of communism.

The greatest barrier to the Independents' going to Moscow is the demand clearly expressed by the entire International for the expulsion of the reformist elements from the USPD. Necessary as this split in the USPD may be, they do not want it. Through its Central Committee, the USPD has told Moscow it will not let

this split be forced on it, that it considers this demand to be interference in the German party's internal affairs and values the party's unity more highly than purely communist policies. The letter lays this out pretty clearly.

It is thus clear that we have a right and a left wing in the USPD. The right still bases itself on the bourgeois dictatorship, making only certain verbal concessions to the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the left wing, basing itself, to be sure, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, still constantly makes concessions in practice to the right, to bourgeois democracy. At the Leipzig party congress, even left-wing representatives made it completely clear that they reject implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat with all its consequences.

This also emerges from the passages of the USPD letter that take up the use of terror. Here too stress is laid on the sharp distinction between force and terror. In reality such a distinction does not exist at all and is set up only artificially as a veiled expression of the distance they maintain from the Russian party and the Communist International, avoiding identification with the International and the revolution.

In his speech today, Comrade Radek explained that he had some hope that in the end the left would opt for clear politics and a break with the ideology of bourgeois democracy. I must admit I do not share this hope. In practice the left has submitted to the politics of the right. We have an example of this right here in the congress itself: the speakers were representatives not of the left but of the right—Comrades Dittmann and Crispien.⁸ We have heard, it is true, about numerous sharp debates between the left and the right, but nothing comes out in public; the left has abandoned open debate before the broad masses. Here too, before the congress, the left's representatives declared they do not want a split in the party, and the letter signed by Däumig and Stoecker says the same thing.⁹

When we argue here, as we have in Germany, that in order to become communist the USPD must split off the opportunist elements, we do not do it out of party interest. The criticism practiced inside our party shows that we ourselves do not shrink from expressing our own deficiencies in order to correct them. If we criticize another party in this way, it is done not to destroy the party as such but to advance the revolutionary movement

and show the working masses as a whole the correct road.

The left, after failing to make known to the workers the Moscow Executive Committee's letter, itself signed the letter replying to Moscow, concealing that act from public opinion. This answer expresses a certain arrogance, based on the election results, the large vote totals,¹⁰ and perhaps also on some degree of apprehension of radical changes inside the party if Moscow directly addresses the masses of Independents.

That is typical. The USPD does not lead the revolution but chases after the masses. In 1918 the workers' and soldiers' councils demanded that we join with the Scheidemanns. The USPD listened to and followed this immature section of the masses.¹¹ Further, when circles in Moscow criticized the combination of the councils with parliament,¹² the USPD again had an excuse: there was then a danger that the councils would be completely abolished and so such a compromise was necessary.

In a short speech like this I cannot take up every question. Merely calling attention to certain points is enough in order to conclude that we must be very cautious about admitting this party. The precondition for admission is that the USPD's practice be purely communist in nature, that it not flinch from expelling the reformists and opportunists.

We of the Communist Party of Germany have no confidence that such a practice will be achieved through negotiations. We believe that the USPD masses will find their own way to Moscow and that we have to establish direct ties with the masses from here, in somewhat the same way as in the Executive Committee's first letter.

We also do not believe the negotiations here will lead to any definite result. We request that the Executive Committee turn directly to the masses of Independents and tell them how it judges the USPD, that it looks not to the USPD's leading bodies but to the workers, expecting them to carry out what they desire, namely, joining together with the Communists of the whole world, with the Russian Communists, with Soviet Russia.

Wijnkoop: Many remarks that I wanted to make have already been made. I must say that if we had to vote now, the Executive Committee's motion would be decisively rejected. We have listened here to people who have advanced every possible good argument against it. At least their arguments spoke against it;

whether they themselves draw the necessary conclusions, I do not know, of course.

Now, to be sure, we are told that if I and others are against this motion by the Executive Committee, it is because we take into consideration only past experience, not the masses. But here I agree with what Comrade Radek said. According to him it is a fact that the masses in the USPD are moving toward revolution, that they are becoming more and more revolutionary. I agree with that.

Comrade Meyer explained very well that it is not true that the left USPD leaders are leading the revolution or revolutionizing the movement; instead, they follow the least conscious part of the masses. That raises the question: How can the work of revolutionizing the masses be continued? And there I believe the Executive Committee is taking the wrong road. This is not the way to continue the work of revolutionizing the masses that support the USPD in Germany and the masses in other countries; instead, it will set the work back. I'm convinced of that.

Do not tell me I fail to take into account the masses that actually support this party. I do take them into account. But I say that if the Executive Committee of the Communist International gives new support to these fraudulent leaders of the German Independents and French Socialists, that will cause the masses to become disillusioned with the lessons that they have learned from the great revolution and the Communist International. That is the basis of our opposition.

Other comrades have already spoken about the fact that in all these countries the leaders act as a brake, always applying the brakes. Only if you fight these gentlemen ruthlessly in every situation will you defeat them and free the masses for revolutionary struggle. But if you make concessions to them of any kind, it reinforces their own false conception, and they will return and continue their work more boldly than ever.

Comrade Bombacci related his experiences in Italy. He regrets his former weakness on this question. He knew perfectly well that he was too lenient back then, but now he senses that he acted incorrectly then because giving in made the party in Italy not more revolutionary but less so. And he senses now that he must take the road that he did not want to take at that time. He is right, and we in the International should learn from it. The

Swiss comrades confirmed this experience.

What is a piece of paper to an opportunist? He will sign it, if required, and then do what he pleases. He is always two-faced and two-tongued. That is how those gentlemen behave, whether in Switzerland, the Troelstras in the Netherlands, the Cachins in France, the Crispiens, or whatever their names may be. To retain their influence on the masses they will sign anything and then do as they see fit. Of course, I know that the Executive Committee thinks: As the Executive Committee, our power over them is different from that of the left leaders in any particular country. Once they have signed, we will be able to hold them to the agreement. That is an error. I agree entirely with the Executive Committee of the Communist International that greater discipline must be exercised, that the Executive Committee must have greater influence, and that this will and must happen. But today, I believe, the Executive Committee does not yet have that kind of influence and shows, by giving in to these gentlemen, its inability to really force them to take the road they, as revolutionaries, ought to follow. I must say, if you look at the results obtained so far, you have to recognize how poorly conceived this policy is.

The French were criticized sharply this morning; the Independent gentlemen less sharply, even though they are worse. There is of course no great difference between them, but the one was criticized mildly and Cachin much more sharply.

As a result of the Executive Committee's posture, the KAPD's criticism of the Communist Party of Germany could not be heard here. We were supposed to hear it here but we did not. We took up the USPD, but we should direct friendly criticism at the Communist parties as well. That is the best way to teach the masses what they should do with the opportunist leaders, namely, to drive them out. By concentrating all criticism on the USPD, on a reformist party, we failed to listen to the KAPD's criticism of the German Communist Party, which, though not friendly, is useful. Has the Communist Party always led the masses? That is a question that must be asked and answered here. But now, with the USPD present, that is not easy. We are not by ourselves. We are in the company of the governmental Socialists, when we should meet among ourselves and speak the truth. The Executive Committee's action has prevented that.

This morning Comrade Serrati gave a very good answer to the

question why Turati stayed in the Italian party: because by doing so he can make propaganda for himself.¹⁵ And should it be asked why these opportunists have come here now and allowed us to ask them questions, Comrade Meyer has already pointed out that we get no clear answer from them. They are even more brazen here than they are in Germany. That is exactly why these gentlemen enter into negotiations with the Communist International here. They want to make propaganda for themselves in the big Communist Party that can and must arise in Germany. Comrade Meyer put it very well: It is necessary to go to the masses over the heads of these leaders. The reformist gentlemen want to go to the masses in order to conduct their propaganda, which is so harmful to the revolution. They cannot say so openly, but it is the truth. If they were to say it openly, we would reply, "Thank you kindly, but go home." Thus, they have to speak diplomatically.

This morning Comrade Zinoviev said something else that is very true. He described these Independents' entire machinery as philistine. Do we here really want to take over that very same philistine machinery? That is very wrong. We must take the position presented by Comrade Radek, namely, we must go to the masses. But we cannot then handle matters in this way, through negotiations with the leaders. Let me point out that these gentlemen of the USPD—and Cachin and Frossard as well—have been put in a special category. That is wrong, and a price will be paid for it.

In general two questions are now being confused here. The question of what the conditions should be for joining the Communist International has been discussed here in a general way. That should be part of the theses, and in general I believe that the theses contain many good things. Of course, some points may yet be altered slightly by one or another motion. And there is the question: What do we want parties that already belong to the Communist International to be like? We Communists are expected to have resolutions on this, and these gentlemen have no business helping to write these theses; yet they sit on the commission that edits them! The other major question to be discussed here is: Shall we or shall we not continue to negotiate with these gentlemen in this fashion? These questions have been confused.

As I said before, the Executive Committee has put these gentlemen in a special category. I protested this in the commission, but it did me no good. These gentlemen are among us Communists; they are here. I have nothing against individuals, but I do have something against fraudulent leaders, because history shows that such people cannot shed their old weaknesses. Only the masses can force them to make an about-face, but that is achieved in an entirely different way than is being attempted here.

In conclusion, this sort of behavior on the part of the Communist International will have a bad effect not only in Germany and France but throughout the entire world. It will make a very bad impression in Britain and America. It will also make a bad impression because workers will sense that together with the leaders of the Independents, the Communist International is orienting here toward the right. There is no difference between Hilferding and Crispin, yet while Hilferding was criticized, Crispin was not.

How can the masses be revolutionized in all these countries? Only by our refusing to hold out a hand to fraudulent members of parliament. But that is being done here with the Independents—and with Cachin as well. When Cachin returns to France, the masses—who have just learned that parliamentarism must be conducted differently than these Social Democratic gentlemen have been doing it—will see that once again this new International is making compromises with the old leaders. That will reinforce the old, fraudulent parliamentarism, and the masses will sense it and turn their backs on us. One cannot judge only by the size of the masses that support a party nominally, because, in reality, thanks to the experiences of the Communist International they have come over to its side.

I hope, therefore, that negotiations with the leaders of these parliamentary parties will be ended, that the congress will not approve the Executive Committee's current policy, and that it will do all the things that are still being merely contemplated and will speak directly to the masses in France and Germany. This, by the way, will enable us to attain one immediate goal much sooner, splitting away what is revolutionary in the old parties.

Willi Münzenberg [Executive Committee of the Communist Youth

International]: Comrades, I do not see how Comrade Wijnkoop can blame the Executive Committee for the fact that the KAPD is not represented here. If it is not represented, only its delegates are to blame. It was decided to admit them to the congress with consultative vote, and even to promise them their own report on every disputed point.¹⁴ They made no use of these rights; they did not show up at the congress. They abandoned the field before the battle. I do not know what members of the KAPD think about that, but by far the majority of German workers will be of one mind in strongly condemning this course of action. And in my opinion the two comrades who acted in this irresponsible way have made fools of themselves before the revolutionary movement in Germany.

Now for the question of the conditions for admission to the Communist International. Political events of the past year have strikingly demonstrated the correctness of the program and tactical guidelines of the First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. Regarding these tactics, the Manifesto says, "If the First International foresaw the road that lay ahead and indicated its direction; if the Second International assembled and organized millions of proletarians; then the Third International is the International of open mass action, the International of revolutionary realization, the International of the deed."¹⁵

Comrades, this method of revolutionary propaganda—one of appealing directly to the working masses themselves without regard for party hierarchies or institutions and of criticizing relentlessly whenever the labor movement gets on the wrong track—contributed enormously to awakening and developing the subjective forces of proletarian revolution in western Europe.

In my opinion, the Communist International's achievement of the past year is not so much this well-attended congress as the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany, Hungary, and other countries fought during this year and shed their blood, arms in hand, for the program and goals of the Communist International. This happened despite the lamentable organizational state of the Communist parties and even though a sharp line of demarcation was drawn against the right (not against Turati, Kautsky, Longuet, and Grimm, as today, but

against Däumig and Nobs). That is the great practical achievement of our revolutionary propaganda, and it is of far greater value to the proletarian revolution than a thousand new party membership books.

The Communist International's influence on the German workers was so great that even when the USPD called them into the streets, they demonstrated not for the ideological content of that party but for the Communist International. The chants were heard continually: "Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the Communist International! Long live the proletarian revolution!"

The same thing is expressed by the attitude of workers in Britain, France, and America. Even though it has not yet been possible to induce the masses to launch the final, revolutionary struggle and overthrow the bourgeoisie in those countries, nevertheless, our revolutionary propaganda has given such a boost to their morale that, come what may, they will prevent their governments from invading Soviet Russia militarily. This is also shown by the resolutions passed lately by a wide variety of organizations encouraging workers to refuse to produce munitions for Poland or transport them there. To be sure, that is not the only thing that we must demand of our comrades there, but it is the beginning of international solidarity in action. And it is important precisely because the next epoch of world proletarian revolution will be characterized by a series of revolutionary wars. The Polish war is only one link in the unfolding chain of belligerent attacks on Soviet Russia by the Entente and its agents.

Comrades, surveying the development of communism during the past year, we find no reason to change this policy and perhaps jeopardize the winning of large masses to living revolutionary actions for the sake of winning parties as a whole.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee it was said that the founding of the Communist International was premature. I do not share that view, but I do believe that the International's circle was widened too soon. In his report, Comrade Zinoviev has already indicated several symptoms of opportunism in the Italian party and in the Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Yugoslavian parties. There was talk of the enemy in our own house.

On top of that, in Britain, America, and France there are as

yet no solid, strong, and disciplined Communist parties. Now the Socialist Party of Spain has declared itself for joining the Communist International, and the Swiss party is also trying to sneak into the International. When one adds to that the French Socialist Party and the USPD, composed as they are right now, I cannot help feeling that the Communist International is in a great danger, namely that its revolutionary propaganda and action will be weakened and will peter out.

Lenin: Who wants to admit the USPD?

Münzenberg: That is shown by the negotiations in the Executive Committee. Comrades who only a few weeks ago or even just a few days ago fought with all their might against the Communist International today unhesitatingly declare their readiness to sign the conditions put to them. Surely that fact is evidence that these conditions are not formulated strictly and sharply enough. At the present moment in the revolutionary struggle, it is not enough to make propaganda for communism and to launch Communist parties. It is also important to initiate revolutionary mass actions directly. This helps politicize the masses rapidly, give them a revolutionary education, and develop all subjective revolutionary forces, while compounding the problems of moribund imperialism and exacerbating its conflicts—all of which aids in carrying out the proletarian revolution more rapidly. That, above all, is what must be demanded of the parties and organizations wishing to become members of the Communist International.

How important it is to follow the method of revolutionary mass action is made clear in the Executive Committee report. It was the Executive Committee that stated in one of its manifestos that once again Petrograd workers had to shed their blood by the thousands, all because the international mass actions planned for July 21, 1919, collapsed.¹⁶ Similarly, the international actions planned for November 7, 1919, and for the anniversary of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg failed. It is thus absolutely necessary that strict conditions be put to all parties, precisely in this respect.

The requirements established regarding military preparations are also completely inadequate. It is not enough to conduct communist propaganda in the bourgeois armies and to form cells for agitation. The present-day state of civil war makes

it imperative that everywhere, in every country, military-organizational and military-technical preparations be made for the final conflicts with the bourgeoisie. I submit two amendments along these lines to the Presiding Committee.¹⁷

Lozovsky: The question of accepting the centrist Socialist parties is one of the most serious posed to the congress. If we take the French Socialist Party as typical of the parties developing toward communism today, we see it is a very peculiar conglomeration of various tendencies.

When Comrades Cachin and Frossard came before the Executive Committee, they were asked a series of questions. In particular they were asked what they would do about Albert Thomas, currently director of the labor office of the League of Nations, and whether they did not think it was impossible to bring socialists of this kind into the Communist International. Comrade Frossard replied officially that the case of Albert Thomas would be settled at the next congress of the French Socialist Party.

The French Socialist Party encompasses centrist elements like Cachin and Frossard side by side with bitter enemies of socialism, members of the League of Nations, in short, people who in recent years have fought against every workers' struggle, whether revolutionary or trade union. The French Socialist Party suffers from a disease that is not just opportunism but can be called "unity at any price," no matter with whom it may be.

When Cachin and Frossard were asked in the Executive Committee meeting about national defense, they carefully avoided a definite statement about the future, replying only in equivocal terms. But this question is important. It is the pillar, the meaning of every Communist movement, the foundation of the Communist International. It is obvious that, after the purge—

Goldenberg: They will not carry it out.

Lozovsky: —to be carried out at the next congress, they themselves will not join the Communist International. But the responsibility falls to the French workers to come to the Communist International on their own and to leave at the door leaders who cannot make up their minds to do what is necessary.

I would like to call your attention to another important point. If you read *L'Humanité*, you will see that, according to Cachin, quite a fight was waged against the Versailles peace. It is a strange fight indeed that is only too reminiscent of a child's

game. True, the Socialist deputies voted against the Versailles peace, but it is necessary to know how they did this. They confined themselves to protesting particular articles of the treaty, not the Versailles peace as a whole.

There is another fact we must note. This morning Cachin read us a new statement, entirely different from the one he made a few days ago. Knowing as he does that this statement will be published in France, he chose words much less clear than those in the statement he gave us a week ago when he was not about to depart for France.

Today's statement, which skirts all ticklish questions, shows plainly that in its majority the French Socialist Party is incapable of working within the Communist International, from the point of view either of ideas or action. In his statement, Cachin says not a word about the party's future tactics. He passes over in silence the questions of class struggle and overthrowing capitalism—a detail, to be sure.

Among the Socialist parties that have joined the Communist International, the Italian Socialist Party has received considerable mention from this rostrum. I must emphasize that Bolshevism and Menshevism are to be found side by side in this party.

However, if we ask our Italian comrades if Bolshevism and Menshevism can be combined, they will certainly reply in the negative. They might add that Italy is not yet in a revolutionary period, but in Russia it was not the revolution that separated us from the Mensheviks. The rift between us opened up long before then. And we who have had this experience can tell our Italian comrades, "Be forewarned; it is during the revolutionary movement, at the most critical moment, when the masses are already in the streets, that you will feel the blows of your opportunism."

This reminds me of an unforgettable event in Petrograd during the October revolution. Negotiations for joint action were in progress involving the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries. Do you know what the Mensheviks officially proposed? Disarming the Petrograd workers and sending the cossacks into the workers' districts! I am quite knowledgeable about this because I took part in the negotiations. I was myself an ardent conciliationist and railed against the intransigence of our comrades on the Central Committee. They,

the Mensheviks, told us, "If you disarm the workers, we guarantee you the workers will not be murdered." That is what our opportunists proposed!

And, comrades, on the basis of our revolutionary experience, we fear that someday, in the midst of the decisive battles you will have to go through, the opportunists in your country will propose something similar to you.

Artur Crispien [Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany]: Comrades, we would like briefly to answer the question why we are in Moscow and what we want here. I must say, however, that I find this question really somewhat strange. Naturally we have not come to Moscow in order to see the city. As we officially informed the Executive Committee after receiving an invitation in the course of our written correspondence with it, we are here in Moscow in accordance with the resolution of our party congress to negotiate with the Communist International about fusion with our party. And in my remarks I will also explain why in my opinion we had to choose the route of negotiations.

First allow me to say a few words about our party.

Judging by all the statements made here, it seems to me that the comrades from other countries are not informed either about the German situation in general or about the situation in the party in particular. It is well known that the German Social Democracy simply abdicated at the outbreak of the war. But it may be less well known that in Germany, from the first moment on, there were also comrades present within the old Social Democracy who without hesitation or vacillation immediately took a stand against the old party and against the war—not only through protests, not only through resolutions, but also through very hard practical work during the four years of war.

Imagine for a moment, if you will, a powerful party that for decades had captivated the most advanced sections of the German proletariat—there were one million members in the old Social Democracy, two and a half million members in the trade unions. On top of that there were the great mass of workers who were indifferent, caught up in the war frenzy, and on top of that the military dictatorship, the ruthless persecution of everyone who was not for the war. That will give you a picture of what it meant and how hard it was in that situation to uphold the banner of socialism. It was a small handful that, through distri-

bution of illegal literature and *Spartacusbriefe*—

Edward Fuchs [Germany]: By whom?

Crispien: We were there, too. The comrades will confirm that I, for example, also participated in that.¹⁸

Walcher: But that was before you backed the Working Group.

Crispien: I am now speaking about the start of the war and I ask whether you can dispute the fact that I did my duty as a revolutionary socialist.

Walcher: (Agrees)

Crispien: Even during the war we were already holding mass actions against it. It was not only the masses that sacrificed and shed their blood but also the “notorious frauds,” the “rascals,” the leaders, who sit here among you. They also participated in the mass actions and had to pay for it exactly like all the rest of the proletarians, suffering the well-known punishments that capitalism inflicts on every revolutionary proletarian.

More and more, an opposition coalesced around this handful of Social Democrats in Germany who were fighting against the war. It is understandable that in this process certain elements also ended up in the opposition that did not oppose the war in general and on principle, did not oppose defense of the fatherland, but opposed the war for some other reason. That is natural and understandable, and in this difficult struggle we had neither the time nor the opportunity to lead the workers onto the right track through large educational rallies. We were not even allowed to hold meetings. We were persecuted, had to work underground, and could not reach the masses. In parliament, even during the war, the comrades who initially had still submitted to party discipline also came out in writing for the class struggle. Then came the collapse of the war.¹⁹ It became possible to take a stand openly.

Fuchs: You opposed Liebknecht.

Dittmann: I will refute that.

Crispien: Comrade Dittmann, who was in parliament, says he will respond to that.

When the war was ended by the workers’ and soldiers’ insurrection, the German proletariat suddenly faced an immense task. Their failure to resolve it in a socialist direction is due first and foremost to the fact that it was not possible to transform the workers’ and soldiers’ great action into a consciously proletar-

war that if we had been blockaded again the misery of the German masses would have been even more dreadful. We thought it was a matter of making the masses able to fight and raising their living standards to the highest possible level through a prolonged struggle against the capitalist tendency toward impoverishment. The completely ruined layers including the lumpenproletariat are not in the front ranks. They will not make any revolutions. The revolution will be made by the layers of workers who have been able to achieve a relative increase in their standard of living. Thus, the criticism against us concerning the signing of the peace treaty is not justified either.

Now for the question of terror and force. We are of the opinion that these are two different things. We cannot do without force if we want to maintain the dictatorship. Where force is used, in some circumstances it happens here and there that people are hurt who should have been spared, had it been possible to judge carefully between guilt and innocence. But to declare now, before we have power, that as a political principle we must use terror, that we must establish a reign of terror, is different from saying we cannot avoid the use of force. The extent to which force is used depends on what we are compelled to do under particular circumstances.

I can say that we have never berated the Bolsheviks. I can also state that I have always felt in solidarity with the Russian comrades. When the Communists in Nuremberg were criticized for accepting gold from the Russians, I said I would be proud to do that, as it would be an act of international solidarity. We have always stood up for the Bolsheviks and said that they have a hard struggle to wage and that we have no right to disparage them. (*Interjection: "Kautsky."*) Yes, Kautsky made criticisms, but he does not control the party leadership. That is a big mistake. (*Interjection: "Ledebour."*) Ledebour did not disparage the Bolsheviks either. There you are mistaken. Ledebour fought for the revolution openly and without regard for his life. He believes that you cannot make a political principle out of terror.

All I want to make clear here is that our friends in Russia are also opportunist sinners. They accused us of not championing their demand on the agrarian question. On this question we had the following to say in our letter:

"As for the *agrarian* question, we cannot help noting, to our

astonishment, that the Executive Committee is recommending to the revolutionary German proletariat methods that represent a direct relapse into long-overcome petty-bourgeois ways of thinking. Thus we are advised to explain to the small peasants that 'immediately after seizing state power the proletariat will improve their lot at the expense of the expropriated large landowners, liberate them from the yoke of the large landowners, *give them as a class the large estates, free them from debt*, and so forth.' This proposal is nothing less than a rejection of our Marxist view that the large estates should be socialized *immediately*, that is, *nationalized* and worked in common. Instead of this the small peasants are now to be told that they will receive the large estates, be freed from debt, and so forth. That means sacrificing the interests of the proletariat for the sake of the peasantry and unwittingly transferring Russian conditions, in which the land was turned over to the peasants, to Germany, whose social and economic development could be severely impaired by such a measure."²⁴

Do you believe that it is revolutionary in Germany to give land to the small peasants?

Walcher: In order to win the small peasants to our side.

Crispien:²⁵ You do not win them over with opportunist measures. The large landowners must be expropriated, and the estates must be run on a cooperative basis, not distributed among the rural laborers and small peasants, who must be made ready for cooperative cultivation of the land for society.

Comrade Meyer asked what we have done to bring about affiliation. I think Comrade Meyer too has read our official report on this. What have we done? We labored without pause for a meeting with Moscow. Finally, after four months, we received a reply. We were in the middle of repelling the military putsch. We were in the election campaign and went to Moscow immediately afterward. Our meeting with other parties was the result of the resolution the party congress gave us to take along—and we have to carry out decisions the party congress makes. We avoided holding an international conference with other parties; we wanted to give Moscow precedence.

It is not true that Koenen said in Switzerland that we are founding a new International. We said that if Moscow turns us away, we must consider what to do next. Should we allow our-

selves to be excluded from international politics? Do you think it possible for a movement as large as the USPD not to be active internationally? Of course, you Communists from Germany have declared us dead ever since we were born as a party. Your hope that we will be dead soon does not bother us at all.

Now I would like to add a general comment. I feel that in the debate too little attention is given to historical development. Some comrades think that Marxism came into being suddenly with the Communist International and that something completely new has appeared. That is not true. The First International, founded in the belief that the proletarian revolution would follow immediately after the bourgeois revolution and setting its sights on the immediate realization of socialism, ceased to exist for the reasons Zinoviev indicated.

It also became evident, as Marx himself stated, that even among the proletariat the preconditions for seizing and holding political power were lacking at that time. The first step was to organize the proletariat and develop in it the abilities needed in the struggle to conquer political power, which was done through shortening the hours of work, raising wages, the general struggle for political and economic reforms, and so forth. Those were the historic tasks in the epoch in which the Second International held sway.

Today the preconditions for the struggle to conquer and hold political power are present within the working class, just as the preconditions for socialism are also present today within capitalist society. We are now in the epoch in which what counts is conquering political power. In Russia it has already been conquered; it is to be hoped that very soon it can be conquered in other countries as well. The evolution through which the workers' movement has passed must be appreciated in this way in order to recognize that the Communist International continues to build where its predecessors of previous epochs stopped. Now if the parties that today are still right-wing Socialist have not recognized their tasks, they will have to pay for it with their collapse, with their demise. We have recognized this; we act accordingly in Germany and pursue a revolutionary policy. I state this categorically, and what is more, we can document it at any time.

Formulate your answer as you wish; it is our sincere aspira-

tion, our sincere desire, to establish a common front with the Communist International. You cannot deny our revolutionary conviction, character, and activity. Revolutionaries we will remain, no matter how much we are suspected of being opportunists. However you judge us, in the future we will not stop mobilizing all the forces at our disposal in Germany for the world proletarian revolution. But if you give us an answer that the German proletariat, which is in our ranks, will receive with joy, so much the better for the construction of an international proletarian front.

Dittmann: Comrades, it is by coincidence that I speak immediately after my friend, Crispien. Please do not conclude, as Comrade Wijnkoop intimated, that we intend to behave even more shamelessly here than we did in Germany. (*Laughter*) Really, it is purely coincidental that I follow him on the speakers' list.

The charge was made against us—against Crispien and myself in particular—that at the party's Leipzig congress we did not take a stand in favor of joining the Communist International immediately and directly. The same individuals who made that accusation have spoken here, presenting a long list of sins they feel must be held against us, in the hopes of proving we are not worthy of being admitted to the Communist International. I think there is a big contradiction here, which no doubt vindicates our party's decision in Leipzig to negotiate with the Communist International in order to determine if it is possible to join forces in a unified, common front.

That is why we came here, and as the basis for our negotiations we were given the Action Program adopted by the Leipzig congress. This Action Program—I assume that you are acquainted with it—takes a position in favor of the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the council system, and it does so in a clear and forthright manner. I do not believe many of the parties whose representatives have criticized us Independents here can point to a program that is as clear and unambiguous as ours on precisely those decisive points.

Comrades, in view of the analysis given by my friend Crispien, I will not elaborate further on these general questions. I asked to speak primarily in order to refute a few accusations directed at us by some speakers in the course of the debate.

I must deal with Comrade Radek especially. He made two main accusations against the Independents, whose representatives belonged to the first revolutionary government in Germany.²⁶ He accused the USPD representatives of rejecting the Russian proletariat's symbolic offer to send the German proletariat two trainloads of grain. He further criticized the USPD for preventing the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Germany and Soviet Russia during the first week of the revolution in November 1918.

I know that Comrade Radek is one of the comrades from abroad who have the best knowledge of the situation in Germany. Despite that, it quite often happens that he does not understand the situation there thoroughly enough to render a truly authoritative opinion. I say this not as a criticism but only as a fact. And I know of no one, even in this hall, whose mind is so encyclopedic it can encompass the situation in all countries and determine the correct political guidelines the proletariat should follow to best serve the revolution in every single one of them. That is beyond anyone's capacity. So what I say is not meant as a reproach. Anyone wishing to understand the situation in Germany in November and December 1918 cannot be satisfied with learning miscellaneous facts from a few comrades when he goes there. He must not think those facts are a basis on which to form an absolutely accurate opinion.

What was the situation? Germany's military collapse on the battlefield was accompanied by economic collapse inside the country. The people were physically and morally exhausted. They were actually in imminent danger of outright starvation. That was then the situation in Germany. Despite everything that had happened, the German militarists still would not have given up in October 1918 had not the appropriate agency explained to them, "Our grain reserves will last only until the beginning of January 1919. Then they will run out; the people will starve."²⁷

That was the situation, and a government taking the helm at that time had to be conscious that it was responsible for protecting the people from famine and, before available stocks of grain ran out, for importing grain from somewhere, even from the moon. Nobody could have taken responsibility for implementing a policy that would have condemned the entire population to starvation.

That was the situation when the teleprinter conversation on the Hughes machine took place between Radek and Haase. What was Comrade Haase's reply? I wish Radek had repeated Haase's answer in full. He said, "We see the offer as an act of solidarity of the Russian with the German proletariat and as a symbol of international solidarity, but we know that Russia is also hit by a severe famine, and as for supplying Germany, America has already promised that Germany will receive grain in quantities making it possible to maintain existing ration levels continuously until the next harvest."²⁸ That is what Comrade Haase told Comrade Radek on the teleprinter at that time. Now I ask you: Where is there any abandonment of international proletarian solidarity in this?

Comrade Haase acted quite properly when he said, "We know you can use the grain yourselves, and we, on the other hand, know we are going to receive grain. Therefore, keep the grain for yourselves." Does the value of the offer lie in having the trains set out? What is important is the fact that the offer was made. That is enough to show solidarity. And Haase's reply, that we saw it as an act of solidarity and were grateful for it, was appropriate under those circumstances. I do not understand how Comrade Radek can accuse us of falling into Wilsonism because we, as the government, accepted grain from America.

Where else, exactly, were we in Germany supposed to obtain the grain to save our people from starvation if not from the one country in the world then able to send grain to our half-starved people? We may think what we like of America, but America sent grain, and not only grain but other foodstuffs as well.

Now as to the deportation of the Russian mission. I believe that the government of Prince Max von Baden, the last chancellor of Wilhelm's reign, ordered the Russian ambassador deported from Berlin on November 4 or 5, 1918, ostensibly because Joffe had abused his position as envoy by conducting revolutionary propaganda in Germany. That is why the German imperial government deported him. When the German revolution erupted, Comrade Joffe was at the German-Russian border. A few formalities concerning his crossing the border had to be attended to, which is why he was delayed there. That was the situation when Comrade Joffe, learning that revolution had broken out in Germany and Independents were in the govern-

ment, sent telegrams to Berlin. He telegraphed Comrade Haase, and Haase immediately declared in the Council of People's Representatives—the name of the government to which Haase Barth, and I then belonged—that all three of us Independents felt that Joffe should be recalled immediately. We took this position immediately, but the right Socialists, supported by Foreign Minister Solf, told us there could be no talk of that.

Walcher: The minutes show something different.

Dittmann: I will get to the minutes; let me explain the events. I know them better than anyone else here because I was a participant.

Solf, Landsberg, Scheidemann, and Ebert then said it made no difference whether Joffe's intention was to support the revolution in Germany or to carry on reactionary propaganda. Whatever the circumstances, they said, an envoy must refrain from interfering in a country's internal affairs. In vain we pointed out that this was a formalistic position, which as revolutionaries we could not sanction under any circumstances. We said that Joffe had acted in the interests of the German and the world revolution, and we were in solidarity with him and were obliged to demand his return as envoy. We fought over this not just once but countless times during November and December.

Rosi Wolfstein [Communist Party of Germany]: The vote!

Dittmann: The Council of People's Representatives consisted of three right Socialists and three Independents. Therefore, we could have prevented the right Socialists from forcing through a resolution deporting Joffe from Berlin if that had not already occurred, but we lacked the majority necessary to secure passage of a positive motion to recall him. It was three against three, and we could not obtain Comrade Joffe's return to Germany.²⁹

Your chatter behind me at the Executive Committee table proves nothing. All you can demand of a person is that he speak up for what he can obtain.

I shall wait, if you insist on interrupting me in this manner, since I can barely make myself heard.

What can you ask of us in such a situation? No more than what we could obtain, I should hope, and we went as far as the opportunities available to us permitted. But we said we would bring up the question again, for as far as we were concerned it

was not settled. And we raised it again at every appropriate opportunity.

But Comrade Radek's behavior made this extremely difficult for us. One day Comrade Haase told me quite heatedly, "You know Comrade Radek. Can you imagine someone that intelligent doing something so stupid? I just received a call from Moscow on the Hughes machine." That is a machine that also prints simultaneously, making it impossible to have a conversation on it that is not overheard—a fact that Radek undoubtedly knew and that ought to have made him exercise due caution about what he said. "And yet," he continued, "Radek told us that a delegation was coming to Germany for the first congress of the councils and that it included people who knew languages, assigned to conduct revolutionary propaganda among the British and French soldiers in the prisoner-of-war camps in Germany." (*Shouts of "Bravo!"*)

Radek: How awful!

Dittmann: I welcome that as a revolutionary socialist, but it is something else again if a government—and along with it functionaries who are not on the side of the revolution—are officially informed that agents are going to be sent into the prisoner-of-war camps to carry on revolutionary propaganda. That means, in other words, calling this fact to the attention of Germany's entire bourgeoisie and ensuring that it comes to the attention of the Entente—the same Entente with whom the German government was forced to conclude a four-week armistice. If the German government had permitted such propaganda, the Entente of course would have interpreted it as a breach of the armistice. That is why Haase had no choice but to tell Radek via the machine that it was out of the question that we would accept this offer. Whereupon Radek said they would not pursue it.

Levi and Radek: So much for that.

Dittmann: "So much for that" proves nothing, since the offer had been made and was known in the foreign ministry, and Solf and the bourgeois officials we had to reckon with learned about it.

Radek: Why did you not drive them out?

Dittmann: That's a digression. I would be the last to condemn anyone for conducting revolutionary propaganda, but surely we

must take into account the circumstances and understand the situation as it existed. We do not have to argue about what we want.

For us, the Independents in the cabinet, this created a situation that greatly complicated our efforts to reestablish relations with Soviet Russia, because Landsberg, Scheidemann, and Ebert—and Solf too, don't forget—told us immediately, "There! See what we can expect if this mission returns. It will get us into the worst possible complications with the Entente and cause the armistice to break down just as our troops are returning from the left bank of the Rhine. The Entente will march in behind them and occupy Germany." That was a situation no one would have lightly provoked who did not want to turn against himself the feelings of the whole population of Germany—including the workers. Let there be no doubt about that. And when Solf and the rest repeated that Joffe's return was out of the question, we had no choice but to postpone the issue for the time being. We did not want to give it up. We still hoped it would be possible to push it through nonetheless. That was the situation in which the minutes originated that *Vorwärts* published some time ago.³⁰ However, it avoided publishing the other minutes, which would have clearly established what I have explained here.

Walcher and Radek: Barth vouched for it.

Dittmann: I was not so discourteous as to quote Barth. He talks about you very rudely, my dear Comrade Radek. I assume that you are referring to a quotation printed in *Vorwärts*. But Barth's book says, "The right Socialists began quoting a wireless message from Radek in which he proclaimed common struggle against the capitalist Entente on the Rhine. This silly expression was a great stupidity and caused the gravest possible harm to the world revolution." That is what Barth said. It would have been wiser on your part not to quote Barth. I can also read the passage that pertains to Joffe, who is supposed to have given money to Haase and Barth for the revolution. About this the book says: "I would describe Joffe's wireless messages as worse than stupid. If I too had named names, those comrades would certainly no longer be alive; the counterrevolution would have murdered them." Try as I would, I could find nothing in Barth's entire pamphlet at all favorable toward you, Comrade Radek. I found only those few passages and would not have quoted them

if you had not interrupted me.

Then we withdrew from the government, and we bear no responsibility for what happened later. Time and again we publicly advocated restoring diplomatic and economic relations with Soviet Russia. We have just introduced another such motion in the Reichstag. Comrades Stoecker and Crispien have been assigned to motivate it in parliament. In it we argue that it is obvious that relations between Soviet Russia and Germany should be restored. Just recently, when Polish imperialism launched its rapacious foray into Russia, our party organized a huge demonstration with the slogan "Hands off Russia! For peaceful relations with Russia!" I do not know whether the comrades—who constantly receive all those reports and communications about the Independents saying we were hostile toward Soviet Russia—know all these things. I would like to believe they do not. If they did, they could not hold the opinion of the Independents that has been expressed here.

Just one more thing in conclusion. Quite a few speakers expressed themselves to the effect that in their opinion our party is among those that cannot be admitted into the Communist International because they are not revolutionary. My friend Crispien showed in broad outline how wrong this accusation is, and if it were possible to present the whole of our party's history since the German revolution, many would certainly change their opinions of it. As honest people they would *have* to do so. Be assured, five million people do not vote for a party against which the Communist Party's newspapers have leveled the sort of charges that have been raised here—and hundreds more besides—unless they have been able to form their own opinion about the legitimacy of those accusations.

We earned our status by means of extremely difficult struggles against the majority Socialists and the bourgeoisie. We can claim credit for the fact that behind the Independent party in Germany are the masses of the revolutionary proletariat. And it is because we know that the world revolution is advancing and that the proletariat of all countries needs to march in a unified, common front and must try to overcome capitalism that we come to Moscow—not, as you claim, in order to yield to the pressure of the working masses.

We are ourselves workers and proletarians; we are workers by

birth and upbringing; we have been in the labor movement for a quarter century. Our entire existence is devoted to the movement, and we pulled our weight in the darkest hours of the war, sparing no sacrifice and more than once handing ourselves over to the minions of the capitalist state. When we are portrayed here as lacking any revolutionary feeling, it is only right that we point to our scars, which we got in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat.

If you want the same thing we want—to bring together in unity and solidarity the proletariat of Russia and Germany, and beyond them the proletariat of the entire world—then try, as seriously as we have tried here and will continue to try, to find some way in further negotiations by which we may reach agreement soon, so that we can lead the common battle against capitalism for the good of the proletariat of the whole world.

Rosmer. It is one o'clock in the morning. The session is adjourned.

Session 8, July 30, 1920

Conditions for admission

(PART 3)

(Serrati opens the session.)

Zinoviev: I would like to inform you that a discussion on the trade union question is planned for tomorrow, open not only to the commission but to all comrades interested in this question. Details can be had from Comrade Steinhardt. The meeting is scheduled for ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

Although we have requested several times already that written reports be turned in as soon as possible, we have received only a small number of reports. We urge all delegations to do this no later than Monday. We must send them to the printer. Whoever has not handed in a report by Monday must expect that it will not be printed.

Radek: This arrangement proposed by Comrade Steinhardt would disorganize the commission. For three days we have been sitting there debating. The debates must come to an end. If we convene as a body tomorrow, we will begin the commission general debate all over again, and the trade union commission will never be able to present a report expressing its opinion. If Comrade Steinhardt and other comrades feel a need to discuss the trade union question not in the commission plenary session but in an expanded body, they should choose a day after the trade union commission has concluded its work.

Steinhardt: There is a big misunderstanding on Comrade Radek's part. We wanted the comrades in Russia to give us information on the trade unions' role in the production process and the changes in this process during the last three years in order to obtain an accurate picture of the movement during these years.

Walcher: That is what the congress plenary session is for!

Steinhardt: No, that is not true. Not all comrades are interested in this particular question. It is not a question tied to a specific agenda point. Instead, we must choose a day on which there is

no plenary session. We can take Saturday [July 31], while the women's conference takes place.¹ We need not worry that this will disturb the work of the Commission on the Trade Union Question.

Walcher: You have no authority to do this.

Steinhardt: We are not in Germany, Comrade Walcher. I do not need to be authorized, least of all by Comrade Walcher. I am authorized by my sense of duty, not by the Prussian state authorities. I will discuss it with Comrade Lozovsky, and if a number of comrades are interested, we will set a date. If Comrade Walcher is not interested, he does not have to attend. Perhaps he is interested only in political questions.

Zinoviev: I wish to make a point of procedure. I propose to end the debate. Comrade Steinhardt can meet with a few other comrades and decide on a day.

(The motion is carried.)

Christian Rakovsky [Communist Party of Russia]: I shall take the liberty of dealing in a little more detail with the statement of the French delegation read by Comrade Cachin. First, however, I would like to say a few words about the question Comrade Dittmann raised yesterday about the Russian embassy in Berlin. I will limit myself to assessing the facts.

The conduct of Germany's government, the so-called revolutionary government, was somewhat more serious than described. What was involved was not only expelling the Russian embassy from Berlin; the government of Haase and Kautsky (who was with the foreign affairs ministry at the time) intended to sever relations with Russia.

They did not even have the power and authority to permit the Russian mission to Austria, which was under arrest in Berlin, to proceed to Vienna. During the ten days that the Russian mission to Berlin was detained in Borisov, under a guard of German soldiers, officers, and diplomatic emissaries from the former government of the kaiser, some petty count usurped the functions of our mission until it was released from custody. All the telegrams we sent to Berlin went unanswered.

Yesterday we heard Comrade Dittmann's explanation. He said, "If we rejected the Russian grain (grain that was already at the German border) we did so because we could not accept so great a responsibility. But we did not appreciate any the less this

show of solidarity by the Russians. Despite our best efforts, we could not secure the Russian mission's return to Berlin." Comrade Dittmann could have added, "We were not even able to let the Russian mission travel on to Vienna, although its credentials had already been accepted by Victor Adler's government in Austria. All this simply because the Independents were a minority in the government. The majority consisted of bourgeois individuals or right Socialists, and all demands by the Independent Socialist minority fell on deaf ears."

But that is not the point. Fundamentally, in what Comrade Dittmann said I see a historical repetition of something we are all familiar with. At issue is whether they have drawn the logical conclusions of their collaboration in the ministry, namely, that socialists cannot get their way in a bourgeois government. Everyone has known it from time immemorial, and that is precisely why we opposed collaboration—class collaboration—in the ministry. By the way, in Comrade Dittmann's speech I did not hear a single word of regret over the Independents' participation in the Scheidemann-Ebert government, which was a betrayal of the interests of the German working class and the Russian revolution.

Comrade Dittmann read us—with a certain relish—a document containing the text of a telegram from Comrade Radek. I do not know if its contents are quoted accurately.

Radek: It does not exist!

Rakovsky: But suppose this telegram does exist. For even if it never physically existed, every revolutionary took for granted that a Germany that had just cast off the yoke of Wilhelm II, that had undergone a proletarian revolution—this new Germany would act with Soviet Russia against the Allies.

Well, that is a fact that the Independents do not understand to this day. They tell us Germany faced an extraordinarily perilous situation. It was threatened by famine, and death was about to ravage the country, they say. They claim to have acted to save Germany by joining a government in which, as they well knew, they, like the majority Socialists, could be no more than pawns of the German bourgeoisie and the capitalist Allies. To justify their policy, all they have to say is "There was no bread."

But if that is a serious defense, they should have used the argument against the majority party [SPD] and the bourgeoisie.

They should have told the bourgeoisie: "We will not take power, but if you do not want to be responsible for leaving Germany without bread, turn power over to the German workers."

A proletarian government must be established in Germany. But their way—conceding the bourgeoisie's arguments as soon as there is a shortage of bread—leads them to approve the old theory of participating in the government, and so far we have heard practically the same argument in France, Russia, Britain, and almost everywhere else as well.

The moment the bourgeoisie finds itself in a tight spot it appeals to the working class, saying, "Let us share responsibility for government." But it seems to me that precisely when the bourgeoisie's situation is perilous, the moment has arrived for a revolutionary class and a revolutionary party to back it against the wall and overthrow it, not begin collaborating with it.

I have dwelt on this question not in order to reply to Comrade Dittmann's speech but rather only to reestablish the facts and to draw the general conclusion that the German Independents, represented here by Comrades Dittmann and Crispin, seem in the last two or three years, unfortunately, to have forgotten nothing and learned nothing.

That is the main point in this debate.

Past mistakes have two different meanings. We can make mistakes, and the proletariat necessarily makes mistakes. But you must draw the lessons that they offer, rather than coming here to make long speeches that are more like lawyer's briefs than revolutionary credos, rather than using every means and every device of parliamentary procedure in an attempt to justify the USPD's behavior.

Here is what is at stake: For two years now the International has been pointing out to the Independent Socialists that their main error with respect to the proletariat, with respect to toiling Germany, is that at the crucial moment—the time of Borisov—they were unable to choose between revolution and imperialism, and they finally opted for imperialism. They did not save Germany. That is quite wrong. They lost it. They bear the responsibility for all that followed from the collaboration they agreed to right from the start. They bear the consequences and the responsibility for the defeat of the revolutionary proletarian movements that arose after this collaboration. Yes, the German

proletariat was lulled to sleep and deceived by the collaboration of the Independents and majority Socialists. It hoped that Germany's salvation would come from the Entente, from Wilson, and from Versailles. And now, when it is clear that this brought Germany only disasters, the responsibility must rest on the Independents and right Socialists.

Comrades, I come now to the statement by the French Socialists. In contrast to Germany's Independent Socialists, the French Socialists, by their private and public statements and even by their silence, seemed to show signs that their conscience has been pricked. They seemed to regret their past and realize the errors they have committed. Sharing this general impression, I was a little disappointed on closely reading their statement. I have it before me. When I heard Comrade Cachin, certain things struck me. Rereading the text he read out, I am surprised not only at its caution but also at its hesitations, its omissions, and, I might add, its mental reservations.

To begin with, the statement is completely silent on the past. More disquieting than this silence itself is not the embarrassment it might reveal at having to acknowledge past errors to comrades, but the reservations it displays about the future. Evidence of this is clearly apparent in the statement made to us.

First of all, the statement, speaking of class collaboration, begins with these words: "In the present historical juncture, those who still try to collaborate with bourgeois society 'at the moment when decisive social combat has begun everywhere' do not belong in the ranks of the party of the working class."

So there are indeed times and historical conjunctures when class collaboration is permissible, and if this took place in the past, that is because the historical conjuncture demanded it.

Today, when historical conditions are favorable for revolution, we renounce such collaboration. But suppose that tomorrow the bourgeoisie regained its strength and managed to overcome certain problems. The historical conjuncture could then well change for French Socialism. Having become revolutionary for the moment, there is no reason why it would not revert to its old errors.

Further on I read the following: "Should war break out again, the present, criminal policy of the French bourgeoisie would be responsible."

The word "present" will serve in French parliamentary debates and in the French press as a life preserver for the French Socialist Party caucus. It will be its evidence, its way of saying, "In the past things were different; responsibility for the war rested not with our bourgeoisie but with German imperialism, and our entire policy of national defense is completely justified as far as the past is concerned."

The statement continues: "We will refuse to be associated with it in any form whatsoever, whether by voting for credits or by participating in the government. We will not fail to recall that in such circumstances, when national interests merge with those of the plutocracy, there is no higher duty for the proletariat than its class duty."

I repeat: "circumstances when national interests merge with the interests of the plutocracy." As if in bourgeois society there were times when the interests of the plutocracy and the bourgeoisie do not coincide with national interests! This is yet another justification for past policy and leaves the door open for every kind of equivocation.

So, comrades, here we see a way to justify every future betrayal. Nevertheless, it must be said that if there is any country where we have a vital interest in the proletariat being revolutionary, it is France. It is France today that is the bulwark of the counterrevolutionary army. Therefore, it is important to know what problems we have to overcome there.

As opportunists, the French Socialists are like all other opportunists, and inasmuch as opportunism is basically class collaboration, it is necessary in each country to combat the particular notions through which this is expressed.

As far as France is concerned, one thing needs to be said: Before the war, the French Socialist Party took its inspiration from the democratic socialism of the French revolution, not from Marxism. At that time the Allemanists and Possibilists opposed Constans's government not because they were for General Boulanger but because they wanted to make the revolution; even at that time they considered it necessary to take power.²

The French Socialist Workers Party was preparing to take advantage of a war in order to organize an insurrection. Note how great is the difference between then and now; how far, we might well say, French socialism has fallen. In 1889, despite its

weakness, it believed that at certain times of counterrevolutionary danger the working class's duty was to take power. But this revolutionary socialism was buried at Amsterdam in 1904, and when Jules Guesde entered the united party, he killed Guesdism.⁵

Nothing was left but reformism, that is, Jaurès. Jaurès had accepted the revolutionary program when he joined the party, but he died a reformist. There is no need to pursue the discussions that took place in France between Jaurès's method and that of Ferri.

Comrades, in France we must lay enormous stress on precisely this point. It is not just a matter of changing the program, because you can always put whatever you want in a program. It is a matter of changing methods and tactics.

Before ending I would like to say something about Comrade Bordiga's speech. I believe his method will not lead to good results but instead will cause wrong ideas about revolution to take root.

Bordiga said, "We are not preparing the revolution; we are preparing the proletariat for the revolution." I fear that such a formulation about the revolution, separated from the party, could well generate or give new life to errors we see in the Socialist movement, in the workers' movement, and even in some communist movements, particularly in Italy. A correction is absolutely necessary here.

Comrades, the conditions for joining the Communist International will provide us with no guarantees. The conditions must be seen as a minimum and, if necessary, made more rigorous.

But I believe the Communist International will find another guarantee.

Only the creation of a real center for the international movement, the creation of a real general staff of the revolution, armed with full authority to lead the movement throughout the world, will ensure that the conditions for admission are put into practice. It is clearly vital that this center have very broad authority.

Serrati: I agree with Comrade Bordiga when he says that this discussion on the conditions of entry into the Third International should not have taken place until after the general discussion on the Communist International's program and the other

theses, because we cannot admit or refuse entry to someone until after we have seen in general what the Third International is to be.

This is all the more true, comrades, since we are in a very peculiar situation. The men who assembled at the congresses of the Second International had known each other for years. Everyone knew that this party member was very astute, that one a good speaker, and so forth. All in all, it was a congress of lawyers. That is not the case here. We do not know each other well enough, perhaps because each of us is undoubtedly too unfamiliar with the present historical conditions in each country to be able to make a clear and precise judgment of each other and of the situation of each country. It is enough, dear comrades, to recall what we have lived through for five or six years—separated from one another not only by the fronts of the war but also simply by the bourgeois press, which freely sowed lies and slander in all countries—to understand that our attitude obviously should be influenced by this very serious and very difficult situation.

I do not intend to give examples to show that we barely know each other. I will cite only one that is of little importance but not without value. In order to define my state of mind and spirit, Comrade Zinoviev recalled that I use the familiar form of *you* with Prampolini. But, dear friend Zinoviev, our ancestors, the Romans, used the familiar *you* with the emperor. Italian Socialists all use the familiar *you* with each other. Using the familiar *you* is an old custom in the Socialist Party, where we are supposed to be brothers. And I do not think this is something we should be reproached for. On the contrary, this can only be to our credit. We do not like fetishism, and we have always striven not to apply the names of party members to our factions. And those who say that in Italy there are the Serrati, Bombacci, and Turati factions are wrong, because we do everything possible to see that our factions carry the names of ideas and not of men.

Let us not repeat the mistakes of the Second International. As you know, first the anarchists were admitted to it, with whom we ended up coming to blows. Having gone too far to the left, we then went too far to the right.

We have a well-defined line of conduct, and we should follow it to the end, all the more, dear comrades, since this congress is

truly extraordinary. I have never felt so weak, so impotent at a national or international congress as I do in Moscow.

Never at a congress have there been such differences. I do not mean in men's languages and cultures, but in their strength. What am I in comparison to Comrade Lenin? He is the Russian revolution. And me, I represent a very small socialist communist party. I still repeat "socialist" because I know no other socialism than communism. But what are the others, if our Italian Socialist Party is one of the best? And nevertheless, you British comrades have the same right to vote as Comrade Lenin. Wijnkoop carries very little weight compared to Lenin, who carries a great deal.

If we are in this situation, obviously we have to take it into consideration.

Having made these general observations on the composition of our congress, I must say a few words on the situation of different countries.

Above all we must say whether we are for the revolution. Do we want international revolution? In Basel we said Socialists should take advantage of the economic, political, and moral conditions that will be created by the war to make the revolution.

You, dear Russian comrades, you were able to hold to your commitment. You did very well. And the duty of the entire international proletariat is to follow you, because the economic, political, and moral conditions everywhere permit launching the battle against the bourgeoisie and making the revolution.

To make this revolution, we should employ every means. But let us be careful in this congress not to act like schoolteachers and assign good or bad grades to each other. We have come here to evaluate the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat. I am not discussing whether the French have more right than the Germans to join the Third International. I say that the doors of the Communist International must be opened to all parties that can make the revolution with us, and we should discuss later.

Wijnkoop: And the anarchists?

Serrati: If you will allow me, my dear Wijnkoop, I will get not only to the anarchists but also to the Dutch. There is no need to discuss Crispin or Dittmann's attitude. It is enough simply to

ask what the situation is in France and in Germany, in the French Socialist Party and in the German Independent Socialist party.

I tell you frankly that, while being a Latin, I have no confidence in the revolutionary action of the French Socialist Party because the situation in France is not revolutionary.

One fine day the French Socialists said to us, "Yes, dear comrades of Italy and Russia, we will carry out a general strike in support of the Russian revolution."⁴ I do not want to discuss it—I think they were sincere when they told me that—

Goldenberg: They were not.

Serrati: But, my dear friend, we do not have a sincerometer in our pockets.

Lenin: We will find it, this sincerometer.

Serrati: I like to think so, because it can only help my argument. And I repeat, I thought them sincere when they promised me that. But what did they do when the time came? They did not carry out the general strike. They betrayed us during the elections. They used Comrade Sadoul. They said, "He has been condemned to death so we must put him at the top of our electoral list. We must have elections in support of the Soviet republic." But the elections were one of the French Socialists' illusions. They got frightened and told themselves they would have had more success had they bet on reformism instead of Bolshevism.

It is still like that. Their situation forces them to conduct themselves ambiguously and equivocally, groping to the left and the right, without really knowing what they want. I say that we cannot accept men in such a situation. We cannot accept a party that cannot carry out a task.

We must have a very strong vanguard in Germany and France that will march unswervingly forward and will do everything in its power to attract the proletariat. France won the war. The small peasants have their pockets stuffed with cash; the economic situation is perhaps better than anywhere else. In Germany the situation is completely different. I am not at all familiar with the acts that Dittmann and Crispian are accused of, but I know that in Germany there is a revolutionary situation. I know that the Independent party in Germany is a powerful force among the working masses.

I say that the objective situation in Germany is revolutionary, and we must therefore get closer to the proletariat of that country. Admittedly, we must pick and choose, separating the wheat from the chaff. I think that we can advance more openly and frankly with the Independents than with the French Socialists. Our congress should not pass a simplistic judgment on men, but a concrete judgment on the revolutionary situation of countries. We must be really persuaded that it is situations that make men, and not men that make situations.

Having said that, allow me to return to my subject, that is, to Italy. Despite your criticisms, dear Russian friends, we and you like each other. Certainly, you like to box our ears once in a while, that is understood, but that is done only with friends. (*Laughter*)

Rather than talking all the time about Turati and Modigliani, we should make the revolution in Italy. In Italy we have a more pronounced revolutionary situation than in the other, so-called victorious countries. The economic situation is dismal, the state is bankrupt, the peasants discontented. Of course, we have more money than before the war, but no one wants to work for the boss anymore. "I want to work in my own factory, in my own field," says the worker. The situation is really revolutionary, from the economic as well as from the psychological point of view.

We are carrying out a zealous revolutionary agitation in the country. It is true that men without a rudder let themselves be drawn along by the Turati current. "You still read *Critica Sociale*," we are told. But it has been ages since we read it. I know exactly what its press run is—they print 953 copies.

Bordiga: Which the bourgeois press reproduces.

Serrati: It is a Socialist theoretical journal that for a certain time, some thirty years ago, led young Socialists to Marxist socialism. It conquered Bakuninism in Italy. Today it has no influence whatsoever. Just like Turati, it no longer plays any role in the party. In Bologna, when we examined the question of our party's attitude and changed our old program of 1892, Turati had to take cover behind Costantino Lazzari's shoulders in order to hold on to a few supporters. He accepted a resolution that mentions the dictatorship of the proletariat, violence, and so forth in very vague terms. At the national council in Florence

the reformists did not dare present a resolution, because after their speeches they strongly sensed that their words were meeting with no reception at the congress.

There is a certain workers' movement that we should take into account. It is neither our fault nor to our credit that we are Italians, any more than that you are Russians. In Italy there is a feeling, a love for those who have always expressed their ideas clearly and who have never betrayed their party. In Italy those who promise little and deliver much are held in high esteem.

For many years we had the Labriolas and the De Ambrises who railed at the working masses to get rid of the leaders who betrayed them. And yet it was they who really betrayed. Turati always stuck to what he promised and always observed party discipline. Though you demand the expulsion of these men, you are preparing to accept into the Communist International parties that still contain people who crisscrossed all of Europe during the war with pockets stuffed full of bank notes to corrupt the working class.

We are told we must throw out Turati, who voted against the war, not just as a pacifist but as a Socialist, always the enemy of all bourgeois opportunism. That is obviously a contradiction.

At the Rome congress in 1918, Comrade Bombacci delivered a great eulogy of Turati,⁵ fighting against his expulsion. He rightly maintained that Turati would never have the crowds fired upon. As for me, I do not want to make it a question of personality here. For me it can only be a question of utility. If Turati is useful to us, let us keep him; if he is dangerous to us, we reject him. I have no sentimental feelings toward anyone.

Lenin: No sentimentality, you say?

Serrati: You know very well that my attitude is not that of a sentimentalist. I said that we must free ourselves of these men, but without losing contact with the masses. We should make use of certain circumstances. I have repeatedly tried to do so.

Zinoviev recalled the congress of chemical workers, in which Turati made his speech advocating class collaboration. I led a furious campaign against him. And it was precisely the workers who defended him, saying, "It is true he is wrong, but he is a good man." Well then, we must await the day when that can no longer be said. But that is not an easy thing. His most recent speech in parliament, of which Comrade Zinoviev spoke, was

not exactly as presented here. On the contrary, it was a very clever speech. This is what he said to the bourgeoisie: "I am warning you, you are no longer able to maintain power, you are incapable of running society. Leave, and we will take your place. We accept power and we will use bourgeois specialists as technicians and will make them work to our liking." That is quite different from what Comrade Zinoviev attributed to him.

I have said repeatedly that I am for purging the party. Turati must leave, but not by being expelled. I said so to Comrade Lenin and I said it in *Avanti!* and in *Comunismo*. You have to know how to go about it, to keep the working masses and not to lose even those of their leaders who have a purely decorative value. Furthermore, the theses do not say otherwise, and that is the reason why I accept them.

It has been said that all parties that still include Social Democratic forces should review their memberships and constitute Communist parties adapted to the new conditions. While I am an intransigent and a centralizer—and I am that to the point that in Italy they say I am too dogmatic and too brutal toward the comrades who do not entirely do their communist duty—I think we must be able to adapt to every country's special conditions. Furthermore, this thought is confirmed in another part of the theses:

"The Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diverse conditions of struggle in different countries, adopting universally binding decisions only on questions where this is possible."

So I ask you, comrades, if, for example, we were to return to Italy today and find reaction unleashed against us, which is very possible; if we were to find imperialism marching against us, could you say to us, dear comrades of the Executive Committee, that in such a situation we should carry out the split?

No, dear comrades, allow the Italian Socialist Party the possibility of choosing the moment for the purge. We assure you all—and I do not think anyone can say that we have ever gone back on our word—the purge will be carried out, but give us the possibility of doing it in the manner useful for the working masses, the party, and the revolution we are preparing in Italy.

Lenin: Comrades, Serrati has said that we have not yet invented a sincerometer—meaning by this French neologism an

instrument for measuring sincerity. No such instrument has been invented yet. We have no need of one. But we do already have an instrument for defining tendencies. Comrade Serrati's error, which I shall deal with later, consists in his having failed to use this instrument, which has been known for a long time.

I would like to say only a few words about Comrade Crispien. I am very sorry that he is not present.

Dittmann: He is ill.

Lenin: I am very sorry to hear it. His speech is a most important document and expresses explicitly the political line of the right wing of the Independent Social Democratic Party. I shall speak not of personal circumstances or individual cases but only of the ideas clearly expressed in Crispien's speech. I think I shall be able to prove that the entire speech was thoroughly in the Kautskyan spirit, and that Comrade Crispien shares the Kautskyan views on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Replying to a rejoinder, Crispien said, "The dictatorship is nothing new, it was already mentioned in the Erfurt Program." The Erfurt Program says nothing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and history has proved that this was not due to chance. When, in 1902-3, we were drawing up our party's first program, we always had before us the example of the Erfurt Program; Plekhanov, that very Plekhanov who rightly said at the time, "Either Bernstein will bury Social Democracy, or Social Democracy will bury Bernstein,"⁶ laid special emphasis on the fact that the Erfurt Program's failure to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat was erroneous from the standpoint of theory, and in practice was a cowardly concession to the opportunists. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been in our program since 1903.

When Comrade Crispien now says that the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing new and goes on to say, "We have always stood for the conquest of political power," he is evading the gist of the matter. Conquest of political power is recognized, but not dictatorship. All the Socialist literature—not only German, but French and British as well—shows that the leaders of the opportunist parties, for instance, MacDonald in Britain, stand for the conquest of political power. They are, in all conscience, sincere socialists, but they are against the dictatorship of the proletariat! Since we have a good revolutionary party worthy of the name

Communist, it should conduct propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as distinct from the old conception of the Second International. This has been glossed over and obscured by Comrade Crispien, which is the fundamental error common to all of Kautsky's adherents.

"We are leaders elected by the masses," Comrade Crispien continues. This is a formal and erroneous point of view, since a struggle of tendencies was clearly to be seen at the latest party congress of the German Independents. There is no need to look for a sincerometer and to wax humorous on the subject, as Comrade Serrati does, in order to establish the simple fact that a struggle of tendencies must and does exist: one tendency is that of the revolutionary workers who have just joined us and are opposed to the labor aristocracy; the other is that of the labor aristocracy, which in all civilized countries is headed by the old leaders. Does Crispien belong to the trend of the old leaders and the labor aristocracy, or to that of the new revolutionary masses of workers, who are opposed to the labor aristocracy? That is a question Comrade Crispien has failed to clarify.

In what kind of tone does Comrade Crispien speak of the split? He has said that the split was a bitter necessity and deplored the matter at length. That is quite in the Kautskyan spirit. Who did they break away from? Was it not from Scheidemann? Of course it was. Crispien said, "We carried out a split." In the first place, this was done too late. Since we are on the subject, that has to be said. Second, the Independents should not deplore this but should say, "The international working class is still under the sway of the labor aristocracy and the opportunists." Such is the position both in France and in Britain. Comrade Crispien does not regard the split like a communist but quite in the spirit of Kautsky, who is supposed to have no influence.

Then Crispien went on to speak of high wages. The position in Germany, he said, is that the workers are quite well-off compared with the workers in Russia or, in general, in the east of Europe. A revolution, as he sees it, can be made only if it does not worsen the workers' conditions "too much." Is it permissible, in a communist party, to speak in a tone like this, I ask? This is the language of counterrevolution. The standard of living in Russia is undoubtedly lower than in Germany, and when we established the dictatorship, this led to the workers beginning to

go more hungry and to their conditions becoming even worse. The workers' victory cannot be achieved without sacrifices, without a temporary deterioration of their conditions.

We must tell the workers the very opposite of what Crispien has said. If, in desiring to prepare the workers for the dictatorship, one tells them that their conditions will not be worsened "too much," one is losing sight of the main thing, namely, that it was by helping their "own" bourgeoisie to conquer and strangle the whole world by imperialist methods, with the aim of thereby ensuring better pay for themselves, that the labor aristocracy developed. If the German workers now want to work for the revolution, they must make sacrifices and not be afraid to do so.

In the general and world-historical sense, it is true that in a backward country like China the coolie cannot bring about a proletarian revolution; however, to tell the workers in the handful of rich countries where life is easier, thanks to imperialist pillage, that they must be afraid of "too great" impoverishment, is counterrevolutionary. It is the reverse that they should be told. The labor aristocracy, which is afraid of sacrifices, afraid of "too great" impoverishment during the revolutionary struggle, cannot belong to the party. Otherwise the dictatorship is impossible, especially in western European countries.

What does Crispien say about terror and force? He has said that these are two different things. Perhaps such a distinction is possible in a manual of sociology, but it cannot be made in political practice, especially in the conditions of Germany. We are forced to resort to coercion and terror against people who behave like the German officers did when they murdered Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, or against people like Stinnes and Krupp, who buy up the press. Of course, there is no need to proclaim in advance that we shall positively resort to terror, but if the German officers and Kapp's supporters remain the same as they now are, and if Krupp and Stinnes remain the same as they now are, the employment of terror will be inevitable. Not only Kautsky, but Ledebour and Crispien as well, speak of coercion and terror in a wholly counterrevolutionary spirit. A party that makes do with such ideas cannot participate in the dictatorship. That is self-evident.

Then there is the agrarian question. Here Crispien got very worked up and tried to impute a petty-bourgeois spirit to us: to

do anything for the small peasant at the expense of the big landowner is alleged to be petty-bourgeois action. He says the landed proprietors should be dispossessed and their land handed over to cooperative associations. This is a pedantic viewpoint. Even in highly developed countries, including Germany, there are a sufficient number of such latifundia, such landed estates, that are cultivated by semifeudal, not large-scale capitalist, methods. Part of such land may be cut off and turned over to the small peasants without injury to farming. Large-scale farming can be preserved and yet the small peasants can be provided with something of considerable importance to them.

No thought is given to this, unfortunately, but in practice that has to be done, for otherwise you will fall into error. This has been borne out, for example, in a book by Varga (former people's commissar for the national economy in the Hungarian soviet republic),⁷ who writes that the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship hardly changed anything in the Hungarian countryside, that the day laborers saw no changes and the small peasants got nothing. There are large latifundia in Hungary, and a semifeudal economy is conducted in large areas. Sections of large estates can and must always be found, part of which can be turned over to the small peasants, perhaps not as their property, but on lease, so that even the smallest peasant may get some part of the confiscated estates. Otherwise, the small peasant will see no difference between the old order and the dictatorship of the soviets. If the proletarian state authority does not act in this way, it will be unable to retain power.

Although Crispien did say, "You cannot deny that we have our revolutionary convictions," I shall reply that I do deny it. I do not say that you would not like to act in a revolutionary manner, but I do say that you are unable to reason in a revolutionary fashion. I am willing to wager that if we chose any commission of educated people and gave them a dozen of Kautsky's books and then Crispien's speech, the commission would say, "The whole speech is thoroughly Kautskyan, is imbued through and through with Kautsky's views." The entire method of Crispien's argumentation is fundamentally Kautskyan, yet Crispien comes along and says, "Kautsky no longer has any influence whatever in our party." No influence, perhaps, on the revolutionary workers who have joined recently. However, it must be accepted as

absolutely proven that Kautsky had and still has an enormous influence on Crispin, on his entire line of thought, all his ideas. This is manifest in his speech. That is why, without inventing any sincerometers, any instruments for measuring sincerity, we can say that Crispin's orientation is not that of the Communist International. In saying this we are defining the orientation of the entire Communist International.

Comrades Wijnkoop and Münzenberg have expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that we have invited the Independent Socialist party and are holding talks with its representatives. I think they are wrong. When Kautsky attacks us and brings out books against us, we polemicize with him as our class enemy. But when the Independent Social Democratic Party, which has expanded as a result of an influx of revolutionary workers, comes here for negotiations, we must talk to its representatives, since they represent a part of the revolutionary workers. We cannot reach an immediate agreement with the German Independents, or with the French and the British, regarding the International. In every speech he delivers, Comrade Wijnkoop reveals that he shares almost all the errors of Comrade Pannekoek. Wijnkoop has stated that he does not share Pannekoek's views, but his speeches prove the reverse. Herein lies the main error of this "left" group, but this, in general, is an error of a proletarian movement that is developing. The speeches of Comrades Crispin and Dittmann are imbued with a bourgeois spirit that will not help us prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When Comrades Wijnkoop and Münzenberg go still further on the subject of the Independent Social Democratic Party, we are not in agreement with them.

Of course, we have no sincerometer, as Serrati has put it, for testing a man's conscience; we quite agree that the matter is not one of forming an opinion of people but of appraising a situation. I am sorry to say that although Serrati did speak he said nothing new. His was the sort of speech we used to hear in the Second International as well.

Serrati was wrong in saying, "In France the situation is not revolutionary, in Germany it is revolutionary, in Italy it is revolutionary."

But even if the situation were nonrevolutionary, the Second International is in error and carries a heavy responsibility if it

refuses to organize revolutionary propaganda and agitation, since, as has been proved by the entire history of the Bolshevik Party, revolutionary propaganda can and should be conducted even in a situation that is not revolutionary. The difference between the Socialists and the Communists consists in the former refusing to act in the way we act in any situation, that is, to conduct revolutionary work.

Serrati merely repeats what Crispien said. We do not mean to say that Turati should be expelled on such and such a date. That question has already been touched on by the Executive Committee, and Serrati said to us, "Not expulsions, but a party purge." We must simply tell the Italian comrades that it is the line of *L'Ordine Nuovo* members that corresponds to the line of the Communist International, and not that of the present majority of the Socialist Party's leaders and their parliamentary group. They claim that they want to defend the proletariat against the reactionaries. Chernov, the Mensheviks, and many others in Russia are also "defending" the proletariat against the reactionaries, but that is not sufficient reason for accepting them into our midst.

That is why we must tell the Italian comrades and all parties that have a right wing, "This reformist tendency has nothing in common with communism." We ask our Italian comrades to call a congress and have our theses and resolutions submitted to it. I am sure that the Italian workers will want to remain in the Communist International.

Serrati: You are always confusing me with Turati. Do you perhaps do that on purpose?

Lenin: No one confuses Serrati and Turati, unless it is Serrati himself, when he defends Turati.

Levi: Comrades, first I must thank Comrade Wijnkoop for being so lenient toward the German Communist Party. He said he could not speak freely against the German party in this circle because not everyone here is a Communist. I am all the more grateful to Wijnkoop for his leniency as I do not agree with his reasons for recognizing mitigating circumstances in our case. On the contrary, those reasons show us why earlier he objected so strenuously to allowing the four Independents to remain in the hall. Apparently, Wijnkoop was worried—not without reason—that he would be the first to succumb to infection from

the Independents. The reason he gave for not wanting to criticize us here shows that his fear was justified. The reason is typical of the USPD and is one it uses to cover up all of its sins. He adopts the argument of the USPD left wing, which we have fought consistently and without respite. This wing, too, always says, "We do not want to reveal our differences; let us not talk about them when others are present." We maintain that this position contains a fatal misunderstanding of what the debates within the German proletariat mean. When mistakes are made, we must expose them, whether opponents are present or not. Comrade Wijnkoop's ideology is so typical of the Independents that this formula of his can be used to explain the entire conduct of the Independents' delegation at this congress as well as all the Independents' policies during the German revolution.

What, really, is the underlying meaning of yesterday evening's debate with Dittmann and Crispin? It was the assertion, repeated ad nauseum, "We were in touch with the masses; we stood with the masses; the masses approved of our position." There is a fundamental error here concerning the role of the party and its relationship to the masses. Because just as it is true that a party cannot lead the revolutionary struggle without the masses, it is likewise fatal if a party does nothing but ask constantly what the masses are doing, or if it never wants to say anything except what will appeal to the masses. This, at any rate, has been the USPD's political method so far; it even boasts that it always advocates only what the masses want. Its history, therefore, is one of errors and mistakes, of the failure of the German masses in general. When the masses went wrong, the German Independents went wrong. When the masses were not conscious of their own strength, the Independents did not call upon them to be strong but became weak together with them. (*Interjection: "Behind them! The USPD never understood the leadership role of a revolutionary party!"*)

Even today they still try to demonstrate that they were right in all their mistakes, when the most important thing would be to state what their errors were and establish what happened and why. They should do this not to give us the pleasure of seeing penitent sinners—we are not interested in Crispin and Dittmann's penance—but so that the German working masses now in the USPD recognize all their weaknesses and past mis-

takes. That in my opinion is the most important part of the discussion between the Independents and the Communist International. For this reason and for the sake of these masses of workers, our discussion must now be conducted under the motto: Let there be truth between us.

In my opinion, despite Comrades Crispien and Dittmann's subjective truthfulness, what they have said is wrong. Every word of it is wrong.

It is a bit much, I must say, when Crispien—who once had a better past—utilizes his former relationship with the Spartacus League to identify the Spartacus League opposition with the origin of the USPD. He knows only too well that the USPD organization had a different origin, that it consisted for the most part not of Spartacus League members but of the confused, unclear, semipacifist opposition of August 1914: Bernstein, Ledebour, Kautsky, and others who were not clear on any question and disagreed among themselves on every point.⁸ Remember Ledebour's statement in October 1914, in which he declared he would approve the credits when the Russians stood at Frankfurt an der Oder. It deceives the German masses to make them believe that the USPD grew out of a small, perceptive, consistent group opposed to the war.

Furthermore, just as Comrade Crispien's account of how the USPD's history began was unclear, so too Dittmann and Crispien's account of the USPD's conduct during the war was wrong. It is not true that the USPD conducted antimilitarist propaganda and distributed illegal pamphlets. Quite the contrary. Comrade Dittmann, for me one of the most distressing moments of the war came during that session of the Reichstag when Chancellor Michaelis rebuked the Independents for conducting antimilitarist propaganda in the fleet, and the USPD repudiated Reichpietsch and other comrades—the harbingers of the revolution, the first to die for the revolution—even as they lay in their graves.⁹

Dittmann: Untrue! The opposite is true!

Levi: No. It is quite true that the Independents' excuse at that time was that they did not conduct antimilitarist propaganda; they did nothing except give people the USPD program. They did not say, "Those are our comrades." They did not say, "Thousands more must follow the road taken by those who have fallen."

Dittmann: A lie!

Levi: Leave your word "lie" at home, or I will read you the transcript.

The falsehood being told here about the USPD's conduct during the war is exactly the same as that told about the USPD's conduct after the war. Dittmann gave a detailed account of the circumstances that led to the final breach in relations with Russia. He pleads that Comrade Joffe's deportation was actually ordered by Prince Max. But it is clear—and can be documented at any time—that Joffe was still within the jurisdiction of the German government when the "Socialist" government came to power. It was the "Socialist" government that carried out the deportation.

I will present the facts briefly. The Berlin workers' and soldiers' council decided the following at its November 10 meeting: "The workers' and soldiers' council resolves that the government shall immediately establish relations with the Russian government, and it awaits that government's representatives in Berlin."¹⁰ The Council of People's Representatives, however, had already voted unanimously not to carry out this decision.

Then, on November 19, there was a cabinet meeting, whose minutes were published, and Comrade Radek read from them yesterday. Present in addition to the People's Representatives were Dr. David, Kautsky, and Privy Councillor Nadolny. The minutes say, verbatim: "Continuation of the discussion of Germany's relationship to the Soviet republic. Haase: 'I recommend a policy of delay. . . .' Kautsky (agrees with Haase): 'The decision must be delayed. The Soviet government will not last long; in a few weeks it will be finished.'"¹¹ According to *Vorwärts*, the cabinet adopted the Haase-Kautsky-Barth position unanimously. (*Vorwärts*, December 18, 1919.)

Comrade Dittmann had the misfortune to prove more than he should have proved, for if the facts he presents were true—that the Independents were all along for establishing relations with Russia—it would not be necessary to prove that the failure to establish relations was excused by the difficult situation then existing in Germany.

Moreover, it is well known that the Berlin councils' Executive Committee decided to invite delegates from the Russian Soviet Republic to the first convention of the councils. Moscow ac-

cepted the invitation, and the Soviet delegation, led by Radek, set out. Now, the Supreme Soldiers' Council in Kovno [Kaunas] asked the cabinet by telegraph for information on what to do about the delegation's entry. The Council of People's Representatives voted to send the following reply, over Barth's opposition but with the votes of Haase and—Wilhelm Dittmann:

"Please inform the Russian delegation that it should refrain from coming, in view of the situation in Germany. Entry is thus not to be granted."

At a Reichstag session on February 15, 1920, Noske said, "I have this to say to the USPD comrades. At the party's Leipzig congress Ledebour claimed that by joining the Communist International the USPD would lose its moral right to polemicize against me. Ledebour and the others should know that there are still other things that give me occasion to oppose the Independents."

Noske also said at the February 15 session:

"Mr. Haase complained about the relationship to Russia established by the government. A colleague told me that at a cabinet meeting in November 1918 with Mr. Haase present, Kautsky proposed that relations with Bolshevik Russia not be resumed because that would incur even greater displeasure from the Allies. Mr. Haase agreed. When the Berlin councils' Executive Committee invited Radek and the previously deported ambassador Joffe to the congress of workers' and soldiers' councils, the full cabinet, that is, with Mr. Haase and Mr. Dittmann present, voted five to one to reject entry as undesirable."

Documents are at hand that show that the Independents were not outvoted at all, because their own press approved their position. A clipping from *Freiheit*, number 57, of December 10, 1918, contains the following:

"The Council of People's Representatives acted only under the extreme pressure of circumstances when it appealed to the Russian delegation to refrain from entering Germany. In view of the Entente's overwhelming superiority, it could not and should not have taken responsibility for jeopardizing prospects for peace by allowing the Russian delegation to enter."

And yet you still say there was no Wilsonism in the party! There, laid out before you, was the entire, great world-historic

question: Wilson or the Russian revolution? And you were *for Wilson*. You say, Well, perhaps back then, but Wilsonism in the party has since been overcome.

I can tell you more. The following appeared in the June 4, 1920, edition of *Freiheit*, which, no one can deny, has a certain authority in the USPD: "A questionnaire sent out by the pacifist associations of Germany to all candidates and party leaderships asked, among others things, whether Germany should join the League of Nations, whether a revision of the peace of Versailles should be sought by peaceful means alone, and whether education in the schools should be conducted in the spirit of reconciliation among nations, as the constitution says. The leaderships of the Center Party and the National Democratic People's Party gave unqualified affirmative replies, as did the leaderships of the Right Socialists and Independents. Numerous candidates of these parties responded in a similar vein. No answer was received from the two right-wing parties."

But there is more. Even today in Germany the fight between West and East, between Wilson and the Russian revolution, is not yet over. The situation is going to be grave and tragic for Germany. The time is approaching once again when the German proletariat will hold in its hands the fate of the world revolution for months, perhaps for years. If the conflict between the Entente and Russia continues to intensify and leads to clashes, the attitude of the German proletariat will be decisive. In the face of that, what do we read in the latest issue of *Freiheit*? I have just received the July 23, 1920, issue of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which quotes Breitscheid on German-Russian relations:

"Given the present relationship of forces, pursuing this policy could land Germany in a very difficult situation, make no mistake about it. Armed resistance is as good as impossible. The example Belgium set in 1914 cannot be imitated. We *cannot risk another war with France and Britain*. We can, however, press our rights to the limit and make it *as difficult as possible* for the Allied governments to violate neutrality."¹²

And do you know, comrades of the USPD, what these lines say? It is a transparent offer to the Entente to bargain over the German proletariat's neutrality or, rather, its will to take up the struggle hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with the Russian proletariat, just as the German proletariat was sold to the

Entente once before. I will not quote the passages from Hilferding's speech in Leipzig, which have been quoted here several times, in which he justified his refusal to make common cause with Russia by saying Soviet Russia was on the verge of bankruptcy. In that speech, confident of victory, he states, "We in Germany do not face ruin." What was Ledebour's position? He spoke against terrorism and for higher political morals, and, explaining what he meant by terrorism, he said the following:

"In saying this, I am not referring, for example, to the actions attributed to the Bolsheviks by their opponents. Rather, I am referring to actions they themselves admit to, such as the suppression of freedom of expression, the suppression of all oppositional press and associations, and the appointment of special commissions,¹³ which are given full judicial powers without guaranteeing the accused any legal recourse against the exercise of such judicial functions. . . . That, Comrade Stoecker, is what we must disapprove of, and in doing so we can to a great degree recognize mitigating circumstances in the Bolsheviks' case."¹⁴

Hilferding, however, said in his speech, "What we disapprove of—and in doing so we can allow no mitigating circumstances whatever—is terror." He then went on to say that this is the point on which there is no agreement. Ledebour followed suit.

On top of all this came the ominous Leipzig Action Program. It is somewhat like a lump of clay, with which you can make a pleasant face or an ugly mug—as you please. All I know about the Action Program adopted in Leipzig is that the most diverse currents were present there. (*Interjection*)

When there were different currents in our party, we said so clearly and did not do what I accuse you of doing. As far as I can see, the only thing clear in the Action Program is that Kautsky and Hilferding agreed with it on one hand, and on the other, so did Däumig and Stoecker. You were proud of that. (*Interjection: "Kautsky did not agree with it."*) But Hilferding did. And if Kautsky did not agree, why do you have people in your party who do not agree with the Action Program? What did you do with the people who did not agree with it?

So this Action Program, which is neither fish nor fowl, is what you bring to Moscow saying, "If the Moscow program is in harmony with our Action Program, we will join." This Action Program of yours is so broad that anything can be brought into

“harmony” with it. That is why we demand precise statements on this point. In the French press, in *L’Humanité*, there was a report by Comrade Frossard about his conversation with Crispien in Switzerland in which Crispien also took this position, saying, “We have our Action Program and will not join the Communist International, *ni sans conditions, ni sans concessions* [not without conditions and not without concessions].”¹⁵

Now, therefore, tell us exactly what your Action Program is; put the matter on a political basis, at last. And let Crispien tell us what conditions and concessions he means. Instead of the Action Program that encompasses both Hilferding and Stoecker and consists of nothing but phrases, give us a real political program, so that what is really meant can be seen. Then you will have what the Independents need at this moment. And I am by no means talking about a split, which you love to frighten people with; I am referring to obliging you to tell the masses what you want and what the others want. Developing basic principles in this way, which in my opinion is decisive and significant, is the point where the Communist International must begin.

I myself am too much the lawyer—

Dittmann: That’s very true!

Levi: —not to know how inadequate lawyers’ efforts are. And thus I must confess, I am very skeptical about formulating eighteen points. We do not accomplish by this what is most important in the life of the USPD today, which is to make the masses understand what is at stake. We do not achieve what the masses are trying to obtain and what the Independents have to this day failed to provide: a clear political program. And, I believe, it will be the congress’s main task to speak in clear, comprehensible terms to those German workers who feel as we do, to tell them about the right wing, where it can be found and what it is like, the right wing that until now has been so adept at hiding behind whatever revolutionary phrases were required for the masses. That is the framework in which I have so far understood the struggle against the German Independents.

It is necessary that we give clear expression to the criticisms that those in the ranks of the USPD have not yet had the courage and strength to express, the vague feelings of dissatisfaction, the desire to go beyond the framework of existing USPD

policies. That is how we must serve our party and the masses in the USPD and advance our criticisms. We must tell the masses what they have not yet heard from the lips of their own leaders, not even from those on the left. We know very well that they will try to discredit us for making these criticisms, saying we cared only for the German Communist Party and had only our party's interests in mind. But we will gain the sympathy of the masses all the same and force the right wing out into the open all the more quickly. We will continue to make our criticisms along these lines, not for our own sake but for the sake of the masses in the USPD, to whom, no matter how we are criticized, we must say:

Cupid, who loves and torments you,
Wants you blissful and purified.

Zinoviev: To end today's discussion I propose that all those who have asked to speak a second time refrain from doing so and that no speaker be allowed more than ten minutes. (*The proposal is rejected.*)

Jules Humbert-Droz [Social Democratic Party of Switzerland (left wing)]: To me the main question in this discussion seems to be admitting the USPD and the French Socialist Party. The general theses on admission to the Communist International are not being discussed. Nevertheless, there are two very different questions here. First we have to establish general conditions for all parties that wish to join the Communist International, including the USPD and the French Socialist Party. Second is the affiliation of the USPD and the French Socialist Party specifically. We can talk about this only later, after the parties have discussed our general conditions and formulated a definite request for admission. Today that is not yet the case, and we must broaden our debate, since other parties in Spain, Switzerland, and elsewhere, although smaller, are in the same situation as the USPD and the French party. If the left in the Swiss party had not sent its own delegation, the Executive Committee would have sent a delegation similar to the one from France or the USPD, and perhaps we would be seeing Naine or Graber—who have been resolute opponents of the proletarian dictatorship—taking part in this congress of the Communist International with consultative voice.

The Swiss party is typical of this centrist, wavering tendency, which bends first to the left, then to the right, depending on

the prevailing influences. At the congress held in August last year, the Swiss party voted unanimously to withdraw from the Second International and by a large majority to join the Communist International. However, it elected as secretaries the two reporters who had opposed the Communist International at the congress: Huggler and Graber. In the referendum, dominated by electoralist concerns, affiliation was rejected, 15,000 to approximately 8,000.¹⁶ At that point the party leadership itself undertook steps to reconstruct the International. The original intention of this reconstruction was to create a centrist International excluding, on the right, social-patriotic elements, and, on the left, those “anarchistic rabble-rousers” in the Communist International. After the USPD congress this conception gave way to the Independents’ theses: go to the Communist International but set conditions and try to broaden the theoretical framework.

On several occasions negotiations took place in Bern between representatives of the French party, the USPD, and the Swiss party. Our criticism of the Independents is this: even though they said they would negotiate only on the basis of their Leipzig program, they undertook negotiations with our party’s leadership, a leadership that has opposed the general theses of the Leipzig program—the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet system.

The [Swiss] party’s central committee did not sanction this policy of reconstruction. A motion by Grimm was adopted in April opposing Graber’s resolution for reconstruction. Grimm’s resolution supported affiliation to the Communist International on the grounds that it accepts utilizing democracy during the prerevolutionary period. The next day, however, the party’s central leadership sent a telegram to *Le Populaire* reassuring the reconstructionists in France that this resolution was merely a tactical maneuver by Grimm to avoid a split by the left.

Negotiations continued. While delegations from the USPD and the French Socialist Party came to Russia, negotiations on reconstruction continued in Bern between Paul Faure, a USPD representative, and the Swiss party. The party’s leadership had decided to send a delegation to Russia to engage in the same reconstruction work there as the Independents. It gave that up when the left sent their own delegation.

One thing is clear now: reconstruction is not possible. That effort was doomed from the outset since it had the weaknesses of the Second International, representing its mentality and inclination, its lack of a program and theoretical foundations, its absence of international centralization. It is this paucity of principles, this federalism that made the Second International weak and made "reconstruction" impossible.

Faced with the corpse of the Second International and the impossibility of reconstructing it, the old Socialist parties are drawn to the Communist International, still lacking its mentality, not adopting its principles, fearing its discipline and supervision. But so as not to remain isolated, these centrist parties will agree to every condition, hoping to be able to transform the Communist International from within. Graber stated at a party congress that the party would be forced to join the Communist International, but he reserved the right to work inside it to broaden its framework. Threatened with invasion and contamination by the centrist and opportunist parties, the International is defenseless. These elements will sign anything placed in front of them. Even twenty conditions will not enable us to keep these opportunist elements outside our ranks.

All the same, I believe that Bordiga's proposal—to require these parties to expel all who vote against the program of the Communist International—is useful in order to carry out an initial purge of the extreme right. This word *split* frightens all opportunists, who put unity ahead of everything. This initial purge will of course be incomplete, but it is the first step toward creating a truly communist party.

A second essential condition seems to me to be strict, constant supervision by the Executive Committee of the Communist International of the parties that have joined. The reconstructionists and opportunists of all countries have one common preoccupation: the national parties' independence of the international Executive Committee. "We demand guarantees," they repeat in every key. In the Communist International they want to have the same freedom that they had in the Second International—freedom to *betray*. The Executive Committee must have the right, according to circumstances, to apply special conditions to certain parties, reflecting their character, in addition to the general conditions adopted by the congress. The Executive

Committee must supervise the parties' activity and carry out necessary purges in any parties that are still influenced by the opportunists or admit them into their ranks.

Däumig: I have followed the debate on this agenda point attentively and with good will, because I feel the outcome of these deliberations has the greatest importance not only for the party that sent me here but for the entire International as well.

When I recall the speeches made during the discussion yesterday and today—above all those by representatives of the small groups—I could get the idea that the Communist International is and will remain an International of sects and groups, an International of propaganda associations that can very easily be persuaded to agree among themselves on a common theory or a common line.

I know very well that our Russian comrades do not share this view. I do not think anyone wants to help Kautsky gain the reputation of a prophet cheaply. Proceeding from his well-known democratic, social-reformist, anti-Bolshevik views, Kautsky writes in his new pamphlet *Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Internationale* [The past and the future of the International], "The Third International is prevented a priori from uniting within itself all Socialist mass parties by its exclusive character as a mere organization of sects. It will remain confined to eastern Europe and a few western European splinter groups."¹⁷ I do not believe this is the Russian comrades' view of the Communist International's future. If it is not, then the congress must accept that other large parties must be involved in the Communist International for it to become a powerful organization of the world proletariat and not remain a propaganda society. And it stands to reason that when you debate numerically large parties that have a history and decades of experience in political activity you will find many more weak points and much more to criticize than when you debate parties that have never had to swim in the stream of political life.

It is not my intention to plead my party's case nor to point particularly to extenuating circumstances. There is one thing I would like to say, however. My party should not be judged on the basis of general considerations, theoretical statements, or editorial opinions, which until now have been the basis for criticism of the USPD here. It is wrong to generalize like that, as has been

done here for the most part. It cannot and may not be said that the USPD did such and such, that it sinned in this or that regard. Our situation in Germany is a very special one, and it is also true that in Germany since the World War all parties have been in ferment and in flux.

Much could be said against some of the claims that have been made here. I will note only one thing: after the November revolution in 1918, two very sharp tendencies confronted each other inside the USPD. One was still caught up in the old democratic, reformist views inherited from the right Socialist party; the other took the side of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the council system from the very first day of the revolution, from the day the coalition government was formed. At first, the wing that declared itself for the dictatorship of the proletariat was a minority of the party. Despite that, this minority has done all it can, from that day to this, to bring the USPD more and more onto the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As you know, the final word has not been spoken, and a hard struggle will be needed to achieve this, but we have made great progress along this road.

Although debates have taken place among various speakers here—such as Radek and others with Dittmann and Crispien—and criticisms that were not unjustified have been made of the position taken by the government of People's Representatives at the time, still I wish to emphasize that in addition to this government there was the Berlin councils' Executive Committee, and although its overwhelming majority consisted of right Socialists and soldiers, it always fought with all its might to abolish diplomacy à la Solf, to establish relations with Russia, and to admit the Russian delegation.

We did not get our way and our efforts were not crowned with success. Nonetheless, remember that the phrase coined by Trotsky applies to us in Germany: we had to contend vigorously with the resistance of the material. So it is necessary to draw distinctions. Nowhere, except in Britain, is the proletariat so deeply divided as it is in Germany. We have a significant layer of workers who follow the right Socialist party or are still under the spell of clericalism, and they hang about our legs like dead-weight. Then there are the workers who support the bourgeoisie and the amorphous, politically unorganized masses who are still

politically neutral and must be pulled along by the revolutionary workers.

Faced with these facts, we have made every effort to explain to workers, trained in parliamentary ideology for decades, the idea of putting the dictatorship into practice. There has been a very sharp difference of opinion in our party over the notion that the council system is the only system upon which the dictatorship of the proletariat can be based. It must be noted that in this struggle those who champion the dictatorship of the proletariat have enjoyed ever greater success. Grappling with democratic-opportunistic ideas, which no doubt existed and to some extent still do, the left wing's viewpoint has prevailed to an ever greater degree.

At the same time, very sharp revolutionary activity was taking place in Germany. I will merely mention in passing that since 1918 we have not confined ourselves to expounding our views in a purely theoretical way at meetings and on public, legal occasions. To this day we have done our duty in every area, as far as our powers and means permitted, and we will continue to do so. The party's failure to support us in equal measure is understandable in view of its development and fundamental views. I can say in good conscience that the view that illegal means must be used and the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat have now prevailed throughout our party, and we have begun putting these ideas into practice.

At our party's March [1919] congress, democratic tendencies and ideas were still very much alive; but propaganda for the council concept had grown so strong that it could not be suppressed, and thus arose the formulation "incorporate the council system into the constitution." The party's entire subsequent development drove it onto the path of revolutionary action, and it must be considered revolutionary through and through.

This clarification is not yet complete in the field of theory. Still it must be said that compared to the party's March congress in Berlin, the one in Leipzig marks an advance in the party's historical evolution. But not even the Leipzig congress will be valid forever. I am convinced that in a few months, precisely because we have been stimulated by what we have seen here, we will generate a program much more concrete than the present Leipzig Action Program. And since the Communist Interna-

tional as a whole is to be an association not for agitation but for action, I am convinced that my party's organization and actions will be transformed in the spirit of the demands that this International of action makes on it, and I will do all I can to bring this about.

That will not be so easy, because our organization has been decentralized to offset the democratic, reformist centralization of the old Social Democratic Party. When we were still the opposition in the old party, we learned how the Scheidemann and Ebert Executive Committee wielded dictatorial power, controlling party funds, stealing newspapers, and using all manner of coercive measures. Advanced workers in Germany thus developed a strong aversion to the central leadership and the Executive Committee structure. As a result of this aversion, the party has been greatly decentralized. We do not have the complete authority that the Russian Central Committee has and that it must have in the revolutionary epoch we are in today. In Germany the harsh compulsion of revolutionary development would no doubt have driven us, too, to adapt our organization to revolutionary needs. Now that Moscow is giving Germany a stimulus, we can and must overcome our decentralized manner of organization.

For as things stand today, there is a powerful corrective for our theoretical problems, problems of every party, including my own: the example of our Russian comrades. I can say of them, not as flattery but after calm and dispassionate reflection, that a clear and resolute will is guiding an entire people. It is a will that flows from the International and cannot fail to have an effect on Germany, too. There is another corrective: every kilometer that the Red Army advances is a spur to revolution, a step toward revolution in Germany, (*Applause*) and this fact forces us to concentrate on the demands of the moment.

Things do not always go according to our wish or desire, but we have just learned that the workers of Berlin staged a big demonstration in response to the arrest of Béla Kun,¹⁸ and I am certain that action by the USPD played no small part in calling upon the workers to fight for Soviet Russia and the German revolution. And the USPD intends to continue working and striving to become a valuable component of the Communist International.

It is not true that our party is a governmental party. You should—I do not think this is a particularly important argument, but you should also judge a party by what its enemies say about it. Follow the press, not only *Vorwärts* but also all the right-wing newspapers in the provinces, and you will get some idea of the desperate battles being waged against the USPD; you will note that the USPD, like the Communist Party, is viewed as an enemy of the state.

I would like to add a few words about the Communist Party. It was founded at a time that, in my opinion and that of a few others, was not very propitious for the Communist camp. (*Interjection: "But at the time you wanted to found a party together!"*) We wanted to do that, and why did nothing come of it? Because at the first congress the Communists took positions that it later disavowed and because there were elements present at the founding convention that the Communist Party later had to disown.¹⁹ Those elements influenced the conditions that were formulated, and the Communist Party was founded under their influence. But because an organization was created for those ends, it acquired interests of its own, and this year much has been done that must be characterized as lacking tactical clarity or as an unjustified attack on the USPD. I can say this with regard to the question of the councils as well as other questions; there is no getting away from it. From the lofty heights of theoretical wisdom it is very easy to look down on those who have to look after the details. Even revolutionary work requires much attention to detail. I once told Comrade Levi that, in my opinion, in Germany the Communist Party is the schoolmaster of the revolution and the USPD is the revolution's whipping boy.

I believe the present historic moment is so significant that the most important things still lie ahead. I am firmly convinced that all the unfortunate obstacles hampering the progress of the revolution in Germany can and must be removed by the proposals that emanate from here and that we are helping to make. I believe it will be possible to lead the USPD to the Communist International. If we pursue the theoretical differences to the end, we will see there is no conflict between the Independents and the Communists. Then, with good will on both sides, the second question, that of organization, will also be easily solved.

We must prove this by the deeds that will be done in the near future, and I think they will be the following:

Speaking for myself, we will take all the Communist International's proposals and theses with us to Germany and do our utmost to ensure that no organization is excluded from recognizing, discussing, and carrying out these urgent necessities—from applying them in practice. When we have let our party apparatus know what the Communist International wants—a goal that our entire party apparatus must work for—we will call a party congress, and then we will see whether the majority of the party adopts the positions of the Communist International. If it does, clearly there will be no room for people like Kautsky, who will surely be honest enough to bid the party a public farewell. And because our forces will be unified and centralized, you will always be able to watch over our newspapers, our Executive Committee, and so forth. We will get rid of elements who do not support the Communist International.

Our task is not to join but only to hear the conditions and say we are firmly resolved to lead the Communist International far beyond the inadequacies of earlier Internationals and make it a strong, mighty, genuine International of the proletariat of the whole world.

Kata Dahlström [Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden]: I asked for the floor not to answer Comrade Zinoviev's unimportant remarks against my party but rather to give the congress a little insight into this party.

The Left Socialist party in Sweden was founded because of the social patriot Branting's attempt to expel from the Social Democratic Party our comrades Höglund, Kilbom, and others, the most radical forces of the youth league. Carl Lindhagen, Ivar Vennerström, and Carl Winberg were among those from the old party who participated in forming the new party, with the Social Democratic youth league constituting its nucleus. We were forced to build it on the broadest possible basis to avoid being immediately overwhelmed by the powerful old party.

Carl Lindhagen never abided by the party's decisions and still does not do so. He calls himself a "wild man" and does not have the slightest idea of what party discipline is. Recently he founded a humanist association, which often attacks our party. The position he took on the League of Nations is absurd. The

Left Socialist party has nothing to do with this bourgeois, imperialist institution.

Carl Winberg's position on the question of disarmament is that we must work for it in parliament and not approve any war credits. At the same time, he recognizes the arming of the working class as a necessary consequence of the revolutionary epoch we find ourselves in, where one class stands in struggle against the other. The same position is held by Ivar Vennerström, who has not, as Comrade Zinoviev claims, entered into an "intellectual marriage" with Branting and his party.

We have nothing more to do with Branting's party. The Social Democratic youth league provided the foundation for the Swedish Left Socialist party and is its nucleus; this youth group was the cause of the break with the old party and the founding of the new.

Höglund has been the leading force for many years, and together with Fredrik Ström has led the party through the manifold difficulties it has encountered.

I entirely agree with Comrade Zinoviev that comrades such as Carl Lindhagen do not belong in our party, or in any political party, for that matter.

We unconditionally embrace the Communist International and recognize Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto without reservation. For us the dictatorship of the proletariat and the arming of the working class are preconditions for successfully carrying out the social revolution.

Comrade Zinoviev also says it is symptomatic that we call our theoretical journal *Zimmerwald*. In Sweden, Zimmerwald has always meant a turning point in the movement. In that sense the name still lives as a symbol of this turning point—simply a name that has no other meaning for us.

Walter Stoecker [Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany]: Comrades, yesterday, to my utter amazement, Comrade Ernst Meyer from the German Communist Party openly demanded a split in the USPD. This statement is in open contradiction with the German Communist Party's entire policy since our Leipzig congress. Privately, Meyer told me that it was a slip of the tongue, but such an important pronouncement must be retracted publicly.

At the time—December 1918—I considered the Communist

Party split from our party a disastrous mistake. We are still paying bitterly for this separation. A split in the USPD would be a similarly grievous error now. We have left no doubt that we greatly regretted the Communists' splitting off from us. Furthermore, we stated here that if we join the Communist International, the first thing we want is a rapprochement with the Communist Party with the goal of a complete reconciliation. If relations between the Communists and us have occasionally been very troubled over the last year and a half, that was due in no small part to the many mistakes and confusion that their party, like ours, has experienced. In bitter internal struggles they have undergone a clarification process, and we too have gone through an evolution.

It is no secret that there were strong differences of opinion within our party. Thus, we had different opinions during the war on the pacifist statements and ideas held by comrades at the time, and later on the question of entering the first government after the revolution, on how to collaborate with the right Socialists, as well as on some of this government's measures. Later came battles over whether to support the National Assembly or the council system and on democracy or proletarian dictatorship. No one can deny that all these questions have been resolved in our party in the interests of the further development of the revolution. Today our entire party supports social revolution and proletarian dictatorship, rejecting bourgeois fake democracy, though not always with the necessary clarity on the meaning and methods of the proletarian dictatorship.

I wish some of our comrades had a stronger revolutionary will and sharper theoretical clarity. But our party has undergone an enormous evolution to the left and will develop further. In Leipzig we adopted a communist program that has had a powerful influence on the revolutionary thinking of the German proletariat. No one can deny that our party has been responsible for all the revolutionary mass actions in the last year and a half in Germany. The Executive Committee of the Communist International itself said that most of the best elements of the German proletariat are in our party. That certainly would not be the case if the party were not thoroughly revolutionary in practice and had not moved strongly to the left. Now that the Communists have adopted a clear, Marxist foundation, who

today differentiates between us and them? (*Shouts of protest*)

Of course, there are still differences of opinion among us. Comrade Levi reproached us for Ledebour's statement about terrorism. With his rather peculiar remarks, Ledebour is fairly isolated. We are totally united on the question of using force, with perhaps a few exceptions, inevitable in a big mass party. And as for terrorism, I myself explained this to Comrade Ledebour in Leipzig, declaring that I could well imagine revolutionary situations in which terrorist measures would be unavoidable. And you can rest assured that when the German revolution stands with a knife to its throat as you did with Denikin at Orel, Yudenich at Petrograd, and Kolchak on the Volga, it will reach for the same revolutionary measures you used here in Russia. But being clear about this necessity and openly propagandizing for terror as a programmatic tactic are two different things. I am firmly convinced that not a single one of the Communist parties affiliated to the Communist International has adopted terrorism as a tactical measure in its program.

Take the German Communist Party as an example. The party's program, drawn up by Comrade Luxemburg, reads: "In bourgeois revolutions, the weapons of bloodshed, terror, and political assassination were indispensable for the rising classes. The proletarian revolution needs no terror to achieve its goals; it hates and abhors killing."

Radek: Read on!

Stoecker: Take it easy, Comrade Radek, I will read on.

So after terrorism is clearly rejected here, the use of force is recommended. On this it says that the proletarian revolution "is not a desperate attempt by a minority to impose its ideals upon the world by force; instead, it is an act by the great multi-millioned mass of the people. . . . The violence of the bourgeois counterrevolution must be met by the revolutionary violence of the proletariat. . . . The battle for socialism is the most violent civil war world history has ever witnessed, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the weapons it will need for this civil war and learn how to use them; it must learn how to fight and to win."²⁰ For us too these lines are self-evident. The civil war in Germany is upon us. We are right in the middle of it, and we are doing everything in our power to prepare the working class for the coming decisive battles.

Now a few words on two questions raised in our letter that have elicited criticism. First, on maintaining economic activity during the revolution. Obviously, during the coming revolutionary struggles the production process will suffer serious disruptions, first, because of the severe consequences of the civil war and its military operations, and, second, because of our transformation of capitalist into socialist production, to be undertaken immediately, and the resistance and sabotage this will evoke from the capitalists. Whoever wants social revolution must take disruption of production into the bargain. Certainly, though, we in an industrial country like Germany will have to place more emphasis on maintaining economic life than was the case in an agrarian country like Russia.

With that I come to our statement that Russian methods cannot be carried over mechanically to western European countries. In Germany we do not have an army of revolutionary-minded peasants numbering in the millions as in Russia; instead there is a counterrevolutionary peasantry that will probably place enormous obstacles in our path. Furthermore, we have an army of millions of white-collar workers: office workers, bank clerks, technicians, engineers, petty officials, and so on, of whom a considerable part must be conscious supporters of the proletarian dictatorship if it is not to be condemned to defeat from the start. So we in Germany have different preconditions to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat and occasionally perhaps different forms of wielding it. In general, of course, the lessons of the proletarian revolution in Russia apply to us in Germany as well.

If our party did not join the Communist International as quickly as we would have liked, this is in no small part because we have a Communist Party in Germany by which the masses judge the Communist International. We cannot and should not hide the fact that this party, with the exception of its Central Committee, long pursued the policies of the forces now making up the KAPD in almost all local and regional organizations.

If I mentioned the greater difficulties the social revolution faces in Germany, that is not because we are in any way pessimistic about the future. On the contrary, in Germany too capitalism is approaching its end. Economically, financially, and in food policy we are hurtling toward the collapse of capitalism. Soon

we will be involved in new revolutionary struggles in Germany, perhaps in just a few months. We will do everything possible to sharpen the contradictions. We will defeat the bourgeoisie and establish the German council republic. Hand in hand with Soviet Russia and the Communist International, we will then fight for the world revolution.

Åge Jørgensen [Left Socialist Party of Denmark]: I had not intended to take the floor in this discussion, but some of Comrade Zinoviev's remarks on the program of the Danish Left Socialist Party compel me to say a few words about this party's activity and program.

Obviously, it is quite impossible to deal with all the ins and outs of the situation of the party in Denmark in my relatively brief remarks. So I would like to point out that our party was built through the fusion of three different parties:

1. The Socialist Workers Party of Denmark, which had a purely communist program and had joined the Communist International in early 1919;

2. The Independent Social Democracy of Denmark, which was organized in April 1918 at the same time as the Socialist Workers Party and had a petty-bourgeois character;

3. The Social Democratic Youth League, which until the united party was formed—on November 9, 1919—still thought it possible to remain in the Social Democratic Party.

These facts alone show that our party was assembled from the most disparate forces. But economic as well as political developments have driven the party more and more to the left, and our program is a result of this rapid evolution. At our founding congress, on February 29 and March 1 of this year, not only was it unanimously decided to join the Communist International, but a program was adopted, also almost unanimously, that must be characterized as communist.

Comrade Zinoviev found a weak point in this program. And Comrade Zinoviev has good reason to wax ironic over the line he quoted. But I would like to point out first, that the translation of the sentence in question is very bad and, second, the context of the sentence shows that we Danish communists do not claim that the revolution must necessarily be entirely bloodless. We claim only that maybe it could possibly take place without bloodshed.

If I may, I will read the part of our program that lays out our position on the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“Developments have totally confirmed that any belief in a gradual, imperceptible evolution to socialism must be viewed as utopian. Socialization of the means of production can only come about by ever more powerful class struggles culminating in social revolution. Whether this will end quickly and bloodlessly depends on whether the bourgeoisie itself recognizes that its role has ended.

“The bourgeoisie’s conduct will also indirectly determine the duration of the ensuing dictatorship of the proletariat, which is necessary to transform production and distribution. Taking over the means of production and all private property, as well as cultivating the soil, should be carried out by councils of workers from city and countryside, which assume political power and simultaneously replace the bourgeois parliament.

“Denmark’s Left Socialist Party takes as its task assembling the working class on this basis and preparing it for the great, decisive struggle between the upper and lower classes.

“The party does not strive merely for the dictatorship of a specific social class, but rather sees this as a necessary transitional stage. This dictatorship can never be established through haphazard attempts at putsch or revolution. The party strives for the ultimate goal of harmonious social relations, in which the system of oppression and coercion will be abolished, and it therefore fights against militarism with all its strength.

“In its struggle the party will emphasize socialist education of the masses and extraparlimentary action. It will also use parliamentarism (participation in parliamentary and local elections) until the coming of a revolutionary situation, when it can establish a form of government based on political and economic equality for all, through councils of workers in city and countryside—that is, a democracy of labor.”

As can be seen from our program, there is not a word there on the necessity of a peaceful, bloodless revolution. It says only that it is possible that the revolution in Denmark will be bloodless. On this we agree with Comrade Lenin, who has often explained that a bloodless revolution is possible in certain economically backward countries.²¹

In any case, the important question is not whether or not the revolution is bloody. The main thing is for the working class to conquer power—it does not matter by what means. I personally am of the opinion that the revolution will and must be bloody in all the economically developed countries, probably much bloodier than the Russian revolution, because the European bourgeoisie is much stronger and much better armed than was the Russian bourgeoisie.

Denmark is an economically backward country, and the Danish people are small peasants and petty bourgeois. A revolution in Denmark is unthinkable until a revolution has taken place in Germany. We are completely dependent on developments in the great states.

I admit that our program is not perfect. Nevertheless, it is much clearer and sharper on the points on the dictatorship of the proletariat than is the program of the Swedish Left Socialist party, for example.

There are better grounds for criticizing our activity than our program. Still, there is no reason for us to be ashamed of the work we have carried out in the short time we have existed. In the relatively short time from November 9 to June 1, we have founded and developed forty-five party branches. We have also carried out propaganda work, especially through our daily newspaper *Arbejdet*.

We must struggle against great difficulties, and everyone who knows even a little about the situation in Denmark will confirm that Denmark has, relatively speaking, the largest and most corrupted Social Democratic Party.

Precisely because of our view of the necessity of proletarian dictatorship, we must fight not only the Social Democrats but also the syndicalists, who are fundamentally opposed to any dictatorship.

But I will admit that we Danish communists will have to be pushed ever further to the left, and we can only be thankful that we have received from the Communist International the stimulus for ever more revolutionary agitation and action.

Jacob Friis [Norwegian Labor Party]: (Reads the following statement.) The Norwegian delegation points out that the special organizational form of the Norwegian Labor Party, collective affiliation of the trade unions to the party, was not taken into

account in the conditions for joining the Communist International. The delegation calls attention to the report on the party's activity and proposes that the Executive Committee and the parties that permit collective affiliation discuss this matter.²²

SUMMARY

Zinoviev: To this I can say only that we will take the occasion to examine the situation thoroughly, and we advise the Norwegian comrades to come up with another structure for the party, replacing collective admission with individual admission.

The Swedish party confirmed what was said here.

The Yugoslav party is not opportunist—that is not what I wanted to say—it is a revolutionary party. But it should not tolerate any opportunists in its midst.

I make the following motion: (*The motion is read.*)²³

It would be very useful for the parties of all countries to be somewhat apprehensive of the Communist International. We should always have a mirror in which the parties can see their image.

Yesterday the Executive Committee was asked why the KAPD is not represented. The KAPD representatives, Rühle and Merges, declared at the last minute that they did not want to attend the congress. At first we gave them consultative votes, but at the last minute we proposed decisive votes, because we wanted to force them to participate in the discussion. Nevertheless, they refused to attend the congress, declaring that they had read our theses and were convinced that we were too opportunist for them. They walked away from the congress. They did not dare defend their views before a forum such as the Communist International. So they are not here because they do not want to be here.

I agree with the comrades when they say that Cachin and Frossard's last statement was a step backward. After I received their statement, I wrote them the following letter:²⁴

Zinoviev (continues): They answered me with a letter:²⁵ So now we must wait and see what comes of it.

Now I come to the speakers who criticized the Executive Com-

mittee's actions from the "left." Wijnkoop and others said that it is not right even to admit here people such as the Independents and the French. I ask the congress, did we really lose anything by dealing so thoroughly and clearly with these representatives? Will it be bad when the proceedings of yesterday and today are published and the workers read them? On the contrary, it is good that these opinions will now be clear to the entire world.

Comrade Goldenberg gave a whole long speech on how it is impermissible to admit such forces into the Communist International. But we are not proposing to do so. We ask only that the Executive Committee be given the mandate to determine, after the congress, whether the conditions have been complied with. We have given the French delegation a letter in the name of the congress Presiding Committee,²⁶ which you may already have read today in the Russian press. We told them that Longuet is not a revolutionary but a social pacifist, and that his past as well as that of his friends is disgraceful. Unity with Renaudel and Thomas is the same as unity with that swine Noske. We told them point-blank what we needed to tell them. This letter will be published in France by the Communists and maybe also in *L'Humanité*, and the French will read it and be able to judge. In this way we will talk to the workers who still have some trust in the centrists. What would we have said to them if we had not negotiated with Cachin and Frossard?

We have nothing to fear from Crispian's Kautskyism. We did not propose to the congress that the Communist International admit these elements, so do not go setting up straw men. We will not admit the USPD and the French Socialist Party, such as they are. We demand a purge of these parties and a total transformation of their politics. And we will get it.

It will be a step forward when our theses are read everywhere in the factories and meetings.

Let the centrists draw up countertheses and present them to the masses. Now things are moving. That is why I say that this so-called "left" opposition is totally unwarranted and limps with both feet. This is precisely the "futurism" Guilbeaux spoke of.

I repeat, the only thing we proposed is that the Executive Committee must first be convinced on whether all our conditions are really fulfilled, and then the committee must have the mandate to admit these parties as well as the right, in accor-

dance with the Statutes of the Communist International, to expel them at any time. We are sufficiently well armed and have nothing to fear.

To Comrade Serrati I would like to say that the situation in Italy is intolerable for the Communist International. The entire trade union movement in Italy is in the hands of reformists. The party is to blame for this.

Comrades, I must inform you that the Italian trade unions have not called a congress for seven years, and this is tolerated by a party that belongs to the Communist International. People of D'Aragona's type know that when they call a congress the workers will chase them out. Such concessions are a scandal! How do you expect to make a proletarian revolution when the heads of the trade unions are outspoken reformists? So you see, comrades, the situation is not so harmless and cozy as Serrati's speech would have it. The Communist International cannot tolerate that. If the leaders of the Italian party tolerate it any longer, then we will appeal over their heads to the Italian workers.

Just a word on the USPD left, comrades. We know very well that the USPD is an amorphous bloc of two tendencies. Listening to Crispin, it must be admitted that he sounds just like Kautsky. The representatives of the USPD left console us, saying, "Things are moving forward. Do not be so impatient. Everything will work out. Just wait." I ask: Is that all you have to say to us, Comrade Däumig? Comrades, I believe this is quite unsatisfactory. Are we really going to allow the difficulties that confront us to tie our hands? Instead of acting, the USPD left consoles us by saying, "All the same, things are moving forward. Up to now we have been proud that our party was a factor in history, that we have accelerated the course of history."

The USPD's solace does not help. Comrade Däumig, you signed a Central Committee statement that is really no brilliant chapter in the USPD's history. How was that possible? Because the USPD left is not organized, because it does not know what it wants, because it cannot free itself from the embrace of the right-wing, half-dead opportunists. The proletariat had to pass you and take the lead.

We adopted a resolution on the role of the party. Why did you not speak on this point? We showed how the Bolsheviks were

able, at the beginning of the war, to swim against the current in the stream of chauvinism.

Our historic task is to lead the working class, not to wait until we are yanked forward. We have waited long enough. The working class has waited long enough. Now the decisive battles have arrived.

In Germany it is possible that in the next few months the working class will face decisive struggles. How can you still waver on the question of terror? One would think we in Russia had taken enough blows. You should also learn from our mistakes. We have seen General Krasnov, after we freed him, turn around and organize the civil war. You are forgetting the lessons of your own German revolution, of Liebknecht's murder. There is hardly a single street in working-class neighborhoods of the big German cities where workers' blood has not flowed. The civil war is upon us. We must not forget the lessons of the civil war. We must take these lessons to heart.

I ask the congress to adopt the conditions now, turn them over to the commission for final editing, and then vote on them. But just voting for these eighteen points does not make you a communist.²⁷ We must follow up on whether the parties really carry out these conditions, and I hope the Executive Committee will do this. We do not need people to bow before the Russian revolution and the Communist International. What we need is simply for comrades in the other countries to do their duty and carry out their obligations.

We think of ourselves not only as a party that governs a big country but also—and this is our pride—as a Communist Party that, together with other parties, founded the Communist International. It is not for nothing that we speak of a world revolution. The Communist International is not a Russian but a world organization. We are proud that the congress can take place on our soil. Naturally we are proud that some of you say that here in Russia something has been accomplished. Still we must demand that you not come to us with rhetoric but tell us openly and clearly when the Italian trade union movement, the great Italian working class, will finally be freed, when Communist parties will finally be built everywhere.

Therefore, comrades, I ask that you adopt the following theses:²⁸

The general discussion is over. Several comrades have asked for the floor to make personal statements.

Serrati: Perhaps the statements I made in my brief speech on the theses under discussion were not properly understood. I said here that I approve of them completely and will vote for them, because I think that the Executive Committee of the Communist International will apply them fairly liberally, in accordance with theses 16 and 17. I must say that Zinoviev is also right to deplore the fact that the Italian General Confederation of Labor has not met in congress for six or seven years, but the reasons for that are neither political nor personal but purely statutory, as I will explain to Comrade Zinoviev. Furthermore, the congress of the Italian labor federation is in preparation.

As for Dugoni, let me provide some information. I alone in the parliamentary fraction opposed sending him to Russia. Yesterday evening I telegraphed to reestablish the truth distorted by Dugoni, and I wrote to demand Dugoni's immediate expulsion from the party if he really made the statements attributed to him.

Wijnkoop: Comrade Levi understood my statement to mean that I did not want to criticize the German Communist Party because the USPD was present. He was mistaken. I only want to establish the fact that since the USPD was present, the German Communist Party was not subjected to any criticism. I regretted that fact and said that the conclusions drawn from it were mistaken.

Dittmann: When Comrade Levi accused us this morning of having disavowed the sailors murdered at Kiel and Wilhelms-haven, he forgot to mention I had declared from the podium that these sailors fell as heroes and martyrs of the German revolution, a declaration that the reactionary press did not fail to emphasize. Besides, the role of these sailors and their actions is known only from what followed. So what Levi said from the podium was untrue.

Levi: I did not cast blame on the USPD, but rather on three men, three leaders of this party who disavowed our revolutionary sailors. They did not disavow them in the strictly literal sense of the word. They simply disavowed this act from a political

point of view. Otherwise they would have had to call upon the proletariat and the army to follow their example, and that they prudently avoided doing. (*Applause*)

Dittmann: I do not believe that a distinction can be drawn here. You will understand that I do not carry in my pocket the proceedings of all Reichstag sessions in which I have ever spoken. What I said in the Reichstag about the facts of the case was the literal truth. We only exchanged a few words in passing with the sailors and gave them our party's agitational pamphlet. At the time we did not yet know what the sailors intended to do.

Levi: Comrade Wijnkoop misunderstood me. I reproached him for lapsing into USPD ideology by not wanting to talk openly in the presence of the German Communist Party.

Comrade Dittmann is right to emphasize here that the three USPD representatives did not forget themselves to the point of robbing the sailors who were shot of even their personal honor. They allowed the sailors their personal honor, but the question is whether the USPD took political responsibility for them at the time and declared its solidarity with them. The USPD disavowed the fallen sailors. It did not seize the opportunity to carry out propaganda for ending the war. Politically it dissociated itself from these people and to this day remains dissociated from them.

Dittmann: In my view, making such a distinction between personal and political defense is the method of a lawyer.

Levi: I would like to remind the comrades that we often make a distinction between personal and political points of view. Take for example the Russian anarchists, whose political methods we reject, but whose persons we honor.

Dittmann: Comrades, unfortunately the whole matter has been misrepresented. The authorities turned on the USPD representatives in order to strip them of parliamentary immunity. The whole affair grew out of this. In our speeches in parliament we always spoke out for putting an end to the atrocious human massacre.

And I really see no difference between the personal evaluation of the sailors' actions that I made in the Reichstag and our political evaluation.

Levi: I am forced to remind you once again that it is customary

to make a difference between a political and an individual act. The assassination attempts by the anarchists in Russia filled all of us with personal sympathy for those who committed them, but we certainly were careful not to approve of them politically.

Dittmann: I stick firmly by the opinion that I expressed earlier.

Goldenberg: I am going to vote against the theses proposed to us by the Executive Committee. I would like to read a statement on my vote or submit it to the Bureau to be included in the proceedings.

Serrati: If it is a personal statement, you have the right to read it out.

Goldenberg: It is a personal statement. It reads:

“The normal course of the capitalist order, accelerated by the imperialist war of 1914-18, divided the proletariat of all countries into two opposing wings—the reformist wing and the revolutionary wing. The Communist Party is the expression of this revolutionary wing. The Communist International, embracing the Communist parties of all countries, is the international organization of the revolutionary proletariat.

“Since its goal is to overthrow the capitalist order by force and establish communism by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it cannot contain any forces liable to betray the interests of the revolution at the decisive moment. Consequently, all forces not entirely communist should be excluded from the Communist International.

“Therefore, envisaging the possibility of having so-called centrist parties join the Communist International is out of the question. As representatives of the labor aristocracy imbued with a bourgeois ideology, they do not in any sense meet the necessary requirements for joining the International. They are its most bitter opponents. Solely the failure of their attempt to unite the parties, or wings of parties, hostile to the Communist International made them decide to come knocking at its door today. Under these conditions their verbal acceptance of communist principles is nothing and can be nothing other than monstrous hypocrisy.

“The tactic the Communist International must adopt toward those ‘centrist’ parties where the split between the reformist and

revolutionary wings has not yet taken place is to promote this split and the formation of a clearly Communist party, the expression of the revolutionary wing of the proletariat.

“But this split cannot be artificially induced from without. It must result from a profound movement of the masses. Verbal acceptance of communist principles and tactics by opportunist leaders, far from encouraging this movement, on the contrary can only work against it by increasing the confusion that reigns in people’s minds. It can have no result other than to discredit communism and delay all the more the creation of a real working-class party.

“The Communist International should therefore meet every request to join by ‘centrist’ parties with a clear and intransigent criticism of these parties’ attitude and politics. It will have to show the masses that follow these parties that they must break with the petty-bourgeois ideology of their opportunist leaders and adopt the perspective of the communist minority fully and without reservation. The Communist International should always work closely with these minorities and facilitate the activities they undertake in their own milieu. Finally, everywhere that a split has become possible, it should be energetically encouraged as the only means to unite the masses around a clearly revolutionary program of action. Departing from this course, in order to facilitate Center parties joining the Communist International, amounts to introducing gangrene into the International’s healthy body, introducing into its midst enemies that will stab it in the back at the decisive moment of action.”

Serrati: Comrade Zinoviev informs me that he rejects Comrade Goldenberg’s theses.

Guilbeaux: Several amendments have been submitted to the Bureau, and I understand that they will be referred to the commission. But I propose that the amendment by Serrati and Graziadei on forbidding Communists from belonging to the Freemasons be voted immediately.

Serrati: I call for the vote on Guilbeaux’s motion. (*Adopted unanimously.*)²⁹

I propose voting on the theses as a whole and referring the amendments to the commission. (*Adopted.*)

Wijnkoop: I propose that we discuss at least one motion here and not in the commission. I mean the motion that at least

two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee of any party wishing to join the Communist International must have supported joining it before this congress.

Radek: I propose that we refer this motion to the commission. We must seriously discuss whether we can expect to save the situation in the USPD through having nine-tenths or three-quarters of the Central Committee. Personally, after the performances of Comrades Däumig and Stoecker, I have lost hope that they are in a position to carry through real changes in the party's policies even if they have nine-tenths of the Central Committee. I propose that we leave this question to the commission.

Serrati: I call for the vote on Wijnkoop's motion to immediately discuss the amendment in question.

Wijnkoop: I do not propose an immediate discussion, but a vote on the principle.

Serrati: I call for the vote. Those who support Wijnkoop's motion please raise your hands.

(The motion is rejected by a large majority.)

Serrati: I call the question on the theses proposed by Comrade Zinoviev.

(Comrade Zinoviev's theses are adopted with 2 votes against.)

Steinhardt: I voted against the theses as a way of protesting against the rejection of Wijnkoop's motion, which seems to me to be of capital importance.

Serrati: Now we must set the agenda for our work. The Bureau proposed ending the discussion at five o'clock. It is now six. Today's work is over. Tomorrow there will be the women's conference. Sunday all the commissions have to work. On Monday at eleven o'clock is the plenary session on parliamentarism. The Commission on the Agrarian Question will meet in the small hall at eight o'clock in the evening.

Wijnkoop: We must vote on whether we want to authorize the Executive Committee to continue the negotiations with the USPD and the French party in the same way it began them and has been conducting them.

Serrati: This motion is very thorny and also comes at the last minute. I ask Comrade Wijnkoop to withdraw it and make it again in the next session.

Wijnkoop: Gladly.

(Radek demands the floor. Serrati refuses because the session is already ended. The session ends at 6:30 p.m.)

Parliamentarism

(PART 1)

Zinoviev: The session is open.

It is exactly one year today since the Hungarian soviet republic fell. During this year, as you well know, we have lost thousands and thousands of our best comrades in Hungary. It was also one year ago today that one of our best friends, Comrade Tibor Szamuely, fell as the first victim of the Hungarian counterrevolution. I ask the congress to rise in honor of this comrade. (*All rise.*) May I voice the hope that the time is not far off when we will again have a soviet republic in Hungary. Last year the soviet republic fell. Long live the soviet republic of Hungary!

Dittmann: I have the following statement to read on behalf of Comrade Crispian, who cannot attend the congress because of illness.

"At the congress session on July 30, 1920, in which unfortunately I could not participate because of illness, the reporter referred to me in his summary as a social pacifist, that is, a man who dreams of reconciliation between classes or who believes that class contradictions can be eliminated in a peaceful manner.

"In more than twenty-five years of activity in the workers' movement, I have never held social-pacifist ideas. I firmly reject them.

"I am convinced that capitalist class society can be overcome only through the most ruthless, independent class struggle by the proletariat, through the conquest of political power by the working class, and through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Wijnkoop: I said already in the last session that another vote must be taken. The chair, Serrati, did not conduct it then. Therefore, I move that a vote be taken on the question of whether to mandate the Executive Committee to continue negotiating with the USPD and the French Socialist Party in the same way this is now being done. There must be a vote on this

mandate, and I propose this vote be taken now. But together with the delegates from Bulgaria and Mexico, I also move that the vote not be conducted as has been done until now but rather that each country here cast its vote.¹

Radek: One might have thought that since Comrade Wijnkoop had time on Saturday and Sunday to sleep on the question, he would no longer pose it, because it is already decided. That is to say, we adopted a resolution stating that after the parties in question have adopted our conditions at their congresses and practice shows whether they carry them out, the Executive Committee is authorized to decide whether or not to admit those parties to the Communist International. If we give the Executive Committee the power to decide whether or not a party is admitted into the Communist International, we cannot take away its power to continue negotiating with that party. The motion is not discussable, as it is already decided, and I move that we proceed to the next point on the agenda without further ado.

Zinoviev: It has been moved that debate be closed. I will first take the vote on this question. (*Vote*) The Bureau's motion carries. We now come to the substantive vote. All in favor of Comrade Wijnkoop's motion, please raise your hand. (*Vote*) The motion fails.

I move that the English language be used now instead of French for the following reasons: Six or seven more comrades have arrived who do not understand French. We have conducted half of the congress in French. Now we must save time, and particularly since the questions of the trade unions and parliamentarism will be discussed next, we must speak English.

Comrade Bukharin, the reporter for the next point on the agenda, has the floor.

REPORT ON PARLIAMENTARISM

Bukharin: Comrades, first, please excuse my German. It will by no means be the German language but a substitute for it.

We have divided up the work as follows: First, I will report on the question of principle and the corresponding solution to it. Second, Comrade Wolfstein will report on the work of our

commission. And then will come the counterreport by Comrade Bordiga, whose viewpoint is that in this epoch of the destruction of the world capitalist system we may not participate in any parliaments at all.

Now to the business at hand. In posing any problem, we must always proceed from a concrete assessment of the epoch. And here there is a fundamental difference between the previous epoch of peaceful development and the present one, which is the epoch of the collapse of the capitalist system—the epoch of class wars, civil wars, and proletarian dictatorship. The “peaceful” epoch—to be sure, it was not peaceful if we take the colonies into account—can be characterized as the epoch of a certain commonality of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This community of interests, especially in the case of the proletariat in the highly developed capitalist countries, rested on the fact that the big capitalist countries pursued an odious imperialist policy. Thus, the capitalist classes of these countries were able to reap superprofits and pay higher wages from these superprofits to the proletariat of their own countries.

What Kautsky said at that time—that the imperialist policy in no way benefited the working class—is wrong in principle. Looking at the matter in terms of the temporary interests of the working class, we could say that the imperialist policy brought a certain benefit, which was the higher wages that could be paid to workers out of the capitalists’ superprofits.

If we can view this epoch as one of a certain community of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, then a second characteristic of this epoch is evident, namely, that it was also the epoch in which the workers’ organizations grew over into the bourgeois state apparatus. What the reformists refer to as growing over into socialism was the working class and the workers’ organizations growing over into the bourgeois state apparatus.

This phenomenon emerged especially glaringly in the period of state capitalism,² when in fact almost all workers’ organizations—including rather large mass workers’ organizations—became component parts of the state-capitalist apparatus. If we look at the big political parties of the working class, the Yellow Social Democracy, and the trade unions during the war, we can see that during this period all of these mass organizations be-

came components of the capitalist system and state apparatus. They were nationalized—in bourgeois fashion. The starting point of this process lies in the period before the war. It was inherent in the process of growing together with capitalism, which even before the war embraced almost all working-class organizations. Thus, we can also state that the parliamentary deputies of the working class and the fractions of the workers' parties grew over into the bourgeois parliament. Instead of being directed against the whole system in general and against the bourgeois parliament, they became a component of the parliamentary apparatus as such. Such was the previous epoch of peaceful capitalism, and we observed this phenomenon at the beginning of the war.

Then came the new epoch of capitalist collapse and civil wars. As far as the working class as a class is concerned, it lost its former, rather imperialist ideology in this process. This ideology, which culminated in the slogan of "national defense," collapsed, and the phenomena that resulted from it collapsed too. The workers' organizations, instead of being components of the capitalist system, gradually became instruments of the class struggle. They thus changed from tools supporting the capitalist system to instruments of its destruction. The transformation of the parliamentary fractions paralleled this; they changed from components of the parliamentary apparatus as a whole to instruments of its destruction. And this brought the new parliamentarism into being, which we Communists can and must adhere to.

Comrades, I will by no means comment on every paragraph in our theses, which are very detailed. I will choose a few main points to speak about. And then we will be in a position to resolve the questions in dispute.

When we have before us two epochs of such completely different character, clearly we must recognize, a priori, that the process of transition from one epoch to the other, from the old parliamentarism to the new, entails the survival at any given time of various relics of ideas the working class held earlier. The further this process develops, the more these remnants disappear. But now we can clearly see these survivals of former conceptions in many parties, including those already in the Communist International. In general, opportunism and the vacillating parties are still present in the workers' movement, the ideol-

ogy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie still exists to some degree, and this is reflected in the presence of the old parliamentarism.

Let us first look at the overall picture of working-class parliamentary activity. As regards the composition of different parliamentary fractions, we get a strange picture. Take the USPD, for example. This party now has 82 parliamentary deputies. But in the framework of this very moderate and opportunistic party, let us examine the composition of its parliamentary fraction. The figures are approximately as follows: of those 82 members of the parliamentary fraction, about 20 belong directly to the right, around 40 to the “swamp,” and about 20 to the left USPD. Hence, the percentage of the right and the “swamp”—I underline that this is within the framework of the USPD, which in and of itself is already quite opportunistic—is rather large.

Take the Italian party and its parliamentary fraction. This party belongs with us and is in the Communist International; it is one of our best parties. We can say that if we were to divide the members of this parliamentary fraction into three parts, that is, into the supporters of Turati and Lazzari, those of Serrati, and the so-called Bombaccians, we would obtain the following numbers: 30 percent of the whole fraction belong to the Turati tendency, 55 percent to the center, and 15 percent to the lefts. Comrade Serrati gave me a few other figures. In his opinion, the reformists have 41 seats. That is an official figure given by Comrade Serrati and represents a very large percentage of reformists within a communist party.

If we consider the French party, we find the following figures: of 68 members of parliament, there are 40 outright reformists within this already opportunist party and 26 from the center—not in our sense of the word; here the word means the center of the French party, which means doubly centrist. As for the communists, they have perhaps 2 seats.

In the Norwegian party, which is quite a good party, the parliamentary fraction has 19 members. Approximately 11 of them are right wing; 6, centrists; and 2, communists. The Swedish parliamentary fraction has quite a few comrades who can by no means be called communists.

Thus, *summa summarum* [all things considered], the picture is rather lamentable. The composition of the parliamentary frac-

tions is, indeed, beneath all criticism. And if we examine the cause of this phenomenon, we find that these parties contain a rather large number of opportunists. Even as parties they are clearly not sufficiently communist. That is why they also tolerate such elements in their parliamentary fraction.

Turning from the parties' composition to their policies, that is, their parliamentary policies, we can say with good reason that they are as far removed from revolutionary parliamentarism as heaven is from earth. I will again take the USPD as an example. During the war, when the task was to appeal to the peoples to bring the war to a halt, they appealed instead to the government. I remember my conversation with Comrade Haase. When we were in Berlin,³ he wanted to prove to us that he was practicing really revolutionary parliamentarism. As the best proof of this he produced one of his speeches in which he asserted that the German government had misused German troops by sending them to Finland. Thus these troops could be misused. As if sending them to the French front is not a misuse; only sending them to Finland is a misuse. That is proof not of revolutionary but of opportunist parliamentarism.

Let us take everything that was written and spoken in the German parliament on the question of socialization.⁴ It is simply ridiculous. Examine these speeches; there is no trace of a revolutionary standpoint. And I know that in 1920 Comrade Däumig too, in his articles on the plans for socialization, still represented this opportunist way of stating the question. Or take the example of the speech on the constitution by Oskar Cohn, the USPD representative. Although this speech is quite long, it contains absolutely no trace of the revolutionary way of formulating questions. Here we learn that the constitution is sick. Not a word about Noske.

That is Kautsky's method, because when he discusses the question of bourgeois democracy, he talks about apes and savages. The same is true of the speech by Comrade Oskar Cohn. Here one could set forth our principled position in a very revolutionary way. Or, for example, the business of the commission of inquiry into who was responsible for the war. This complete farce, conducted on the basis of material provided by the foreign ministry, is what the Independents want to use to conduct a parliamentary investigation into the question of war

guilt. There certainly is no trace of any revolutionary activity here. Take the motion, put forward in the German parliament by Comrade Oskar Cohn, to repeal the protective custody law. This law applied only to political prisoners. Here we find everything imaginable except the revolutionary standpoint of a revolutionary communist.

Take what we have heard here in this hall from the USPD comrades. Excusing himself for not responding to us promptly, Comrade Dittmann, if I am not mistaken, or another delegate said, "We had elections then, and because we were involved in something as big as the elections, we could not draft a reply immediately." That is a glaring example, fatal to the comrades who give it. Given elections on one hand and the cause of the whole International on the other, surely every revolutionary will see that he must conduct the election campaign under the slogan of the International. To suggest a contradiction between the International and the elections may be anything you please, but it is not compatible with membership in the Communist International. We can follow all the parliamentary activity of the USPD comrades and never will we find clear, purposeful activity in our sense of the word.

Take the French Socialist Party or other parties; we find a rather sad picture there too. I need not devote much attention to them, because only one example is needed to get the whole picture right away. In all these things, in the composition of the parliamentary fraction and in its tactics, remnants of the old parliamentarism can be seen, which we must literally root out. For as long as these practices and these methods continue, and our parliamentary fractions are composed in this way, we cannot develop any revolutionary activity. Going into the revolutionary struggle with such rubbish is absolutely out of the question.

We come now to another question, namely, that of anti-parliamentarism on principle. Such antiparliamentarism is the legitimate child of the opportunism just described and the former parliamentary activity with all its sins. They gave birth to it as a kind of counterweight. We much prefer this antiparliamentarism on principle to opportunist parliamentarism.

In my opinion, we can distinguish two main groups among the adherents of antiparliamentarism: one that really rejects on principle all participation in parliamentary activity, and a sec-

ond that is against parliamentarism because of a particular, specific assessment of the possibilities for parliamentary activity. In our epoch we can describe the American IWW as representative of the first tendency. Comrade Bordiga will speak here today on behalf of the second tendency.

Now, as far as antiparliamentarism on principle is concerned, it can be said about the first group that its doctrines or tactics, pursued theoretically, are based upon complete confusion regarding the fundamental concepts of political life. For example, in the IWW they have absolutely no clear conception of what political struggle really is. They think that an economic general strike, even if directed in fact against the bourgeois state, is not a political struggle—provided that it is led by the trade unions rather than by a political party. Thus, they absolutely do not understand what political struggle really means. They confuse political struggle with parliamentary activity. They think that political struggle can mean only parliamentary activity or the activity of parliamentary parties. I will not go into this question here, because it is discussed clearly in our theses. The comrades need only read the theses.

It is quite clear that this negative attitude toward parliamentarism rests on several errors of a principled nature and, above all, on a wrong conception of what political struggle really is. Viewed historically, American parliamentarism is so sordid and corrupt that many honest forces go over to the camp of principled antiparliamentarism. A worker does not think at all abstractly. He is a rather crude empiricist, and if he cannot be shown empirically that revolutionary parliamentarism is possible, he flatly rejects the whole thing. Forces like that, who have seen nothing but vileness, join the camp of principled antiparliamentarism on a very large scale.

I come to the viewpoint of the second group, represented in this hall by Bordiga. He tells us that his position is not at all to be confused with that of antiparliamentarism on principle, and I must say that his position, formally speaking, is based on purely theoretical premises to the exclusion of all others. Comrade Bordiga asserts that it is precisely because the present epoch is one of mass struggles by the proletariat, because it is one of civil wars, and specifically because of this historical perspective, that we must not go into parliament. That is what he

believes. But I believe it can be proven that there is a connection in principle between the tactics of Comrade Bordiga and those whose opposition is principled in nature. Comrade Bordiga has written his own theses, and in them we read, for example, the following:

“It is necessary to break with the bourgeois lie that would have people believe that every encounter between antagonistic political parties, every struggle for power, must be played out within the framework of the democratic mechanism—through elections and parliamentary debates. This cannot be accomplished without breaking with the traditional method of calling on the workers to participate in elections, to which they are admitted side by side with members of the bourgeois class, and putting an end to the spectacle of proletarian deputies working the same parliamentary ground as deputies of their exploiters.”⁵

Here Comrade Bordiga is saying that if a working-class deputy is physically in the same room with a member of the bourgeoisie, he is ipso facto working side by side with the bourgeois class. That is a naive conception, typical of the IWW.

At the end of his thesis 9 we read, “That is why Communist parties will never achieve great success in propaganda for the revolutionary Marxist method unless they base their work directly on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the workers’ councils, eliminating any possibility of getting entangled in bourgeois democracy.”

Thus, physical contact in a room is in itself the Fall of Man, and after that—everything goes to pieces.

I think this error will be greatly magnified by the fact that we do not always have workers’ councils. Comrade Bordiga agrees with us that we cannot organize workers’ councils immediately in all countries. The councils are organizations of proletarian struggle. If the conditions for waging this direct struggle are not present, it makes no sense to form these councils. Then they will turn into cultural appendages of other institutions and become absolutely reformist. And there is a great danger that the workers’ councils will then be organized according to the French model, so to speak, by which a few people meet and form a humanitarian-pacifist organization that has no revolutionary value. And none of these institutions exist yet at all; they have no reality. But bourgeois parliament exists in reality. In our

theses we say we must have our revolutionary agents here, in these institutions. Our proletarian scouts work there side by side with the bourgeois class.

There is a completely negative conception here, not formulated in logical terms, but quite understandable from an emotional point of view. From the viewpoint of revolutionary logic and expediency the decisive aspect of the whole problem is this: we revolutionary Communists say that it is possible to go into the bourgeois parliaments in order to try to break them up from within. Formerly, when the parliamentary fractions were growing together with the parliamentary institutions, they became components of the system as such. We, however, want to develop our activity in such a way that the contradiction between the parliamentary system and our fraction becomes ever sharper. It goes without saying that for us the main thing here is that our parliamentary activity must be coordinated with the masses of the working class.

Let us follow Comrade Bordiga's theses further. First a brief comment. I maintain that some comrades are antiparlamentarist on principle because they are afraid to act as revolutionary members of parliament, because this is too dangerous for them, and because in a time of revolution they are trying to run away from this most difficult task. They point to the big parties in order to prove that such activity is completely impossible. I do not say that of Comrade Bordiga, but there are such elements in his faction. He comes and says in his thesis 12:

"The very nature of the debates in parliament and other democratic bodies makes it impossible to go beyond criticizing the policies of parties we oppose in order to conduct propaganda against the very principle of parliamentarism and to act beyond the limits of the parliamentary rules."

Comrade Bordiga says it is technically impossible to make use of parliament, but he must prove that. No one will say that under tsarism we had better conditions in our Duma than exist today in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. No one has tried to speak in the Italian chamber in the necessary way. Why then do you assert, a priori, that it is impossible? Try it first—create some scandals; let them arrest you; have a political trial in the grand style. You have done none of that. This tactic must be developed to an ever higher degree. And I maintain that this is

possible. French comrades—Lefebvre, for example—claim that you cannot utter a harsh word against Clemenceau in the French chamber. No one has tried it. No one has made the attempt. I believe plain fear is present here. People say, “Yes, that is too dangerous. We can do only purely legal propaganda work.” Here they unmask themselves. They want to run from this difficult task because it is too dangerous. In section 10, Comrade Bordiga gives us the following argument against parliamentary elections.

“The very great significance attached in practice to election campaigns and their results, and the fact that the party devotes to them all of its forces and of its human, press, and even economic resources for a rather long period of time, combine to reinforce the feeling that this is the real, main activity for attaining communist goals despite all the speeches at meetings and all manner of theoretical pronouncements. In addition, it leads to abandoning almost completely all work of revolutionary organization and preparation, giving the party organization a technical character that is completely at odds with the demands of legal and illegal revolutionary work.”

Such things may be true in Italy, but you must prove to us why they are logically necessary. If you share Comrade Dittmann’s position and say that election campaigns are counterposed to the question of the International, then you are right. But our position is that the whole election campaign must be developed from a revolutionary point of view. Then no such conflict can arise.

It is not a logical contradiction to say we must develop the entire election struggle around the sharpest revolutionary slogans in order to go to the villages and work where there is still no political interest, in order to weld the people together as a mass organization, in order to maintain contact among all of these different kinds of campaigns. You say, “Well, that is exactly what will kill revolutionary work.” Comrade Bordiga wrote that because he has seen little of real revolutionary election campaigns, just as the IWW comrades have never seen revolutionary parliamentarism. That is why Comrade Bordiga makes such statements, but he should at least substantiate them.

Nevertheless, I believe that there is much empirical evidence of revolutionary parliamentarism. I will review it; the names are

familiar. There was Liebknecht's work, Höglund's work, then that of the Bulgarian comrades, and ours, too. We carried out revolutionary parliamentarism under the most varied historical circumstances; for example, during the second Duma, during Kerensky's Pre-Parliament, and during the Constituent Assembly.⁶ We were not afraid of being side by side with members of the bourgeoisie, the Socialist Revolutionaries, or the Cadets, because we had solid revolutionary policies and a very clear tactical line.

That is why this whole question—namely, that of the party—is now paramount. If you have a really communist party, you need not fear sending your men into bourgeois parliament, because they will act as revolutionaries must. But if your party is a hodgepodge in which 40 percent are pure opportunists, of course those are the very gentlemen who will sneak into the parliamentary fractions, into positions in which they will be most comfortably situated. That is why almost all of them are members of the parliamentary fractions. Then you cannot carry out your revolutionary communist parliamentary duties. It is a question of the kind of party.

I repeat, when among the parties of the Communist International we have real Communist parties that harbor no opportunists and no reformists in their midst, when we have carried out this purge, we will then have a guarantee that we have not the old parliamentarism but a really revolutionary parliamentarism and a reliable method of destroying the bourgeoisie, the entire bourgeois state apparatus, and the bourgeois system.

Wolfstein: Comrades, I will speak briefly on the work of the Commission on Parliamentarism. It voted to replace part 1 on page 60 with a detailed historical introduction to the question of parliamentarism written by Comrade Trotsky.⁷ The theses as a whole are now entitled "The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism." The first part, which replaces the earlier part 1, is called "The New Epoch and the New Parliamentarism."

Here is Comrade Trotsky's introduction:⁸

After that, changes were made in each thesis.

As amended by the commission, thesis 1 reads: "Parliamentarism as a state system has become a 'democratic' form of rule for the bourgeoisie. At a certain stage in its development it needs

the fiction of a popular governing body that outwardly appears to be an organization of 'the popular will,' standing outside the classes, but in essence is a machine wielded by ruling capital for oppression and subjugation."

To thesis 4, line 3, was added: "cannot as such be taken over permanently."

And to thesis 9, line 4: "Mass actions are organized and directed by the proletariat's revolutionary mass organizations (trade unions, parties, councils) under the overall leadership of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist party."

Thesis 11, line 8, now reads: "Rather it does so to use parliament to help the masses take action to break up the state machine and the parliament itself."

To line 5 of thesis 12 was added: "are still prejudiced by democratic illusions and look to the parliamentary rostrum."

Then thesis 13 as it stood was taken out completely, and in its place a new thesis was inserted on what to do when a majority is won in municipal institutions: "Should Communists hold a majority in institutions of local government, they must (a) organize revolutionary opposition against the central bourgeois government; (b) do everything possible to serve the poorer sectors of the population (economic measures, creating or attempting to create an armed workers' militia, and so forth); (c) at every opportunity point out how the bourgeois state blocks truly major changes; (d) on this basis develop vigorous revolutionary propaganda, never fearing conflict with the state; (e) under certain conditions, replace municipal governments with local workers' councils. In other words, all of the Communists' activity in local government must be a part of the general work of undermining the capitalist system."

In thesis 15, Höglund's name was struck from the last sentence because he carried out revolutionary work only for a limited time. He is no longer doing that today.

Part 3 is now entitled: "Revolutionary Parliamentarism." Only a few insignificant changes of a more editorial nature were made in it.

All of the commission's members except for two agreed with the content of the theses. The main part of the commission's work was devoted to producing good German, English, and French texts. That was definitely a more difficult task than

dealing with Bordiga's theses, which received 2 votes in the commission. The results of the other votes were: Trotsky's introduction passed with 2 dissenting votes; theses 1 through 6 were adopted unanimously; theses 7 and 10 were passed with 2 dissenting votes; 8 and 9 passed unanimously; 11 through 18 were adopted with 1 dissenting vote; 19 was adopted unanimously. Part 3, theses 1 through 4, were adopted with 1 vote against; thesis 5 with 2 dissenting votes; theses 6 and 7 unanimously; and the remaining theses with 1 abstention. The 2 votes cast against the theses on principle were those of the delegates from Switzerland and the IWW.⁹ The IWW representative was not present at the commission's final meeting because of illness.

MINORITY REPORT ON PARLIAMENTARISM

Bordiga: The left faction of the Italian Socialist Party is anti-parliamentary for reasons that are general in character, not limited just to Italy.

Now, is the question here one of principle? Of course not. In principle we are all opponents of parliamentarism because we reject it as an instrument for liberating the proletariat and as a political form of the proletarian state. The anarchists are anti-parliamentarists on principle because they take a stand against every form by which one individual delegates power to another. So too are the syndicalists, who also oppose political action by the party and have a completely different view of the process of liberating the proletariat and of the new society. As for us, our antiparliamentarism is based on the Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy.

I will not recapitulate here the arguments of critical communism, which exposed the bourgeois lie about political equality elevated above economic inequality and the class struggle. Underlying the communist view is the concept of a historical process in which the class struggle culminates in the liberation of the proletariat after a violent prolonged struggle by the proletarian dictatorship.

This theoretical view, explained in the Communist Manifesto, was realized for the first time in history in the Russian revolu-

tion. Between these two events lies a long period, during which the development of the capitalist world was very complex. The Marxist movement degenerated into a Social Democratic movement, creating a field for common work between the petty corporative interests of certain groups of workers and bourgeois democracy. This degeneration could be observed at the same time in the trade unions and Socialist parties.

Thus the Marxist mission of the party, which should have spoken for the entire working class and reminded it of its historic revolutionary role, was almost entirely forgotten. A completely different ideology was established that had nothing in common with Marxism, rejected violence, and abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat, replacing these concepts with the illusion of a peaceful and democratic social transformation.

The Russian revolution made Marxist theory into reality in a striking fashion by demonstrating the necessity of violent struggle and of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the historical conditions under which the Russian revolution developed are different from those in which the proletarian revolution will develop in the democratic countries of western Europe and America. The situation in Russia is more like that of Germany in 1848, when two revolutions broke out one after the other—the democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution.¹⁰

The tactical experience of the Russian revolution cannot be transported to other countries where bourgeois democracy has functioned for many years and where the revolutionary crisis will consist simply of a direct transition from that political system to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The meaning of the Russian revolution for Marxism lies in the fact that the revolution's final phase (the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the seizure of power by the soviets) could be understood and defended on the basis of Marxism. It prepared the ground for a new world movement, the Communist International, which broke definitively with Social Democracy, which had shamefully failed in time of war.

The revolutionary problem in western Europe requires first breaking out of the limits of bourgeois democracy and demonstrating the deceitfulness of the bourgeoisie's claim that every political struggle should take place within the parliamentary

machinery. It requires waging the struggle in a new way—by direct revolutionary action to conquer power.

The party needs a new organizational structure, that is, a formation new in history. This is realized by the Communist Party, which, as the Executive Committee theses on the role of the party put it, was born “in the epoch of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat” (thesis 4).

Parliament is the first bourgeois mechanism that must be destroyed before beginning communist economic construction and creating the new proletarian state machinery that must replace the government apparatus.

Bourgeois democracy works among the masses as a means of indirect defense, whereas the executive apparatus of the state stands ready to use violent and direct means, which it unleashes as soon as the final efforts to draw the proletariat into democratic politics fail.

It is thus extremely important to expose this game of the bourgeoisie and expose to the masses the entire fraud of bourgeois parliamentarism.

Even before the World War, the traditional Socialist parties' practice had already caused an antiparliamentary reaction in the ranks of the proletariat—the anarcho-syndicalist reaction. This tendency denied the merit of all political activity in order to concentrate the proletariat's activity in the arena of economic organization. It spread the misconception that there can be no political activity apart from that in elections and in parliament. Responding to this illusion is just as important as responding to the Social Democratic illusion. This view is quite alien to the true revolutionary method and leads the proletariat down the wrong road in its struggle for liberation.

The greatest clarity is necessary in propaganda. The masses need very simple and very effective slogans.

Proceeding from Marxist principles, we propose that, in countries where the democratic system was developed long ago, agitation for the proletarian dictatorship be based on boycotting elections and bourgeois-democratic bodies.

The great importance attached in practice to electoral activity contains a twofold danger. On the one hand, it gives the impression that this is the most important activity. On the other, it absorbs all the party's resources, leading to abandoning almost

completely activity and preparation in the other branches of the movement. The Social Democrats are not the only ones who attach great importance to elections. Even the theses proposed by the Executive Committee say that it is important in election campaigns to use every means of agitation (thesis 14).

The organization of a party engaged in electoral activity assumes a very particular structure, contrasting sharply with what is needed for legal or illegal revolutionary activity. The party becomes (or remains) caught up in a web of election committees concerned only with preparing and mobilizing the voters. In the case of an old Social Democratic party that has come over to the Communist movement, there is a very great danger that it will pursue parliamentary activity as before. There are many examples of this.

As regards the theses presented and defended by the reporters, I would like to note that I agree almost entirely with the first part of the historical introduction. There we read that the First International utilized parliamentarism for agitational, critical, and propaganda purposes. Later, in the Second International, the corrupting effect of parliamentarism took its toll, leading to reformism and class collaboration. From this the introduction concludes that the Communist International should return to the parliamentary tactic of the First International with the aim of destroying parliament itself from within.

On the contrary, however, in view of the very different historical conditions, if the Communist International is to adopt the same doctrine as the First International, it must utilize completely different tactics and not participate in bourgeois democracy.

Also, the first part of the subsequent theses in no way contradicts the ideas that I support. The difference begins only where utilizing election campaigns and the parliamentary rostrum for mass actions is concerned. We do not repudiate parliamentarism on the grounds that it involves a legal method. However, it cannot be used in the same way as the press, freedom of assembly, and so forth. The latter are tools for action, whereas the former is a bourgeois institution that must be replaced by proletarian institutions, by workers' councils.

We have no intention of renouncing the use of the press, propaganda, and so forth after the revolution. However, the

very first thing we intend to do is to destroy the democratic apparatus and to replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We would no more utilize that argument than we would the one about the "leaders" of movements. Doing without leaders is completely out of the question. We know very well—and have always told the anarchists since before the war—that it is incorrect to reject parliamentarism as a means of dispensing with leaders. We will always need them as propagandists, journalists, and so forth.

Of course, the revolution needs a centralized party to direct the proletariat's activity. Naturally such a party also needs leaders, but their role is quite different from that traditional among Social Democrats. The party directs the proletariat's activity in the sense that it takes upon itself the most dangerous work and demands the greatest sacrifices. The party's leaders are not only leaders of the victorious revolution; they are also the first to fall under the enemies' blows when there is a defeat. Their position is very different from that of parliamentary leaders, who occupy the most advantageous posts in bourgeois society.

We are told we can make propaganda from the parliamentary rostrum. Let me respond to that with a somewhat childish argument. What is said from the parliamentary rostrum is repeated in the press. In the case of the bourgeois press, everything will be misrepresented. As far as our own press is concerned, there is no point in first going to the rostrum in order then to be able to print what was said.

The arguments that the reporter gave do not detract from our thesis. Liebknecht was active in the Reichstag at a time when we recognized the possibility of parliamentary activity—all the more so since he did not sanction parliamentarism itself but rather criticized bourgeois power.

But if we weigh Liebknecht, Höglund, and the few other cases of revolutionary parliamentary activity against the long series of betrayals by the Social Democrats, the balance is altogether unfavorable for revolutionary parliamentarism.

The examples of the Bolsheviks in the Duma, in the press, in Kerensky's Pre-Parliament, and in the Constituent Assembly are also not applicable, because the conditions were quite different from those under which we propose abandoning the parliamen-

tary tactic. I will not reiterate the difference between the development of the Russian revolution and that of the revolution in other bourgeois countries.

Furthermore, I do not accept the idea of winning control of bourgeois municipal institutions through elections.

There is one very important problem that I cannot pass over in silence. Let us say I want to use election campaigns for agitation and propaganda for the communist revolution. Even so, our agitation will be all the more effective if instead we advocate that the masses boycott the bourgeois elections.

Besides, it is not possible to foresee exactly how Communist deputies could carry out destructive activity in parliament. On this question the reporter gave us the draft of a directive on Communists' activity in the bourgeois parliament.¹¹ That, if I may say so, is altogether utopian. It will never be possible to develop parliamentary work that contradicts the principles of parliamentarism and breaks out of the limits of parliamentary rules.

Now, a few words on the arguments made by Comrade Lenin in his pamphlet on left-wing communism.

I do not believe that our antiparliamentary tendency can be viewed in the same light as the one that demands withdrawing from the trade unions.

The trade union, even if corrupt, is nevertheless a workers' milieu. To leave the Social Democratic trade unions would correspond to the view of certain syndicalists, who want to form organizations of revolutionary struggle of a different type, namely, economic organizations.

That is a mistake that, from a Marxist standpoint, has nothing to do with the arguments on which our antiparliamentarism is based.

Furthermore, the reporter's theses say that the question of parliamentarism is secondary for the Communist movement, which is not the case with the question of the trade unions. I do not believe that any definitive judgment should be passed on individual comrades or Communist parties based on their opposition to parliamentary activity.

In his interesting work Comrade Lenin describes communist tactics to us by advocating very flexible activity corresponding to a keen analysis of the state of the bourgeois world, and in this

analysis he proposes applying to the capitalist countries facts from the experience of the Russian revolution. He also stresses the need to take into account very carefully the differences among the different countries. I will not undertake to discuss this method here. I will say only that a Marxist movement in the democratic Western countries needs tactics that are much more direct than those that were necessary in the Russian revolution.

Comrade Lenin accuses us of wanting to sidestep the problem of communist activity in parliament because solving it seems too difficult to us and because advocating the tactic of antiparlamentarism takes the least effort.

We agree completely that the tasks of the proletarian revolution are very complex and difficult. We are totally convinced that once the problem of parliamentary activity is resolved, as we propose to do, we will still have other, more important problems, and solving them will certainly not be so easy. That is precisely why we propose using most of the Communist movement's resources for activities that are more important than parliament.

It is not that we are afraid of the difficulties. We would observe only that the opportunist members of parliament, who also chose an easy tactic, are nonetheless completely taken up with their work in parliament.

We conclude from this that to solve the problem of Communist parliamentarism according to the reporter's theses (should we accept this solution) will require a great effort and tireless activity on our part, which will leave the movement with even less resources and energy for truly revolutionary activity.

It is not possible in bourgeois society to pass through the transitions in political life that can only be fought through after the outbreak of the revolution by means of the economic transformation of capitalism into communism.

The transfer of power from the exploiters to the exploited entails changing the representative structures. Bourgeois parliamentarism must be replaced by the soviet system. This old, democratic mask of the class struggle must be torn up so that we can move on to direct revolutionary action.

This is how we would summarize our position on parliamentarism—a position that is firmly anchored in the revolutionary Marxist method.

I can conclude with an opinion that we share with Comrade Bukharin: this question cannot and must not lead to a split in the Marxist movement.

If the Communist International decides to take upon itself the creation of communist parliamentarism, we will submit to its decision. We do not believe that this plan will succeed, but we declare that we will do nothing to disrupt this work.

I hope that the next congress of the Communist International will not have to debate the results of parliamentary activity but will examine instead victories of the communist revolution in a large number of countries.

If that proves impossible, then I hope Comrade Bukharin will be able to present to us a picture of communist parliamentarism less gloomy than the one with which he had to begin his presentation this time.

(Comrade Bordiga then reads the following theses:)

MINORITY THESES ON PARLIAMENTARISM

*Presented by Comrade Bordiga on behalf of the
Communist-Abstentionist Faction of the Italian Socialist Party¹²*

1. Parliamentarism is the form of political representation peculiar to the capitalist order. In general, principled criticism of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy by Communists and Marxists shows that granting all citizens of all social classes the right to vote in elections to the state's representative bodies cannot prevent the entire governmental apparatus from being a committee to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class, nor the state from organizing itself as the bourgeoisie's historic organ of struggle against the proletarian revolution.

2. Communists deny that the working class can ever conquer power by winning a majority of parliamentary seats instead of by armed, revolutionary struggle. Conquest of power by the proletariat—the starting point for communist economic construction—entails the immediate and forceful suppression of democratic bodies and their replacement with bodies of proletarian power: workers' councils. In this way the exploiting class is

denied all political rights and the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, a system of class government and representation—is established. The suppression of parliamentarism is thus a historic task of the Communist movement. What is more, representative democracy is precisely the first form of bourgeois society that must be overthrown, before capitalist property, before even the bureaucratic state machinery.

3. The same applies to bourgeois municipal or local institutions, which should not be counterposed theoretically to the institutions of government. In reality their apparatus is part of the bourgeoisie's state machinery. They too must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local soviets of workers' deputies.

4. The executive, military, and police apparatus of the bourgeois state organizes direct action against the proletarian revolution. Representative democracy, on the other hand, constitutes a means of indirect defense. It spreads among the masses illusions in a peaceful road to their liberation, illusions that the form of the proletarian state too can be based on parliament, with a bourgeois minority having the right to representation. The result of this democratic influence on the proletarian masses has been corruption in both the theory and activity of the Socialist movement, that is, the Second International.¹⁵

5. The task of Communists today, in their work to advance revolutionary ideas and practice, is above all to free the proletariat from these illusions and prejudices, spread within its ranks with the complicity of the old Social Democratic leaders, who divert the proletariat from its path. In countries where a democratic system has existed for a long time and is deeply rooted in both the masses' habits and their way of thinking, and where the traditional Socialist parties are strongly based, this task is of particular importance and is among the principal problems of preparing the revolution.

6. In times when the international proletarian movement did not see the conquest of power as an immediate possibility and when there was still no talk of preparing directly for instituting the dictatorship of the proletariat, taking part in elections and parliamentary activity could offer opportunities for propaganda, agitation, and criticism. In addition, in countries where a bourgeois revolution is still in progress and is creating new

institutions, the entry of Communists into representative bodies that are still at a formative stage may significantly influence the development of events, helping to lead the revolution to a successful outcome and to the final victory of the proletariat.

7. The present historical epoch began with the end of the World War, which had consequences for the bourgeoisie's social organization; with the Russian revolution, the first realization of the proletariat's conquest of power; and with the formation of the new International in opposition to the Social Democracy of the traitors. In this period, in countries where the democratic order was established long ago, there is no possibility of Communists' using the parliamentary rostrum for their revolutionary work. Clear propaganda and effective preparation for the final struggle for the dictatorship require that Communists agitate in favor of workers boycotting the elections.

8. Under these historical conditions, in which the revolutionary conquest of power has become the central question for the movement, all the party's political activity must be devoted to this immediate goal. It is necessary to break with the bourgeois lie that would have people believe that every encounter between antagonistic political parties, every struggle for power, must be played out within the framework of the democratic mechanism—through elections and parliamentary debates. This cannot be accomplished without breaking with the traditional method of calling on the workers to participate in elections, to which they are admitted side by side with members of the bourgeois class, and putting an end to the spectacle of proletarian deputies working the same parliamentary ground as deputies of their exploiters.

9. The old Socialist parties' ultraparliamentary practices spread the dangerous view that political work consists only of electoral and parliamentary activity. The proletariat's disgust with this treacherous practice, on the other hand, created a fertile ground for syndicalist and anarchist errors, which reject the function of the party and deny that there is any value in political action. That is why Communist parties will never achieve great success in propaganda for the revolutionary Marxist method unless they base their work directly on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the workers' councils, eliminating any possibility of getting entangled in bourgeois democracy.

10. The very great significance attached in practice to election campaigns and their results, and the fact that the party devotes to them all of its forces and of its human, press, and even economic resources for a rather long period of time, combine to reinforce the feeling that this is the real, main activity for attaining communist goals despite all the speeches at meetings and all manner of theoretical pronouncements. In addition, it leads to abandoning almost completely all work of revolutionary organization and preparation, giving the party organization a technical character that is completely at odds with the demands of legal and illegal revolutionary work.

11. As for parties that have affiliated by majority decision to the Communist International, continued participation in election campaigns prevents the necessary sifting out of Social Democratic elements. If they are not removed, the Communist International will fail in its historic role and will no longer be the disciplined and homogeneous army of the world revolution.

12. The very nature of the debates in parliament and other democratic bodies makes it impossible to go beyond criticizing the policies of parties we oppose in order to conduct propaganda against the very principle of parliamentarism and to act beyond the limits of the parliamentary rules, just as it is impossible to win seats—which confer the right to speak—if one refuses to submit to every formality of the election process.

Success in the parliamentary duel can be achieved only through skill in using the principles upon which the institution itself is based, a weapon common to all, and by exploiting tricks in the rules, just as success in election campaigns will always be judged by the number of votes received and seats won.

Every effort by the Communist parties to impart a completely different character to parliamentary practices can lead only to exhausting the energies that must be dedicated to this labor of Sisyphus. The cause of communist revolution calls for immediate and direct action against the system of capitalist exploitation.

Zinoviev: I have the following motion to present to you on behalf of the Bureau. Nineteen speakers have asked for the floor. But we believe that from today on we must work somewhat faster so that we can finish on Thursday [August 5]. There are

now two sets of draft theses, and we therefore move that principal speakers be chosen, for example three speakers for Bukharin's theses and three for Bordiga's, and that we make do with that for this question.

Radek: I move that there be one speaker for and one against participation in parliament. A person gets fed up to the gills with this whole parliamentary business. The general arguments have already received ample disputation. I move that on this question there be only one more speaker for and one against and then the two reporters.

(Votes are taken on each motion. Zinoviev's motion carries.)

Zinoviev: Now we must make a small inquiry. I will ask who is for Bordiga's theses and who is for Bukharin's theses. Each group should meet and select its principal speakers.

William Gallacher [Shop Stewards' movement, Britain]: I am very sorry to have to state that the Third International too is on the way to becoming opportunist. Looking for ways and means of raising the spirit of revolt in the masses, it thinks of participating in parliamentary elections. It is naive enough to believe that unreliable elements in parliament will fight for the Third International and for the revolution.

We can cite instances in England. What is happening there? They think chiefly of how to participate legally in elections. It is often said that when you go into parliament you can make speeches there and carry on agitation. The result, however, is that the proletariat gets used to believing in democratic institutions. You cannot expect any action from people who go into parliament. The Communist parties of the whole world have something better to do now than waste time on parliamentary elections. Now is the time to study revolutionary means and ways and tactics. But now you wish to turn the attention of the workers away from these, and this is done on behalf of the Executive Committee.

The Communist party now being formed in England insists on its adherence to the Third International. This, however, is now the fashion. So too is the dictatorship of the proletariat. But of what use are words? Are they prepared to work for the dictatorship of the proletariat? I say no, decidedly not.

Liebkecht certainly did something great, but only insofar as he worked outside parliament, with the masses. Had he con-

fined himself simply to parliament, he would be alive now, as many others are, like MacDonald.

As regards the Russian example, that has its history, but we must not generalize from it. The struggle and the experiences of the Russian revolutionaries were forged in tears and blood. The action of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Duma was the result of many years of hard fighting by the working masses.

The Third International as well as the peoples of all countries are now confronted with an alternative. There are two policies. There is one that calls forth in the masses a feeling of subservience to all kinds of democratic phrases, while the other keeps alive the revolutionary spirit in the masses.

The case of MacLean, who during the elections declared at large meetings that he was a Bolshevik and would help to destroy parliament, is typical. Since he was elected a member of Parliament, he has turned into a petty-bourgeois Socialist and declares that he is no Bolshevik.

We must concentrate all our energy on the revolutionary fight, carrying its ideas to the masses. The Third International is now face to face with the alternative: either it goes the way of subservience or the way of fighting.

*Nikolai Shablin [Communist Party of Bulgaria]:*¹⁴ Comrades, the Communist Party of Bulgaria already has experience in regard to parliamentarism that demonstrates that wherever a bourgeois parliament still exists, the Communist parties can and must carry on the struggle in parliament hand in hand with that of the revolutionary working masses. Although the theses presented to us by Comrade Bordiga are couched in Marxist phraseology, it must be said that they have nothing in common with the genuine Marxist idea according to which the Communist Party must utilize every opportunity offered us by the bourgeoisie to make contact with the oppressed masses and help communist ideas triumph among them. These theses contain nothing but vestiges of the petty-bourgeois prejudices that still exist in the workers' movement in some countries.

I believe that Bulgaria's experience gives the best answer to Comrade Bordiga's theses, and for that reason I ask you to pay some attention to my brief introduction to this question—all the more so since it contains no hollow, so-called Marxist phrases but rather facts taken from life.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria resolutely opposed the Balkan War of 1912-13. When this war ended in defeat and profound economic crisis for the country, the party's influence among the masses had grown so much that in the 1914 elections to legislative bodies it received 45,000 votes and eleven seats in parliament on the basis of strictly principled agitation. Several times the parliamentary group protested vigorously against the Bulgarian government's decision to enter the European war, and it voted in protest against war credits every time. When the imperialist war was declared, the party began an ardent campaign of agitation and propaganda against it inside the country and at the front, using pamphlets and illegal leaflets.

This revolutionary activity brought down persecution on the heads of the parliamentary group and the entire party. During the war three communist deputies, Lukanov, Dimitrov, and Ziporanov, were court-martialed and received prison sentences of three to five years. They were jailed for several months and then released. Hundreds of comrades were sentenced to punishments of every kind, and several communists were shot. The army general staff forbade soldiers from reading our party's organ, *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, and soldiers who violated the prohibition were arrested, tried, and even shot.

This fierce struggle against the war, the utter bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie's policy of conquest, and the severe crisis caused by the war gave the Communist Party the opportunity to broaden its field of work and influence among the masses and become one of our country's strongest political parties.¹⁵ In the parliamentary elections of 1919, the Communist Party received 120,000 votes and took its place in parliament with forty-seven deputies. The social patriots, the "Shiroki" Socialists, could secure only thirty-four representatives, even though the ministry of the interior was controlled by a leader of that party—the late and unlamented Pastukhov, the Bulgarian Noske.

The Communist Party's success and its utilization of the parliamentary rostrum for revolutionary ends prompted the frightened bourgeoisie to dissolve the chamber. New elections were called, which were held in March 1920. A terror raged, directed by the government against us alone. Thousands of comrades were arrested, hundreds were abused and beaten in prison, many were killed. Military courts, censorship, the gendarmerie,

the regular army, the White army, and the whole governmental machinery of bribery and oppression—all were used against us.

Despite this, these elections too resulted in a brilliant victory for the Communist Party. Not only did the party retain the positions it had conquered, it greatly strengthened them. It received 187,000 votes and fifty deputies, and the Shirokis' number of seats fell from thirty-nine to nine. Now the government was in the minority. In order to create a majority for itself, it withdrew the credentials of nine Communist deputies and threw them out of parliament—violating the law on elections and the rules of parliament. In that way the government reduced the Communist parliamentary group to forty-one deputies.

By this action the bourgeoisie tore off its mask of hypocritical fairness. This destroyed the basis of the bourgeois-democratic parliament's legitimacy in the eyes of the masses—much to the detriment of its influence on the country's toiling masses. The workers and peasants of two election districts, Philippopolis [Plovdiv] and Vratsa, whose representatives were driven out of parliament, built huge protest rallies where they declared their firm intention to fight to eliminate the bourgeois parliament—to which the real representatives of the people have no access—and to replace it with workers' and peasants' soviets.

The Communist Party conducted the election campaign on the basis of the communist program adopted at its May 1919 congress. It declared openly that it held no illusions regarding parliament and that the proletariat could take power only through revolutionary action by the masses, in which the workers and peasants must resort to armed insurrection and to destruction of parliament and the entire bourgeois state.

The Communist Party wages an implacable struggle in parliament against both right and left bourgeois parties. It subjects all the government's bills to harsh criticism and utilizes every opportunity to put forward its principled position and slogans. In this way the Communist Party utilizes the parliamentary rostrum to spread its agitation among the masses as widely as possible. It shows the toilers the need to struggle for workers' and peasants' soviets, destroys the authority of parliament and belief in its importance, and calls upon the masses to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria fights both in parliament

and among the masses simultaneously. The parliamentary group took a very active part in the big transport workers' strike, which lasted fifty-three days, from December 1919 to February 1920. For this revolutionary activity the government stripped the Communist deputies of their immunity, and several deputies were arrested. Comrades Stefan Dimitrov, deputy from Dubnitsa, and Temelko Nenkov, deputy from Pernik, were sentenced to prison—the former to twelve years, the latter to five years—because they opposed the power of the state, arms in hand. These two comrades languish in jail today.

A third Communist deputy, Comrade Kosta Ziporanov, is being court-martialed by the military authorities for high treason. Three deputies, members of the Central Committee, are being prosecuted for leading a vigorous campaign—in parliament and among the masses—against the government's support of the Russian counterrevolutionaries. They were provisionally released from custody on bail of 300,000 leu, underwritten and paid within two days by the proletariat of Sofia.

All the speeches that the Communist delegates deliver against the bourgeoisie in the chamber are so passionate that they end in a big uproar, and the Communist group and the government majority frequently come to blows.

The Communist parliamentary group is under the direct supervision of the Central Committee. The deputies work constantly among the masses and use their immunity to participate energetically in all the proletariat's struggles.

At the beginning of 1919 a weak current appeared in the party opposed to participation in parliamentary elections. Its representatives demanded a boycott of the bourgeois parliament. But the party's national congress, held during May 1919 in Sofia, unanimously rejected this position and supported the Central Committee's stand. It resolved to utilize elections and the parliamentary platform for the proletariat's revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois parliamentary system and for workers' and peasants' soviets. Some time later, this position was approved in a circular letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and confirmed by the manner in which the results of the elections to parliament and municipal councils promoted the development of our political and trade union organizations.¹⁶

The election campaign, like the struggle in parliament and local councils, did much to develop and strengthen the Communist organizations and extend communist consciousness among the proletarian masses. Today the party has as many as 40,000 members, the trade union federation has 35,000 workers, and the party's daily organ has a press run of 30,000 copies.

The Communist Party has also run in elections for municipal and district representative bodies. In the local elections of December 1919 and the district elections of January 1920, the party received 140,000 votes, winning a majority in the councils of almost every city and in about a hundred villages. In many other city and village councils the party holds large minorities. For the local and district council bodies, the party has a program for organizing workers' and peasants' soviets in the cities and villages whose individual units, in time of revolution, are to replace the local and provincial representative bodies and assume their functions.

So far the Communist Party has campaigned for autonomy of local councils where it has a majority. It calls upon the workers and poor peasants to use mass actions to support budgets adopted by Communist municipal councils, which impose a progressive tax on the bourgeoisie, going as far as confiscating capital and releasing the working class from all taxation. They set aside large amounts for public works, elementary schools, and other purposes that serve the interests only of the majority, the workers and the poor, to the detriment of the special interests of the minority, the bourgeoisie and capitalists.

We use campaigns in Communist municipalities to explain to the masses that they alone, through their organizations, can make the central government respect the decisions of Communist municipal councils on questions of food, housing, and inflation and on all the working population's other immediate needs.

All proposals by local Communist councils are submitted to prior review by the local party committee and then put to a general discussion in meetings in which the entire working population can participate and express their views. Disputed questions are put to a vote. Communist representatives in municipal councils in every district are led by a central commission in Sofia, which is supervised by the party's Central Committee.

Understandably, the bourgeois central government cannot tolerate such activity by Communist municipal councils. It has begun to use absurd pretexts to persecute Communist members of local councils, aiming to paralyze our party's revolutionary activity in these councils. The government arrested the Communist majority in the Philippopolis city council and dissolved the council. The government persecuted and shot several dozen comrades who were members of different municipal councils. But all of this persecution only causes the masses of toilers and discontented to rally all the more closely around the Communist Party.

To defend our "communes," we call on the masses to support us in every way possible. We show them that it is necessary to extend the struggle to the seizing of the central state power, which frustrates every attempt of the workers to defend their interests in local government by implementing decisions of the Communist majority. Through the struggle to defend the Communist local councils, the masses themselves become convinced that the bourgeois state must be attacked directly, not just with the ballot but, above all, through direct mass actions and armed insurrection.

In this way parliamentarism on the local level becomes, in the hands of the Communist Party, a powerful tool for setting the masses in motion, organizing them, deepening their class consciousness, and uniting all their liberating strength in a common revolutionary fighting front that can conquer the citadel of bourgeois power, the capitalist state.

Our party's experiences have shown that revolutionary mass actions in the streets can be combined with revolutionary campaigns in the bourgeois parliament and the municipal councils. That is why our delegation supports the theses that the Executive Committee has put before the congress.

(The session ends at 5:15 p.m.)

Parliamentarism

(PART 2)

(The session begins at 9:30 p. m. The debate on parliamentarism continues.)

Herzog: Comrades, an attempt is being made here to push through a resolution that Communist parties must practice revolutionary parliamentarism in those countries where, as Comrade Bukharin told us, there has previously been no revolutionary activity in parliament on the Russian model, even though the economic development of these countries—such as France, Britain, and Switzerland, for example—has long made them ripe for proletarian revolution.

What is the reason that the proletariat of these countries lags so far behind in revolutionary tactics? Precisely because in these republics and democracies the opportunity existed to make improvements in the proletariat's standard of living. There it was possible to achieve many good reforms for the proletariat through parliamentarism. And because that was possible, it is understandable that no revolutionary activity could emerge. That is the reason why workers in these countries are making such slow progress toward revolution and have such difficulty acquiring the revolutionary vigor of the Russians.

It was quite different in Russia. The proletariat could not work legally. It could not force through reforms and improve its conditions. It had to take to the streets and carry out revolutionary actions. And that is why parliamentarism could not develop here in Russia as it did in the western European countries.

Now our Russian comrades come and say, "Now things will be different in western Europe from what they were before. Until now it was not possible to carry out revolutionary activity in parliament. But now the situation is different, and it is possible in both western Europe and America. We will give all Communist parties definite instructions. We will tell the [parliamen-

tary] fractions how to work, and then revolutionary work will be done there too.”

But I do not think that is possible—first of all, simply because the instructions still leave the door open to opportunistic functioning by the Communist parties. In the commission we had a long discussion about how Communist representatives on municipal councils should conduct themselves, about what they should do when they are in the majority. Comrade Bukharin said there, “When they have a majority, they must try to improve the workers’ conditions in order to heighten the contradiction between the Communist municipal council and the state.” That is exactly what the opportunists also tell us when they go into parliament. They say, “We enter parliament in order to use this platform to exacerbate the conflicts between the proletariat and the state. We want to advocate improvements, but our sole aim in this is to sharpen the conflict between capital and labor.”

This gives an opening precisely to the opportunist elements already in the Communist International to continue to function opportunistically as Communist parties and to steer parliamentarism onto this slippery slope. The Communist International’s new policy of admitting every “revolutionary” party into the Communist International offers them a second opening. Before long the majority of the USPD and the French Socialist Party will also be in the Communist International. Of course, the majorities of the small Social Democratic parties will have to come to Moscow too. Platten has already been sent to Switzerland with this mission. In this way many more opportunist elements, who will not become revolutionary Communists overnight, will get into the Communist International. They will pursue exactly the same policies inside the Communist International that they have been pursuing up to now in the Second International. That is the danger we see, and it makes us realize that parliamentarism in the form presented here really cannot be applied to Western countries.

Here is an example of this in practice. We heard today that the Communist Party of Bulgaria is a model of revolutionary parliamentarism; its parliamentary fraction works splendidly. Recently I read an article that said the exact opposite. I also had occasion to speak with a Bulgarian comrade who went from

Moscow to Bulgaria as a firm supporter of parliamentarism. But when he saw how the Bulgarian Communist parliamentary fraction functioned, he became an adherent of antiparliamentarism and returned as one. That shows that parliamentarism cannot be developed in every country in the same way that Communists used to practice it in Russia.

The Social Democrats in Germany—Bebel and old Wilhelm Liebknecht—also said, “We go into parliament only in order to exploit this platform for revolutionary ends.” Because that possibility existed, however, this revolutionary activity soon turned into opportunism and reformism, and now the Social Democratic Party is openly a party of social traitors.

Of course, you can decide that the Communist parties must carry out parliamentarism. We are not such doctrinaire antiparliamentarians as to say we will not comply with the Communist International’s decision. We can try the experiment for a while. But we are convinced that it will not succeed and that in a year or two, at the next congress, on the basis of practice and experience, it will be said, “It would have been better had we stayed away from this and put all of our forces into the factories, the army, and among the peasants. That would have been more advantageous for the development of the revolution and for the Communist International.”

Murphy: On this question of parliamentarism, I have to disagree with my colleague of the Shop Stewards who spoke this afternoon. I think that all the attacks made on parliamentarism and all the criticism leveled against it here today concern reformist parliamentarism and not revolutionary parliamentarism.

It is true that many representatives of the Socialist movement who have entered parliament have become traitors, but this is not sufficient reason to discard all our activities inside the parliamentary institution. I have never yet heard anyone state that the tactics pursued by Comrade Liebknecht in the German Reichstag and by the Bolshevik deputies in the Russian Duma produced anything but good results for the revolutionary movement.

It is useless to argue that we should stay outside an institution simply because the people within it are bourgeois in outlook; that would compel us to stay outside the trade unions and

similar organizations. For although their members are part of the working class, no one can deny that their ideology is essentially that of the petty bourgeoisie.

The problem before us is not one of keeping ourselves spotless before the world but of carrying the revolutionary struggle not just into the institutions of the working class but into the enemy camp as well. Many arguments, which I do not wish to repeat, have been advanced dealing with the propagandistic and agitational value of revolutionary parliamentarism. In my opinion, there are certain other very important aspects of the situation that show that revolutionary parliamentarism can have great value and has great value even where the industrial organizations of the workers are highly developed.

No important struggle of the workers against the employing class can take place outside parliament without having powerful repercussions inside parliament. This has been well borne out by the experience of the Shop Stewards' movement. Time and again, when they launched out into a big industrial fight, the state machinery operated against them, and, inevitably, even those who proclaimed themselves antiparlamentarians found themselves working with Labour members of Parliament and became a part of the agitation conducted within the parliamentary institution. Time and again the members of the industrial union movement, including antiparlamentarians, waited upon Labour members and others in Parliament to secure their services in undertaking protests and mounting agitation within that institution.

These tactics are thrust upon the fighting movement by the very nature of the varying situations in which workers find themselves from time to time. It is not always possible to carry out a strike, and no strike movement maintains itself at a constant pitch of enthusiasm. There are moments when it is possible to throw down the gauntlet to the opposition and refuse negotiations, when it is possible to make a frontal attack. But there are also times when enthusiasm wanes, and the opposition proves stronger than us. Then it is necessary to rally every possible source of strength, to retreat, to make flanking attacks, protest here and there, in short do everything to keep our forces together. It is on such occasions in particular that we recognize the value of agitational forces inside parliament, and it is on such

occasions that our movement has been forced to utilize them.

Nor should it be forgotten that crises have their beginnings in centers other than those of the industrial organizations. Repeatedly we have witnessed proposals and measures being introduced into Parliament that, when put into operation, would vitally affect the movement outside Parliament. We have witnessed such proposals and measures passing into law without the slightest agitation in the industrial and social life of the masses being made prior to their adoption. Had there been revolutionaries within Parliament in living contact with the organized movement outside Parliament, the very introduction of these measures would have been the signal not only for protest within Parliament but for rousing the masses and mobilizing their forces for struggle outside Parliament.

These situations and these experiences force us to recognize the many-sided nature of our fight. To throw aside a weapon such as parliamentary representation of Communists and find ourselves in the ignominious position of having to appeal for aid to Liberals and reformist Labour men would therefore be the height of folly. We must fight as revolutionaries within Parliament, as revolutionaries who know how to meet the varying needs of the struggle and are not afraid to mix with the enemy when the occasion demands it.

Revolutionary parliamentarism is not an end but a means, and—if we make our Communist parties real revolutionary organs of struggle—a very effective means for mobilizing the masses for the conquest of power. For these reasons I support the theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on parliamentarism.

Souchy: Comrades, first of all, it gives me a certain satisfaction to note that here at the congress, where born-and-bred radical Social Democrats have come together, the viewpoint of anti-parliamentarism is represented not only by the anarcho-syndicalists but also by Communists. That is a concession to the anarchist position as it was adopted forty years ago.

Listening to Comrade Bukharin present his position today, you got the feeling he was defending something that he himself did not really believe. And I do not think I am the only one who had this feeling. Comrade Bukharin defended parliamentarism as a means that cannot lead to socialism. Everyone agrees that

parliamentarism is not a means that can lead to communism. Nonetheless, this means is recommended to revolutionary workers. That is a strange position. To recommend a means that you admit cannot lead to the goal makes no sense. This is precisely the absurdity committed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in recommending this position.

We must come to terms with the fact that parliamentarism is exactly what has done more than anything else to lull the masses. Parliamentarism is what has prevented them from using really revolutionary means and applying direct action. That is an old argument, but this position, which some are trying to put forward here as new parliamentarism, is equally old and trite, although some are trying to reintroduce it here as "new." Are you really not aware that at this very time in Germany, in Finland, and in Russia parliamentarism has fallen into the most flagrant bankruptcy? Is it not downright scandalous to recommend this bankrupt parliamentarism to the workers yet again? Naturally, gentlemen like the Independents, who are professional politicians, will try to recommend it to the workers, but the workers and a great many Communists are turning away from it more and more. We have the same gentlemen here defending parliamentarism who tried to call off the general strike during the Kapp week in Germany.¹

The Communist International's position on parliamentarism is being offered as new, revolutionary parliamentarism. But this new parliamentarism turns out to be the old mistake that the Social Democracy made in its first years, for Social Democracy took exactly the same position at its inception. The same mistakes are being made here. New arguments are being sought for the old, worn-out parliamentarism.

You are Marxists, you say, and that says a lot. Marxists are dogmatic and biased toward theory. They absorbed the idea of parliamentarism from infancy, with their mothers' milk. Parliamentarism has become second nature to these dogmatists—an organic part not only of their thinking but also of their feelings and wishes. For these dogmatists, parliamentarism is anchored not in consciousness and the realm of logic but in the subconscious mind, in the realm of the psyche. Thus, when revolutionaries still talk today about the applicability of parliamentarism, we are dealing not with a method of struggle based on logic but

with a psychological phenomenon. The attempt is made to prove by logic what was preconceived to be the best. Here, not in logical argumentation, is where we must seek the roots of the “new, revolutionary” parliamentarism, which from the outset is simply dogmatism. Thus parliamentarism is an opportunist illusion, not a revolutionary worker’s means of struggling for communism. We must see this so-called method of struggle as that sort of illusion, not as “new, revolutionary” parliamentarism, as Comrade Murphy termed it just now.

It is said that although it is not possible to arrive at communism by this route, parliament ought to be used as a platform in order to reach circles that could otherwise not be reached. I tell you, this position is very difficult to justify logically. If no other means were available, of course, this one would have to be used. But that is not true; there are other methods. If we will only look for them without preconceived ideas, we will find them. We should be aware that recommending parliamentarism is precisely the way to antagonize the revolutionary forces among the working masses, who do not accept parliamentarism. If we weigh the forces repelled against those that, on the other hand, might be attracted, I believe the former will prove far more important for the social revolution than the latter. For that reason this is a very shaky position.

Aside from that, if we adopt parliamentarism in order to carry out agitation, that too can be accomplished without becoming a member of parliament. In Vienna, for example, an antimilitarist threw antimilitarist leaflets from the spectators’ gallery of parliament. That is an example of how you can use parliament as a platform for agitation without taking part in the electoral fraud, without wasting so much strength, energy, and money on elections. Such action is much more important for the workers. Write about that in your newspapers and you will have what you want: agitation from within parliament.

Lenin: Comrade Bordiga seems to have wanted to defend the Italian Marxists’ point of view here, yet he failed to reply to any of the arguments advanced by other Marxists in favor of parliamentary action.

Comrade Bordiga admitted that historical experience is not created artificially. He just told us that the struggle must be carried into another sphere. Is he not aware that every revolu-

tionary crisis has been attended by a parliamentary crisis? True, he said that the struggle must be carried into another sphere, into the soviets. Comrade Bordiga, however, himself admitted that soviets cannot be created artificially. The example of Russia shows that soviets can be organized either during a revolution or on the eve of a revolution. Even in the Kerensky period, the soviets (which were Menshevik soviets) were organized in such a way that they could not possibly constitute a proletarian government.

Parliament is a product of historical development, and we cannot eliminate it until we are strong enough to disperse the bourgeois parliament. It is only as a member of the bourgeois parliament that one can, in the given historical conditions, wage a struggle against bourgeois society and parliamentarism. The same weapon as the bourgeoisie employs in the struggle must also be used by the proletariat—of course, with entirely different aims. You cannot assert that that is not the case, and if you want to challenge it, you will have thereby to erase the experience of all revolutionary developments in the world.

You said that the trade unions are also opportunist, that they too constitute a danger. On the other hand, however, you said that an exception must be made in the case of trade unions because they are workers' organizations. But that is true only up to a certain point. There are very backward elements in the trade unions too: a section of the proletarianized petty bourgeoisie, the backward workers, and the small peasants. All these elements really think that their interests are represented in parliament. This idea must be combated by work within parliament and by citing the facts, so as to show the masses the truth. Theory will have no effect on the backward masses; they need practical experience.

This was to be seen in the case of Russia too. We were obliged to convene the Constituent Assembly even after the victory of the proletariat, so as to prove to the backward workers that they had nothing to gain from that assembly. To bring home the difference between the two, we had to counterpose concretely the soviets and the Constituent Assembly and to show the soviets as the only solution.

Comrade Souchy, a revolutionary syndicalist, advocated the same theory, but logic was not on his side. That is quite under-

standable, since he said that he was not a Marxist. But you, Comrade Bordiga, assert that you are a Marxist, so we must expect more logic from you. You must know how parliament can be smashed. If you can do it by an armed uprising in all countries, well and good. You are aware that we in Russia proved our determination to destroy the bourgeois parliament, not only in theory but in practice as well. You, however, have lost sight of the fact that this is impossible without fairly long preparations, and that in most countries it is as yet impossible to destroy parliament at one stroke.

We are obliged to carry on a struggle within parliament for the destruction of parliament. For the conditions determining the political line of all classes in modern society, you substitute your revolutionary determination. That is why you forget that to destroy the bourgeois parliament in Russia we were first obliged to convene the Constituent Assembly, even after our victory. You say, "It is a fact that the Russian revolution is a case that is not in accord with conditions in western Europe," but you have not produced a single weighty argument to prove that to us. We went through a period of bourgeois democracy. We went through it rapidly when we had to agitate for elections to the Constituent Assembly. Later, when the working class had already succeeded in seizing power, the peasants still believed in the necessity of a bourgeois parliament.

Taking account of these backward elements, we had to proclaim the elections and show the masses, by example and by facts, that the Constituent Assembly, which was elected at a time of dire and universal need, did not express the aspirations and demands of the exploited classes. In this way the conflict between soviet and bourgeois power became quite clear, not only to us, the vanguard of the working class, but also to the vast majority of the peasantry, to the petty office employees, the petty bourgeoisie, and so forth. In all capitalist countries there are backward elements in the working class who are convinced that parliament is the true representative of the people and do not see the unscrupulous methods employed there.

You say that parliament is an instrument with the aid of which the bourgeoisie deceives the masses. But this argument should be turned against you, and it does turn against your theses. How will you reveal the true character of parliament to the really

backward masses, who are deceived by the bourgeoisie? How will you expose the various parliamentary maneuvers or the positions of the various parties if you are not in parliament, if you remain outside parliament? If you are Marxists, you must admit that in capitalist society there is a close link between the relations of classes and the relations of parties. How, I repeat, will you show all this if you are not members of parliament and if you renounce parliamentary action? The history of the Russian revolution has clearly shown that the masses of the working class, the peasantry, and petty office employees could not have been convinced by any arguments, unless their own experience had convinced them.

It has been claimed here that we waste a great deal of time by participating in the parliamentary struggle. Can one conceive of any other institution that all classes participate in to the degree they do in parliament? This cannot be created artificially. If all classes are drawn into the parliamentary struggle, it is because class interests and conflicts are reflected in parliament. If it were possible everywhere and immediately to bring about, let us say, a decisive general strike to overthrow capitalism at a single stroke, the revolution would have already taken place in a number of countries. But we must reckon with the facts, and parliament is a scene of the class struggle.

Comrade Bordiga and those who share his views must tell the masses the truth. Germany provides the best example that a Communist group in parliament is possible. That is why you should have said frankly to the masses: "We are too weak to create a party with a strong organization." That would be the truth, and it ought to be told. But if you confessed your weakness to the masses, they would become your opponents, not your supporters; they would become supporters of parliamentarism.

If you say, "Fellow workers, we are so weak that we cannot form a party disciplined enough to compel its members of parliament to submit to it," the workers will abandon you, for they will ask themselves, "How can we set up a dictatorship of the proletariat with such weaklings?"

You are very naive if you think that the intelligentsia, the middle class, and the petty bourgeoisie will turn communist the day the proletariat is victorious.

If you do not harbor this illusion, you should begin right away to prepare the proletariat to pursue its own line. You will find no exceptions to this rule in any branch of state affairs. On the day following the revolution, you will everywhere find advocates of opportunism who call themselves Communists, petty bourgeois who refuse to recognize the discipline of the Communist Party or of the proletarian state. Unless you prepare the workers for the creation of a really disciplined party, which will compel all its members to submit to its discipline, you will never prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat. I think that this accounts for your unwillingness to admit that it is precisely the weakness of a great many of the new Communist parties that causes them to repudiate parliamentary action. I am convinced that the vast majority of the really revolutionary workers will follow us and speak up against your antiparliamentary theses.

SUMMARY (MINORITY THESES)

Bordiga: Comrade Lenin's objections to the theses I submitted and to my arguments raise very interesting questions that I do not want even to touch on here, but that reflect the general problem of Marxist tactics.

Without any doubt, parliamentary events and ministerial crises are closely linked to the development of the revolution and the crisis of the bourgeois order. But in order to work out proletarian political forms of intervention in events, we must apply considerations of method of the type that led the Marxist left of the international Socialist movement even before the war to rule out parliamentary support of and participation in bourgeois ministries, even though these certainly were means of intervening in the course of events.

It is the very necessity of unifying the revolutionary efforts of the working class and of its organization in pursuit of the final goal of communism that leads to a tactic based on certain general rules of action, even if this tactic could be judged too simple and inflexible.

I think that our present historic mission guides us to a new tactical precept, namely, ruling out participating in parliament,

which is no longer a means of influencing events in a revolutionary direction.

It is argued that we must resolve the practical problem of parliamentary activity that is both communist and under party discipline in order, in the period after the revolution, to know how and be able to organize institutions of all kinds with men from bourgeois and semibourgeois milieus. Yet this argument could also be invoked to demonstrate how useful it is to have Socialist ministers in a bourgeois-dominated government.

But this is not the time to go deeper into this problem, and I will limit myself to stating that I maintain my opinions on the question before us. I am more than ever convinced that the Communist International will not succeed in bringing about truly revolutionary parliamentary activity.

Finally, since it was recognized that the theses I am submitting are based on purely Marxist principles and have nothing to do with the anarchist and syndicalist arguments against parliamentarism, I certainly hope that they will be supported by only those antiparliamentary comrades who accept the theses in their entirety and in their spirit, sharing the Marxist propositions that are their essence.

SUMMARY (MAJORITY THESES)

Bukharin: To begin with, comrades, a short preliminary remark. In my first speech I did not think it necessary to repeat points already explained in the theses. Since then, the comrades who spoke against me have raised many things in their remarks that require no discussion whatever. In his first speech, Comrade Bordiga spoke about the difference between bourgeois democracy and soviet power, about various characteristic features of bourgeois democracy—all of which are indisputable points, with which we agree completely and against which we were the first to speak. Thus, nine-tenths of Comrade Bordiga's first speech—and of speeches made by several others—concerned things that need no discussion because we all agree on them. Nor will I recapitulate these points in my summary. Naturally,

when Comrade Gallacher gets up and says, "We are for direct action," that is by no means a secondary matter but one of the utmost importance. But I will not speak about it because we all agree here, and there is no need to dwell on it.

Comrade Lenin spoke about the Communists' weaknesses, noting aptly that it is the weakest Communist parties that are antiparliamentary on principle. He arrived at this conclusion so to speak by deduction. I demonstrated it empirically to several comrades. When I spoke with an antiparliamentarist, Comrade Herzog, he told me, "Naturally, if we had had a party as strong as yours, things would have been different." Comrade Marie Nielsen, also an antiparliamentarist, told me, "If the Executive Committee and the Communist International gave us the people for parliamentary activity, that would be a different matter." Those are two pieces of evidence, and these two antiparliamentarists—in other words 40 percent of all antiparliamentarists present here—confirm Comrade Lenin's argument that they are antiparliamentary out of weakness. That is perhaps the best proof that the position of so-called principled antiparliamentarism is internally untenable.

We can also prove this on a larger scale. Russia, which has the strongest Communist Party, favors using parliament; Germany does too, and so in large measure does Italy. But Switzerland and Denmark, where there are only very small grouplets, are antiparliamentarist.

Now for some of the arguments used against us. We stated that the possibility of revolutionary parliamentarism has been proven empirically and gave the example of Liebknecht. What was the reply? Comrade Bordiga said, "We had a Liebknecht, but we also had the Yellow Social Democracy, and on the whole the balance sheet of this parliamentary activity is very bad." The malicious activity of the Social Democratic Party weighs more heavily in judging parliamentarism than the activity of Liebknecht. But it is clear to everyone that this entire argument is completely wrong. We are talking about communist parliamentarism. You must not drag in something fundamentally different; that is hocus-pocus, intended to trick us.

Now, it is true that Comrade Gallacher said, "The point is that Liebknecht's work was necessary only to the extent that he was with the masses in the streets." But we are precisely the ones who

put forward the position that parliamentary work must be tied to work in the streets. And surely even Comrade Gallacher knows that Liebknecht made the call to insurrection from the parliamentary rostrum.² No one will dare to assert that that was harmful. The comrades cannot deny this reality, but they flee from this line of reasoning.

The third opponent, the syndicalist, Comrade Souchy, said, "At a time when parliamentarism has gone bankrupt so strikingly in Russia and Finland, you preach parliamentarism." But while it is true that in Russia parliamentarism did utterly collapse, it is also true that we hastened its collapse to some extent by fighting in parliament. That is a fact. Incidentally, today this whole manner of posing the problem for Russia is wrong. Parliamentarism is out of the question in Russia today. You would have to show that our previous tactic, when we practiced parliamentarism, was incorrect, but you have not been able to produce any arguments to that effect. We were victorious because we pursued the correct tactic.

Comrade Bordiga tried to invent several very artificial arguments. He says, for example, "We may well be able to use different means; however, parliamentarism is not a means but an institution," and believes he has discovered an argument so weighty that it renders ours invalid. But tell me, Comrade Bordiga, under what conditions can there be a fundamental difference between a means and an institution?

Let us take an example. The imperialist government mobilizes for war. For us the question then arises, should we boycott the army or, on the contrary, join it. From the beginning of the war we were for joining the army. At the very beginning of the war we said, "The people can win victory most easily if they are armed. Therefore, they must make good use of the opportunity to get their hands on weapons." Is an army an institution? Of course. It is a bourgeois institution in the hands of finance capital. Will anyone therefore deny that exploiting this army was a means? Of course it was a means. Comrade Bordiga can readily see from this example that means and institution are not counterposed. I used this example in order to show that in our hands, even this extremely important instrument of oppression by capital can become a weapon against capital. We demonstrated it empirically. I must stress over and over again that the

issue here is not one of individuals, theoretical formulas, or phrases, but rather of real facts.

In general Comrade Bordiga is vacillating between two positions. First he defends a position that, as I said, differs from that of the anarchists and syndicalists. Then he defends his thesis, by which if we take seats in parliament, we will be working side by side with the bourgeoisie. That is an anarchist line of reasoning. When he goes on to say that parliament cannot be utilized because of the specific conditions today, that is once more a different kind of reasoning. But his argumentation has become entwined and entangled, and it is naturally quite difficult to disentangle these knots.

Now for one of Gallacher's arguments. Already "we have repeatedly had the experience," he says, "that someone who goes into parliament becomes a traitor there." The other comrade—I think it was Herzog—said in his speech that in general there is a great possibility of corruption in parliament. Naturally, we take such possibilities into account. But I ask Comrade Gallacher, does he not know that such possibilities exist in the trade unions as well? There is a classic example of the corruption of a trade union official. And have we not seen cases in which the editor of a formerly revolutionary newspaper became a scoundrel?

We know of many such cases from our experience. For example, we had an illegal party, and after the first revolution, the February revolution, it sometimes happened that half of the people in our party's organizations were outright spies. All the opportunists said of us, "Do you see where an illegal party leads? Illegality is always associated with spies. We must oppose illegal work because an illegal party is a nest for spies of every description." The opportunists argue this way in every country. Every opportunist always takes great pride in saying that someone on the left is an anarchist, an agent provocateur. That is supposed to be an argument against illegal work.

The issue of parliamentarism is analogous. From the fact that the parliamentary fractions in Italy and France are very opportunistic and carry out a policy that is not communist in the slightest, some draw the conclusion that the question in general, parliamentarism as a whole—including revolutionary parliamentarism—is necessarily associated with betrayal of the work-

ing class. But that cannot be maintained at all, for the facts prove something different.

There are two possible views: either we assess the present epoch as one that is really revolutionary or we do not.

The comrades who are antiparliamentary on principle regard the current epoch as highly revolutionary. And if they begin with this assumption, then they must also say that it is precisely the revolutionary character of the epoch that offers the best guarantee against corruption, against opportunism in the parliamentary fractions, and offers the best basis for forming really communist, centralized parties. These two preconditions are the most important, and no others can give us a better guarantee. The rapid revolutionary development of the working class on the one hand, and, on the other, the supervision of the centralized Communist parties now being formed—this is the best guarantee against opportunism within the parliamentary fraction.

In my view, that is also an argument against Comrade Herzog. He says Bebel was an opportunist, but why he said that about Wilhelm Liebknecht as well quite escapes me. I can tell you, Bebel was a gross opportunist. I do not doubt that, just as I do not doubt that Jaurès, with all his sense of the tradition of the French revolution, would have become a social patriot. But Bebel personifies the earlier epoch. How then can he be cited as an example of today's conditions? The example is rather poorly chosen.

One more brief comment on the speech by the German syndicalist. He said of me that in my heart of hearts I am against parliamentarism but am compelled to defend this bad cause. And he could not get rid of that feeling during my entire speech, he said. I too had a few feelings when he spoke, namely, the feeling that he was mourning for someone. And in my opinion he did not put forward a single pertinent argument—at least I did not find any in his speech.

What Comrade Bordiga said in his last speech was testimony against his own position. We see it as further evidence that our tactic was correct, and we call on all comrades to enter the parliaments with the cry: "Down with parliamentarism!"

Murphy: The other Shop Stewards here assure me that on no occasion have they sought to collaborate with Labour Party

members of Parliament in the House of Commons.

As I have no desire to misrepresent anyone, I ask to read this statement and to strike from my speech any personal reference I made. I accept their statement.

This, however, makes no difference to the line of argument I pursued.

Shablin: Comrades, in his speech, Comrade Herzog had the audacity to deny the veracity of the facts I presented here on the parliamentary activity of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. We are astonished at the audacity of this comrade, who, without checking with our delegation, dares to slander and insult our party on the basis of information obtained from dishonest and biased sources. On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, I protest this conduct and this procedure by Comrade Herzog, conduct that in no way becomes a party comrade.

The Bulgarian Communist Party's revolutionary activity is public and known to all. In order to explain the details of this activity, which may interest the comrades at this congress, I cited dozens of noteworthy facts, the names of our most well-known convicted deputies, and dates. A slander such as that uttered by Herzog cannot sully our party.

Goldenberg: I propose the following amendment to Comrade Bukharin's theses:

"In periods of revolutionary crisis favorable to taking power through armed insurrection, boycotting elections is imperative. The effect of calling for participation in legislative elections in such times, when the battle has been joined between the parliament—the organ of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—and the council government—the expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat—is simply to sow confusion in the workers' minds and betray the cause of the proletariat.

"Such an action can only reinforce the position of the bourgeoisie, giving it time to concentrate its forces to the detriment of the proletariat, whose revolutionary activity is thereby paralyzed. We must not forget that parliamentary activity is in fact subordinate to extraparlimentary activity, and that the fight for power carried on outside of parliament is the center of gravity of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie. That explains the unimportance of the question of parliamentarism relative to the questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

struggle of the masses to take power.”

Polano: Since I personally favor the theses on parliamentarism proposed by the Executive Committee, I will vote for them, while stating that my vote is contrary to the position taken by the Socialist Youth Federation of Italy, which I represent at the congress.

At its last congress, the Italian Socialist Youth Federation decided not to take up the question in order to avoid a split between supporters and opponents of elections, leaving its members completely free, while remaining within the ranks of the Italian Socialist Party, to support the communist faction that best reflects their convictions, for or against elections.

I declare that when I return to Italy, I will exert every effort to make the Italian Socialist Youth Federation change this ambiguous attitude and to bring it around to the theses for which I am now voting.

Furthermore, I state that my vote is also a protest against the conduct, which is hardly communist, of the Italian Socialist parliamentary group. I hope that the bureau of the Italian Socialist Party will be able to submit this group to a strict discipline and direct it onto a communist course.

Serrati: Allow me first of all to thank Comrade Bukharin, who made me the head of a political group. I am only the editor in chief of *Avanti!* and member of the party leadership. (*Bordiga laughs and asks to say a few words.*) You do not have the right to laugh, comrade. I never pretended to be the head of a group—there is no Serrati tendency. There is only a cadre who always does his communist duty.

I declare that I will vote for the theses proposed by the commission majority because they correspond to what was decided at the 1919 Bologna congress and to what the leadership in Italy, while allowing for present conditions there, is undertaking in our party.³ Above all, I think that it is absolutely necessary to concentrate the powers of the party, to abolish any autonomy of the parliamentary group, and to submit it to the strictest supervision by the leadership.

At the same time, I must declare that the classification of the Italian Socialist parliamentary group made here by Comrade Bukharin is somewhat arbitrary and corresponds only very roughly to the real situation in this group.

It is true that manifestations of anticommunism have occurred within the Italian parliamentary group, but there are other actions, much more numerous, that have a fully revolutionary character. For example, at the first session of the Italian parliament, our parliamentary group applied Bukharin's principles of communist parliamentary activity—our deputies raised the red flag before the king and left the hall singing the "Internationale."

Bordiga: That is not quite the revolution.

Serrati: That is sabotage of the bourgeois parliamentary system. We do it incessantly and systematically—(*Bordiga interrupts.*) Do not interrupt me, Bordiga. I slept during your speech so as not to interrupt you. (*Laughter*) In the Italian Chamber [of Deputies], Graziadei vigorously defended the Soviet republic, and the entire group supported him. That is certainly revolutionary activity in parliament.

We also support proposing laws in the bourgeois parliament. We must propose laws not to have them implemented, but to show the proletariat what the bourgeoisie cannot do and what the proletariat must do.

I will vote for the Executive Committee's theses without reservations.

Herzog: The Bulgarian delegation perceived my remarks about the activity of the Communist parliamentary fraction in Bulgaria as a slander. This charge is unfounded. I consider the sources of the material for my comments to be totally reliable, and I need retract nothing of what I said—all the more since the Bulgarian delegation accused me of slander without even trying to prove the real or supposed dishonesty of the source.

Zinoviev: Comrade Bordiga is counterposing his theses to the theses presented by Comrade Bukharin.

I move that the debate be ended. All in favor, please raise your hands. (*The motion carries.*)

Let us vote on the theses on parliamentarism. Then we will hear a report of the Credentials Commission. Following that report, we will vote by delegations.⁴

(*Bukharin's theses are adopted by a majority over 7 opposing votes; Bordiga's theses receive 3 votes.*⁵ *All amendments are referred to the commission.*)

THESES ON THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND PARLIAMENTARISM⁶

I. The new epoch and the new parliamentarism

From the very outset, in the period of the First International, the attitude of Socialist parties to parliamentarism was to utilize bourgeois parliaments for agitation. Participation in parliament was seen from the point of view of developing class consciousness, that is, of arousing the proletariat's class hatred of the ruling class. This attitude changed as a result not of theory but of political evolution. As a result of the uninterrupted rise of the productive forces and expansion of capitalism's sphere of exploitation, capitalism—and along with it the parliamentary states—acquired a protracted stability.

This resulted in the Socialist parties' adapting their parliamentary tactics to the "organic" legislative work of bourgeois parliaments and to the growing significance of the struggle for reforms within the capitalist framework. It resulted in the reign of Social Democracy's so-called minimum program and the transformation of the maximum program into a debating formula for an exceedingly distant "ultimate goal."⁷ On this foundation evolved the phenomena of parliamentary careerism, corruption, and open or concealed betrayal of the most elementary interests of the working class.

The Communist International's attitude to parliamentarism is determined not by a new doctrine but rather by the changed role of parliament itself. In the previous epoch, parliament to a certain extent accomplished a historically progressive task as a tool of developing capitalism. Under present-day conditions of unbridled imperialism, however, parliament has been transformed into a tool of lies, deceit, violence, and enervating drivel. In the face of imperialist havoc, pillage, rape, banditry, and devastation, parliamentary reforms, bereft of system, stability, and method, lose all practical significance for the toiling masses.

Parliamentarism, like bourgeois society as a whole, is losing its stability. The sudden transition from an organic epoch to a critical one is creating the basis for new proletarian tactics in the field of parliamentarism. Thus, the Russian [Social Democratic]

Labor Party (the Bolsheviks) already worked out the essence of revolutionary parliamentarism in the preceding period, because after 1905 Russia had lost its political and social balance and had entered the era of storms and convulsions.

Some Socialists who lean toward communism suggest that the moment for the revolution has not yet arrived in their countries and refuse to split from the parliamentary opportunists. In this they proceed, in essence, from a more or less conscious assessment of the impending epoch as one of relative stability in imperialist society. They assume that on this basis a coalition with Turati and Longuet can yield practical results in the struggle for reforms.

Communism, in contrast, armed with theoretical clarity, must correctly assess the character of the present epoch (the highest stage of capitalism, its imperialist self-negation and self-destruction, uninterrupted spread of civil war, and so forth). The forms that political relationships and groupings take may vary from country to country. The essence, however, remains everywhere one and the same. What matters to us is immediate political and technical preparation of the proletarian insurrection for the destruction of bourgeois power and the establishment of the new, proletarian power.

For Communists, parliament today can under no circumstances be the arena of the struggle for reforms, for improvement in the condition of the working class, as it was at certain moments in the earlier period. The center of gravity of political life today has shifted completely and irrevocably beyond the limits of parliament. The bourgeois class is forced, on the other hand, not only by its relationship to the toiling masses but also because of complex interrelations in its own ranks, somehow to secure passage of some of its measures in parliament, where different cliques haggle over power, reveal their strengths, betray their weaknesses, expose themselves, and so forth.

That is why it is the working class's immediate historic task to wrest this apparatus from the ruling classes, smash and destroy it, and replace it with new organs of proletarian power. At the same time, however, the revolutionary staff of the working class has a strong interest in having its own scouts in the bourgeoisie's parliamentary institutions in order to make this task of destruction easier. From this can be seen clearly the fundamental differ-

ence between the policies of a Communist, who enters parliament with revolutionary goals, and those of a Socialist parliamentarian. The latter assumes that the existing form of rule is relatively stable and will last indefinitely. He takes on the task of making every effort to achieve reforms, and it is in his interest for the masses to give due credit for every achievement to Socialist parliamentarism (Turati, Longuet, and company).

The old, accommodationist parliamentarism is being replaced by the new parliamentarism, which is a tool for the destruction of parliamentarism in general. The repulsive traditions of the old parliamentarist policies, however, drive some revolutionary elements into the camp of those who oppose parliamentarism on principle (the IWW, the revolutionary syndicalists, and the KAPD). The Second Congress therefore adopts the following theses.

II. Communism, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the utilization of bourgeois parliaments

1. Parliamentarism as a state system has become a “democratic” form of rule for the bourgeoisie. At a certain stage in its development it needs the fiction of a popular governing body that outwardly appears to be an organization of “the popular will,” standing outside the classes, but in essence is a machine wielded by ruling capital for oppression and subjugation.

2. Parliamentarism is a particular form of state organization. It cannot, therefore, be a form of communist society, which knows no classes, class struggle, nor any kind of state authority.

3. Nor can parliamentarism be a form of proletarian state administration during the transition period from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to that of the proletariat. At the moment when the class struggle becomes acute—in civil war—the proletariat must not fail to construct its state as *an organization of struggle* that excludes representatives of the former ruling classes. At this stage any fiction about “the will of the people” is directly harmful to the proletariat. Parliamentary separation of powers is unnecessary for the proletariat and harmful to it. The form of the proletarian dictatorship is the soviet republic.

4. Bourgeois parliaments, among the most important organi-

zations of the bourgeois state machine, cannot as such be taken over permanently,⁸ just as the proletariat cannot possibly take over the bourgeois state. The proletariat's task is to break up the bourgeoisie's state machine and to destroy it, and with it parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist.

5. It is no different with the bourgeoisie's institutions of local government. To counterpose them to the organs of the state is theoretically incorrect. They are in reality organizations similar to the mechanism of the bourgeois state, which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local soviets of workers' deputies.

6. Thus, communism rejects parliamentarism as a form of the future society. It rejects it as a form of dictatorship by the proletarian class. It rejects the possibility of taking over parliaments on a permanent basis; its goal is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is possible to speak only of using bourgeois state institutions for the purpose of destroying them. The question can be posed in this sense and in this sense alone.

7. Every class struggle is a political struggle, for in the last analysis it is a struggle for power. Any strike that spreads throughout the entire country becomes a threat to the bourgeois state and thereby acquires a political character. Every attempt to overthrow the bourgeoisie and destroy its state means waging a political struggle. To form an apparatus of the proletarian class in order to govern and to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie—no matter what kind of apparatus it may be—is to conquer political power.

8. Consequently the question of political struggle is not at all identical with the question of policy toward parliamentarism. Political struggle is a general question of the proletarian class struggle, which is characterized by the escalation of minor and partial struggles into a general struggle to overthrow the entire capitalist order.

9. The proletariat's most important method of struggle against the bourgeoisie, that is, against the bourgeoisie's state power, is first and foremost mass action. Mass actions are organized and directed by the proletariat's revolutionary mass organizations (trade unions, parties, councils) under the overall leadership of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist party.

Civil war is a war; in that war the proletariat must have a courageous political officer corps of its own and a strong political general staff that directs all operations in every area of the struggle.

10. The mass struggle is a whole system of unfolding actions that become more acute in form and lead logically to insurrection against the capitalist state. In this mass struggle, which develops into civil war, the party that leads the proletariat must as a rule secure all legal positions by turning them into auxiliary bases for its revolutionary activity and subordinating them to the main plan of operations, the mass-struggle campaign.

11. One such auxiliary base is the rostrum of bourgeois parliament. The fact that parliament is an institution of the bourgeois state can in no way be used as an argument against participation in the parliamentary struggle. The Communist Party does not enter these institutions in order to work as an integral part of them. Rather it does so to use parliament to help the masses take action to break up the state machine and the parliament itself (for example the work of Liebknecht in Germany; of the Bolsheviks in the tsarist Duma, the Democratic Conference, Kerensky's Pre-Parliament, the Constituent Assembly, and the municipal Dumas; and, finally, of the Bulgarian Communists).⁹

12. This activity in parliament consists primarily of revolutionary agitation from the parliamentary rostrum, unmasking opponents, and ideological unification of the masses,¹⁰ who, particularly in areas that lag behind, are still prejudiced by democratic illusions and look to the parliamentary rostrum. This work must be completely subordinate to the goals and tasks of the mass struggle outside of parliament.

Participation in the electoral struggle as well as revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary rostrum is particularly important as a means of politically involving layers of workers, such as the rural toiling masses, that until now have had little contact with political life.¹¹

13. Should Communists hold a majority in institutions of local government, they must (a) organize revolutionary opposition against the central bourgeois government; (b) do everything possible to serve the poorer sectors of the population (economic measures, creating or attempting to create an armed

workers' militia, and so forth); (c) at every opportunity point out how the bourgeois state blocks truly major changes; (d) on this basis develop vigorous revolutionary propaganda, never fearing conflict with the state; (e) under certain conditions, replace municipal governments with local workers' councils. In other words, all of the Communists' activity in local government must be a part of the general work of undermining the capitalist system.¹²

14. The election campaign itself should be conducted not in the spirit of a race for the maximum number of parliamentary seats but of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses for the slogans of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be carried out by the entire mass of the party membership, not just the party elite. In so doing it is necessary to utilize all mass actions that are taking place (strikes, demonstrations, soldiers' and sailors' revolts, and so forth) and to establish close contact with them. All proletarian mass organizations must be drawn into active work.

15. If all of these conditions are observed, along with those specified in the special instructions [part 3], parliamentary activity will be the direct opposite of the kind of crude, petty politics employed by the Social Democratic parties in every country, which enter parliament in order to support that "democratic" institution or, at best, "to take it over." The Communist Party favors only revolutionary utilization of parliamentarism in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and of the Bolsheviks.¹³

16. "Antiparliamentarism" on principle, in the sense of absolute and categorical refusal to participate in elections and of revolutionary parliamentary activity, is therefore a naive, childish doctrine, beneath all criticism. This doctrine is sometimes based on healthy revulsion at the activities of parliamentary politicians, but it does not recognize that revolutionary parliamentarism is also possible. Moreover, this doctrine is often associated with a completely incorrect conception of the role of the party, one that views the Communist Party not as the workers' centralized shock troops, but rather as a decentralized system of loosely allied groups.

17. On the other hand, acceptance in principle of parliamentary activity does not at all mean absolute acceptance of the need for any particular election and participation in any partic-

ular session of parliament *regardless of the circumstances*. That depends upon a great many specific conditions. Given a particular set of circumstances it may be necessary to withdraw from parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they withdrew from the Pre-Parliament in order to break it up, to take away its power, and to counterpose it sharply to the Petrograd soviet, which then stood on the eve of insurrection. They did something similar in the Constituent Assembly on the day it was dissolved by making the third congress of soviets the center of political events. Depending upon circumstances, it may be necessary to boycott the elections and to remove, directly and forcibly, both the whole bourgeois state apparatus and the bourgeois parliamentary clique; or, on the other hand, to participate in the elections while boycotting parliament itself, and so forth.

18. In this way the Communist Party should solve the problem concretely. It recognizes as a general rule the need to participate in elections to both the central parliament and organs of local government and also to work in these institutions, and it begins with an evaluation of specific circumstances at any particular moment. Boycotting elections or parliaments and withdrawing from the latter is permissible primarily when the conditions are already present for an immediate transition to armed struggle and the seizure of power.

19. At the same time, the relative unimportance of this question should be kept in mind. Since the center of gravity lies in the struggle for state power, which is waged outside parliament, it is obvious that the question of proletarian dictatorship and the *mass struggle* to achieve it cannot be placed on the same level as the special question of utilizing parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International vigorously emphasizes that it regards any split or any attempted split in the Communist parties along these lines and only for this reason as a serious mistake. The congress calls upon all forces who recognize the need for a mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship led by a centralized party of the revolutionary proletariat (influencing all the mass workers' organizations) to strive for complete unity among Communist forces, whatever differences of opinion they may have over the question of utilizing bourgeois parliaments.

III. Revolutionary parliamentarism

In order to guarantee that the tactic of revolutionary parliamentarism will be carried out, the following is necessary:

1. Already in the *preparatory stage*, that is, before the parliamentary elections, the entire Communist Party and its Central Committee must make certain that the individuals making up its parliamentary fractions are of high quality. The Central Committee of the Communist Party must take responsibility for all of the Communist fraction's work in parliament. The Central Committee of the Communist Party must have the uncontested right to veto any candidate or organization if it has no assurance that, should the candidate get into parliament, he will carry out a truly communist policy.

The Communist Party must break with the old Social Democratic custom of nominating as deputies only those "experienced" in parliament—predominantly lawyers and the like. As a rule, it is necessary to nominate workers as candidates and not be put off by the fact that they are for the most part ordinary party members with little parliamentary experience.¹⁴ The Communist Party must ruthlessly denounce careerist elements that sidle up to the party in order to get into parliament. The Communist parties' central committees must endorse the candidates only of comrades who have shown their unconditional loyalty to the working class through many years of work.

2. After the elections, the organizing of the parliamentary fraction must be completely in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist parties, regardless of whether the party as a whole is legal or illegal at that time. The chairman and the executive committee of the Communist parliamentary fraction must be approved by the party Central Committee. The Central Committee must have a permanent representative on the parliamentary fraction with veto, and on all important political questions the parliamentary fraction must request in advance instructions on its conduct from the party's Central Committee.

Before the Communists take a major action in parliament, the Central Committee has the right and duty to approve or reject the fraction's speaker and to require that he submit in advance the outline of his speech or the speech itself for approval by the

Central Committee, and so forth. Every candidate on the Communist electoral slate must be required to swear officially and in writing that he is prepared to resign his seat upon the first request by the Central Committee, so that in a given situation the action of withdrawing from parliament can be carried out in a united way.¹⁵

3. In countries where reformist, semireformist, and purely careerist elements have succeeded in penetrating the Communist fractions (this has already happened in several countries), the central committees of the Communist parties are obliged to conduct a thorough purge of the individuals making up the fraction, on the principle that it is much more useful to the cause of the working class to have a small but truly communist fraction than a large fraction with no consistent communist policy.

4. The Communist member of parliament, upon decision by the Central Committee, is obligated to combine legal and illegal work. In countries where the Communist member of parliament still enjoys some immunity from bourgeois laws, this immunity must be utilized to support the party's illegal organization and propaganda work.

5. Communist members of parliament must subordinate all of their parliamentary activities to the party's work outside of parliament. Demonstrative bills, designed not for adoption by the bourgeois majority but rather for purposes of propaganda, agitation, and organization, must be introduced regularly in accordance with instructions by the party and its Central Committee.

6. At workers' street demonstrations and other revolutionary activities it is the duty of the Communist members of parliament to place themselves in the very first rank at the head of the working masses.

7. Communist members of parliament must try by every avenue open to them (under the supervision of the party) to establish contact with the revolutionary workers, peasants, and other toilers, in written form and in every other way. Under no circumstances are they permitted to act as do Social Democratic members of parliament, who pursue business connections with their constituents. They must be available to the Communist organization at all times for any propaganda task in the country.¹⁶

8. Every Communist member of parliament must be mindful that he is not a legislator seeking agreements with other legislators but is rather a party agitator sent into the camp of the enemy in order to carry out party decisions there. The Communist member of parliament is responsible not to the amorphous mass of voters but rather to his Communist party, legal or illegal.

9. Communist members of parliament must speak a language in parliament that can be understood by every ordinary worker, every peasant, every washerwoman, every shepherd, so that the party may publish the speeches as leaflets and distribute them in the most remote corners of the country.

10. Ordinary Communist workers must take the floor in bourgeois parliaments, never conceding priority to those with so-called parliamentary experience, even if these workers are only novices in the parliamentary field. If necessary, members of parliament from the ranks of the workers can read their speeches from a written text so that the speeches can be printed in the press and as leaflets.

11. Communist members of parliament must utilize the parliamentary rostrum to expose not just the bourgeoisie and its open accomplices but also the social patriots, the reformists, the half measures of the politicians of the Center and other opponents of communism, and to publicize widely the ideas of the Communist International.

12. Even when the Communist deputies number only one or two in the entire parliament, they must, in their entire conduct, display a defiant attitude toward capitalism. They must never forget that the only ones deserving the name Communist are those who are archenemies of bourgeois society and its social-patriotic accomplices—not only in words but also in deeds.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMISSION¹⁷

Radek: I do not think it necessary to read out the list of delegates; it will be distributed. The composition of the congress according to country is now as follows:

The Credentials Commission grants decisive votes to 6 British delegates, members of the British Socialist Party. Germany has 5

decisive votes for the delegates of the German Communist Party. Of the 5 delegates from France, 2 belong to the Communist Party and 3 to the Committee for the Third International.

Sweden is represented by 2 Left Social Democrats; Austria, by 4 delegates of the Communist Party of Austria. Spain is represented by Comrade Pestaña, member of the National Federation of Labor [CNT]; Hungary, by 2 representatives of the Communist Party; Bulgaria, by 3 Bulgarian Communists; Yugoslavia, by 1; Italy, by 3 Italian Socialists; Mexico, by 2 Communists; Switzerland, by 3 Communists and 2 left Social Democrats.

Representing Turkey here are 2 delegates of the Bureau of Communist Organizations and 1 delegate of the Communist Group of Constantinople. Communists are also present from the following countries: Poland (1); East Galicia (2); Lithuania and Belorussia (2); Georgia (5); Latvia (3); Persia (1); Korea (1); Finland (5); Netherlands (2); Armenia (2); Belgium (1); Azerbaijan (1); Russia (63). America is represented by 3 members of the Communist Labor Party and 2 delegates of the Communist Party of America.

The following delegations have mixed Communist and Socialist composition: Dutch East Indies (2); Norway (8); Denmark (2); Estonia (2). Czechoslovakia sent 2 left Social Democrats.

The youth leagues and the youth International are represented by 13 votes: 1 from Germany, 4 from Russia, 2 from Norway, 1 each from Italy, France, Switzerland, and Georgia, and 2 from the youth International.

There are 42 delegates at the congress who hold consultative vote: 4 from the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Communists); 2 from Ireland (Communists), 5 from Italy (Communists), 2 from Latvia (Communists), 1 from Bukhara (Communist), 2 from Czechoslovakia (Communists). There are mixed Communist-Socialist delegations with the right of consultative vote from Italy (5), Germany (5), Persia (2), Estonia (1), Austria (1), Finland (3), France (3), America and Mexico (1 each), India and Australia (2 each). There is 1 delegate with the right of consultative vote from the National Young Labour League of Britain, 2 from the Central Bureau of Chinese Workers in Russia, and 2 from the Communist Bund.¹⁸

We could not agree on what to do with East Galicia. At present

it is not yet liberated—it belongs neither to Poland nor Hungary, and it is not independent.¹⁹ We admitted it as an independent country with 2 votes.

The credentials of the Swiss comrade, Burgsdorf, were challenged in the commission; it was alleged that the delegate in question had recently been editor of a bourgeois newspaper. It turned out that the comrade was editor of such a paper a long time ago, but then he became a Socialist and stopped editing that paper. The question was investigated in Switzerland, and the matter was settled.

As to the question of distributing votes, not much was altered in the Executive Committee's proposals. By and large we accepted the distribution that the Executive Committee adopted. In only one case, which I will take up, was the number of votes reduced. It was voted to grant Germany, France, Britain, Russia, America, and Italy 10 votes each; Austria and the Netherlands 7 votes each; Mexico, Persia, India, Switzerland, Turkey, Bulgaria, perhaps Ireland, Estonia, and Korea 4 votes each; and Lithuania 2.²⁰

The commission voted to propose to the congress that the Netherlands be given only 4 votes instead of 7. The Executive Committee made the decision by a majority vote. A higher number of votes for the Netherlands contradicts the actual conditions. Neither the country nor the party is so large that it could march as a second-rank power in the International.

We received a protest against recognizing Palestine's credentials on the grounds that it is wrong to drive Jewish proletarians into Palestine.²¹ The commission must still deal with that.

The congress must decide two more questions: distribution of the British and American votes. In the case of Britain, they are divided into two parts: the BSP and the Shop Stewards' delegates. Personally, I believe they should share the votes. The congress will have to decide that. In the case of America the situation is as follows: we received a report on the unification of the American parties—the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party. But the unification is not complete. Part of one party refuses to join in. And that poses the question: How shall we apportion the credentials? The United Communist Party declares it wants to have all the credentials. But the part that did not join the new party demands some of

the credentials for itself. The congress will have to decide that as well.

Zinoviev: The question is posed: Shall we approve the Credentials Commission report or open a discussion? I will take the vote. Those in favor of opening a discussion, raise your hands.

(The vote is taken.)

Who is in favor of giving the congress's approval to the Credentials Commission's proposals?

(The vote is taken. The motion to approve the Credentials Commission report carries. The session ends at 11:30 p.m.)

Introduction

1. V.I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International," found in the Prologue to this work.
2. "Theses on the Conditions for Admission," session 16, p. 765.
3. Lenin, "Second Congress."
4. Radek, "Die Lehren der ungarischen Revolution," in *Die Internationale*, vol. 2, no. 21, February 25, 1920, pp. 58.
5. See Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 149-64.
6. Lenin, "Second Congress."
7. Bringolf, *Mein Leben*, p. 78.
8. Murphy, *New Horizons*, pp. 92, 101-6.
9. Interview by Robert Dees with Charles Shipman (Phillips) in Austin, Texas, August 13, 1988.
10. Hicks, *John Reed*, pp. 366-400.
11. Serge, *Memoirs*, p. 112.
12. König, *Lenin und der italienische Sozialismus*, p. 83; Leonhard, *Völker*, pp. 144-45; Balabanoff, *My Life*, p. 262.
13. Frossard, *De Jaurès*, pp. 51-53. A record of a later welcome given Frossard and Cachin can be found among the photographs elsewhere in this volume.
14. The survey of delegates that follows is based on the biographical information in the Glossary.
15. See Trotsky, *Third International after Lenin*.
16. Two delegates fell victim while outside the Soviet Union. Trotsky was murdered in Mexico by the Soviet secret police on Stalin's command, and Willi Münzenberg died in France, probably at the hands of one of Stalin's assassins.
17. Murphy, *New Horizons*, p. 107.
18. Humbert-Droz, *Mémoires*, p. 363.
19. Quoted in Hicks, *John Reed*, p. 388.
20. Quoted in Hicks, *John Reed*, pp. 373, 376-77, 388.
21. Bringolf, *Mein Leben*, p. 90.
22. Interview by John Riddell with Brynjólfur Bjarnason, in Reykjavík, Iceland, August 21, 1988.
23. Ottósson, *Frá hlíðarhúsum*, p. 230.
24. Quoted in Hicks, *John Reed*, p. 373.
25. Murphy, *New Horizons*, p. 116.
26. Murphy, *New Horizons*, pp. 153-54.
27. Interview with Phillips.
28. Murphy, *New Horizons*, pp. 147, 151.

29. See the Executive Committee's April 20 greetings to Lenin, in Broué, *Du premier au deuxième*, p. 197.

30. Another meeting during the congress, organized by Soviet Commissar of Education Anatoly Lunacharsky, set up an international bureau of the Soviet organization Proletarian Culture (Proletkult), which was inspired by the ideas of non-Communist revolutionary A.A. Bogdanov. The international bureau it elected consisted of Lunacharsky, Humbert-Droz, Lefebvre, Nicola Bombacci, Wilhelm Herzog, William McLaine, and V. Polyansky.

In October 1920, Lenin proposed a resolution on Proletkult rejecting "as theoretically unsound and practically harmful, all attempts to invent one's own particular brand of culture, to remain isolated in self-contained organisations, to draw a line dividing the field of work of the People's Commissariat of Education and the Proletcult, or to set up a Proletcult 'autonomy' within establishments under the People's Commissariat of Education and so forth." The entire resolution can be found in Lenin, *Collected Works* (hereafter CW), vol. 31, pp. 316-17.

31. Münzenberg, *Dritte Front*, pp. 320-21.

32. See Lenin's proposals to Zinoviev on translation in Lenin, CW, vol. 44, p. 397.

33. The proceedings record Zinoviev as proposing in session 9, p. 421, that "the English language be used now instead of French." The meaning of this is unclear, since French continued to be used in the sessions that followed.

34. Humbert-Droz, *Mon évolution*, p. 365.

35. *Le Parti socialiste italien*, pp. 9-10.

36. The achievements and political shortcomings of the revolutionary governments of Bavaria and Hungary are examined in Dobbs, *Revolutionary Continuity*, vol. 2, pp. 117-22.

37. The term *fascism* was not yet current at the time of the Second Congress. Two years later, however, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International noted the relationship of White Guard gangs like the Freikorps to the developing international fascist movement. See "Theses on Comintern Tactics," in Adler, *Theses, Resolutions*, pp. 392-93.

38. The Communist Party of Germany's day-to-day central leadership body was the Zentrale (Central Bureau), whose members lived in Berlin. It was responsible to the Zentrallausschuss (Central Committee), which was established in June 1919 and included members from across Germany.

39. The Communist Party statement is quoted by Spartakus (M. Brónski), a member of the Comintern's West European Secretariat in Berlin, in his article, "Der Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 10 [May 1920], p. 161.

40. Criticisms of the German Communist Party statement by two party leaders, Ernst Meyer and Clara Zetkin, are printed in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2401-4, and no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 75-80. Radek's critique is in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 12 [August 1920], cols. 2153-62. For Lenin's views, see "The Communists and the Independents in Germany," an appendix to "*Left-Wing* Communism—an Infantile Disorder," in *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 109-10 and "Kommunismus," in *CW*, vol. 31, p. 166.

41. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at the Ninth All-Russia Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), September 22, 1920," in *CW*, vol. 31, p. 276.

42. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organisation of the R.C.P.(B.), December 6, 1920," in *CW*, vol. 31, p. 453.

43. See Pearce, *Congress of the Peoples of the East*. The Baku conference proceedings and other Comintern documents on the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples will be published in a forthcoming volume of *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

44. "An alle Arbeiter Deutschlands," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 161, 165. The use of the term *Yellow* to mean "scab" began in France, where the proemployer trade unions, first organized in 1899, took as their insignia a yellow acorn and a bush with yellow flowers.

45. See Zinoviev's opening remarks in session 1, pp. 98-105.

Other Comintern leaders had spoken in the same vein, especially in the initial months after the Comintern's formation. For example, a stenogram of a speech by Lenin on April 11, 1919, just after the establishment of a revolutionary government in Hungary, quotes him as saying, "Now only a few months separate us from victory over the capitalists all over the world." Lenin, "Speech Closing the Discussion," in *CW*, vol. 29, p. 300.

Such forecasts were modified during 1919 in light of the setbacks in Germany and the defeat in Hungary. Late that year, for example, Radek wrote, "Proletarian strategy and tactics must not count on overthrowing the enemy through a brief campaign of assault. It must reckon with an extended war, sometimes defensive, sometimes offensive, in which every variety of weapon must be employed." Radek, *Entwicklung der Weltrevolution*, p. 15. For Lenin's estimate of the world political situation at the time of the Second Congress, see his report on this topic in session 1.

46. From Trotsky's report to the third Comintern congress, held in 1921, "The World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International," in *First Five Years*, vol. 1, p. 219.

47. Trotsky, *First Five Years*, vol. 1, pp. 238-39.

48. See "Theses on the Conditions for Admission," thesis 3, in session 16, p. 767.

49. "The Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties, the Methods and Content of Their Work: Theses," in Adler, *Theses, Resolutions*, pp. 258-59.

50. Trotsky, *Pyat' let Komintern*, pp. 274-75. For an English translation of Trotsky's entire report, see "The School of Revolutionary Strategy," in *First Five Years*, vol. 2, pp. 1-43.

51. Lenin, "Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany Regarding the Split," in *CW*, vol. 30, p. 87. His accompanying appeal to the ultraleft wing of the party is found on pp. 89-90.

52. See the Executive Committee's June 2 appeal, "An Open Letter to the Members of the Communist [Workers] Party of Germany [KAPD]," *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2499-2512.

53. The motion and amendment are quoted in part in Morgan, *Socialist Left*, pp. 303-4. The motion's full text, minus Stoecker's amendment, is in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 7/8, November-December 1919, pp. 183-84.

54. The letter was sent to the Communist Party of Russia; the Norwegian Labor Party; the Left Socialist parties of Denmark and Sweden; the left Socialists in Finland that were soon to take the name Socialist Workers Party; the Socialist parties of Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and the United States; the Independent Labour Party of Britain; the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; and the Social Democratic Workers parties of the Netherlands and Austria. The invitation was probably also sent to the Social Democratic parties of Romania and Finland, and the Bund. See Wheeler, "Independent Social Democratic Party," p. 529.

55. For the Executive Committee letter, see *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 152-65.

56. At the Communist Party's April 1920 congress, some delegates charged that distribution of the letter had been delayed by forces in the German party's Central Bureau, allegedly because they found the letter's tone toward the USPD to be too harsh and sought to have it moderated. A commission of inquiry was set up, but it could shed no light on the matter. See Wheeler, "Independent Social Democratic Party," pp. 549-50, 564-65.

57. See *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2471-74.

58. Morgan, *Socialist Left*, p. 360. For the entire statement, see "Ant-

wort an das Executivkomitee," *Freiheit*, nos. 272-78, July 11-15, 1920.

59. The delegates' official mandate, signed by Frossard, is found in Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, pp. 5-8.

60. Alfred Rosmer, "John Reed en 1920," unpublished manuscript, Tamiment Library, New York.

61. The two reports, together with a list of the critical questions posed by Executive Committee members, can be found in Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, pp. 9-16.

62. The declaration appears in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 128-30.

63. Cachin and Frossard's participation was authorized by the National Council of the party in France by a vote of 2,735 with 1,362 abstentions; a motion to attend the Second International's Geneva congress received 454 votes.

64. The telegram was published in *L'Humanité*, July 21, 1920.

65. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, in *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 111-12.

66. See "Resolution of the Bologna Conference," *Communist International*, no. 6, October 1919, cols. 901-2.

67. Lenin's criticism of this stand can be found in "Left-Wing" Communism, in *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 56-65.

68. The reports by Bombacci and Serrati and the Turin theses appeared in the French, German, and Russian editions of the magazine's issue 12. The English-language version of these articles is found in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 65-74.

69. Rosmer, *Moscow under Lenin*, p. 75.

70. On July 25, Lenin sent a note addressed to Serrati or any other of the delegates from Italy asking, "Why is it that not one Italian comrade is participating in the colonial commission in order to defend their conviction that we must *not support a bourgeois-democratic movement*?" Lenin, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, vol. 51, p. 244. Despite Lenin's efforts, however, no delegate from Italy participated in this commission.

71. The Executive Committee's reply to the questions of the Independent Labour Party delegates can be found in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2473-94.

72. Lenin's views on the questions dividing these currents are expressed in "Left-Wing" Communism, in *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 77-89, and "Reply to a Letter from the Joint Provisional Committee," in *CW*, vol. 31, p. 202.

73. The split in the early U.S. Communist movement is discussed in Dobbs, *Revolutionary Continuity*, vol. 2, pp. 65-114.

74. Hájek and Mejdrová, *Vznik Třetí internacionály*, pp. 315-16.

75. The nature of the youth International's ties to the Comintern

was hotly debated at the 1919 youth congress. Many delegates thought that the relationship should be that between two equal and separate organizations. A motion to adhere to the Comintern was passed, 17 to 8, but the question of structuring the relationship was held over for further consideration. See Dobbs, *Revolutionary Continuity*, vol. 2, pp. 181-84.

76. See session 17, p. 801, and session 14, p. 696.

77. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 348.

78. "Theses on the Conditions for Admission," session 16, p. 765.

79. See session 1, p. 123.

80. "A Clear Reply from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Questions of the British Independent Labour Party," *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, col. 2493.

81. The conference resolutions can be found in the Amsterdam bureau's *Bulletin*, no. 2. The letter to communists in Britain is in Broué, *Du premier au deuxième congrès*, pp. 409-10.

82. Report by Zinoviev on the Second Congress to the Petrograd soviet, in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], p. 47.

83. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, in CW, vol. 31, p. 103. In addition, during the year before the Second Congress, Radek wrote two influential polemics against ultraleftism in Germany and Austria. See Radek, "Die Lehren eines Putschversuchs," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 29-37, and *Entwicklung der deutschen Revolution*.

84. Another important document in this campaign was written during the congress: Trotsky's "Letter to a French Syndicalist on the Communist Party," in Trotsky and Marx, *Trade Unions*, pp. 83-91.

85. See "Theses on the Conditions for Admission," session 16, pp. 765-71. Other lists of conditions for admission were set down by the congress in the "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International," also found in session 16, pp. 746-63, and in the letter to the French Socialist Party, in appendix 3b, pp. 917-18.

86. *Protokoll der Reichskonferenz*, p. 66.

87. See the text of the theses on conditions for admission in session 16, where the changes introduced during the congress are noted.

88. Frossard, *De Jaurès*, pp. 132-33.

89. This passage is taken from the final version, signed by Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Lenin, in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 13 [September 1920], col. 2665. For an English translation of this letter, see *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], p. 146-51.

90. In the discussion of the Twenty-one Conditions, the measures needed to expel reformist forces from the voluntary organizations that made up the Comintern are frequently referred to as a "purge." *Purge*

is the word generally used in the English-language version of Lenin's works and in other, earlier translations of Comintern texts, and it has therefore been retained in these pages. The meaning of the Russian and German words translated in this way is better rendered by the words *reregistration*, provided in thesis 13 of the Twenty-one Conditions, which takes up this topic, or *weeding out*, used in the 1921 English-language translation.

The word *purge* took on a new and odious connotation when the Stalinist counterrevolution gained the upper hand in the Communist Party of Russia, Soviet society, and the Comintern. Under Lenin the International's organizational norms had included the right of members to present and defend their views in periods of membership discussion without fear of organizational reprisals. The purges Stalin organized, however, were aimed at stifling all proletarian opposition by means of arbitrary terror and repression. Communists on the left or right who fell victim to Stalin's purges were ruthlessly driven from the party and, if within reach, were sent to forced labor camps, executed, or both.

91. Urquidi, "Origins," p. 245.

92. See Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 140-41, 143-47, 165, and 248.

93. *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 7/8, November-December 1919, pp. 38-44. Zinoviev repeats this call, adding a warning not to abstain from work in the reformist-led unions, in "Brennende Tagesfragen der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 26-27.

94. Resis, "Profintern," pp. 24-25.

95. For the minutes of this meeting, see Lozovsky, *International Council*, pp. 46-52.

96. Sokolov, "Politika kommunistov," p. 209.

97. The August 1 statement appears in the 1934 Russian edition of the Second Congress proceedings, pp. 690-92. The scope of this statement is indicated by note 11 to appendix 4.

98. See Zinoviev's report on the Second Congress to the Petrograd soviet, in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], p. 52.

99. *Bulletin*, no. 2, pp. 6-7.

100. Reed, "World Congress."

101. See session 14, page 698-99.

102. In this debate and elsewhere during the congress, speakers in languages other than Russian varied between use of the Russian word "soviet" and use of the word for council in their own language. This distinction has been retained in the translation.

103. Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, p. 253.

104. Fragmentary excerpts of the Bolshevik leaders' responses to Lenin's draft published in the 1960s indicated important areas of disagreement. Georgiy Chicherin, it seems, considered an alliance with bourgeois forces in the colonies justified only in countries where "feudalism" prevailed, as in Iran. Yevgeny Preobrazhensky is quoted as envisioning possible circumstances in which "forcible annexation of important economic regions" in backward countries by a European soviet federation "will become inevitable until the workers . . . bring to the fore a group capable of holding power on a basis of federation with Europe."

Stalin objected to the distinction drawn by Lenin in thesis 7 between relations among national components of the Russian Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and, on the other, this federation's relations with independent soviet states such as the Ukraine. This distinction, Stalin said, "either does not exist or is so small as to be equivalent to zero." See Korolev, "Razrabotka Leninym," pp. 167-70; Lenin, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, vol. 41, p. 513; Lazitch and Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern*, p. 385.

This disagreement between Lenin and Stalin cropped up again, under much more explosive conditions and with much higher stakes, in 1922-23. Stalin proposed in September 1922 that the independent Soviet republics affiliate directly to the Russian Soviet federation. In response, Lenin insisted that these republics must federate "on an equal basis, into a new union, a new federation, the Union of the Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia." Lenin, "On the Establishment of the U.S.S.R.," in *CW*, vol. 42, p. 421-23.

Communist leaders in Georgia sharply protested the Great Russian chauvinism displayed by Stalin and his associates in the leadership of the Commissariat of Nationalities toward the Georgian and other oppressed peoples. In a memorandum to the coming party congress written December 30, 1922, Lenin severely condemned such "imperialist attitudes toward the oppressed nationalities." He called for far-reaching measures to guarantee these peoples real equality in the newly formed Soviet Union, including, if necessary, restoration of the full independence of the component republics, except in military and diplomatic affairs. See Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation,'" in *CW*, vol. 36, pp. 605-11.

105. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," in *CW*, vol. 31, p. 149. By "patriarchal relations" Lenin is referring to those characteristic of early forms of class-divided society, one whose members were organized in father-led families and whose social relations were governed by private property and pre-capitalist forms of servitude.

106. Levi, "Bericht über die Verhandlungen in Moskau," p. 11, unpublished manuscript, Hoover Institution, Stanford. Reed, "World Congress."

107. Varga, *Die wirtschaftspolitischen Probleme*, pp. 84-88.

108. Lenin, "Telegram to Karl Radek, F.E. Dzerzhinsky and All Members of the Polish Central Committee," in *CW*, vol. 44, p. 420, and Shirinya, "Voprosy soyuza," pp. 148-49.

109. Shirinya, "Voprosy soyuza," p. 138.

110. Quoted in Hicks, *John Reed*, p. 397.

111. Reed was to have supervised this work; when he fell sick, Fraina took charge.

112. See Rosi Wolfstein's report in session 9, pp. 431 and 433, and Zinoviev's address in session 17, p. 802.

113. The following material from the 1934 edition has been omitted from the present work: a statement by the newly founded revolutionary trade union council, whose contents are essentially reproduced in the Executive Committee appeal in appendix 4d; an Executive Committee letter to the KAPD; and a list of organizations, predominantly from Soviet Russia, that sent greetings to the congress. See the 1934 Russian edition, pp. 690-92, 695-97, and 707-18.

114. An English-language translation of the draft theses can be found in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920.

Prologue

1. Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 270-72. First published in *Kommunistka* (Communist woman), August-September 1920.

Call for Second World Congress

1. The call was first published on June 14, 1920, in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 11, June 1920, cols. 1769-72.

2. The Communist women's conference was held in Moscow July 30-August 2, 1920. Its appeal to working women of the world appears in appendix 6a. A conference of youth delegates to the Second Congress was held in Moscow August 7-10. No congress of the Communist Youth International took place, however, until April 1921. This meeting, held in Jena, Germany, adjourned after a few days of debate, reconvening in Moscow on July 9, 1921.

Report of the Executive Committee

1. This report, written by Zinoviev, was distributed to delegates as

the congress opened. It is translated from the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings.

2. Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, p. 256.

3. On May 13, 1920, the left-wing minority of the Finnish Social Democratic Party met to form the Finnish Socialist Workers Party. When the conference passed a resolution to join the Third International, the police chief, who had insisted on being present, declared this decision to be criminal. On his orders the hall was cleared and eleven delegates were arrested.

4. Leaders of Social Democratic parties opposed to the Russian October revolution and favoring capitalist reconsolidation held an international conference in Bern, Switzerland, February 3-10, 1919. Its declared aim was to relaunch the Second International, which had collapsed in August 1914. These forces met again August 1-9, 1919, in Lucerne, Switzerland, and drafted statutes for the proposed International.

For excerpts from the Bern conference and for discussion on it by the Communist International's founding congress, see Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 405-30, and Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 185-204.

5. The reference is to the congress of the Second International held in Geneva July 31–August 5, 1920.

6. This paragraph, missing from the 1934 Russian edition, is taken from the 1920 Vienna edition, p. 20.

7. The plan to unify the U.S. parties was published in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 188-89.

8. The Executive Committee's letter, dated June 2, 1920, appears in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2499-2512.

9. The Executive Committee made no statement on the Kapp putsch events until March 25, twelve days after the putsch took place. On that day it issued a general appeal for support to the German workers' struggle. See *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 10 [May 1920], pp. 228-32.

10. See *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 152-65.

11. During late 1919 and early 1920 sharp differences developed in the Finnish Communist movement between the underground group in Finland, led by Otto Kuusinen, and the émigré organization in Russia, where the party Central Committee was located. The Kuusinen current's role in the launching of the Socialist Workers Party was criticized by the Central Committee as obstructing the building of the Communist Party in Finland. In April 1920 the Comintern Executive Committee appointed a new Central Committee including both Kuusinen and the main émigré leaders.

12. The Borotbist request and the Executive Committee reply were published in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 10 [May 1920], pp. 235-36.

13. Ernő Bettelheim was sent by the Hungarian party leadership to Vienna in mid-May 1919 with instructions to organize Austrian Communists to make a bid for power. Claiming a Communist International mandate, he reorganized the Austrian party leadership and led it in planning an uprising for June 15. The plans miscarried; a hundred Communists were arrested and dozens killed or wounded. Karl Radek drew the lessons of these events in "Die Lehren eines Putschversuchs" (Lessons of an attempted coup), *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 29-37.

14. In the First Balkan War (October 1912–May 1913), Bulgaria joined with other Balkan states to expel the Ottoman Empire from most of its European territories. In the second war (June–August 1913), Serbia, Greece, Romania, and Ottoman Turkey defeated Bulgaria, forcing it to cede much of the territory it had won. Both wars were interlocked with the conflicting interests of the major imperialist powers.

15. The letter to the IWW can be found in appendix 4a.

16. An example of such an appeal is the Executive Committee's greetings to the international congress of transport workers, in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 180-81. See also its open letter to the KAPD, in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June–July 1920, cols. 2499-2512.

17. The March 26-28, 1915, Bern antiwar conference was called by Clara Zetkin, secretary of the International Bureau of Socialist Women, on the initiative of Bolshevik leaders Inessa Armand and Aleksandra Kollontai. The conference rejected the Bolsheviks' proposal to condemn the betrayal by leaders of the Second International and call for revolutionary mass struggle as the road to ending the suffering of war. For the conference's manifesto see Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 277-79.

18. Data on donations to the Comintern from the toilers of Soviet Russia was included in the 1920 pamphlet edition of this report, Zinoviev, *Report of the Executive Committee*, pp. 42-52. Apart from that, no financial report to the Second Congress by the Executive Committee is available.

19. The February 3-8, 1920, conference called by the Amsterdam bureau was attended by twenty representatives from seven countries. Dominated by ultraleft forces, the conference adopted a trade union resolution influenced by syndicalist views. Its "Resolution on Unity" was utilized by the Amsterdam bureau in an attempt to block unity

between left-wing communists in Britain and Comintern supporters who retained their affiliation to the Labour Party.

20. Such a conference was held January 21–February 2, 1922. Sessions of the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East took place in Moscow and Petrograd with more than one hundred delegates from some forty countries in attendance. For the English-language text of the proceedings, see *The First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East*.

21. See “Parliamentarism and the Struggle for the Soviets,” *Communist International*, no. 5 [September 1919], pp. 60-62.

22. The Executive Committee’s letters to the Independent Labour Party and to U.S. Communists were published in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2473-2500.

23. The 1920 pamphlet edition of this report included appendixes containing (1) Executive Committee statements and declarations, (2) pamphlets published by the Communist International bodies in various languages, (3) organizations that had joined the International prior to its Second Congress, (4) donations received by the International from workers and peasants in Soviet Russia. See Zinoviev, *Report of the Executive Committee*, pp. 27-52.

Session 1: The world political situation and basic tasks

1. The preceding paragraph and the subsequent text of Kalinin’s remarks appear only in the 1921 French-language edition of the congress proceedings.

2. The term *sacred union* was first used on August 4, 1914, by French Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré. A “sacred union,” he stated, joined the sons of France “in a common indignation against the aggressor and in a common patriotic faith.” The term came to be used by revolutionaries to describe how the Socialist Party and the unions backed the French bourgeoisie in prosecuting the war effort and seeking to stifle workers’ struggles—and, by extension, to describe similar policies in other countries.

3. Fernand Loriot, Pierre Monatte, and eight other communist and syndicalist leaders were arrested early in May 1920 in connection with a strike by French rail workers. The walkout inspired a broad strike movement embracing 1.5 million workers, which was ultimately broken by the government. Charged with “anarchist intrigues” and plotting against state security, Loriot, Monatte, and the others were held in jail for almost a year before being acquitted the following March.

4. In December 1919 and January 1920, the U.S. government launched a coordinated wave of arrests of suspected Communists, known as the Palmer raids after Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

Federal agents arrested thousands of alleged Communists on the single night of January 2, 1920. At least seven hundred victims of these raids were later deported.

5. For documents on the response of major sections of the Second International to the outbreak of war in 1914, see Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 111-216.

6. Communist parties in the United States did not run candidates for elective office during this period. Several elected candidates of the Socialist Party, however, were barred from taking office. The most well-known cases were those of Victor Berger, a right-wing Socialist congressman from Wisconsin, and five members of the New York State Assembly, all of whom were denied their seats. Among the many working-class fighters jailed during those years was Eugene Debs, Socialist Party candidate for president in 1920.

7. The terms *Industrialism* and the *Industrialists* referred to a current in the labor movement of English-speaking countries that advocated industrial unions and opposed participation in political parties. This was the dominant viewpoint in the Shop Stewards' movement in Britain and in the Industrial Workers of the World.

8. There is no record of a U.S. Socialist Party representative attending the Second Congress. The party applied in March 1920 to join the Comintern; following the Second Congress this application was rejected.

9. Among the parties that had left the Second International were the Socialist parties of France, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland, Spain, Yugoslavia, and the United States; the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany; the Independent Labour Party of Britain; and the Mensheviks of Russia.

10. This is a paraphrase of a passage from the First International's "General Rules," in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (hereafter *MECW*), vol. 23, p. 3. The actual passage is quoted in the Comintern statutes found in session 14 on pp. 694-95.

11. The Paris Commune of 1871 represented the first attempt to establish a revolutionary government of the toilers. The working people of Paris held and administered the city from March 18 until May 28, when their resistance was crushed by the forces of the French bourgeoisie, working in league with the Prussian army. In the ensuing terror more than seventeen thousand working people of Paris were massacred.

12. *Communist International*, no. 1 [May 1919], p. 23.

13. The national reports submitted to the congress can be found in *Berichte zum zweiten Kongress*.

14. The theses on tasks are found in session 16 on pp. 746-63.

15. The Treaty of Versailles between Germany and the victorious Allied powers was signed June 28, 1919. Germany was declared responsible for the war, its armed forces were strictly limited, its colonies were taken by the victorious powers, parts of its metropolitan territory were annexed, union with Austria was forbidden, the Rhineland was occupied, and heavy war reparations were imposed. This treaty was one of several with the defeated powers worked out at the Paris conference of Allied powers. The conference concluded with the formal inauguration of the League of Nations on January 16, 1920.

16. This is equivalent to a rate of one gold ruble to about U.S. \$.50 at 1920 rates. According to data in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* for 1950 and 1987, the dollar in 1920 had 5.4 times the purchasing power it had in 1985.

17. The report is found in *Bericht über den 4. Parteitag*, pp. 4-24.

18. The Supreme Economic Council, an executive body of the Allies, was created in February 1919 at the Paris conference. It was composed of representatives of the governments of Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States.

19. Later in 1920, in preparing his speech for publication as a pamphlet, Lenin altered this sentence to read, "Thus we have a situation in which even America is beginning to experience difficulties with regard to imports and exports." See the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings, p. 20.

20. Wilson proposed his Fourteen Points on January 8, 1918, as an alternative to Soviet Russia's program for a democratic peace without annexations and as a formula to advance U.S. commercial interests against its imperialist rivals. The Fourteen Points included general promises of arms reductions, freedom of trade, freedom of navigation on the seas, open diplomacy, and consideration of the wishes of inhabitants in the settlement of territorial and colonial claims. The treaties worked out in Paris ignored most of this.

21. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed March 3, 1918, formally ended the war between the Russian Soviet Republic and the Central Powers, the imperialist alliance headed by Germany. Under the treaty's terms, German forces occupied Russian territory containing one-third of the population and most of the coal and iron production of the former tsarist empire. Under these terms, the German military was able to overthrow several independent soviet governments including that of the Ukraine.

22. In speaking of the German systematists, Lenin is referring to Däumig and others in the Berlin workers' councils and shop stewards' movement who favored building a structure of councils independent of the state and the trade unions, that is, an "exclusive council system"

that had no need of parliament or national assembly. This structure, they hoped, would provide the basis for achieving workers' rule. See point 9 of the theses on the formation of soviets in session 15 on p. 708.

Guild Socialism developed during World War I as a current among Labour Party intellectuals, also attracting some shop stewards and other trade union activists. Its supporters advocated reorganizing society through federations of producers' associations, called "guilds" after the associations of medieval artisans. The left-wing Guild Socialists looked on the soviets in Russia as examples of such guilds. Many in this left wing later joined the British Communist Party.

23. The boyars were the Romanian landowning class.

24. "Black mercenaries" refers to troops in the French army levied in France's African colonies. Following mutinies in the European imperialist armies between 1917 and 1919, the French government sought to use these troops against workers' struggles in France, the Soviet republic, and Germany. They calculated that African and other colonial troops would be immune to the mood of rebellion sweeping Europe.

Earlier in this session, Lenin pointed out that the workers' movement owed "deep gratitude" to the bourgeoisie for incorporating these troops into their armies, teaching them the use of arms, and thus helping to draw "the dependent peoples into world history."

For the Comintern's evolution on this question, see Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 342-44.

25. In December 1918 a Soviet Red Cross mission led by Polish Communists Bronislaw Wesolowski and Julian Marchlewski arrived in Warsaw to negotiate repatriation of Russian prisoners taken during World War I. The Warsaw government accused the delegation of political agitation, arrested them, and deported them under guard. On January 2, 1919, before the delegation left Poland, Wesolowski and three others were murdered by their guards.

26. On July 12, 1920, during trade negotiations between Britain and Soviet Russia, British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon suddenly demanded that before any agreement could be signed, the Soviet government halt its counteroffensive against Poland and conclude an immediate armistice. See comments by Lenin in *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 203-4.

27. SPD leader Gustav Noske headed the German armed forces during 1919-20. At the beginning of 1919 the SPD-led German government, considering the regular German army no longer dependable, turned to reliance on the Freikorps, the volunteer battalions recruited privately by right-wing officers. The Freikorps carried out murderous assaults on bastions of the German working class, combated liberation struggles by Poles and other nationalities on Germany's eastern bor-

der, and battled soviet regimes in the Baltic states.

28. Despite a massive wave of strikes in January 1918, which protested harsh terms against Soviet Russia and demanded the rapid conclusion of peace, workers in Germany and Austria were unable to prevent the German government from imposing the Brest-Litovsk treaty. When the treaty came up for a vote in the German Reichstag, SPD deputies failed to vote against it.

In March and April 1918 the German army swept across the Ukraine, ousting the Ukrainian soviet government. German armed forces remained in the Baltic region until late 1919 and were used to back the reactionary German landlords against the revolution in these countries.

29. In January 1918 the government of Soviet Russia took advantage of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations to press its demand for Polish independence on the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which then held Poland under military occupation. Trotsky demanded that Polish representatives be admitted to the negotiations, refusing to recognize the puppet regime established under the German generals Max Hoffmann (commander of the eastern front) and Hans Hartwig von Beseler (governor of German-occupied Poland). Radek denounced the crimes of the occupation authorities, who forcibly deported hundreds of thousands of Polish workers, stripped Poland of raw materials and factories, and imprisoned or interned Polish political leaders of all parties. The Soviet stand was widely publicized internationally.

30. In December 1919 and again in January 1920, the Soviet government offered to recognize the existing Russian-Polish troop line as the border. This was approximately one hundred miles east of the line laid down by the Allied powers' Supreme Council.

31. These words, a paraphrase of Admiral Horatio Nelson, were read by Levi in English.

32. This description is taken from the 1920 Vienna edition, pp. 62-63.

Session 2: Role and structure of the Communist Party, part 1

1. This session and all subsequent ones were held in Moscow.

2. The term *Bureau* is frequently used in these proceedings to refer to the Presiding Committee.

The two official languages mentioned here are probably German and French. The question of languages used at the congress is discussed in the Introduction to this book.

3. The translation here follows the Russian, French, and English

editions. The German edition reads, "rejected by a majority of 14 votes." Other sources give no indication, however, that such a close vote took place during the congress.

4. The text of these theses is found in session 3, pp. 190-200.

5. Pannekoek, "World Revolution and Communist Tactics."

6. The German Social Democratic movement referred to the unions it established in the 1860s and subsequently as "free unions" to distinguish them from those dominated by employers or the Catholic church. By 1914 most of the top officials of Social Democratic unions followed a policy of class collaboration. These officials' ties with Germany's capitalist rulers were strengthened by their active role in promoting the war effort and restabilizing capitalism after the war's end.

7. An Executive Committee meeting held July 22 granted decisive vote to KAPD representatives Otto Rühle and August Merges in an attempt to convince them to participate in the congress. They refused, however, explaining that they rejected the Executive Committee's draft theses on organization, parliamentarism, and trade union tactics as utterly out of the question and therefore asked the Executive Committee to consider the KAPD's application to join the Comintern null and void. They then returned to Germany. See *Rote Fahne*, September 1, 1920.

Following the world congress, the Comintern Executive Committee continued to seek collaboration with the KAPD (see *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 154-56), and in November 1920 the KAPD finally joined the International as a sympathizing party.

8. The German deputies referred to here by Zinoviev are those of the USPD and SPD. The German Communist Party was not represented in the German Reichstag until the elections of June 6, 1920, when it was held to only two seats.

9. During the July Days in Petrograd in 1917, armed demonstrations of workers and soldiers demanded that the soviet executive committee, then led by Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, take power from the bourgeois Provisional Government.

10. Some central errors and limitations of the Paris Commune, such as its failure to march against the counterrevolutionary National Assembly in Versailles and to seize the assets of the French national bank, are outlined in the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. See Marx and Engels, *MECW*, vol. 22, p. 326, and *Selected Works*, vol. 2, p. 186.

11. The 1915 Munitions Act banned strikes in British war industries, severely restricted workers' ability to change jobs, and instituted other antilabor measures. Unskilled labor was introduced into skilled job

categories with the aim of permitting employers to cut back the real wages of skilled workers and drive down wages across the board. The leadership of the affected unions accepted these moves in the name of the war effort. As rank-and-file resistance to such measures developed, workers were forced to act outside traditional union channels, forming bodies that evolved into the Shop Stewards' movement.

12. A different account of this part of Pestaña's speech is provided by Rosmer. "As far as the party was concerned," Rosmer recalls, Pestaña "expressed not so much hostility as scorn. 'But,' he conceded, 'it is possible that in some countries workers want to assemble in political parties. In Spain we do not need to. And history shows that revolutions, starting with the great French Revolution, have been made without parties.' Trotsky could not stop himself from shouting out: 'You're forgetting the Jacobins.'" Rosmer, *Moscow under Lenin*, p. 69.

In session 3, Zinoviev quoted Pestaña as having continued: "Well, if we must have a party, then it must be the result of the revolution, as in France. After all, the Jacobin party was born only as a result of the French revolution."

13. The text of Tanner's remarks given here, based on the English edition, has been edited to incorporate passages from the 1921 Russian edition.

14. This sentence is taken from the Russian edition of 1921. The other editions follow the English-language text, which reads, "We understand and realize that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be wielded by a minority—the revolutionary minority of the proletariat in Britain as expressed through the Shop Stewards' committee movement." Lenin's remarks later in this session confirm the 1921 Russian edition's version of Tanner's remarks.

15. This sentence and that immediately preceding the quotation from thesis 6 are taken from the Russian edition of 1921.

16. A resolution supported by several delegates at the December 29, 1918–January 1, 1919, founding congress of the German Communist Party argued that since the actions of the national trade unions "objectively preserve the state and are therefore antirevolutionary," Communists must quit these unions and organize new, "revolutionary, locally organized workers' organizations (unitary organizations)." See Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 188-89. "Unitary organizations" was the anarcho-syndicalist term for bodies that were to replace both trade unions and parties. The German Communist congress took no decision on the trade union question.

17. Corporatism is a theory proposing to organize society into industrial and professional corporations representing both employers and workers and controlling their activity. Each corporation would

regulate a sector of the economy. This theory became part of Benito Mussolini's fascist ideology.

Relativism is an antimaterialist philosophy holding absolutely true knowledge to be impossible because of the limitations and variability of sense perceptions. Among those who held this view were Bolshevik figures such as Anatoly Lunacharsky who, influenced by Austrian philosopher Ernst Mach, debated Lenin on philosophical questions in the years following the defeat of the 1905 revolution.

18. The term *possibilism* was used from the early 1880s to refer to a right-wing current in the French labor movement led by Paul Brousse. According to Brousse, the current's aim was to "break up our ideal into aims realizable in stages" and thus to "bring all of them within the limit of possibility in the end." Quoted in Landauer, *European Socialism*, vol. 1, p. 291. The term came to be used, especially in France, as a synonym for opportunism.

19. In a memo to other Comintern leaders on the day of the session, Lenin commented further on Tanner's speech as follows:

"Tanner's speech (Shop Stewards) has made it quite clear that:

"1) a place should be made *within* the Third International for *sympathisers*;

"2) a *special* reservation should be made for Britain and America to the effect that in spite of our contradictions on parliamentarism we propose that

"(a) the mass movement in the form of the I.W.W. and the Shop Stewards should remain *affiliated* to the Third International; and

"(b) the question should be threshed out once more and a practical *test* made to *improve* the socialist parties which had agitated among the masses *insufficiently* and *failed* to establish ties with them." Lenin, *CW*, vol. 42, p. 202.

20. This topic is not taken up in the "Theses on Conditions for Admission" to the Comintern. Lenin is apparently referring to his "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International," which contains conditions for admission in its thesis 15 and discusses the British Labour Party in thesis 16. Both sets of theses are found in session 16 on pp. 765-71 and pp. 746-63 respectively.

21. After several national meetings, the Shop Stewards elected a National Administrative Council in 1917. To satisfy those opposed to a strong central leadership, the council's powers were limited to administrative questions.

22. The last two sentences of Lenin's speech, summarized in only a few words in the congress proceedings, are taken from the fifth issue of *Vestnik 2-go kongressa*, a congress bulletin published as a supplement to *Pravda*.

23. Trotsky developed the ideas set out in this speech in greater detail a week later in his "Letter to a French Syndicalist on the Communist Party," published in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 54-58. This article is also found in Trotsky and Marx, *Trade Unions*, pp. 83-91.

24. Factory committees appeared in Norway in December 1917 and quickly spread throughout the country, encompassing sixty thousand workers at their peak. The hostility to these committees of the Norwegian Labor Party contributed to their decline, and they dissolved by the end of 1918.

Session 3: Role and structure of the Communist Party, part 2

1. In April 1920 a split took place in the Communist Party of America, one of the two main Communist organizations in the United States. About 40 percent of the members left, chiefly because of the majority leadership's refusal to consider fusion with the Communist Labor Party. One month later, this minority fused with the Communist Labor Party to form the United Communist Party. What remained of the Communist Party maintained a separate existence until May 1921.

2. Regarding the final makeup of this commission, see note 21 to appendix 1c on p. 1020.

3. Elsewhere in congress records, the commission membership is listed as including a delegate from Austria and none from France. See appendix 1c.

4. In his "Letter to a French Syndicalist," Trotsky explained how the syndicalists understood this concept: "The unions alone, including the wider circles of the working masses are not sufficient for the revolution, and . . . an *initiative minority* is necessary which should educate the masses and give them, in each concrete case, a definite program of action." *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], p. 55. This article is also found in Trotsky and Marx, *Trade Unions*, pp. 83-91.

5. National and local Hands off Russia committees, formed during 1919, included representatives of Britain's major unions. The committees won adoption of resolutions at Labour Party and trade union congresses that year condemning the war of intervention against Soviet Russia. Their campaign intensified after the British-backed Polish attack on the Ukraine in April 1920. London dockworkers struck in May to block munitions shipments to Poland, and millions of copies of an appeal were distributed by Britain's key union leaders proposing a one-day general strike to halt the war against Russia.

6. In the 1898-1903 debate in the German Social Democratic Party, Eduard Bernstein's reformist theories, which called openly for revising

basic principles of Marxism, were rejected by the party majority. In many regions, however, especially in southern Germany, the Bernstein wing held a majority and sought to implement its policies. The revisionists became champions of local and provincial autonomy as against the authority of the national party leadership.

7. This is a paraphrase from the "General Rules," in Marx and Engels, *MECW*, vol. 23, p. 3.

8. During the pre-war years, left-wing critics of the Second International's growing reformism were routinely accused of "anarchist" ideas. In 1906 Rosa Luxemburg, responding to a call for expulsion of "anarchists" from the German party, pointed out that "anarchism in our ranks is nothing else but a left reaction against the excessive demands of the right." Quoted in Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*, vol. 1, p. 368.

9. Turati wrote the words to "Ínno dei lavoratóri" (The workers' anthem).

10. The initial draft of these theses was prepared by Zinoviev.

11. In place of these first four paragraphs of the theses, the draft submitted to the congress and its commission by the Executive Committee reads: "In the main, the Communist International's first year of work has been taken up with *propaganda* and *agitation* for communist ideas. At this time, at the Second Congress, as the proletariat's international organization enters a new phase, the Communist International is beginning a period of *organization* and *construction*. Until now only communist *currents* existed in the working class of each country. Now, in almost all countries where there is a substantial workers' movement, we have not only currents but Communist *organizations* and *parties*. This fact should prompt the Second Congress of the Communist International to take a perfectly clear and precise stand regarding the role of the Communist Party before and after the working class takes power. Some adherents of communism, such as the 'left' current in Germany, supporters of the IWW in America, and certain groups of revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists, underestimate the role of the party *as such* and even flatly deny the need for it. That is all the more reason for the Communist International's Second Congress to give a precise and definite answer to the questions posed above."

12. This sentence is not found in the Executive Committee's draft theses submitted to the congress.

13. The preceding two paragraphs and the first paragraph of thesis 6 are not found in the draft.

14. The remainder of this paragraph is not found in the draft.

15. This sentence is not found in the draft.

16. The composition of each commission is given in appendix 1c.

17. The draft theses on the revolutionary youth movement are found in appendix 7.

18. In the July 21 Executive Committee meeting, Van Leuven read out to the USPD delegates the five conditions for admission to the Comintern included by Lenin in his initial draft of the "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International." See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 198. The final version of these theses, found in session 16, includes these conditions along with two others in point 15. See pp. 759-60.

The text of the Executive Committee's questions to the USPD delegates can be found in *Protokoll der Reichskonferenz*, pp. 7-10.

19. Three telegrams from Frossard and Cachin were published by the French Socialist Party during their stay in Russia. The first, sent in the first week of July, asked for authorization to represent their party at the Second Congress. A telegram on July 13 reported on their favorable impressions of what they had seen. Just before the congress opened, after much hesitation, they reported that the Comintern Executive Committee had acquainted them with the conditions for admission, and concluded, "Personally, we think that affiliation is necessary." *L'Humanité*, July 21, 1920.

20. During the Kapp putsch in March 1920, the USPD central leadership took no stand for or against arming the workers. Armed workers' contingents quickly formed across the country, however, and drove the army out of the coal- and steel-producing Ruhr basin and some other areas. In April the army, under orders of the restored SPD-led government, attacked workers' detachments in the Ruhr. The German Communist Party called for renewal of the general strike and an educational campaign for arming the workers. Addressing the Berlin workers' councils on April 8, Däumig opposed these measures as unlikely to win mass support.

21. The Dutch Communists had developed a close working relationship with the Bond van Christen-Socialisten (Christian Socialist League). Wijnkoop, a deputy, worked in a common parliamentary fraction with Reverend J.W. Kruyt, head of the league. Wijnkoop attempted to have Kruyt admitted to the Comintern congress as a delegate from the Netherlands. The proposal was rejected.

22. In Homer's *Iliad*, the Trojan prince, Hector, was slain and his corpse desecrated. Apollo testified before Zeus of Hector's qualities, moving Zeus to have the body returned to the Trojans.

23. Dutch CP leaders Wijnkoop and Van Ravesteijn won parliamentary seats in September 1918. During the election campaign, they came under attack by Herman Gorter and other Dutch revolutionaries for favoring Entente imperialism against that of Germany. According to Gorter, Wijnkoop indicated support for a deal aimed at easing the

grave food shortage in the Netherlands through grain shipments from the United States. As part of the deal, Dutch ships were to be used to aid the U.S. war effort. See Gorter, "Der Opportunismus," pp. 276-77.

Session 4: National and colonial questions, part 1

1. Quelch's remarks are summarized in appendix 2d.
2. The Second International condemned colonialism at its 1907 Stuttgart congress, as well as at earlier gatherings. See Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 7-9. The manifesto of the International's 1912 Basel congress, however, did not take up the colonial question. See *Kongress-Protokolle*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 23-27.
3. See the final version of the theses in session 5, p. 284.
4. The text given here is based on that found in the 1921 English-language edition of the proceedings. It has been edited after comparison with a typescript obtained courtesy of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and with a version printed in Adhikari, *Documents of the CPI*, vol. 1, pp. 173-88, which reflects the editing done at the congress. The text has also been checked against the German and the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions of the congress proceedings. Significant differences between these versions are noted below. Roy's original draft of the theses, which is also found in Adhikari, appears in appendix 2a.
5. In the German and Russian editions of 1921 this sentence reads, "Capitalism draws its chief strength less from the industrial countries of Europe than from its colonial possessions and dependencies." Similar wording is also found in Roy's original draft.
6. In the Institute of Marxism-Leninism typescript this sentence reads, "The first step toward revolution in the colonies must be the overthrow of foreign capitalism." The wording in the German and 1921 Russian editions is similar. The entire sentence is missing in the French edition. Other versions correspond to the text given here.
7. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism typescript and the 1921 Russian edition refer here to formation not of Communist parties but of "a nonparty organization." The 1921 English, German, and French editions and the version in Adhikari correspond to the text given here.
8. More than two hundred strikes swept across the Indian subcontinent in the first half of 1920, including walkouts by 200,000 Bombay cotton workers in January, 40,000 Jamshedpur steelworkers in February, more than 30,000 railroad workers, and 50,000 Ahmadabad cotton spinners in May.
9. Following the abolition of slavery and the collapse of the Confederacy, large landowners in the South secured adoption of Black Codes

that impressed the ex-slaves into contract-labor gangs on the plantations. Blacks, a growing part of the Union army during the closing years of the Civil War, organized to resist these moves. They received support from sections of the northern capitalists, who sought to prevent the defeated slave owners from restoring their power, as well as from opponents of slavery among the northern toilers.

In 1867 Radical Reconstruction regimes were established throughout the South, authorized by federal legislation and backed up by the Union army. These regimes repealed the Black Codes, established universal male suffrage, and carried out other reforms. Congress refused, however, to institute a thoroughgoing land reform. This allowed the exploiting classes in the South to rebuild their power and launch a campaign of legal and extralegal terror against Blacks and other working people.

By 1877 northern capitalists sought to block the growing alliance of Black and white farmers and workers in the South. The U.S. Congress withdrew Union soldiers and gave free reign to armed reaction there. The three remaining Radical Reconstruction state governments fell. Jim Crow, the system of legal segregation, was imposed to divide working people along skin-color lines. Racism and anti-working-class reaction were given a powerful boost throughout the United States. The Black population was transformed into an oppressed nationality.

The defeat of Radical Reconstruction marked the most serious setback to the U.S. working class in its history.

10. The German edition of the proceedings erroneously refers here to the "French and British governments"; all other editions read "French and Belgian."

11. On July 21, 1919, the worst day of the race riot in Washington, D.C., 15 people were killed or seriously wounded, 10 of them whites. Later that same month, in the Chicago riot, 38 were killed, including 15 whites. In all, there were some twenty-five race riots in the United States that summer and seventy-eight recorded lynchings of Blacks.

12. When the American Federation of Labor (AFL) met in convention in June 1920, eleven of its affiliates maintained explicit membership bars against Blacks, and others excluded Blacks in practice. After heated debate, the convention recommended in two specific cases that affiliates remove these racial bars. Further progress was made through the struggle that forged the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s and through the fight against racism during World War II. But it was not until 1963 when, as a product of the mass civil rights movement, the last of the all-white AFL unions, the locomotive firemen, removed its bar against Black members.

13. Reed is referring here to the Universal Negro Improvement

Association, an international movement for Black solidarity and liberation led by Marcus Garvey. In the early 1920s Garvey's movement claimed millions of supporters in the United States and the Caribbean. Garvey projected that many U.S. Blacks would go to Africa to help liberate it from white rule and develop the continent.

14. Fraina's speech has been translated from the German edition of the congress proceedings and edited after comparison with the English edition.

15. About thirty people were killed at Ludlow, Colorado, by the National Guard; among them were two women and eleven children who perished in the fire.

16. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the U.S. government intervened militarily in Latin America more than twenty-five times. In 1920 U.S. troops were occupying Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba. In addition, the United States had taken possession of Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone.

17. The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed by U.S. Pres. James Monroe in 1823, provided that the newly independent states of the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Subsequently, it was invoked to justify the expansion of U.S. power in Latin America. This was made explicit in 1904 by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, who claimed that the doctrine justified U.S. intervention in countries whose supposed misconduct invited European involvement.

18. In April 1914, as Mexico's revolutionary armies marched against dictator Victoriano Huerta, a German ship tried to land arms for Huerta at the Gulf of Mexico port of Vera Cruz. U.S. forces intervened, attacked the city, and occupied it for seven months. The action reaffirmed U.S. military primacy along Mexico's oil-rich gulf coast. Mexican oil fields, then the world's second most productive, were dominated by U.S. capitalists; British interests were their main rival.

19. Radek is evidently referring here to criticisms of the Soviet republic for its supposed violations of the right of national self-determination that had been voiced by leaders of the Bern International. Ten days after Radek spoke, these forces, meeting in Geneva, adopted a resolution protesting the establishment of soviet power in Azerbaijan and Lithuania which, they said, was a violation of self-determination. In reality, the Russian Soviet Republic had granted independence even in cases, such as Finland or the Baltic republics, where this led to the establishment of bourgeois regimes.

20. On April 13, 1919, British troops commanded by Gen. R.E.H. Dyer fired on a protest meeting in Amritsar, India, killing about four hundred unarmed civilians.

21. In 1904 the Herero and Khoi Khoi tribes rebelled against the cruelty of the German colonial administration in Southwest Africa (now Namibia). The German troops sent to quell the uprising indiscriminately massacred the tribal peoples, and an estimated sixty thousand Hereros were killed out of a total population of eighty thousand.

German Social Democrats denounced these atrocities and, in December 1906, voted in the Reichstag against further appropriations for the war in Southwest Africa. An election campaign ensued, in which the government conducted a chauvinist campaign in support of its colonial policy, dealing the Social Democrats a sharp electoral setback. A debate followed within the party on its colonial and military policy. See Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 4-15 and 54-63.

22. See note 24 to session 1, p. 497.

23. The Åland Islands, until 1917 a Russian possession, were held by Finland, but the majority Swedish-speaking population claimed the right to self-determination. In October 1919 the Soviet government protested the imperialist powers' intent to exclude it from diplomatic efforts to decide the islands' status.

Session 5: National and colonial questions, part 2

1. Although several congresses of the Second International condemned colonialism, they paid scant attention to emerging liberation struggles in Asia and the rest of the colonial world. The 1910 congress in Copenhagen, however, did pass a resolution condemning Russian intervention in Iran (Persia). See *Kongress-Protokolle*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 20.

2. The error referred to by Sultanzadeh was an overcorrection by revolutionaries in Turkestan of a hostile policy toward the predominantly Muslim Turkic majority there that was pursued by local Soviet authorities until the fall of 1919. The new policy, based on forging an alliance with the Muslim toilers, greatly encouraged the national democratic revolutionary movement among these peoples.

In the months that followed this turn, Communist organizations among the Muslim peoples gained strength and pressed for increased national autonomy. An autonomous soviet republic was constituted in Turkestan in April 1921. Other positions of these groups, however, were rejected by the Communist Party of Russia, such as their demand that the Turkestan Communist groups separate from the party and that the Red Army be withdrawn from the region. See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 30, p. 138; Georgy Safarov, "Die koloniale Revolution: die Erfahrung Turkestans," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 14 [1921], pp. 92-101.

3. The Constitutional Revolution in Iran, which began in 1905, was crushed by the shah's Cossack Brigade (a mercenary force supplied by

tsarist Russia) and by a tsarist army that marched on revolutionary Tabriz in 1911. The revolutionary struggle revived in 1917 and a soviet republic was formed in Gilan, in northern Persia, just prior to the second Comintern congress.

After the outbreak of revolution in China in 1911, major imperialist powers used their military bases, privileged "spheres of influence" within the country, and economic muscle to buttress reactionary forces opposed to the bourgeois-nationalist movement led by Sun Yat-sen.

In 1919 a nationalist resistance movement developed in Turkey against imperialist moves to dismember the country. Led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), this movement gained strength in Asia Minor (Anatolia) and in April 1920 established a national government in Ankara.

4. In March 1918 a military agreement was concluded between Japan and the Beijing regime in China, by which Japanese troops were to be stationed along the Siberian border in Manchuria and Mongolia. Far eastern Siberia was occupied at that time by a Japanese interventionist force that reached seventy-two thousand men.

5. Although Japan's establishment of a protectorate over Korea in 1905 met fierce and prolonged Korean opposition, in 1910 the remaining Korean resistance forces were driven into Manchuria, and Japan annexed the country outright. The Korean struggle revived in 1919. On March 1 of that year, two million Koreans took part in a day of demonstrations, which were brutally suppressed.

6. The German edition of Connolly's speech reads at this point: "Recognizing this, we insist that the Communist International assist these national-revolutionary movements. The only way that would lead to the result indicated is active assistance to the national movements by whatever Communist groups exist in these countries, however feeble." The text in the 1921 Russian edition is similar to the German version.

7. Connolly's written report on Ireland is found in appendix 2g.

8. The Young Turks were a bourgeois-nationalist movement based on the younger generation in the officer caste. They aimed to modernize Turkish society and secure an independent Turkish national state by replacing the sultan's despotism with a constitutional monarchy. Following the 1908 Young Turk revolt and a subsequent army uprising in 1909, a parliamentary regime was established in which the Young Turks held sway.

9. The island of Java was the main population center of the Dutch East Indies, today Indonesia.

10. Here and on three other occasions in this session, the proceedings record delegates as referring to a session held the previous day. In fact the preceding congress session took place on July 26, two days previously. The intervening day saw the massive Moscow demonstra-

tion in honor of the congress.

11. See Henriette Roland-Holst, *Kapitaal en arbeid in Nederland*.

12. One Dutch guilder was worth U.S. \$.40 in 1920.

13. This report is published in *Berichte zum zweiten Kongress*, pp. 391-410.

14. The movement in question is probably the Budi Utomo, an Indonesian nationalist organization founded in 1908. It gradually restricted its activity to electoral politics and, during the World War, proposed a militia for defense against a perceived Japanese threat. Allegations were raised that it received support from the colonial authorities. Its membership dropped from ten thousand in 1909 to fewer than four thousand in 1918. S.V. Zubatov was a Russian police official under tsarist rule who set up police-controlled trade unions.

15. The word *not* in this sentence is not found in any of the 1921 editions. Frumkina's subsequent remarks, however, show the omission to have been an error. The negative was inserted in the 1934 Russian edition.

16. Britain, which had occupied Palestine since 1917, had committed its support to the Zionist plan to colonize the area, hoping in this way to buttress British control against the Arab independence movement and challenges by rival powers. In 1922 the Zionist leadership declared its support for British rule as "a framework for building up a Jewish majority in Palestine." Rodinson, *Israel*, p. 27.

17. Although then one of the less economically developed imperialist powers, Italy ruled the colonies of Libya, Somaliland, Eritrea, and the Dodecanese islands in the Aegean Sea. The Italian government was also trying to annex the city of Fiume (Rijeka), part of Yugoslavia.

18. In the first decade of the century, Bauer, Karl Renner, and other Austrian Social Democratic leaders developed a program for "cultural-national autonomy" within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By their proposal, all members of a nationality, regardless of where they lived, would participate in determining the cultural policy for that nationality throughout the empire. Their proposal did not include the right of oppressed nations to secede from the empire.

The Bolsheviks' view on "cultural-national autonomy" was expressed by Lenin in "Theses on the National Question," in *CW*, vol. 19, pp. 247-50; "Cultural-National' Autonomy," in *CW*, vol. 19, pp. 503-7; and "Critical Remarks on the National Question," in *CW*, vol. 20, pp. 33-51.

19. The Central Rada, a nationalist government hostile to soviet power, ruled the Ukraine from November 1917 until February 1918. A similar regime, the Directory, held power from November 1918 to February 1919. In Belorussia antisoviet forces in the National Rada ruled from March 1918 until the establishment of a soviet government

in January 1919. A Lithuanian puppet state was established under German occupation in February 1918; after the German revolution of November 1918 it became a formally independent monarchy.

20. The post-World War I Arab nationalist upsurge was accelerated by declarations of the British government in early 1920 that it intended to maintain control over the area and promote Zionist settlement of Palestine. The Arab population protested, tensions grew, and on April 4-5 violent clashes took place that left five Jews and four Arabs dead.

21. This is a paraphrase of a passage in thesis 10 of the resolution, which is found at the end of this session.

22. The Credentials Commission had refused to seat Kohn as a representative of the Poale Zion of Austria (see appendix 1a). In its July 28 session, it recognized him as a consultative delegate of the Socialist Workers Party of Palestine, a left-wing split-off from the local Poale Zion group.

23. By "majority peoples," Kohn means here peoples who were a majority in a national territory within the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as the Czechs and the Poles. "Minorities" refers here to those who, like the Jews, possessed no such national territory.

24. While M.I. Lieber was a prominent Bund leader, F.I. Dan never belonged to that organization.

25. During World War I the Arab independence movement gained strength against the Ottoman Empire, which was allied to Germany. To advance its war aims, Britain supported the ruler of the Hejaz in Arabia in his successful revolt against Turkish rule. His son Faisal led Arab troops that took Damascus in 1918.

Fezzan, a region in southern Libya, was an important base of Libyan partisans fighting Italian occupation forces.

26. Some information on the commission debate is found in a report written following the congress by Kohn. Arguing against a wholesale condemnation of Zionism, he recounts, he pointed to the existence of a strong communist current in Poale Zion, which was an intransigent foe of bourgeois Zionism and had established the embryo of a communist movement in the Middle East. But his views met with no agreement, Kohn continued. "Lenin complained that the Russian CP had to fight not only the Zionists, but also the Poale Zionists. . . . The Russian members of the commission considered it absolutely necessary, in the interests of the Jewish Communist movement in Russia, to condemn Zionism." Bunzl, *Klassenkampf in der Diaspora*, p. 161.

27. The translation of this sentence follows the French edition and the Russian edition of 1934. In the German and Russian editions of 1921 the sentence concludes, "unless the working class takes part in it."

The English text reads, "only when the working class maintains its own class lines."

28. Wijnkoop's interjection and Serrati's response are missing from the German edition; the translation here follows the French edition and the 1921 Russian edition.

29. This sentence is taken from the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions. The French edition reads, "It expresses its concrete and active sympathy to all oppressed and exploited peoples, provided that it is directed against all the exploiters." In the German edition there is no corresponding passage.

30. When the Italian Socialist Party's national council met in Florence in January 1920, Serrati and the party's executive committee came under much criticism. Ultimately, however, a motion approving the leadership's conduct was adopted by a wide majority.

31. The original draft version of the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" was written by Lenin. See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 144-51.

32. The remainder of this paragraph is not found in the draft of the resolution submitted to the congress by the Executive Committee. Instead, the draft resolution reads, "by practically demonstrating that the Treaty of Versailles of the celebrated 'Western democracies' is an even more brutal and foul act of violence against weak nations than was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of the German Junkers and the Kaiser." Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 145.

33. The March 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was imposed on Soviet Russia by the Central Powers. The Treaty of Bucharest between the Central Powers and Romania followed two months later. Both treaties were annulled following the collapse of the German army in November 1918. The treaties of Versailles (June 1919) and St. Germain (September 1919), in turn, were imposed upon Germany and Austria by the victorious Allied powers.

34. By the Treaty of Versailles, East Prussia was separated from the rest of Germany by a band of Polish territory.

35. Here and subsequently, in place of "revolutionary liberation movement," Lenin's original draft reads, "bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants."

36. The words in parentheses are not found in Lenin's original draft of this resolution.

37. This sentence is not found in the original draft submitted to the congress.

38. The words *and Pan-Asian movements* are not found in the original draft.

39. In the original draft the balance of this sentence reads, "the

positions of the khans, landowners, mullahs, etc.” Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 149.

40. The preceding eleven words are not found in the original draft.

41. The draft theses contain a further sentence at this point, which reads, “It is particularly necessary to exert every effort to apply the basic principles of the soviet system in countries where pre-capitalist relations predominate—by setting up ‘working people’s soviets’, etc.” Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 149.

42. The German edition reads at this point, “support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the backward countries only in order to gather the components of the future proletarian parties . . .” The translation here follows the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions, which coincide with the wording in Lenin’s draft theses.

43. The words, “with the help of the privileged classes in the oppressed countries,” are not found in the original draft.

44. The preceding two sentences are not found in the original draft.

45. At this point the original draft contains the sentence, “On the other hand, the more backward the country, the stronger is the hold of small-scale agricultural production, patriarchalism and isolation, which inevitably lend particular strength and tenacity to the deepest petty-bourgeois prejudices, i.e., to national egoism and national narrow-mindedness.” Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, p. 150.

46. The German edition reads at this point, “national feelings that in themselves are outdated.” The translation here follows the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions, which coincide with the wording in Lenin’s draft theses.

Session 6: Conditions for admission, part 1

1. Lenin’s amendment proposed that a two-thirds majority of the leadership of parties joining the Comintern must consist of those who favored affiliation prior to the Second Congress. This proposal was ultimately adopted as thesis 20 of the conditions for admission (see session 16).

2. Rationalizing the Second International’s collapse in August 1914, Kautsky wrote, “The World War has divided Socialists into different camps, for the most part into different national camps. The International cannot prevent that. In other words the International is not an effective tool in wartime; *in essence it is an instrument of peace.*” (Emphasis in original.) Riddell, *Lenin’s Struggle*, pp. 147-48.

3. The February 1920 open letter to the USPD appears in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 152-65.

4. Most of the best-known leaders of the Second International—for

example, August Bebel and Jean Jaurès, central leaders of the German and French parties—argued that their capitalist governments had to provide for “national defense” and could be induced to act for peace. Their positions diverged more and more from the resolutions officially adopted by the International’s congresses. See, for example, the contrast between Bebel’s and Jaurès’s speeches to the International’s 1907 congress and the resolution ultimately adopted by the congress in Riddell, *Lenin’s Struggle*, pp. 24-35.

5. The draft theses “Conditions for Admission to the Communist International,” as published in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2221-26, contain eighteen theses.

6. Trotsky returned to the question of *L’Humanité*’s editorial policy in his 1921 letter “On ‘L’Humanité’” and in the ECCI’s 1922 resolution on the French party. See Trotsky, *First Five Years*, vol. 1, pp. 166-69 and vol. 2, p. 148.

7. See “Antwort an das Exekutivkomitee,” *Freiheit*, nos. 272-78, July 11-15, 1920.

8. Hilferding and Crispien supported the minority at the August 1919 Lucerne conference of Social Democratic parties. This minority opposed an open break with the Bolsheviks, but joined with the openly anti-Bolshevik majority in adopting provisional statutes for a revived Second International.

9. “Antwort an das Exekutivkomitee,” *Freiheit*, no. 276, July 14, 1920.

10. Such a collection was published the following year under the title *Le Parti socialiste italien et l’Internationale communiste*.

11. Zimmerwald, Switzerland, was the site of an international conference of antiwar currents in the workers’ movement held September 5-8, 1915. Although the centrist majority of the conference rejected the proposals of the Bolsheviks and their supporters, Lenin termed the conference manifesto a first step toward reconstituting an international revolutionary workers’ movement. For the record of this conference see Riddell, *Lenin’s Struggle*, pp. 282-325.

Subsequent conferences of the Zimmerwald movement were held in Kienthal, Switzerland (April 1916), and Stockholm (September 1917). By 1917, however, events had bypassed the positions of the Zimmerwald conference, and its supporters were increasingly divided into hostile camps.

12. During the war some forces supporting the Bolshevik-led left wing of the Zimmerwald movement raised the pacifist slogan of disarmament as a solution to the threat of imperialist war. For expressions of this stand and Lenin’s response see Riddell, *Lenin’s Struggle*, pp. 525-37.

13. Radek arrived in Germany in late December 1918, two weeks

before the army assault on Berlin's revolutionary workers that led to the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Radek's impressions of the struggles in Berlin are found in Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 159-63 and 274-85.

14. For the first seven weeks after the German revolution of November 1918, the majority current in the USPD leadership participated, together with leaders of the Social Democratic Party, in a coalition government, which acted to defend capitalist power and property relations. The USPD leaders left the government on December 28-29 without, however, changing their basic policies.

During the January 1919 uprising, as the SPD-led government readied the Freikorps for their murderous assault, the USPD leadership called on workers to remain calm and await the outcome of negotiations it was conducting with the government. Two months later, when Berlin workers unleashed a massive general strike, the USPD leadership responded by opening discussions with the SPD on building a coalition government.

15. From April until early November 1918, A.A. Joffe was the Soviet ambassador in Berlin. On November 6, as revolution spread across Germany, the collapsing imperial government expelled the Soviet embassy staff from the country. A few days later, the departing Soviet mission halted in Borisov, on the German-Soviet frontier, hoping to be recalled by the Social Democratic-led government that took office on November 9.

16. The minutes of the Council of People's Representatives meeting, which took place on November 18, are available in Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 67-68.

17. Barth, *Aus der Werkstatt*, pp. 68, 86.

18. For the text of the teleprinter exchange see Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 62-66.

19. The program adopted by the March 1919 USPD congress states that the USPD "strives for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the representative of the great majority of the people, as the necessary precondition for the realization of socialism." See "Programmatische Kundgebung," in *Dokumente und Materialien*, series 2, vol. 3, pp. 277-79.

20. The notion of "reconstruction," as used by centrist currents in 1919 and 1920, referred to uniting their forces in different countries in a new International, in which the forces of the Comintern would be invited to participate.

21. In the German and 1921 and 1934 Russian editions, this phrase reads, "evolved toward the left." The translation follows the French text.

22. At the French party's Strasbourg congress, held February 24-29,

1920, centrists (like Faure) and open reformists (like Renaudel) united to vote down the motion to join the Comintern immediately. Proceedings of the Strasbourg congress are found in *Parti socialiste (SFIO): 17-e congrès national*.

23. After a spring and summer of widespread labor unrest, the bourgeois parties in France formed a bloc for the November 1919 parliamentary elections. They mounted an aggressive anticommunist campaign that led to a serious setback to Socialist Party electoral hopes. The party won 23 percent of the total vote but elected only 11 percent of the deputies, a loss of thirty-three seats.

24. The day before the Strasbourg congress, French rail workers launched a major strike. It proved to be the first stage of a new labor upsurge that culminated in the May 1920 strike wave.

25. The congress of the Swiss party was held in Basel, August 16-17, 1919. It reaffirmed the decision of the March 1919 Bern congress to leave the Second International, with only one delegate opposed, and voted 232 to 224 in favor of joining the Comintern.

26. Revolutionaries in Switzerland were divided into two currents. The larger, led by Fritz Platten, was still in the SDP in 1920. Jakob Herzog was the central leader of the smaller group, which held many ultraleft views and had been expelled from the SDP in October 1918. See reports to the first Comintern congress by Leonie Kascher of the Herzog group and by Platten in Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 59-63, 81-85.

27. On September 30, 1918, Zurich bank employees struck for higher wages and the right to organize. The Zurich labor council (Arbeiterunion) moved immediately to support them, calling a city-wide general strike that afternoon, which was highly successful. The alarmed employers granted the strikers' main demands that same evening. Herzog proposed that the labor council continue the general strike around broader issues, but the council voted him down and on October 1 prepared a leaflet calling off the general strike. Herzog's group then blockaded the printshop producing the leaflet, in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the leaflet's distribution. On October 4 Herzog's local SDP branch, acting with Platten's agreement, expelled Herzog from the party for this action.

28. The Executive Committee of the Swiss SDP, after voting to send delegates to the second Comintern congress, refused to implement its decision. The party's left wing then convened a conference in the town of Olten June 26-27 and chose Jules Humbert-Droz and G. Wyss as its delegates. Walther Bringolf later replaced Wyss.

29. This is a reference to Marx's statement, "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force

must be overthrown by material force." See Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," in *MECW*, vol. 3, p. 182.

30. No text is available of the thesis proposed here by Bordiga. The two theses that were initiated by Bordiga are theses 19 and 21. The four 1921 editions of the proceedings erroneously insert at this point an early version of thesis 15, which was included in the drafts circulated to delegates as the congress began.

31. See point 10 of Lenin's "April Theses," in *CW*, vol. 24, p. 24, and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution: Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party," *ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

Session 7: Conditions for admission, part 2

1. In 1904 a right-wing opposition led by Milorad Popovic and Jovan Skerlic developed in the Serbian Social Democratic Party. They advocated that the working class limit its struggle to economic issues and favored alliances with bourgeois parties. The December 1904 expulsion of this current was confirmed by the party congress in June 1905. Another opportunist current, headed by Milan Marinkovic and Zivota Durkovic, was expelled in April 1912.

2. The Yugoslav party's appeal appears in *Istorijski arhiv Komunisticke partije Jugoslaviye*, vol. 2, p. 51.

3. The Bologna congress of the Italian Socialist Party took place October 5-8, 1919. The small "abstentionist" left led by Bordiga called for expulsion of the party's reformist wing and adoption of the name Communist Party, but both these demands were rejected by the "maximalist" majority led by Serrati.

4. This point became thesis 17 in the final text of the resolution, which is found in session 16 on p. 770.

5. See thesis 20 in session 16 on p. 771.

6. The Italian union leader Enrico Dugoni made press statements critical of conditions in the Soviet republic following his visit there.

7. The USPD congress in Leipzig, held from November 30 to December 6, 1919, voted down a motion by Stoecker to join the Comintern immediately. Crispian's resolution, which was adopted, called for unity with the Communist International, but only in the framework of a broader regroupment of "social-revolutionary" parties inside and outside the Comintern. Crispian's resolution can be found in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 7/8, November-December 1919, pp. 183-84; the key passages are printed in Morgan, *Socialist Left*, pp. 303-4.

8. Dittmann and Crispian had in fact not yet spoken at length in a plenary session. Meyer was referring to the commission debate on this point four days earlier. See appendix 3a.

9. This is a reference to the USPD reply, unanimously adopted by the party's Central Committee, to the Executive Committee's February letter.

10. In the German parliamentary elections of June 1920, the USPD more than doubled its share of the vote, to 18.8 percent. In contrast, the Social Democratic Party vote dropped to 21.6 percent, down from 37.9; the Communist Party received 1.7 percent.

11. Following the November 9, 1918, revolution, delegations from Berlin-area workers' and soldiers' councils pressed USPD leaders and Karl Liebknecht to join Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann, and the majority Social Democrats in a coalition government of Socialist parties. Liebknecht was a leader of the Spartacus League, which was at that time a public faction in the USPD. Three leaders of the USPD joined the government but Liebknecht refused to do so. See Riddell, *German Revolution*, p. 45-50.

12. In 1919 the USPD proposed that provision be made for workers' councils in the constitution of the German republic. Lenin wrote that the USPD proposal "accuses the Scheidemanns of wanting to abolish the *Workers' Councils*, and proposes—don't laugh!—that the councils be *combined* with the [bourgeois parliamentary] assembly. . . . To reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat!" Lenin, "The Third International and its Place in History," in *CW*, vol. 29, pp. 312-13; also found in Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, p. 37.

13. These words of Serrati were quoted by Zinoviev in session 6 (see pp. 343-44).

14. In fact the KAPD representatives were offered decisive vote at the congress.

15. See Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, p. 231.

16. The Executive Committee's July 24, 1919, manifesto, assessing the action held three days earlier, is found in *Communist International*, no. 4, August 1919, cols. 99-102. Section 12 of the Executive Committee report to the Second Congress, found here on pp. 91-92, draws a balance sheet of the July 21 action.

17. No record is available of the text of these amendments.

18. In December 1914 revolutionary opponents of the Social Democratic Party's pro-war policy began distributing the underground circulars that later became known as the *Spartacusbrieife*. Fifteen months later centrist critics of SPD policy, expelled from the Reichstag fraction for voting against war credits, organized the Social Democratic Working Group, the leadership core of what was later to become the USPD. Crispian was initially a Spartacus supporter, but soon went over to the Working Group.

19. The outbreak of revolution in Germany in early November 1918 forced its rulers to sign an immediate armistice ending the war.

20. The 1891 Erfurt Program of the German Social Democracy, which many Social Democratic parties in the years before 1914 viewed as authoritative, stated, "The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation is necessarily a political struggle." The working class, it continued, cannot "accomplish the transition of the means of production to common property without having come into possession of political power." Berthold and Diehl, *Revolutionäre Parteiprogramme*, p. 83. For an English-language translation of the entire program, see Ely, *Socialism: An Examination*, pp. 357-62.

Engels criticized this passage for failing to clarify whether property relations could be transformed within the framework of the existing legal order or whether, on the contrary, society "will not have to burst this old shell by force." Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891," in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, p. 434.

See also Lenin's comments in session 8 on pp. 381-82.

21. At the founding congress of the German Communist Party, the majority of delegates voted for the party to boycott upcoming elections to the National Assembly. See Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 172-83. The full record of the founding congress proceedings is available in Weber, *Gründungsparteitag*.

22. The proceedings of the Lucerne conference contain the following statement by Crispin: "Renaudel's resolution does not satisfy us. Its formulation on the League of Nations contains a series of statements that could easily awaken new illusions. It is not possible to bring about a true league of nations with capitalist governments run by Socialists." Ritter, *II. Internationale 1918/1919*, p. 644. The minority resolution that Crispin was defending, however, called merely for reform of the League of Nations, and was sufficiently moderate in tone to win the backing of the SPD.

23. The manifesto of the Comintern's founding congress, speaking of the "Socialist center," states, "Groups such as the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany . . . are doing everything possible to paralyze the proletariat's energy, prolong the crisis, and thereby intensify Europe's suffering. The struggle against the Socialist center is a necessary precondition for a successful struggle against imperialism." The congress resolution on the Bern conference says, "It is absolutely necessary to split the most revolutionary forces away from the center," in which it includes the USPD. Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 231, 201.

24. *Freiheit*, no. 278, July 15, 1920.

25. The 1920 Vienna edition of the proceedings gives a summary of Crispien's remarks that differs from the versions in other Second Congress editions. The summary reads:

"Crispien tried to refute the reproaches made against the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany by the reporter and in the discussion. 'The party has certainly made many errors, but the confidence of the masses in the leaders has not been shaken. The forces making up the party are proletarian, not petty bourgeois like those of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. *A split in the party is certainly necessary, since there are forces in it that no longer belong there*, but this split must be carried out very carefully. We should not forget that Germany's proletariat is already split into several camps.'

"In closing, Comrade Crispian expressed his conviction that the congress will take the position of uniting all honestly revolutionary-minded forces; otherwise the revolution in Germany will be faced with new and serious difficulties. 'But whatever resolutions you adopt,' Comrade Crispian said, 'we will leave this congress with the feeling that we are all comrades, regardless of our stance toward each other. The millions of German workers who belong to our party still have the right to international activity and international affiliation. *If the congress will not take us into the Third International, then we will be forced to create our own international organization.*'" Pp. 89-90.

26. Dittmann is referring here to the government of the Social Democratic Party and the USPD that took office on November 10, 1918.

27. Faced with a collapsing army at the front and growing signs of revolt at home, Germany's rulers decided on September 29 to install a new government in order to head off revolution and conclude a rapid peace. The new administration, installed October 3, included Scheidemann of the Social Democratic Party and enjoyed the support of the Reichstag majority. Three days later, it sent the U.S. government a request for an armistice and peace negotiations on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points.

28. This is a paraphrase of Haase's reply, which is available in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945, series A: 1918-1925*, vol. 1, p. 31.

29. The minutes of the Council of People's Representatives show that the November 18 decision of the six cabinet members not to permit Joffe's return was reached unanimously. See Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 67-68.

30. Dittmann is referring to the minutes of the November 18 session of the Council of People's Representatives.

Session 8: Conditions for admission, part 3

1. The first International Conference of Communist Women, which began July 30, 1920, was attended by about two dozen delegates from close to twenty countries, mostly women also taking part in the second Comintern congress. It drafted the declaration included in this volume as appendix 6a and laid the basis for the magazine *Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* (Communist women's International), which was launched the following April. The conference proceedings were published in *1-ya mezhdunarodnaya konferentsiya kommunistok*.

2. Georges Boulanger (1837-1891) was a reactionary French militarist who in 1889 became the standard-bearer for right-wing forces trying to overthrow the French republic. French Interior Minister Ernest Constans (1833-1913) organized the repression of the Boulanger forces.

The Possibilists, the more opportunist of the two main currents in the French workers' movement at that time, were organized in the Socialist Workers Party. In 1890 a more militant group, led by Jean Allemane, broke with the Possibilists and formed the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

3. The 1904 Amsterdam congress of the Second International, responding to a long-standing split in the forces of French socialism, called on Socialists in each country to unify into one party. Jules Guesde, leader of the French party that looked to the revolutionary traditions of Marxism, thereupon accepted fusion with the opportunist forces, whose central leader was Jean Jaurès.

Lenin considered that the congress acted correctly, noting that it "examined the *substance* of the controversy" and "*condemned* the line of the Jaurèsists. . . . And on the basis of this decision . . . it proposed that the conflicting groups should unite." Lenin, *CW*, vol. 19, p. 497.

4. Serrati is referring to the protest strike of July 21, 1919.

5. For Bombacci's comments see Cortesi, *Il Socialismo italiano*, pp. 677-81.

6. See Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works*, vol. 2, p. 351.

7. See Varga, *Wirtschaftspolitische Probleme*, pp. 84-93.

8. On August 3, 1914, when the German SPD Reichstag fraction discussed the outbreak of war, a minority of fourteen voted against supporting the bill to be presented the following day authorizing war credits. In the Reichstag vote, this minority abided by party discipline and supported the bill.

9. Max Reichpietsch was one of the leaders of a rebellion in August 1917 by German sailors opposed to the war. Reichpietsch and Albin Köbis, another sailor, were executed. Speaking for the USPD in the

Reichstag, Ewald Vogtherr acknowledged that Reichpietsch had contacted the USPD leadership and received party literature. He continued, "I challenge the honorable secretary of state to show me a single piece of literature . . . a single word from which it can be concluded that there exists even an indirect connection between the charges brought against these unfortunate men and our activity as deputies." *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 310, p. 3787 (October 9, 1917).

10. The entire resolution is printed in *Dokumente und Materialien*, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 348-49.

11. Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 67-68.

12. During the war against Soviet Russia by Poland, the German Communist Party campaigned vigorously under the slogan "For an alliance with Soviet Russia." The SPD and many in the USPD responded that the Communists' agitation tended toward involving Germany in a war with the Entente. Workers' solidarity with Soviet Russia, however, proved strong enough to lead the SPD, the SPD-led union federation, and the USPD to take a united stand together with the CP in an August 7 appeal calling on German workers to block shipments of troops or war matériel bound for Poland.

The article by Breitscheid, a USPD leader, appears in *Freiheit*, no. 291, July 22, 1920.

13. The "special commissions" were the Cheka, the security force and revolutionary tribunal established in 1918 to defend the Soviet republic.

14. *Protokoll des Parteitages in Leipzig*, p. 360.

15. According to Frossard's article, Crispin said that he thought the USPD should "break with the Bern International, now discredited, and work toward an International that could become part of the Third, but not without conditions. First we want to discuss with Moscow, as equals. We will not agree to sacrifice our independence." *L'Humanité*, February 1, 1920.

16. The referendum on joining the Comintern took place in September 1919 during an election campaign for the Swiss national parliament. Humbert-Droz commented at the time, "The electoral campaign . . . was carried out by the party secretariat on the opportunist and petty-bourgeois issue of the high cost of living." In the more conservative regions, moreover, "the campaign was a struggle against Bolshevism." Humbert-Droz, *Mon évolution*, p. 336.

17. Kautsky, *Vergangenheit*, p. 77.

18. When the Hungarian soviet republic fell in August 1919, Béla Kun fled to Austria where he was interned for almost a year. The Russian government negotiated his release, but he was arrested while passing through Germany. When it appeared that the German govern-

ment might grant the Hungarian government's demand for his extradition, the CP and USPD leaderships called a protest demonstration, which took place July 24, 1920. Kun was soon released and arrived in Petrograd on August 12.

19. Over New Year's 1918-19, Däumig and other left-wing USPD members negotiated on behalf of the Berlin-based Revolutionary Shop Stewards with representatives of the newly formed Communist Party regarding possible fusion. Among the conditions presented by the Shop Stewards were reversal of the Communist Party's stand for abstention in National Assembly elections and measures to counter the supposedly irresponsible role of some Communists in street actions. The negotiations were not successful. The Communist Party's stand on elections was reversed at its September 1919 congress. This decision led to the departure of most of the ultraleft forces in the party to whom, according to Däumig, the Shop Stewards had taken exception. See Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 202-3.

20. See Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 121-22.

21. Jørgensen is mistaken here. There is no evidence that Lenin believed a social revolution could be victorious without countering attempts by the minority, the old ruling classes, to use force to preserve their rule.

22. This report was published in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 10 [May 1920], pp. 61-66.

23. No record of Zinoviev's motion is available.

24. The text of Zinoviev's letter is not available.

25. The text of Cachin and Frossard's response is not available.

26. See "Letter to the French Socialist Party," in appendix 3b.

27. The 1934 Russian edition and the German edition refer here to twenty-one points. The Russian edition of 1921 and the French and English editions refer to eighteen theses, which was in fact the number before the congress at this point.

28. At this point Zinoviev read a preliminary version of the theses, the text of which is not found in any edition of the proceedings. The text printed at this point in the German edition is the final version of the theses, which is significantly different from the text that was actually before the delegates in session 8. The final version of these theses adopted by the congress is found in session 16 on pp. 765-71.

29. This vote was taken to mean adoption of Serrati and Graziadei's motion on freemasonry, but the motion was not included in the Twenty-one Conditions. Graziadei stated later that he had made a separate amendment to include this point in the theses, but there was some confusion on procedure and this amendment did not come to a vote. See Graziadei's comments at the subsequent Italian Socialist

congress, which appear in *Livorno*, pp. 51-53.

The Italian Socialist Party had banned Freemasons from its ranks prior to World War I. Serrati and Graziadei's motions were aimed at the French Socialist Party leadership, which included many Freemasons, among them Frossard and Cachin.

A resolution on the French party adopted by the fourth Comintern congress, held in 1922, notes that the Second Congress "did not include among the conditions for admission to the International a special point on the incompatibility between communism and freemasonry solely because this was deemed self-evident." In response to evidence that many French Communists were still Freemasons, the 1922 resolution explicitly banned Communists from belonging to Masonic lodges. See Trotsky, *First Five Years*, vol. 2, pp. 281-83.

Session 9: Parliamentarism, part 1

1. Wijnkoop was asking that instead of the usual hand vote, a vote by delegation be held, in which each country would receive a weighted vote corresponding to the strength and strategic importance of its working class. A basis for such votes had already been proposed by the Executive Committee and was formally presented to the congress by the Credentials Commission during session 10.

2. By *state capitalism*, Bukharin meant the system of far-reaching state economic controls introduced by the belligerent imperialist powers of Europe after 1914 to guarantee supplies of essential war goods and regulate consumption. Governments secured the support of reformist-led workers' organizations in measures to ration food, requisition needed supplies, and militarize labor. See Bukharin, *Imperialism and the World Economy*, pp. 144-60. Lenin sometimes spoke of "state capitalism" in a different context, to refer to trends in the Soviet economy after the Russian revolution. See, for example, Lenin's speech to the fourth Comintern congress, "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution," in *CW*, vol. 33, pp. 418-21.

3. Bukharin visited Berlin in October 1918, meeting with many German revolutionaries and left-wing Social Democrats.

4. Following the November 1918 revolution in Germany, there were widespread demands by workers for expropriation of the major capitalist enterprises. SPD leaders stalled or openly opposed these demands. The USPD, on the other hand, called for action for "socialization." In its February 20, 1920, letter to the USPD, the Comintern Executive Committee stated that the USPD's use of this word "conceals the necessity of confiscation, made plain by the unbearable yoke of impe-

rialist debts and the impoverishment of the workers. It glosses over the exploiters' resistance and the need for the proletariat to take revolutionary measures to suppress this resistance." *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], p. 159. See also section 5 of the theses on tactics adopted by the third Comintern congress, in Adler, *Theses, Resolutions*, p. 285.

5. Bordiga's theses are found later in this session.

6. The second State Duma met from March to June 1907. For Lenin's views on Bolshevik participation in the Second Duma elections see "The Boycott," in *CW*, vol. 11, pp. 141-49. The Pre-Parliament, an advisory body chosen without elections, convened under the Provisional Government in September 1917. The Constituent Assembly was elected in mid-November 1917. It met for one day on January 18, 1918 (January 5, old style), and was then dispersed after its majority refused to consider the "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People" submitted by the Soviet government. For the views of the Bolsheviks and their critics on the Constituent Assembly see Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 300-317.

7. Here and subsequently in Wolfstein's speech the references to Trotsky as author of this introduction, found in all four 1921 editions, were excised from the Russian edition of 1934.

8. The text of the introduction read here by Wolfstein has been omitted, since it does not differ in any significant regard from the final version that is found in session 10.

9. The two delegates voting against were Herzog and Dick Beech.

10. Marx and Engels, by contrast, did not hold that a proletarian revolution took place in Germany in 1848-49. For their views on the evolution of this uprising see "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," in *Selected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 300-387; "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-1849)," *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 164-72; and "On the History of the Communist League," *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 173-90.

11. The draft in question was published in *Communist International* before the congress as a separate resolution (see *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2151-54). During the congress it was incorporated into the resolution on parliamentarism as part 3.

12. The translation of these theses is based on the text in the French edition of the congress proceedings.

13. Point 4 of Bordiga's theses is missing from the German text.

14. The translation of the remarks by Shablin is based on the Russian editions of the congress proceedings.

15. A significant factor in the events mentioned by Shablin was a peasant insurgency and the political party of the radical peasantry, the Agrarian Union, which was led by Alexander Stambolisky. The soldiers'

uprising that forced the Bulgarian regime to quit the war in September 1918, known as the Vladai insurrection, set as its goal establishing a republic and bringing the Agrarian Union to power. Although the insurrection was suppressed, in August 1919 the Agrarian Union was able to form a government that moved swiftly to enact a radical agrarian reform. The Bulgarian Communists did not support the Vladai insurrection and did not oppose the right-wing coup that overthrew Stambolisky's government in June 1923.

16. See "Parliamentarism and the Struggle for the Soviets," *Communist International*, no. 5 [September 1919], p. 62.

Session 10: Parliamentarism, part 2

1. After the general strike brought down the Kapp regime in March 1920, militant workers continued their walkouts, pressing in particular for measures to end right-wing military terror against the working class. On March 22 the leadership of the USPD joined with the SPD and the major union federations in an appeal to end the strike. Däumig, who along with Stoecker had opposed this appeal, nonetheless presented the party majority's decision to a meeting of Berlin workers' councils held the following day.

2. On March 16, 1916, Liebknecht, speaking in the Prussian state parliament on the German government's responsibility for the war, called on soldiers to turn their weapons against the ruling class. The official report of his speech was distributed across Germany by his supporters. For the text of his remarks, see Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 446-47.

3. The Bologna congress resolution on participation in parliament, proposed by Serrati's faction, and Bordiga's minority resolution for abstention can be found in Cortesi, *Il Socialismo italiano*, pp. 788-92.

4. By a "vote by delegations," Zinoviev evidently means a roll call in which each national delegation casts a weighted vote. The Credentials Commission report proposed how these mandates should be distributed. According to the rules of procedure adopted in session 2, a roll-call vote was to be taken on the request of three delegations. There is no record of such a vote having been taken during the congress.

5. According to Bordiga, writing in October 1920, the vote on Bukharin's theses was about 80 in favor and 11 opposed. Bordiga's theses were supported by Herzog of the Swiss Communist Party, Eduard Van Overstraeten from Belgium, and Marie Nielsen, from Denmark; Bordiga had only a consultative vote.

6. Part 1 of the theses on parliamentarism was drafted by Trotsky (replacing an introductory paragraph in the original draft); part 2, by

Bukharin; part 3, by Zinoviev. Part 3 was originally a separate document.

7. The Erfurt Program of the German SPD included a list of reforms considered attainable under capitalism—which became known as the “minimum program”—as well as demands that challenged capitalist property relations known as the “maximum program.” The third Comintern congress’s theses on tactics rejected this dichotomy. It stressed that while the Communist Party should “put forward demands expressing the immediate needs of the working class,” it should also strive to “extend, deepen and unify the struggle around these concrete demands” and “extend its slogans, grouping them around the main slogan of overthrowing the enemy.” Adler, *Theses, Resolutions*, pp. 285-86.

8. The words *permanently* in this point and *on a permanent basis* in point 6 are not found in the draft resolution.

9. The reference in this sentence to the Bulgarian Communists is not found in the draft theses.

10. The rest of this sentence is not found in the original draft.

11. This paragraph is not found in the draft.

12. In place of this paragraph, the draft version contains the following passage:

“The following conditions are indispensable: (1) the absence of all ‘autonomy’ for the parliamentary Communist groups, and their unconditional subordination to the Central Committee of the party; (2) constant control and direction by the party executive committee; (3) the adaptation of parliamentary demonstrations to those going on outside the parliament; (4) revolutionary attitude in the parliament, that is, the absence of all ‘principled’ fear of overstepping the limits of parliamentary regulations; (5) the execution of part of the work outside the parliament, especially in connection with the mass demonstrations, by the Communist members of the parliament; (6) to be in constant touch with the illegal work and to profit by parliamentary immunity, as far as it exists, for these purposes; (7) an immediate recall or exclusion from the party of any member of the parliamentary group who violates in his parliamentary work any of the orders of the party.”

These points are taken up in greater detail in part 3, which was added to the theses during the congress.

13. The draft refers here also to the Swedish revolutionary Karl Höglund.

14. The draft and the 1921 and 1934 Russian versions of the final text read “sometimes” instead of “for the most part.”

15. In the draft this final clause reads, “so that the party might obtain new elections.”

16. The last sentence of this paragraph is not found in the draft.

17. The report that follows is not found in any of the 1921 editions of the proceedings. It is translated from the Russian edition of 1934.

18. At this point the record resumes in the 1921 editions of the proceedings.

19. Part of Austria-Hungary until the end of World War I, East Galicia then became independent, but was conquered by the Polish army in the summer of 1919. During the months that followed, an active guerrilla struggle developed among its predominantly Ukrainian population in favor of incorporation into soviet Ukraine. In July 1920, as the Red Army drove back invading Polish forces, a Galician soviet republic was established in Ternopol. After two months of soviet rule, the region was reconquered by the Polish army. During World War II it was annexed to the Ukraine. A report on the revolutionary movement in East Galicia is printed in Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, pp. 273-79.

20. The final apportioning of votes is given in appendix 1b.

21. In its July 28 session the Credentials Commission recognized Kohn as a consultative delegate of the Socialist Workers Party of Palestine. This group was influenced by Zionist views. See Kohn's speech in session 5.

CHRONOLOGY

1917

November 7 Bolshevik-led insurrection establishes workers' and peasants' government in Russia.

1918

Summer Imperialist armies invade Russia on several fronts; Russian landlords and capitalists launch civil war against workers' and peasants' government.

November 9 German workers' and soldiers' uprising overthrows kaiser, opening revolution in Germany and central Europe.

December 30 Communist Party of Germany founded in Berlin.

1919

January 5 Uprising of Berlin workers begins against repressive actions of SPD government.

January 15 Luxemburg and Liebknecht murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps.

February 3-10 International conference of right-wing and centrist Social Democratic parties in Bern, Switzerland.

March 2-6 Founding congress of Communist International in Moscow.

March-April Broad strike movement in Egypt against British colonial domination.

Early 1919 Extended wave of strikes, land occupations, and other mass protests opens in Italy.

March 1-April Massive uprising in Korea against Japanese occupation.

March 19 Italian Socialist Party breaks with Second International and resolves to join the Comintern.

March 21 Hungarian Communist and Social Democratic parties fuse; workers' and soldiers' councils take power in Budapest.

March-April Rising wave of mass opposition to British domination in India met by massacre at Amritsar; hundreds killed by British troops.

April-May French and British intervention troops forced to withdraw from southern Russia.

April 13-27	German Communists lead workers' and soldiers' government in Bavaria.
May	First issue of <i>Communist International</i> magazine published in Moscow.
May 3	Beginning of Afghanistan war of independence from British domination.
May 4	Student demonstration in Beijing protesting Allied powers' violations of Chinese sovereignty launches broad revolutionary upsurge for national liberation.
June 7-10	Norwegian Labor Party congress votes to quit Second International and join Comintern.
June 16-July 7	Soviet republic established in Slovakia with support of Hungarian Red Army.
July 20-21	Solidarity strikes in several European countries opposing imperialist intervention against soviet Hungary and Russia.
June 28	Treaty of Versailles signed.
July 28-August 2	Amsterdam trade union International founded.
August 1	Hungarian soviet republic overthrown.
August 1-9	Right-wing and centrist Social Democrats meet in Lucerne, Switzerland.
September 1-2	Communist Party of America and Communist Labor Party founded in Chicago.
September 22-January 8	Strike of up to 365,000 steelworkers in U.S.
October 5-8	Italian SP holds congress in Bologna.
October 20-23	Split with ultralefts at German CP Heidelberg congress.
November 1-December 9	Up to 400,000 miners strike in U.S.
November 16	Italian SP wins 32 percent of vote in national parliamentary elections.
November 20-26	Communist Youth International founded in Berlin.
November 30-December 6	USPD holds congress in Leipzig.
1920	
Early 1920	British government introduces "Black and Tans," a special police force that terrorizes rising Irish independence struggle.

- January 2** Thousands of supposed Communists arrested in U.S. in largest of raids organized by Attorney General Palmer; hundreds of immigrant workers subsequently deported.
- January 13** German security police fire on demonstration in Berlin, killing 42.
- February** 71,000 Black miners strike in South Africa for higher wages and against color bar.
- February 25-29** French SP holds congress in Strasbourg.
- March 13** Kapp putsch in Berlin met by general strike of German workers.
- March 17** General strike topples Kapp regime in Berlin.
- April-May** Alvaro Obregón launches uprising that topples Carranza regime in Mexico.
- April 5** Two-day general strike in Ireland wins release of 100 political prisoners.
- April 13-24** 500,000 workers participate in general strike in Turin, Italy.
- April 22** Comintern Executive Committee decides to call Second Congress.
- April 23** Rebel Turkish government established in Ankara to fight for national independence.
- April 24** Polish government launches attack against the Ukraine.
- May 1-28** General strike by rail workers in France, supported by other unions, ends in defeat.
- May 5** Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti arrested, framed up in U.S.
- May 7** Polish army occupies Kiev.
- May 14** Red Army launches counteroffensive against Polish invasion.
- May 1** British trade union delegation arrives in Moscow.
- June 5** Soviet government established in Gilan, northern Iran.
- June 6** USPD scores major gains in elections to German Reichstag.
- Italian SP and trade union delegation arrives in Petrograd; reaches Moscow June 15.
- White General Wrangel launches offensive against

	Soviet republic from Crimea.
June 12	Polish army forced to evacuate Kiev.
June 14	Comintern Executive Committee announces that Second Congress will convene July 15.
June 16	French SP delegation arrives in Moscow. Russian, British, and Italian trade unionists hold first of several discussions in Moscow on forming revolutionary trade union International.
June 22	Communist Party of Iran founded in Enzeli, Iran.
June 30	Mass uprising begins in Iraq against British domination.
July	Faisal I, leader of Arab revolt, driven from Damascus by French army.
July 3	Comintern Executive Committee issues call for Congress of Peoples of the East in Baku.
July 15	Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions formed in Moscow.
July 19	Second Comintern congress opens in Petrograd; moves to Moscow July 23.
July 21	Comintern Executive Committee meets with delegates from USPD two days after their arrival in Russia.
July 29	French SP delegation and Italian trade union leader D'Aragona leave Moscow.
July 30	Polish provisional revolutionary government established in Bialystok.
July 30–August 2	International Conference of Communist Women held in Moscow.
July 31–August 5	Right-wing Social Democrats meet in Geneva.
August 1	Beginning of noncooperation campaign in India against British rule.
August 7	Closing session of second Comintern congress in Moscow.
August 16	Red Army forced to retreat by counterattack of Polish government forces.
Late August–September	Mass strikes, factory and land occupations in Italy.
September 1-7	Comintern congress of Eastern peoples held in Baku.

October 12-17 **USPD splits at Halle congress, majority votes to accept Twenty-one Conditions and join Comintern.**

December 25-30 **French SP splits at Tours congress, majority changes name to CP.**

1921

January 15-21 **Italian SP splits at Livorno congress, minority forms CP.**

Adler, Victor (1852-1918)—a leader of Austrian SDP and of European Social Democracy from 1880s until his death; chauvinist during World War I; foreign minister of provisional government after collapse of monarchy October 1918.

AFL—see American Federation of Labor.

All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee—supreme executive body of Russian soviets; first elected June 1917 with Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary majority until Bolsheviks won majority at second soviet congress November 7-9 (October 25-27), 1917; highest body of Soviet government after October revolution.

American Federation of Labor (AFL)—U.S. craft union federation formed 1881; largely restricted to organizations of skilled workers; membership grew from under 2 million to over 4 million 1915-20; split with rise of Congress of Industrial Organizations 1935-37; merged with latter 1955.

Amsterdam International—see International Federation of Trade Unions.

Andrews, William H. (1870-1950)—a founder of International Socialist League of South Africa 1915 and of CP 1921; a leader of Rand strike 1922; expelled as "right opportunist" in early 1930s; later readmitted; remained leader of CP until death.

Anfu—militarist faction that controlled Peking government 1918-20 with support of Japan.

Arbejdet (Labor)—newspaper of Left SP of Denmark November 1919–May 1921.

Armand, Inessa (Elizabeth d'Herbenville) (1874-1920)—born in France; joined RSDLP in Moscow 1904; Bolshevik; in exile from 1909; returned to Russia 1917; headed women's section of party; Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; organized International Conference of Communist Women 1920; died of cholera.

Aubry, Albert Jules Marie (1892-1951)—French SP deputy 1919-24; active in SP until death; high officer in French Legion of Honor.

Avanti! (Forward!)—central organ of Italian SP, founded 1896; banned 1926 and published abroad until 1944.

Avis—see Nurijsanian, Avis.

Baars, Adolf (1892-1943)—member of Dutch SDP; moved to Indonesia 1915; leader of Indies Social Democratic Association and Communist Association in the Indies; worked as engineer in Soviet Russia 1921-26 and in Soviet trade mission in Berlin from 1927.

Balabanoff, Angelica (1878-1965)—born in Russia; joined Italian SP

1900; secretary of Zimmerwald committee and editor of its *Bulletin* 1917; joined Bolshevik Party 1917; secretary of Comintern 1919-20; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; left Russia 1922; broke with communism and rejoined Italian SP.

Balkan Communist Federation—Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation founded July 1915 by Bulgarian (Tesnyaki), Greek, Romanian, and Serbian SDPs opposed to chauvinism and “civil peace”; favored founding new, revolutionary International; renamed Balkan Communist Federation 1920; Comintern coordinating body for Balkan parties until 1930s.

Barth, Emil (1879-1941)—German anarchist before 1910; later active in SPD and USPD; chair of Berlin-area Revolutionary Shop Stewards February-November 1918; member of SPD-USPD government November-December 1918; rejoined SPD 1921.

Barthélémy, Georges (1882-1933)—French SP parliamentary deputy 1919-24; signed statement opposing Comintern July 1920; went with SP after CP founded 1920.

Basler Vorwärts (Basel forward)—Swiss SDP daily newspaper established 1897; daily of SDP left wing, then of CP 1921.

Bauer, Otto (Heinrich Weber) (1881-1938)—a leader of Austrian SDP and theoretician of “Austro-Marxism”; foreign minister of German Austria 1918-19; opposed Comintern and helped found centrist Two-and-a-Half International; remained in SDP until death.

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—collaborator of Marx and Engels; founder and central leader of German SPD; prominent in Second International; opposed revisionist current in SPD but eventually adopted centrist positions.

Beech, Dick (1892-1955)—delegate from British IWW to second Comintern congress; affiliated with Pankhurst’s CP 1920-21; elected to provisional executive committee at CP Leeds unity conference January 1921; active in CP-led trade union Minority Movement mid-1920s; left CP, collaborated with but did not join Left Opposition in Britain; later Chemical Workers’ Union president.

Berger, Victor (1860-1929)—right-wing leader of U.S. SP; held chauvinist, anti-immigrant, and racist positions; opposed SP joining Comintern and argued for rejoining Second International.

Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung (Berlin daily news and commerce gazette)—liberal bourgeois paper founded 1871.

Berner Tagwacht (Bern daily herald)—official organ of Swiss SDP; founded 1893.

Bern International—see Second International.

- Bernstein, Eduard** (1850-1932)—German Social Democrat; Engels's literary executor; leading exponent of revisionism from 1890s; adopted pacifist stand during World War I; joined USPD 1917; rejoined SPD December 1918; reelected to Reichstag for SPD 1920-28.
- Berzin, Ian Antonovich** (1881-1938)—joined Latvian SDP 1902; Bolshevik; emigrated 1908; represented Latvian party at Zimmerwald where he supported Zimmerwald Left; Bolshevik Central Committee member 1917-18; Comintern Executive Committee secretary 1919-20; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; subsequently active in Comintern and Soviet diplomatic service; arrested during Stalin purges 1937; died in prison.
- Bettelheim, Ernő** (1889-1959)—member of first Hungarian CP Central Committee; claimed to be Comintern emissary and ordered Austrian CP to launch abortive uprising in support of Hungarian soviet republic June 1919; expelled from CP March 1922; lived in Russia until return to Hungary 1945; managed Hungarian CP publishing house until death.
- Bilan, Alexander**—leader of U.S. SP left wing in Ohio; founding member of Communist Labor Party and its delegate to second Comintern congress.
- Bjarnason, Brynjólfur**—see Brynjólfur Bjarnason.
- Blum, Léon** (1872-1950)—joined Jaurès's French SP 1902; backed chauvinist right wing of party 1914; parliamentary deputy 1919; opposed SP affiliation to Comintern 1920; prime minister of Popular Front government 1936-37; imprisoned during Nazi occupation; leader of SP after World War II.
- Bolsheviks**—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks).
- Bombacci, Nicola** (1879-1945)—Italian SP member before World War I; in SP Maximalist wing led by Serrati during war; represented SP at second Comintern congress; founding member of Italian CP and Central Committee member from 1921; expelled from CP for supporting fascism 1927; supported Mussolini and executed with him.
- Bordiga, Amadeo** (1889-1970)—joined Italian SP 1910; led left faction in SP during World War I; represented "Communist-Abstentionist" SP faction at second Comintern congress; became party head at Italian CP founding congress at Livorno 1921; member Comintern Executive Committee 1922-28; defended Trotsky 1928; expelled from CP 1930; led small ultraleft current until death.
- Borotbist party**—see Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbist).
- Brandsteder, Jacobus Andries** (b. 1887)—leader of Dutch sailors' union; moved to Dutch East Indies 1913; a founder of Indies

Social Democratic Association and associated with left wing from 1914; functionary in Dutch CP 1919-24; expelled from CP 1929; leader of transport workers' union 1929-45.

Branting, Hjalmar (1860-1925)—longtime leader of Swedish Social Democrats; leader of Second International; chauvinist during World War I; prominent in efforts to revive Second International after World War I; Swedish prime minister 1921-23.

Braun, M.I.—see Brónski, Mieczysław.

Breitscheid, Rudolf (1874-1944)—German Social Democrat; joined USPD 1917; Prussian interior minister 1918-19; rejoined SPD 1922; died in Nazi concentration camp.

Bringolf, Walther (1895-1981)—joined Swiss SDP 1919; represented Swiss SDP left wing at second Comintern congress; Swiss CP founding member 1921; broke with Swiss CP and Comintern 1930; worked with Left Opposition; rejoined SDP late 1930s; elected to high government posts early 1960s.

British Labour Party—founded as federation of trade unions and Socialist organizations and societies 1906; affiliated to Second International; more than 1.6 million members in 1914, predominantly through union affiliation; supported British imperialism in World War I; 3.5 million members late 1919; 4.25 million late 1920.

British Socialist Party—founded through fusion of Social Democratic Federation and other groups 1911; antichauvinist during World War I; right-wing pro-war minority split 1916; 10,000 members early 1919; joined Comintern 1919; majority fused with other groups in August 1920 to found CP of Great Britain.

Brónski, Mieczysław (M.I. Braun) (1882-1941)—joined Social Democracy of Poland 1902; emigrated to Switzerland 1907; active in Swiss SDP; represented Polish party at Kienthal conference and supported Zimmerwald Left; participated in Russian October revolution 1917; part of Comintern West European Secretariat in Berlin 1919-21; held government posts in USSR after 1924; arrested 1937, died in prison.

Brynjólfur Bjarnason (1898-1989)—attracted to communism as Icelandic student in Europe 1918; observer at second Comintern congress; founding member of Icelandic CP 1930; leader of CP and its successor SP through 1960s; minister in Icelandic government 1944-47.

BSP—see British Socialist Party.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888-1938)—joined Bolsheviks 1906; in exile in western Europe and United States 1911-17; member of Bolshevik Central Committee from 1917; led Left Communist faction of

Bolshevik Party 1918; editor of *Pravda* 1919-29; one of main Bolshevik leaders of Comintern 1919-29; headed Right Opposition to Stalin and was expelled from Soviet CP 1929; later recanted and was readmitted; executed on Stalin's orders after third Moscow frame-up trial.

Bund (General Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia)—founded in Vilna 1897; affiliated to RSDLP 1898-1903 and from 1906; advocated "national-cultural autonomy" within capitalist states for Jews from 1905; aligned with liquidators 1907-8 and Mensheviks from 1912; included chauvinist and centrist wings during World War I; Russian group supported Provisional Government after February 1917; opposed October revolution; split by March 1919 and left-wing majority took name Communist Bund; majority joined Bolsheviks 1920; minority soon ceased activity; Polish group split 1921; Communist wing eventually joined Polish CP; right wing continued functioning into World War II.

Bureau of Communist Organizations—see Central Bureau of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

Cachin, Marcel (1869-1958)—joined Guesde's French Workers Party 1891; French SP member from 1905; chauvinist during World War I; French SP delegate to second Comintern congress; managing editor of *L'Humanité* 1918-58; supported SP joining Comintern 1920; CP Political Bureau member 1923-58.

Cadets (Constitutional Democrats)—liberal bourgeois party in Russia founded 1905; supported constitutional monarchy; participated in Russian Provisional Government 1917; worked for overthrow of Soviet government after October revolution.

The Call—published in London 1916-20; founded by left wing of British SP; later organ of party leadership; merged with the *Communist* August 1920.

Carranza, Venustiano (1859-1920)—president of Mexico during Mexican revolution 1914-20; opposed implementing land reform championed by Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata; ousted by uprising led by Alvaro Obregón.

Center Party (Zentrum)—German bourgeois party founded 1870, supported privileges for Catholic hierarchy.

Central Bureau of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East—coordinating body for groups of Communists working among Asian minority peoples in Soviet republics; affiliated to Russian CP; sent delegates to first and second Comintern congresses.

Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) (1879-1942)—took part in Chinese bour-

geois revolution of 1911; a central leader of May 4 Movement against terms of Versailles treaty 1919; CP founder 1920 and general secretary 1920-27; removed from leadership positions 1927; expelled from CP and a founding leader of Chinese Left Opposition group 1929; imprisoned by Kuomintang 1932-37; broke with communism 1941.

Chernov, Viktor Mikhailovich (1873-1952)—a founder and central leader of Russian Socialist Revolutionary (SR) Party; opposed October revolution; chair of Constituent Assembly 1918; active in SR-led antisoviet regime in Samara (Kuibyshev) 1918; emigrated 1920.

Chicherin, Georgiy Vasilevich (1872-1936)—tsarist diplomat until 1904; supported 1905 revolution and joined RSDLP in exile; Menshevik before 1914; antichauvinist during World War I; returned to Russia January 1918 and joined Bolsheviks; people's commissar of foreign affairs 1918-30; key organizer of first Comintern congress.

Chinese Socialist Workers Party—formed January 1919 by Chinese workers living in Russia who led the Union of Chinese Workers. See also Socialist Party (Shanghai).

Christian Socialist Party—Hungarian party representing higher clergy, monarchy, and landowners; organized alternative labor unions to counter CP influence after fall of soviet republic.

Churchill, Winston (1874-1965)—British Conservative Party politician; key in prolonging British intervention against Soviet Russia 1919-20.

Clemenceau, Georges (1841-1929)—French prime minister, 1906-9, 1917-20; chief organizer of 1919 Paris conference and architect of Treaty of Versailles.

Cohn, Oskar (1869-1937)—German Social Democrat; joined USPD 1917; adviser to Soviet embassy in Berlin 1918; rejoined SPD 1922; lawyer for Trotsky's son Leon Sedov early 1930s; fled Nazis to Soviet Union 1933; arrested and disappeared during Moscow trials.

Committee for the Third International (France)—established May 1919 from fusion of syndicalist and anarchist forces with Committee for the Resumption of International Relations, which had been formed January 1916 to support ideas of Zimmerwald in France; its members promoted Comintern from within existing parties and unions; dissolved mid-1921.

Committee to Reconstruct the International (France)—centrist current in French SP calling for unification of parties that had left Second International but had not joined Comintern, those of

Comintern, and forces in Second International; organized by Longuet, Frossard, Faure, and others December 1919; opposed Twenty-one Conditions; split in two September 1920; when SP split December 1920, Frossard wing joined CP, Longuet wing joined SP.

Comunismo—Italian SP newspaper published twice monthly in Milan; edited by Serrati.

Communist Association in the Indies—Indies Social Democratic Association took this name May 1920; 1,300 members with dominant influence in trade unions 1922; changed name to Communist Party of Indonesia 1924.

Communist Bund—see Bund.

Communist Federation of Soviets (France)—see Communist Party (France).

The Communist International—official magazine of Comintern, published in German, Russian, French, and English 1919-39.

Communist Labor Party (U.S.)—founded September 1919 by former members of SP left wing led by Reed and Benjamin Gitlow with 10,000 members; joined Comintern; 3,000 members early 1920; fused with Ruthenberg group of CP of America to form United Communist Party with 4,000 members May 1920; fused with remainder of CP 1921.

Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine—originated out of first Ukraine Bolshevik structure established December 1917; held first congress as autonomous component of Russian CP with 4,000 members July 1918; 23,000 members March 1919; 75,000 1920.

Communist Party (France)—originated out of small group influenced by anarchism formed by Raymond Péricat June 1919; split into Communist Federation of Soviets and CP December 1919; both groups hostile to CP of France by 1921. See also Socialist Party of France.

Communist Party in the Netherlands—originated from Dutch SDP, formed by expelled left-wing *Tribune* group of Social Democratic Workers Party 1909; leaders aligned with Zimmerwald Left during World War I; became CP November 17, 1918; 1,000 members late 1918; joined Comintern April 1919; claimed 3,000-4,000 members 1920.

Communist Party of America—founded by former members of SP left wing representing language federations, Ruthenberg-Fraina group, and Michigan organization with more than 20,000 members September 1, 1919; Michigan group split away January 1920 and degenerated into sect; 5,000 members early 1920,

Ruthenberg minority split and fused with Communist Labor Party to form United Communist Party with 4,000 members May 1920; remainder of CP fused with United CP 1921; 12,000 members 1921.

Communist Party of Armenia—originated out of Caucasus regional committee of Russian CP 1918; Communists in Armenia worked in Armenian component of Russian CP with 400 members 1919; CP of Armenia founded 1920; 3,000 members summer 1920; headed Armenian soviet republic from December 1920.

Communist Party of Austria—initial nucleus founded November 3, 1918; strengthened in following months by fusions; 3,000 members at first congress February 1919; 40,000 members June 1919; 14,000 1921.

Communist Party of Azerbaijan—founded with 4,000 members at underground congress February 1920; first Marxist circles in Baku 1898; Bolsheviks active in Azerbaijan from 1903; led Baku soviet regime November 1917–July 1918; functioned underground until soviet power reestablished April 1920.

Communist Party of Bukhara—organized November 1918; Bukhara People's Soviet Republic proclaimed in city of Bukhara October 1920; civil war continued in eastern Bukhara until late 1922; led formation of Tadzhik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic October 1924.

Communist Party of Bulgaria—originated in Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria, which was founded 1891; it split into revolutionary Tesnyaki (Narrow) and opportunist Shiroki (Broad) wings 1903; Tesnyaki won mass support during World War I; joined Comintern and changed name to CP May 1919; 35,000 members 1920.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—founded in Russia among soldiers in Red Army from Czechoslovakia as section of Russian CP May 1918; headed by Alois Muna; most members returned to Czechoslovak SDP 1918 and became part of its Marxist Left faction, which founded CP 1921. See also Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovak Communist Group.

Communist Party of Denmark—revolutionary wing of Social Democratic Party of Denmark formed Socialist Workers Party of Denmark April 1918; Independent Social Democratic Party of Denmark also formed April 1918; these two groups fused with revolutionary SDP youth to form Left SP of Denmark November 1919; joined Comintern, took name CP of Denmark November 1920; 1,200 members 1921.

Communist Party of Estonia—originated from RSDLP Revel (Tallinn)

committee formed 1904; Estonian component of Bolshevik Party had 10,000 members late 1917; led Estonian soviet governments November 1917–February 1918 and November 1918–January 1919; 700 members represented at first congress November 1920; underground until Estonia's incorporation into USSR under Stalin-Hitler Pact 1940.

Communist Party of Finland—originated in left wing of Finnish SDP, which won majority early 1918 and led unsuccessful revolution; forced into exile by White Terror; CP founded in Moscow August 29, 1918; banned in Finland until after World War II; underground Communists in Finland participated in left-wing split from SDP that founded Socialist Workers Party of Finland May 1920.

Communist Party of France—see Communist Party (France).

Communist Party of Galicia and Bukovina—originated as Communist Party of East Galicia through fusion of several local Communist groups February 1919; admitted to Comintern August 1919; participated with CP of Ukraine–sponsored group in forming CP of Galicia, which headed Galician soviet republic July–August 1920; affiliated to CP of the Ukraine, then to Polish CP late 1920; split on Ukrainian national question 1921, reunited 1923; 1,500 members 1923; became CP of West Ukraine 1923; leadership expelled from Comintern 1928.

Communist Party of Georgia—originated from first Marxist Social Democratic organization, Mesame-dasi, established in Tiflis 1892; Tiflis committee of RSDLP established 1898; Bolsheviks driven underground by Menshevik regime February 1918; CP founded as component of Russian CP May 1920; 9,000 members early 1921; led formation of soviet regime February 1921; 16,000 members 1925.

Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League)—founded December 30, 1918, by Spartacus League with participation of International Communists of Germany; joined Comintern 1919; lost half its membership in 1919 split of ultraleft forces; 66,000 members July 1920; 350,000 members after fusion with USPD left wing December 1920.

Communist Party of Great Britain—founded July 31, 1920, by Socialist Labour Party and British Socialist Party; joined by several communist and radical groups around William Gallacher, Sylvia Pankhurst, and others January 1921; about 4,000 members 1921.

Communist Party of Hungary—founded November 1918; claimed 10,000 members January 1919; fused with SDP to form Socialist Party March 1919, which led Hungarian revolutionary govern-

ment March-July 1919; SP disintegrated; CP severely repressed, functioned in exile and isolated cells in Hungarian SDP 1919-25; 250 members in Hungary late 1921; reorganized September 1925.

Communist Party of India—founded in exile in Tashkent by M.N. Roy and six other émigré revolutionaries October 1920; Communist groups functioning in India by 1922; party reorganized within India December 1925.

Communist Party of Iran—founded in Baku as Adalet (Justice) Party 1916; changed name to CP at first congress in Enzeli with several thousand members and supporters June 1920; joined Comintern soon after; destroyed under intense repression by monarchy from 1925 and Stalin in 1930s.

Communist Party of Ireland—see Socialist Party of Ireland.

Communist Party of Korea—originated from first Korean Communist groups formed in Soviet Siberia 1918-19; rival factions in Irkutsk and Shanghai wracked by dispute for several years from 1919; first Communist groups established inside Korea 1921; first Korean CP organized in Seoul April 1925.

Communist Party of Latvia—originated in Social Democracy of the Latvian Territory, which affiliated to RSDLP 1904 and allied with Bolsheviks; 1,000 members February 1917; led Latvian soviet republic November 1917–February 1918 and again 1919; took name CP March 1919; soviet republic overthrown by German and Entente intervention May 1919; 7,500 members 1919.

Communist Party of Lithuania-Belorussia—originated in Lithuanian SDP founded 1896; fused with Polish SDP 1899; Lithuanian CP founded as component of Russian CP August 1918; first congress, representing 800 members, held underground October 1918; led Lithuanian soviet republic December 1918–April 1919; underground 1919-40; Belorussian CP founded as component of Russian CP December 1918; led Belorussian soviet republic from January 1919; 1,700 members November 1920; Lithuanian and Belorussian CPs functioned as united organization 1918-20.

Communist Party of Mexico—see Mexican Communist Party.

Communist Party of Poland—see Communist Workers Party of Poland.

Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)—originated from Russian Social Democratic Labor Party founded 1898; majority (Bolshevik) faction originated at second congress 1903; led 1917 October revolution and establishment of soviet government; changed name to CP March 1918; 611,000 members April 1920.

Communist Party of Spain—first Spanish CP founded April 1920 by

Federation of Socialist Youth; 2,000 members 1921; Spanish Socialist Workers Party split up over Comintern's Twenty-one Conditions April 1921, minority left wing founded Communist Workers Party of Spain; the two CPs formed united CP of Spain November 1921; forced underground 1923-31.

Communist Party of Switzerland—originated from ultraleft wing in Swiss SDP and youth alliance, which founded *Forderung* newspaper late 1917; expelled and launched first CP in Zurich ("Old Communists") October 1918 and nationwide May 1919; 800 members 1921; joined with SDP left wing to form united CP with 6,000 members March 1921.

Communist Party of the Netherlands—see Communist Party in the Netherlands.

Communist Party of Yugoslavia—originated in Social Democratic Party of Serbia founded 1903; opposed war credits 1914; participated in Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation from 1915; called conference that united several Yugoslav Socialist parties to form Socialist Workers Party (Communist) April 1919, which joined Comintern; 40,000 members May 1920; changed name to CP of Yugoslavia June 1920.

Communist Teachers Club (Denmark)—small organization affiliated to United Trade Union Opposition (FS), left trade union opposition movement with syndicalist leanings.

Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD)—originated from ultraleft wing of German CP, including majority of Berlin and Ruhr regions; expelled from CP October 1919; decided after Kapp putsch to organize separate party, which had 38,000 members April 1920; admitted as sympathizing section of Comintern November 1920; declined rapidly and split 1921; many members joined German CP.

Communist Workers Party of Poland—founded December 16, 1918, through fusion of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania with Polish Socialist Party-Left; 6,000 members July 1919; dissolved 1938 and most leaders murdered during Stalin purges.

Communist Youth International—originated from Socialist Youth International, which was reconstituted with antichauvinist policy 1915; organized clandestine congress in Berlin where representatives of fourteen revolutionary youth organizations with 140,000 members formed Communist Youth International November 1919; transferred seat from Berlin to Moscow 1921; 800,000 members 1921; dissolved by Stalin together with Comintern as gesture to imperialist allies 1943.

- Communist Youth League of Georgia**—originated from small revolutionary youth groups formed in the Caucasus 1917 and 1918; united youth organization of the Caucasus founded September 1919; Georgian Communist youth organized underground under Menshevik government; 2,000 members with Red Guard of 800 by April 1920; joined Communist Youth International June 1920; 12,000 members 1921.
- Communist Youth League of Russia**—founded October 1918 with 22,100 members from existing youth leagues in cities throughout old Russian empire; 75,000 of its members participated in Red Army 1918-20; affiliated to Communist Youth International; 482,000 members October 1920.
- Connolly, Roderic** (Thomas Darragh) (1901-1980)—son of James Connolly; fought in Irish Easter Uprising 1916; listed as Irish IWW delegate to second Comintern congress; active in SP; first president of Irish CP 1921; Irish Labour Party chair 1971-77.
- Constantinople Communist Group**—group of Turkish intellectuals around the journal *Kurtulus* (Liberation); founded by exiles in Berlin; functioned in Constantinople (Istanbul) from May 1919; founded what became Turkish CP.
- Council of People's Commissars**—government of Russian Soviet Republic established after October 1917 revolution.
- CP**—Communist Party.
- Crispien, Artur** (1875-1946)—German SPD newspaper editor 1894-1917; supported Spartacus current briefly 1915; leader of USPD from 1917 and its cochair from January 1919; USPD consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; opposed USPD joining Comintern at Halle split congress; participated in formation of Two-and-a-Half International 1921; rejoined SPD 1922; member of SPD leadership; fled Nazis 1933, died in Switzerland.
- Critica Sociale** (Social critique)—published 1891-1926 in Milan; edited by Turati.
- Cunow, Heinrich** (1862-1936)—leader of German SPD; close to Bebel and Kautsky before World War I; chauvinist during World War I; replaced Kautsky as editor of *Neue Zeit* 1917-23; opposed Russian October revolution.
- Curzon, George Nathaniel** (1859-1925)—British politician and lord; secretary of state for foreign affairs 1919-24.
- Czechoslovak Communist Group**—Czechoslovak Communists resident in Russia; affiliated to Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP.
- Dahlström, Katarina** (Kata) (1858-1923)—joined Swedish SDP 1893; first woman elected to national committee 1900; leader of left

wing from 1910; supported Zimmerwald during World War I; founding leader of Left SDP 1917 and of CP 1921; delegate to second Comintern congress; supported Twenty-one Conditions; supporter of Russian revolution until death.

Dan, Fyodor Ilyich (1871-1947)—a central leader of Russian Mensheviks; leading opponent of October revolution; deported 1922; edited émigré Menshevik journal.

Danish Left—see Communist Party of Denmark.

D'Aragona, Ludovico (1876-1961)—joined Italian SP 1892; Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL) secretary general 1918-25; SP deputy 1919-24; SP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress, where he participated in founding International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions 1920; walked out during congress; opposed founding CP 1921; joined United SP 1922.

Daszynski, Ignacy (1866-1939)—headed Galician SDP 1892-1919; leader of unified Polish SP (PPS) from 1919; selected by Polish military to head government during war with Soviet Russia August 1920; headed SP parliamentary fraction 1920s; supported Pilsudski's coup d'état 1926.

Däumig, Ernst (1866-1922)—an editor of *Vorwärts* 1911-16; dismissed for opposing German SPD war policy; leader of USPD and Revolutionary Shop Stewards 1918; became USPD cochair December 1919; USPD consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; joined CP with USPD majority 1920; German CP cochair 1920; left CP 1921; rejoined USPD.

David, Eduard (1863-1930)—leader of German SPD right wing and outspoken supporter of German imperialism; first president of National Assembly 1919; minister without portfolio 1919-20.

De Ambris, Alceste (1874-1934)—Italian SP founding member 1892; active in workers' movement in Brazil 1898-1903, 1908-11; revolutionary syndicalist at turn of century; advocated Italy's entry into World War I; sympathetic to fascism 1919; later opposed fascists; stripped of Italian citizenship 1926.

Delinières, Lucien (1857-1937)—part of chauvinist majority in French SP during World War I; attended second Comintern congress; on Moscow Comintern staff 1920-25; later returned to France and left Communist movement.

Delory, Gustave Emile (1857-1925)—a founder of Socialist movement in northern France; follower of Guesde; mayor of Lille 1896-1904 and 1909-25; SP parliamentary deputy 1902-25; prisoner in Germany during World War I; went with SP after CP founded at Tours congress 1920.

Denikin, Anton Ivanovich (1872-1947)—tsarist general; White army

commander in chief in southern Russia in civil war 1918-20; emigrated 1920 after defeat by Red Army.

Dimitrov, Stanke (1889-1944)—joined Bulgarian workers' movement 1904; early member of revolutionary wing of Bulgarian SDP; Bulgarian CP founding member 1919; elected to Central Committee 1920; CP organizational secretary 1923-25; emigrated to USSR 1925; again active in Bulgarian CP 1935-37 and in underground resistance to Bulgarian regime during World War II; killed in plane crash.

Directory—antisoviet government of Ukraine established after collapse of German-backed Skoropadsky government late 1918; led by Petlyura and Vinnichenko; supported by Entente powers; ousted by prosoviet forces early 1919.

Dittmann, Wilhelm (1874-1954)—joined German SPD 1894; edited party newspapers from 1899; SPD Reichstag deputy from 1912; joined centrist opposition 1915; USPD party secretary 1917-22; member of Ebert cabinet November-December 1918; USPD delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; opposed Twenty-one Conditions and unification with German CP; returned to SPD 1922.

Dugoni, Enrico (1874-1945)—Italian SP member from turn of century; member General Confederation of Labor National Council from 1908; SP delegate to Kienthal conference 1916; in SP right wing after World War I; participated in labor and SP delegation to Soviet Russia spring 1920; stayed with SP after CP's formation 1920; arrested for antifascist activities 1930 and 1932.

Dutch Communist Party—see Communist Party in the Netherlands.

Dyer, Reginald Edward Harry (1864-1927)—British general; commanded troops at Amritsar massacre, where 379 unarmed Indian protesters murdered 1919.

Ebert, Friedrich (1871-1925)—German SPD leader; close collaborator of Bebel from 1906; cochair of SPD 1913-19; chauvinist during World War I; led Council of People's Representatives government 1918-19; worked with army high command to crush January uprising 1919; German president 1919-25.

ECCL—Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—lifelong collaborator of Karl Marx and cofounder with him of modern communist workers' movement; coauthor of Communist Manifesto; a leader of revolutionary democratic forces in 1848 German revolution; lived in England 1841-44 and again from 1849 to his death; in last years the outstanding figure in Second International.

Estonian Independent Socialist Workers Party—formed by forces from SRs and SDP March 1920; left wing majority supported Com-

intern and split 1922; left wing, allied with underground CP, took name Estonian Working People's Party, which was banned 1924; right wing fused with Estonian SDP 1925.

Faisal I (1885-1933)—son of ruler of the Hejaz in Arabia; a leader of Arab revolt, aided by Britain, against Ottoman Empire 1916; led Arab forces that occupied Damascus 1918; declared king of Syria 1920; forced out by French 1920; installed as king of Iraq with British support 1921.

Faure, Paul (1878-1960)—leading figure in centrist opposition in French SP during World War I; opposition delegate to 1919 Bern conference; secretary of Committee to Reconstruct the International; opposed SP affiliation to Comintern 1920; general secretary of French SP 1920-39; sympathized with pro-Nazi Vichy government during World War II; expelled from SP 1944.

Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian Communist Party—formed May 1918 by Russian CP to organize among prisoners of war and immigrant workers in Russia; dissolved 1920.

Ferri, Enrico (1856-1929)—Italian criminologist; joined SP 1893; theorist of antiopportunism wing of Italian SP at turn of century; editor in chief of *Avanti!* 1898, 1904-8; moved to U.S.; returned to Italy and supported Mussolini 1922.

First International (International Working Men's Association)—founded 1864; united revolutionary working-class organizations in a number of European countries and North America; Marx became its central leader; campaigned to defend 1871 Paris Commune; faced stiff repression after defeat of Commune and went into decline; seat moved to New York 1872; dissolved 1876.

Fraina, Louis (Lewis Corey) (1894-1953)—born in Italy, emigrated to U.S. 1897; member of Socialist Labor Party 1909-14; campaigned for revolutionary International during World War I; active in SP left wing 1917-19; a founding leader of CP of America 1919; participated in International Communist Conference in Amsterdam and second Comintern congress 1920; Comintern emissary to Mexico 1920-21; left Comintern 1922; wrote under name Lewis Corey from late 1920s; supported Lovestone's pro-Bukharin opposition group in U.S. in 1930s; repudiated Marxism 1940.

Freemasonry—teachings and practices of the secret fraternal order of Free and Accepted Masons; evolved from stonemasons' guilds of Middle Ages into a worldwide secret society; largely petty bourgeois in composition; democratic in professed goals; in solidarity with the bourgeois order.

Free Socialist Youth of Germany—revolutionary national opposition

group founded in SPD youth early 1916; fused with USPD youth early 1918; 4,000 members October 1918; won over to CP 1919; 35,000 members October 1919; centrist minority expelled October 1919; joined Communist Youth International November 1919; won over majority of USPD youth November 1920; re-named Communist Youth League of Germany late 1920.

Free Workers Union of Germany (Syndicalists)—grew out of pre-war anarcho-syndicalist unions; founding congress December 1919 with 110,000 members; rejected dictatorship of proletariat; degenerated into sect by 1923 as many members joined CP; banned 1933.

Die Freiheit (Freedom)—daily newspaper of German USPD published in Berlin 1918-22; edited by Hilferding.

French Communist Group—organized by French Communists resident in Russia 1918; affiliated to Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP; carried out educational work that helped prepare ground for mutinies among French intervention troops in 1919.

Friis, Jacob (1883-1956)—correspondent for Norwegian Labor Party newspaper *Social-Demokraten* from 1909; joined Comintern with Norwegian Labor Party; delegate to second Comintern congress; representative to Comintern Executive Committee 1920-21; supported Labor Party withdrawal from Comintern 1923; broke with Labor Party and joined CP 1928; left CP 1933 and rejoined Labor Party; opposed asylum for Trotsky in Norway.

Frossard, Louis-Oscar (1889-1946)—joined French SP 1905; a leader of its centrist opposition during World War I; SP general secretary from October 1918; SP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; French CP general secretary 1920-23; split from CP 1923; member SP 1927-35; subsequently minister in several governments including pro-Nazi Vichy government 1940.

Frumkina, Mariya (Ester) (1880-1938)—joined General Union of Jewish Workers (Bund) 1901; editor in chief of Bund newspaper *Der Veker* from February 1917; close to Mensheviks until October revolution; joined Russian CP 1919; delegate to second Comintern congress; edited Russian CP Jewish press from 1920; head of Comintern Jewish section; arrested during Stalin purges and executed.

Fuchs, Eduard (1870-1940)—longtime German SPD member; leader of Spartacus group during World War I; met with Bolshevik leaders late 1918 on founding of Comintern; attended second Comintern congress; left German CP 1929.

Gallacher, William (1881-1965)—joined British Social Democratic Federation 1903; opposed World War I; leader of British Shop

Stewards' movement and president of Clyde Workers' Committee during World War I; Shop Stewards' representative at second Comintern congress; member of British CP from 1920 and of Central Committee 1921-65; held numerous Comintern posts from 1924; member of Parliament 1935-50.

Gandhi, Mohandas (Mahatma) (1869-1948)—central leader of India's independence movement; president of Indian National Congress 1925-34; advocated pacifist civil disobedience as political strategy.

General Confederation of Labor (CGL) (Italy)—founded 1906; grew from 250,000 members 1918 to 2 million late 1920; led by reformists Turati and D'Aragona; remained affiliated with Amsterdam International; dissolved 1927.

General Confederation of Labor (CGT) (France)—founded 1895; anarcho-syndicalist in orientation; 600,000 members 1914; majority leadership backed war effort; internationalist minority rallied to Comintern; 2.5 million members early 1920; hurt by failed general strike May 1920; 600,000 members spring 1921; revolutionary wing expelled with 350,000 members December 1921 and organized United CGT June-July 1922.

General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB)—organized 1919, replacing former federation founded 1890; politically aligned with SPD; 7.4 million members late 1919; affiliated to Amsterdam International.

General Workers Union of Germany (AAUD)—union federation founded February 1920 by ultralefts expelled from German CP; saw factory organizations as basic unit to replace trade unions and political parties; became union arm of KAPD; 80,000 members 1920; membership declined from mid-1921; split 1922; existed as sect until banned 1933.

Goldenberg, Boris (Robert Thal) (1897-1973)—leader of French Socialist Youth Federation during World War I and its delegate to second Comintern congress; arrested in Germany returning to France; worked in Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow 1923-28; left Russia and Communist movement 1928.

Golovin, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1875-1944)—tsarist general; emigrated to France after October revolution 1917 and worked with counterrevolution; collaborated with Nazis during World War II.

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924)—founder and president of American Federation of Labor 1886-1924 (except 1895); advocated policy of collaboration with employers; opposed industrial unionism; supported U.S. entry into World War I; chair of Labor Commission at Versailles conference 1919.

- Gorter, Herman** (1864-1927)—Social Democrat from 1897; expelled from Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party with left-wing *Tribune* group and cofounder of Dutch SDP 1909; supported Zimmerwald Left during World War I; cofounder of Dutch CP 1918; worked with German ultraleft from November 1918; supported formation of Comintern; negotiated KAPD affiliation to Comintern as sympathizing organization November 1920; part of KAPD break with Comintern July 1921; active in ultraleft groups in Germany and Netherlands until death.
- Graber, Ernst Paul** (1875-1956)—leading Swiss Social Democrat; supported right wing in Swiss SDP after 1917.
- Gramsci, Antonio** (1891-1937)—joined Italian SP 1914; founder of *L'Ordine Nuovo* 1919; leader of revolutionary current in SP; CP founding member 1921; Comintern Executive Committee member from 1922; replaced Bordiga as party's central leader 1926; imprisoned 1926 until death.
- Graziadei, Antonio** (1873-1953)—joined Italian SP 1893; active in right wing; supported party's antiwar stand in World War I; delegate to second Comintern congress; supported joining Comintern at Italian SP Livorno split congress 1921; expelled from CP 1928; recanted and rejoined Italian CP late 1940s.
- Grimlund, Otto** (1893-1969)—cofounder of Swedish Left SDP 1917; delegate to first Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; Swedish CP Central Committee member until 1925; rejoined Social Democrats 1929.
- Grimm, Robert** (1881-1958)—leader of Swiss SDP and longtime *Berner Tagwacht* editor; centrist during World War I; chair of Zimmerwald International Socialist Committee in Bern 1915-17; helped organize Two-and-a-Half International 1920; later returned to Second International.
- Guesde, Jules** (1845-1922)—veteran of Paris Commune; one of first Marxists in France; a founder of first French socialist party 1880; led French Workers Party from 1882, which became Socialist Party of France 1901; a leader of Second International and opponent of revisionism until 1914; chauvinist and government minister during World War I.
- Guilbeaux, Henri** (1885-1938)—French anarcho-syndicalist before World War I; later joined SP; supported Zimmerwald Left at Kienthal conference 1916; delegate of French Communist Federation of Soviets to second Comintern congress; broke with communism in 1930s and became extreme reactionary.
- Haase, Hugo** (1863-1919)—German SPD Reichstag member from 1897; with Kautsky in SPD Center current before World War I;

SPD cochair 1911-16; voted in Reichstag against war credits from 1916; USPD cochair from 1917; government minister November-December 1918; assassinated by monarchist.

Hakki—see Ismael Hakki of Kayseri.

Haywood, William D. (Big Bill) (1869-1928)—a founder of U.S. IWW 1905 and for years a prominent spokesperson; sentenced to 20 years in prison for opposing World War I 1918; jumped bail while on appeal and escaped to Soviet Russia 1921.

Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935)—general secretary of British Labour Party 1911-34; chauvinist during World War I; government minister 1915-17; central organizer of 1919 Bern conference; chair of Second International 1925-29; British foreign secretary 1929-31.

Henke, Alfred (1868-1946)—German Social Democrat; edited *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* 1910-17; Reichstag member 1912-18, 1919-32; USPD founding member 1917; head of Bremen workers' and soldiers' council 1918; leader of insurgent Bremen council republic 1919; rejoined SPD 1922; member of parliament.

Herzog, Jakob (1892-1931)—Swiss Social Democrat, influenced by anarchism; leader of Swiss SDP youth during World War I; headed radical *Forderung* group; expelled from SDP October 1918; founded first Swiss CP ("Old Communists") 1918, which he represented at second Comintern congress; part of fusion that formed united Swiss CP 1921; leader of CP through 1920s.

Hilferding, Rudolf (1877-1941)—Austrian Social Democrat and author of *Finance Capital*; supported German SPD centrist opposition during World War I; USPD member from 1917; *Freiheit* editor in chief 1918-22; anti-Bolshevik; opposed USPD joining Comintern and fusion with German CP; returned to SPD 1922; German finance minister 1923, 1928-29; killed by Hitler's Gestapo.

Hillquit, Morris (1869-1933)—leader of U.S. SP; centrist during World War I; nominal head of legal department of Russian Soviet Government Information Bureau in New York 1919; opposed Comintern.

Hindenburg, Paul von (1847-1934)—German general; army chief of staff 1916-18; president 1925-34; appointed Hitler chancellor.

Höglund, Karl Zeth (1884-1956)—joined Swedish SDP 1904; leader of SDP youth movement and party left wing; internationalist in World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; founding leader of Left SDP 1917; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1922, 1924; broke with CP and Comintern 1924; rejoined SDP 1926; elected to SDP Central Committee 1928.

Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós (1868-1957)—Hungarian aristocrat; organized reactionary forces that massacred thousands 1919; dicta-

tor of Hungary 1919-44; allied with Hitler during World War II.
Huggler, August (1877-1944)—secretary of Swiss SDP; opposed SDP joining Comintern 1919.

L'Humanité (Humanity)—founded 1904 by Jean Jaurès; newspaper of French SP until 1920; controlled by chauvinist majority 1914-18, then by centrists; managing editor was Cachin 1918-58; newspaper of CP from 1921.

Humbert-Droz, Jules (1891-1971)—delegate of Swiss SDP left wing at second Comintern congress; founding member of Swiss CP 1921; headed Comintern secretariat responsible for Latin America and Latin countries of Europe through 1920s; relieved of all Comintern functions 1928; capitulated to Stalin; resumed activity in Swiss CP 1931; removed from CP leadership 1941 and expelled 1943; joined Swiss SDP and was its secretary 1947-58.

Huysmans, Camille (1871-1968)—leader of Belgian Workers Party; secretary of International Socialist Bureau from 1904; took chauvinist stand 1914; helped organize 1919 Bern conference; subsequently served in Belgian government.

Independent Labour Party (ILP) (Britain)—founded January 1893; component of Labour Party 1900-1932; pacifist during World War I; 50,000 members April 1919; 45,000 members April 1920; withdrew from Second International 1920; minority split to join CP, majority joined Two-and-a-Half International 1921; broke with Labour Party to form centrist group 1932.

Independents—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Independent Social Democratic Party (Denmark)—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD)—began to coalesce when centrist SPD deputies were expelled from parliamentary fraction March 1916; formed Social Democratic Working Group, then separate USPD with 120,000 members April 1917; participated in provisional government under Friedrich Ebert November-December 1918; included Spartacus current until December 1918; 100,000 members November 1918; 900,000 summer 1920; majority fused with CP December 1920; minority retained name until rejoined SPD 1922.

Independent Socialist Workers Party of Estonia—see Estonian Independent Socialist Workers Party.

Independent Young People's Socialist League of America—originally YPSL, founded by SP as national organization 1913; 150 chapters by 1916; broke ties with SP fall 1919; majority voted to join Communist Youth International forming Independent YPSL with 3,000 members December 1919; soon succumbed to effects

of Palmer raids and division in Communist ranks; Young Communist League organized 1922.

Indian National Congress (Congress Party)—founded as all-India opposition to British rule 1885; Muslim membership split away 1906; came under leadership of wing led by Gandhi 1918; led mass resistance to British rule 1920s through 1940s; ruled India after independence 1947.

Indian Revolutionary Association—founded in soviet Tashkent by exiled Indian revolutionary nationalists 1919; participated in founding Indian CP in Tashkent October 1920.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Australia)—formed 1907 with particular influence among mine and transport workers; 2,000 members 1916; active in struggle against war and conscription during World War I; severely repressed, main leaders convicted of “high treason” 1916; remnants participated in forming Communist League 1918.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Britain)—originated 1905 when members of Socialist Labour Party formed British Advocates of Industrial Unionism; after split with anarchists, reorganized as Industrial Workers of Great Britain 1909; height of influence 1910-11; especially strong among Irish, Scottish, and Welsh workers; had many activists in Clyde Workers’ Committee during World War I and Shop Stewards’ movement.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Ireland)—inspired by British and U.S. IWWs, especially after tour by Haywood 1913.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (U.S.)—founded as revolutionary industrial union movement 1905; rejected electoral participation and work in American Federation of Labor; opposed U.S. participation in World War I and suffered severe repression; 35,000 members May 1919; went into decline after formation of CP 1919; majority rejected affiliation to Comintern-led Red International of Labor Unions 1921; some 20 percent of members joined CP.

International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions—established in Moscow July 15, 1920, by representatives of unions from Russia, Italy, Spain, France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Georgia representing nearly 9 million workers; represented 17 million members when it organized first congress of Red International of Labor Unions July 1921.

Die Internationale (The International)—published one issue 1915 edited by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring; banned; resumed publication as journal of German CP 1919; banned 1933; published in exile until 1939.

International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International)—founded by Social Democratic trade union officials 1913; collapsed during World War I; refounded in Amsterdam July 1919; claimed 24 million members 1920; disappeared with advent of World War II.

International Socialist Bureau—Second International executive body; formed 1900.

International Socialist League (South Africa)—founded by split from reformist South African Labour Party 1915; merged with other smaller groups to form CP of South Africa July 1921.

International Working Men's Association—see First International.

Irish Parliamentary (Home Rule) Party—founded 1873; worked for Irish home rule in British Parliament by maneuvering between Conservatives and Liberals; agreed to suspend Home Rule Bill during World War I; denounced Easter Uprising as treasonous; discredited, virtually disappeared by 1919.

Irish Socialist Republican Party—see Socialist Party of Ireland.

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU)—founded by James Larkin in Dublin 1909; led workers in general lockout of more than 25,000 workers in Dublin 1913-14; 100,000 members late 1919; Larkin's syndicalist wing split 1924.

Ismael Hakki of Kayseri (1901-1945?)—delegate for Turkey of Bureau of Communist Organizations to second Comintern congress; Central Committee member of Turkish CP founded in Baku spring 1920; remained in Soviet Russia; president of Turkish CP bureau abroad from 1920; worked with Communist University of Toilers of the East; member of CP Transcaucasian provincial committee.

Italian Socialist Party—founded 1892; extreme reformist and chauvinist wing expelled 1912; took centrist stand on Italy's entry into World War I 1915; initiated Zimmerwald conference 1915; 81,000 members 1919, 216,000 in 1920; affiliated to Comintern 1919, but leadership refused to expel party's reformist wing; minority split to form Italian CP January 1921; Turati right wing expelled from SP summer 1922; SP reorganized in Italy, led by Pietro Nenni, 1943.

Italian Socialist Youth Federation—formed 1901; supported SP opposition to World War I and SP affiliation to Comintern; 6,500 members 1918; joined Communist Youth International November 1919; 55,000 members mid-1920; broke with SP, affiliated to newly formed CP, and changed name to Italian Communist Youth Federation January 1921; declined to 2,000 members by December 1922.

IWW—Industrial Workers of the World.

Jacobins—political association of revolutionary bourgeoisie that provided much of the leadership and organization for French revolution 1789-94.

Jaures, Jean (1859-1914)—leader of French and international Socialist movements; held reformist positions; founded *L'Humanité* 1904; central leader of French SP from its foundation 1905; spoke out against militarism; assassinated by right-wing fanatic at outbreak of World War I.

Joffe, Adolf Abramovich (1883-1927)—joined Russian Social Democracy before 1900; with Mezhrayontsi during World War I; joined Bolsheviks June 1917 and elected to Central Committee August 1917; member of Soviet delegation to Brest-Litovsk 1918; Soviet ambassador to Berlin April-November 1918; supported Leninist opposition to Stalin led by Trotsky in Russian CP from 1923; committed suicide to protest bureaucratic measures of Stalin faction.

Jogiches, Leo (1867-1919)—a founding leader and central organizer of Polish Social Democracy; imprisoned but escaped to Germany 1907; central organizer of Spartacus current during war; member Spartacus and German CP central bureaus; arrested and murdered during March 1919 struggles in Berlin.

Jørgensen, Åge (1890-1960)—member SDP of Denmark and of left wing of Social Democratic youth federation; founder of Danish Socialist Workers Party April 1918; edited party newspaper *Klassekampen*; Left SP delegate to second Comintern congress; Danish CP Central Committee member and its Comintern representative; quit CP 1935; returned to Social Democracy; edited journal sympathetic to Nazis during World War II.

Jouhaux, Léon (1879-1954)—French union leader; began as syndicalist; head of General Confederation of Labor (CGT) 1909-40; chauvinist during World War I; opposed Bolshevik revolution; leader of Amsterdam international trade union federation after World War I; founded French anticommunist union federation Force Ouvrière 1948.

Kabakchiev, Khristo Stevanov (1878-1940)—joined Bulgarian SDP 1897; supported revolutionary Tesnyaki wing in split 1903; Central Committee member of SDP 1905-19 and of CP 1919-28; editor in chief of party newspaper 1908-23; delegate to second Comintern congress; imprisoned after failure of Bulgarian uprising 1923; released and lived in Moscow from 1926; arrested during Stalin purges 1937; released 1938.

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875-1946)—founding member of RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik; Central Committee alternate member from

1912; Central Committee full member 1919; elected Soviet head of state 1919 and remained so until death; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

KAPD—see Communist Workers Party of Germany.

Kapp, Wolfgang (1858-1922)—German politician; led failed monarchist military putsch against Weimar republic 1920.

Karakhan, Lev Mikhailovich (1889-1937)—joined RSDLP 1904; joined Bolshevik Party with Mezhrayontsi 1917; secretary of Soviet Brest-Litovsk delegation 1918; held other diplomatic posts; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; executed during Moscow frame-up trials.

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)—born in Prague; a leader of German Social Democracy and of Socialist International; collaborator of Engels; author of many works on history and Marxist theory; a leader of Center current in SPD before 1914; adopted pacifist stand 1914; apologist for chauvinist SPD majority; founding member of USPD 1917 and supporter of its right wing; under secretary in German foreign ministry after November revolution 1918; opponent of Russian October revolution; opposed USPD affiliating to Comintern; leader of Two-and-a-Half International; rejoined SPD 1922.

Kemal, Mustapha (Atatürk) (1881-1938)—led Turkish independence struggle and establishment of Turkish republic 1919-23; elected president of provisional government 1920; remained Turkish head of state until death.

Kerensky, Aleksandr Fyodorovich (1881-1970)—Russian SR; leader of peasant-based Trudovik group; prime minister of Russian Provisional Government July-November 1917; emigrated 1918.

Keynes, John Maynard (1883-1946)—British economist and successful stock speculator; chief British treasury representative at Paris conference 1919; resigned in opposition to economic terms of Versailles treaty; later advocated use of government spending to try to counteract capitalist boom-and-bust cycles.

Kilbom, Karl (1885-1961)—joined Swedish SDP 1908; secretary of youth league and editor of SDP newspaper *Stormklockan* during World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; cofounder of Left SDP 1917 and of CP 1921; worked in Comintern Executive Committee 1919-20; elected to it 1921, 1924, and 1928; chief editor of party newspaper from 1924; expelled with majority of party as "rightist" 1929; launched dissident CP in Sweden, which was affiliated with international pro-Bukharin opposition until 1933; resigned from party 1937 and rejoined SDP.

Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936)—British jingoist writer and poet.

- Klinger, Gustav K.** (1876-1937?)—joined Bolsheviks 1917; leader of Volga German soviet government 1918; Comintern administrator 1919; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; killed during Stalin purges.
- Koenen, Wilhelm** (1886-1963)—joined German SPD 1904; USPD founding member 1917 and Central Committee member from August 1919; supported Twenty-one Conditions and USPD affiliation to Comintern; elected to United KPD Central Bureau 1920 and to Central Committee 1929-31; in exile 1933-45; East German CP member after World War II until death.
- Kohn, Michael** (Kohn-Eber) (b. 1884)—born in Galicia; member of Poale Zion; Austrian Left Radical, supported Zimmerwald during World War I; consultative delegate from Palestine SP to second Comintern congress; joined Austrian CP 1921; lived in exile in France 1939-46; returned to Austria; worked with Communist Jewish group.
- Kolchak, Aleksandr Vasilevich** (1873-1920)—tsarist admiral; head of White armies in Siberia and “supreme ruler” of Russian White forces 1918-19; defeated by Red Army; tried and executed for his role in armed counterrevolution.
- Kollontai, Aleksandra Mikhaylovna** (1872-1952)—Russian Social Democrat in 1890s; Menshevik from 1906; joined Bolsheviks 1915; elected to Central Committee 1917; people’s commissar of social welfare 1917; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; head of women’s department of CP Central Committee 1920; supported Workers Opposition in CP 1920-21; secretary of Comintern International Women’s Secretariat 1921-22; held diplomatic posts after 1923.
- Kon, Feliks** (1864-1941)—active in Polish socialist movement from 1882; joined Polish SP 1904; became leader of left wing when party split 1906; moved to Switzerland 1914 and supported Zimmerwald movement; moved to Russia 1917; joined Russian CP 1918; CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine Central Committee secretary 1919-22; CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Polish provisional government during Red Army offensive 1920; criticized during purges and relieved of political positions late 1930s.
- KPD**—see Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League).
- Krasin, Leonid Borisovich** (1870-1926)—Russian Social Democrat from 1890s; Bolshevik; Central Committee member from 1903; emigrated and withdrew from political activity 1908; rejoined Bolsheviks 1917; took central economic responsibilities in Soviet

regime; people's commissar of foreign trade 1920-24; elected to Central Committee 1924.

Krasnov, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1869-1947)—tsarist general; commanded units sent against Petrograd by Kerensky late October 1917; captured and released by Bolsheviks; officer in White Cossack army on the Don 1918-19; went abroad 1919; collaborated with Hitler 1941-45; captured, tried, and executed 1947.

Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach—family of leading German capitalists; owned steel and munitions factories; during World War I, firm run by Gustav (1870-1950) and Bertha (1886-1957).

Kun, Béla (1886-1939)—joined Bolsheviks while war prisoner in Russia; chair of Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP 1918; organized and headed CP on return to Hungary November 1918; head of Hungarian soviet government March-June 1919; after its collapse, interned in Austria 1919-20; was released and arrived in Moscow just after second Comintern congress; later worked in Comintern apparatus; arrested and killed during Moscow purge trials.

Kuusinen, Otto (1881-1964)—participated in 1905 revolution; led center faction of Finnish SDP; member of Finnish revolutionary government 1918; Finnish CP founding member 1918; led underground CP in Socialist Workers Party split from SDP 1920-21; attended all seven Comintern congresses; member Comintern Executive Committee from 1921; Soviet CP Central Committee from 1941; signed dissolution of Comintern 1943; secretary of presidium of Soviet CP Central Committee from 1957.

Labour Party (Britain)—see British Labour Party.

Labour Party (Ireland)—founded 1912 by James Connolly; political arm of transport workers' union; at first supported nationalist cause and workers' republic, but later moved away from these stands; supported Adler-Longuet resolution at Bern conference 1919; opted not to affiliate to Second or Third International 1919; participated in several coalition governments after 1948.

Labriola, Arturo (1873-1959)—revolutionary syndicalist leader of Italian SP; expelled 1906; evolved into pro-war chauvinist by World War I; retained radical rhetoric as Giolitti's minister of labor 1920-21; joined Turati's SP.

Landsberg, Otto (1869-1957)—German Social Democrat; openly pro-imperialist during World War I; government minister November 1918-19.

Lapinski, Pawel (Y. Lewinson) (1879-1937)—active Socialist from 1897; Polish SP member from 1904; participated in Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; founding member Polish CP 1918;

active in Russian CP from 1918; in Soviet diplomatic service from 1920; arrested 1937 and committed suicide in prison.

Lazzari, Costantino (1857-1927)—Italian SP general secretary 1912-19; attended Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; joined Comintern along with Italian SP 1919, but left with SP majority 1921; SP delegate at third Comintern congress 1921.

League of Nations—imperialist alliance created by Allied powers at Paris conference 1919; aimed to defend division of world imposed by that conference; disappeared at start of World War II.

Ledebour, Georg (1850-1947)—longtime German SPD leader; opposed SPD majority position during World War I; backed centrist wing of Zimmerwald movement; cochair of USPD 1917-19; a leader of January 1919 Berlin uprising; opposed USPD majority's fusion with Communists 1920; refused to rejoin SPD and led a small left-wing group throughout 1920s; emigrated to Switzerland 1933.

Lefebvre, Raymond (1891-1920)—French internationalist during World War I; wounded at battle of Verdun; joined French SP 1916; a founder of left-wing veterans' organization; joined Committee for the Third International 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; perished on return voyage to France.

Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden—founded by expelled left-wing minority of Social Democratic Workers Party spring 1917; affiliated to Comintern June 1919; 23,000 members early 1920; majority adopted Twenty-one Conditions and became CP 1921; majority led by Kilbom split from party and Comintern 1929 and later dissolved.

Left Socialist Party of Denmark—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Legien, Carl (1861-1920)—Social Democratic head of German trade unions from 1890; avowed reformist; supported SPD right wing during World War I; backed crushing of revolutionary workers' movement 1918-19; backed and then moved to liquidate general strike against Kapp putsch 1920.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870-1924)—founded St. Petersburg League for the Emancipation of the Working Class 1895; exiled to Siberia 1896; went abroad and helped publish *Iskra* 1900-1903; central leader of Bolsheviks from 1903; defended revolutionary organization against liquidationism after 1907; RSDLP representative on International Socialist Bureau 1908-12; issued call for new, revolutionary International 1914; organized Zimmerwald Left to fight for this goal 1915-17; returned to Russia and led Bolsheviks' struggle for soviet power 1917; chair of Council of

People's Commissars government 1917-24; Presiding Committee member at second Comintern congress; central leader of Comintern.

Levi, Paul (1883-1930)—member of German SPD from 1906; Luxemburg's lawyer in political cases; worked with Zimmerwald Left in Switzerland 1915-16; leader of Spartacus League and central leader of German CP after deaths of Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and Jogiches early 1919; member of Comintern West European Secretariat in Berlin; headed CP delegation to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; elected CP cochair after merger with USPD 1920 but resigned February 1921; expelled for publicly criticizing party policies following March uprisings 1921; joined rump USPD and later SPD; committed suicide.

Leviné, Eugen (1883-1919)—born in Russia and participated in 1905 revolution; member of German Spartacus current and founding leader of German CP; arrested en route to first Comintern congress; central leader of Bavarian council republic 1919; arrested, tried, and shot after its overthrow.

Lieber, Mikhail Isaakovich (1880-1937)—Bund leader and leading Menshevik during 1917; opponent of Russian October revolution; withdrew from politics after October revolution; executed during Moscow trials.

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—German revolutionary; son of Wilhelm Liebknecht; helped found Socialist Youth International 1907; jailed same year for book *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*; only member of Reichstag to vote against war credits December 1914; helped found Spartacus current; used parliamentary seat to lead antiwar agitation; jailed for antiwar activities 1916; released October 1918; a founding leader of German CP December 1918; a leader of Berlin uprising January 1919; arrested and murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—participated in German revolution of 1848; friend and collaborator of Marx and Engels; a leader of First International in Germany; cofounder of German Social Democratic Workers Party 1869; central party leader until death.

Lindhagen, Carl (1860-1946)—Swedish liberal, then Social Democrat from 1909; mayor of Stockholm 1903-30; internationalist during World War I; cofounder of Left SDP 1917; joined Comintern 1919; expelled from CP 1921 for opposing decisions of second Comintern congress; rejoined Social Democrats 1923.

Litvinov, Maksim Maksimovich (1876-1951)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bol-

shevik from 1903; Soviet envoy to Britain after October revolution 1917; deputy people's commissar, then people's commissar of foreign affairs 1921-39.

Liu Shaozhou (b. 1892)—born in China, lived in Russia from 1897; Bolshevik from 1917; chair of Union of Chinese Workers in Russia; Chinese Socialist Workers Party delegate to first and second Comintern congresses; returned to China after 1949 and held diplomatic post.

Lloyd George, David (1863-1945)—British Liberal politician; prime minister 1916-22; coauthored Versailles treaty and organized British intervention against Soviet republic.

Longuet, Jean (1876-1938)—grandson of Karl Marx; leader of French SP centrist minority after 1916; leader of centrist opposition at 1919 Bern conference; opposed SP joining Comintern; split with right-wing minority that retained SP name 1920.

Loriot, Fernand (1870-1932)—leader of revolutionary left in French SP during World War I; secretary of French Committee for the Third International; French CP international secretary 1921; quit party 1926; collaborated with Left Opposition currents.

Louis, Paul (1872-1955)—joined French SP before World War I; centrist, elected to party central leadership body October 1918; member of centrist Committee to Reconstruct the International December 1919–September 1920; CP central committee member from 1920; quit CP and founded Communist Socialist Party 1924.

Lozovsky, Solomon Abramovich (Dridzo) (1878-1952)—joined RSDLP 1901; in exile 1909-17; active in French trade union movement and SP; member dissident Bolshevik current that advocated conciliation with Mensheviks from 1912; contributed to Paris *Nashe Slovo* 1915; returned to Russia June 1917; elected secretary of trade union central council July 1917; expelled from Bolshevik Party December 1917; readmitted December 1919; Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; general secretary of Red International of Labor Unions 1921-37; elected alternate CP Central Committee member 1927 and full member 1939; deputy minister of foreign affairs 1939-45; arrested 1949; shot in prison.

Lukanov, Todor (1874-1946)—lawyer and member of Tesnyaki wing of Bulgarian SDP; parliamentary deputy from 1913; jailed during World War I; Bulgarian CP Central Committee member from 1919; CP secretary from 1922; expelled from CP after 1923 uprising; readmitted after 1925; later emigrated to USSR.

Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilevich (1875-1933)—joined revolutionary movement 1890s; Bolshevik from 1903; expelled as part of ultra-

left current associated with *Vperyod* current 1909; took internationalist position during World War I; joined Mezhrayontsi and with them rejoined Bolsheviks 1917; people's commissar of education 1917-29; CP delegate to second Comintern congress named ambassador to Spain 1933.

Lüttwitz, Walther von (1859-1942)—German baron and general; commander in chief 1919-20; leading participant in 1920 right-wing coup attempt.

Luxemburg, Rosa (1871-1919)—founding leader of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland 1893; later lived in Germany and joined SPD 1898; Polish representative on International Socialist Bureau from 1903; supported left wing against revisionist right and, after 1910, against Center current led by Kautsky; leader of Spartacus group during war; imprisoned 1915; founding leader of German CP December 1918; arrested and murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps after Berlin January uprising.

Lysis—pseudonym of Eugene Letailleur, conservative editor of French *Democratie Nouvelle*.

MacAlpine, Eamonn—born in Ireland; member of U.S. SP left wing; associate editor of Boston SP's *Revolutionary Age* 1918 and of *New York Communist* 1919; member Communist Labor Party in U.S.; returned to Ireland 1919; Irish CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress.

MacDonald, James Ramsay (1866-1937)—joined Independent Labour Party 1894; leader of British Labour Party from 1911; forced to resign this post 1914 because of pacifist position on World War I; opposed Bolshevik revolution; head of Labour Party from 1922; prime minister 1924, 1929-31; split from party to found coalition government with Conservatives and Liberals 1931.

McLaine, William (1891-1960)—a leader of British engineers' (metalworkers) union; internationalist, Shop Stewards' leader, and British SP member during World War I; SP Central Committee member 1918; SP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Central Committee member 1920; broke with CP 1929; became outspoken anticommunist.

MacLean, Neil—Independent Labour Party delegate to Geneva congress of Second International July-August 1920.

Marchlewski, Julian (Karski) (1866-1925)—joined Polish Marxist group 1885; a founding member of RSDLP and of Social Democracy of Poland; helped found German Spartacus group during World War I; jailed by German government 1916; released and moved to Soviet Russia 1918; helped reorganize German CP after January 1919 defeat; Polish CP delegate to second Com-

intern Congress; chair of Polish provisional revolutionary government during war with Poland 1920; chair of International Red Aid 1923.

Maring—see Sneevliet, Henk.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—cofounder with Engels of modern communist workers' movement; leader of Communist League 1847-52; coauthor of Communist Manifesto; editor of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 German revolution; central leader of International Working Men's Association (First International) 1864-76; published first volume of *Capital* 1867; partisan and defender of Paris Commune.

Maurin, Jean (Maurice) (1879-1943)—French Socialist; member of Committee for the Resumption of International Relations during World War I; member of SP central leadership body 1918-27; member of Committee to Reconstruct the International; went with SP after CP formed at Tours congress; expelled from SP 1933.

Max von Baden (1867-1929)—German prince, politician, and heir to throne of Baden; appointed imperial chancellor October 3, 1918; named Ebert as successor on November 9.

Mensheviks—originated as minority faction of RSDLP at its second congress 1903; moved increasingly to right after 1907; contained centrist and openly chauvinist wings during World War I; participated in Provisional Government 1917; opposed October 1917 revolution; during civil war one wing openly supported White armies; the other, led by Martov, opposed White Guards and participated in soviets but took no clear stand in defense of Soviet rule; this wing placed itself outside Soviet legality during Kronstadt crisis in 1921; thereafter functioned primarily in exile.

Merezhin, A.N. (b. 1880)—Menshevik 1905-16, then member of Bund; joined Bolsheviks 1919; member Bolshevik Party Central Bureau of Jewish Sections; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked in People's Commissariat of Nationalities, then as lecturer.

Merges, August (1870-1933)—German Spartacus group leader of Brunswick Workers' and Soldiers' Council and president of Brunswick Council of People's Representatives 1918-19; delegated to represent ultraleft KAPD at second Comintern congress but left as congress opened; joined German CP 1921; murdered by Nazis.

Méric, Victor (1876-1933)—French anarchist; left Socialist; member of Committee for the Third International; member of SP central leadership body from February 1920 and of CP central committee 1920-21; increasingly opposed Comintern from rightist standpoint; expelled 1923.

The Messenger—U.S. monthly founded 1917 by A. Philip Randolph, while member of SP left wing, that promoted Black rights and opposed World War I.

Mexican Communist Party—founded with 22 members when Mexican SP adopted this name November 1919; 1,500 members late 1922.

Meyer, Ernst (1887-1930)—left-wing German SPD member from 1908; delegate to Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; leader of Spartacus current; German CP Central Bureau member 1918-20, 1921-23 and Central Committee member 1926-29; delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; removed from leadership positions 1929 for opposing Stalin's policies.

Mezhrayontsi—Russian Social Democratic group formed 1913 with position intermediate between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; took internationalist stand during World War I; among its leaders were Trotsky, M.S. Uritsky, and Lunacharsky; fused with Bolsheviks 1917.

Michaelis, Georg (1857-1936)—German chancellor and head of Prussian government July-October 1917.

Milkic, Iliya (1882-1968)—a founder and organizer of Serbian Social Democratic and union movements; lived in France and Switzerland during World War I, in Russia 1919-22; Yugoslav CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; lived in Vienna, active in Yugoslav CP 1922-26; returned to Belgrade and left politics 1926.

Mistral, Paul (1872-1932)—joined French Workers Party 1893; SP member of parliament 1910-32; backed centrist opposition during World War I; mayor of Grenoble 1919-32; opposed Comintern; after split with CP, member of SP central leadership body 1920-24.

Modigliani, Giuseppe Emanuele (1872-1947)—joined Italian SP 1894; parliamentary deputy 1913-24; opposed Italy's entry into World War I; backed centrists at Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences 1915 and 1916; with Turati, leader of SP's openly reformist right wing; expelled; helped found United SP 1922; participated in SP reunification 1930; split again with right Social Democrats 1947.

Monatte, Pierre (1881-1960)—French anarcho-syndicalist from 1904; leader of antichauvinist opposition in unions during war; secretary of Committee for Third International; advocated revolutionary syndicalists joining Comintern; did not join French CP until 1923; expelled 1924 for opposing anti-Trotsky campaign; returned to syndicalism.

Moraczewski, Jędrzej (1870-1944)—a leader of Polish Social Demo-

cratic Party of Galicia and Silesia (PPSD) from 1893; deputy in Austrian imperial parliament; formed first procapitalist Warsaw government November 1918; PPSD deputy in Polish parliament 1919-27; expelled from party for supporting Pilsudski; head of progovernment trade union organization 1931-39.

Münzenberg, Willi (1889-1940)—German Socialist; moved to Switzerland 1910; secretary of reconstituted Socialist Youth International 1915-19; supported Zimmerwald Left; German CP founding member; key founder and secretary of Communist Youth International (CYI) 1919-21; CYI delegate to second Comintern congress; leader of International Red Aid from 1921; elected to German CP Central Committee 1927; broke with Stalin and expelled from CP 1937; continued political activity in France; probably killed by Stalin's secret police.

Murphy, John T. (1888-1966)—leader of British Shop Stewards' movement during World War I; joined Scottish Socialist Labour Party 1917; represented Shop Stewards at second Comintern congress; founding member of British CP 1920 and elected to its first Central Committee; prominent in CP-led trade union Minority Movement; jailed six months for subversion 1925; broke with CP and Comintern 1932; joined Labour Party.

Nadolny, Rudolf (1873-1953)—member of German foreign office from 1902; head of its Russian department 1918-19.

Naine, Charles (1874-1926)—a leader of Swiss SDP; member of Zimmerwald International Socialist Committee in Bern; joined right wing of Swiss party 1917; helped form centrist Two-and-a-Half International 1919-21.

National Democratic People's Party (Germany)—split-off from Bavarian People's Party; participated in German National Assembly elections 1919 and Reichstag elections 1920 with little success.

National Federation of Labor (CNT) (Spain)—Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation founded in Madrid 1911; 109,000 members 1914; voted to join Comintern at Second Congress December 1919; grew to 700,000 members by late 1919; disaffiliated under pressure of anarchist leaders 1922; banned 1923-30.

National Young Labour League (Britain)—one of three small British organizations affiliated to Communist Youth International in mid-1920; probably grew out of London-based Proletarian College, which was an offshoot of Scottish youth organization of same name; functioned publicly from May 1920.

Nedelkov, Ivan (Nikolai Shablin) (1881-1925)—active in Bulgarian SDP (Tesnyaki) before World War I; Bulgarian CP founder and Central Committee member 1919; delegate to second Com-

intern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; represented Comintern at Baku congress 1920; returned to Bulgaria and carried out underground party work after right-wing coup 1923; murdered by police.

Nenkov, Temelko (1877-1925)—joined Bulgarian revolutionary workers' movement 1906; mine workers' union secretary 1912-24; Bulgarian CP founding member 1919; killed by government forces.

Nielsen, Marie-Sophie (1875-1951)—member of Danish SDP; executive committee member 1916-18; second Comintern congress delegate from Communist Teachers Club; founding member of Danish CP 1920; expelled for not supporting campaign against Trotsky 1928.

Nobs, Ernst (1886-1957)—leading Swiss Social Democrat; supported Zimmerwald Left at Kienthal conference; adopted centrist position 1917 and became right-wing Social Democrat after 1920; president of Switzerland 1949.

Norwegian Labor Party—founded 1887; left wing won majority 1918; affiliated to Comintern June 1919; 125,000 members 1920; right-wing minority of 3,000 split to form Social Democratic Labor Party 1921; majority disaffiliated from Comintern 1923; minority founded Norwegian CP with 15,000 members.

Noske, Gustav (1868-1946)—German SPD leader; chauvinist during World War I; German war minister 1919-20; organized suppression of workers' uprisings in Berlin and central Germany January-March 1919.

L'Ordine Nuovo (New order)—Italian revolutionary newspaper launched by Gramsci, Tasca, Terracini, and Togliatti 1919; merged with *Avanti!* 1921; forced to cease publication October 1922; also name of left-wing current in SP that dissolved into CP 1921.

Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele (1860-1952)—Italian bourgeois politician; prime minister 1917-19; headed Italian delegation to Paris peace talks 1919-20.

Oudegeest, Jan (1870-1951)—Dutch trade union federation chair 1908-18; secretary of International Federation of Trade Unions and leader of League of Nations International Labour Office from 1919; Social Democratic Workers Party chair 1927-34.

Pak Chin-sun—born in Korea, settled in Russia as youth before World War I; rallied to communism 1917; delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee; worked in China among immigrant Korean Communists 1921; not recognized as delegate at fourth Comintern congress and

relieved of Comintern duties 1922; lived in Soviet Union.

Pankhurst, Sylvia (1882-1960)—joined British Independent Labour Party 1898; repeatedly arrested for activity in labor and women's suffrage movements; held antichauvinist position on war; leader of Workers' Socialist Federation, which took name CP June 1920; represented this group at second Comintern congress; Pankhurst group joined unified British CP January 1921, which expelled her for indiscipline 1921.

Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—joined Dutch Social Democrats 1902; leader of left-wing *Tribune* current from 1907; member Zimmerwald Left during World War I; cofounder Dutch CP 1918; worked closely with KAPD; broke with Comintern over Twenty-one Conditions as part of ultraleft split from Dutch CP 1921; subsequently left political activity while continuing to consider himself a Marxist and write on theoretical questions.

Party of Revolutionary Communism—founded September 1918 as split from Russian Left SRs following July uprising against soviet power; supported Soviet government but at first denied need for proletarian dictatorship; joined Russian CP fall 1920.

Pastukhov, Krustiu Ivanov (1874-1949)—leader of reformist Shiroki wing of Bulgarian SDP after 1903 split; harshly repressed popular mobilizations as minister of interior 1919; arrested for anti-communist activities 1946.

Paul-Boncour, Joseph (1873-1972)—French politician; parliamentary deputy 1909-14 and 1919-31; labor minister 1911; joined SP 1916; opposed SP joining Comintern and went with SP after split at Tours congress 1920; quit SP 1931; several times government minister; rejoined SP 1945; French signatory to United Nations Charter 1946.

Pestaña, Angel (1888-1937)—anarchist; leader of Spanish National Federation of Labor (CNT); CNT delegate to second Comintern congress; after congress, opposed joining Comintern and Red International of Labor Unions; founded syndicalist party 1934; deputy commissar of republican army during Spanish civil war.

Phillips, Charles (Frank Seaman, Jesús Ramírez, Manuel Gomez, Charles Shipman) (1895-1989)—U.S. journalist; founder of Mexican CP 1919; traveled to Russia via Cuba; Mexican CP delegate to second Comintern congress; deported from Mexico, joined U.S. CP 1921; headed CP's All-American Anti-Imperialist League from 1925; Comintern Executive Committee member 1928; expelled from U.S. CP 1929; worked with pro-Bukharin opposition groups until mid-1930s, then quit politics.

Pilsudski, Józef (1867-1935)—cofounder of Polish SP 1892; led right-

wing nationalist Revolutionary Faction from party's 1906 split until 1918; backed Central Powers in World War I; headed newly created Polish republic 1918; led invasion of Soviet republic 1920; resigned 1923; right-wing dictator of Poland 1926-35.

Platten, Fritz (1883-1942)—Swiss SDP secretary from 1912; led Swiss Zimmerwald Left; organized Lenin's return to Russia from exile April 1917; led pro-Comintern left wing of Swiss SDP 1919-21; delegate at Comintern founding congress; returned to Switzerland spring 1920; led founding of united Swiss CP 1921; party secretary 1921-23; in Soviet Union after 1923 except 1930-31; arrested in Stalin's purges 1938 and died in prison camp.

Poale Zion (Workers of Zion)—coalition of Jewish nationalist organizations that attempted to combine ideas of socialism with Zionism; formed in several eastern European countries from 1897; gave rise to several parties, including in Russia, Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party—Poale Zion 1904-6; 15,000 members 1917; opposed October revolution; supported right-wing Ukrainian Directory government 1918; left wing split, forming Jewish CP—Poale Zion August 1919; some members of this party joined Russian CP December 1922; Poale Zion banned in Soviet Union 1928.

Poale Zion of Austria—small group that developed in Vienna during World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; active in January strikes 1918; after Russian revolution, initially sought to reconcile Zionism and communism; many members later joined CP.

Polano, Luigi (b. 1897)—leader of Italian Socialist youth during World War I; elected to Communist Youth International Executive Committee 1919; Italian Socialist youth delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Italian CP Central Committee at founding congress 1921; lived in Soviet Union during fascist regime; arrested during Stalin purges and deported to Siberia; returned to Italy 1945; Italian CP elected official after 1945.

Polish Socialist Party—founded 1892; strongly marked by nationalist and reformist tendencies; left-wing majority founded Polish Socialist Party—Left 1906, which adopted internationalist position during World War I and merged with Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to form Polish CP 1918; right-wing Revolutionary Faction supported Central Powers during World War I and participated in formation of Polish capitalist state 1918; joined coalition government during war with Russia 1920.

Le Populaire (The people)—French SP newspaper representing centrist Longuet current.

- Prampolini, Camillo** (1857-1930)—editor of Italian Socialist newspapers from 1887; Italian SP founding member 1892; Socialist deputy 1890-1926; took centrist position during World War I; part of reformist wing of Italian SP; stayed with SP when CP formed 1921; expelled from SP with right-wing faction 1922.
- Preobrazhensky, Yevgeny Alekseyevich** (1886-1937)—joined Bolsheviks 1903; alternate Central Committee member 1917-18, full member 1920-21; Left Communist 1918; *Pravda* editor 1919; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Leninist opposition in Soviet CP led by Trotsky; expelled from CP 1927; readmitted 1929; arrested during Stalin purges; refused to profess guilt and was shot without trial.
- Pressemann, Adrien** (1879-1929)—French Socialist; adopted centrist position during World War I; member of parliament 1914-29; member of Committee to Reconstruct the International 1919-20; opposed Twenty-one Conditions; went with SP when CP founded 1920; member of its central leadership body 1920-26.
- Quelch, Thomas** (1886-1954)—member Social Democratic Federation, then British SP; internationalist during World War I; advocated SP affiliating to Comintern; delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee; participated in Baku congress 1920; British CP Central Committee 1923-25; *Communist International* editorial staff 1920-31; withdrew from CP late in life.
- Radek, Karl** (1885-1939)—joined Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania 1904; moved to Germany 1908 and was active in SPD left; leader of Zimmerwald Left during World War I; joined Bolsheviks 1917; Bolshevik and Soviet emissary to Germany December 1918; arrested there February 1919; released and returned to Russia January 1920; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1919; Comintern secretary April-August 1920; a central Comintern leader; with Trotsky, part of Leninist opposition to Stalin 1923-29; expelled from CP 1927; capitulated 1929; arrested 1937 during Moscow frame-up trials and died in prison.
- Rákosi, Mátyás** (1892-1971)—joined Hungarian SDP 1910; joined Bolsheviks while prisoner of war in Russia 1918; returned to Hungary and participated in founding Hungarian CP November 1918; held key posts in Hungarian soviet republic 1919; joined Comintern staff 1920; Hungarian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee secretariat member 1921-24; returned to Hungary to reorganize CP, captured and imprisoned 1925-40; signed manifesto dissolving Comintern 1943; general secretary of Hungarian CP 1945-56; emigrated to

Soviet Union after Hungarian uprising 1956; expelled from Hungarian CP 1962.

Rakovsky, Christian (1873-1941)—prominent Romanian Social Democrat from 1890s; elected secretary of Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation 1915; attended Zimmerwald conference; joined Bolsheviks 1918; elected to Central Committee 1919; head of Ukrainian soviet government January 1919-23; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; supported Leninist opposition to Stalin led by Trotsky in Russian CP from 1923; expelled from party and arrested 1927; capitulated 1934; died in prison following Moscow frame-up trials.

Ramírez, Jesús—see Phillips, Charles.

Ramsay, David (1883-1948)—member of British Social Democratic Federation, then of Socialist Labour Party before World War I; antichauvinist and leader of Shop Stewards during World War I; Shop Stewards' delegate to second Comintern congress; joined British CP 1920; CP executive committee 1926-29.

Randolph, A. Philip (1889-1979)—launched radical socialist Black magazine the *Messenger* 1917; initially sympathetic to Russian revolution but stayed with SP after CP founded 1919; organized Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters 1925; organized March on Washington movement for Black civil rights during World War II; vice president AFL-CIO 1955.

Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern)—founded July 1921 by Communist and revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist union leaders to provide alternative to reformist policies of Amsterdam International; dissolved December 1937.

Reed, John (1887-1920)—radical U.S. journalist; supported IWW from 1913; opposed government during World War I; supported Wilson 1916; won to Communist movement while U.S. correspondent in Russia during October revolution 1917; author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*; joined U.S. SP 1918; a founding member of Communist Labor Party 1919; Communist Labor Party delegate at second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; addressed Baku congress 1920; died of typhus in Soviet Russia.

Reichpietsch, Max (1894-1917)—mechanic; drafted into German navy 1914; worked with USPD in organizing sailors against World War I; leader of mutiny summer 1917; executed.

Renaudel, Pierre (1871-1935)—associate of Jean Jaurès before 1914; central leader of French SP right-wing majority during World War I; political director of *L'Humanité* 1914-18; member of parliament 1914-19, 1924-35; opposed Comintern; part of right-

wing split that retained SP name 1920; led right-wing split from SP 1933.

Renner, Karl (1870-1950)—prominent revisionist in Austrian SDP; promoted “national-cultural autonomy” within capitalist state for minorities from 1897; chauvinist during World War I; Austrian chancellor 1919-20 and president 1931-33.

Roland-Holst, Henriette (1869-1952)—joined Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party 1897; supported its left wing; with Zimmerwald Left; joined SDP *Tribune* group 1916; founding member Dutch CP 1918; left CP 1927; later Christian Socialist.

Rosmer, Alfred (Griot) (1877-1964)—French revolutionary syndicalist; joined Zimmerwald movement during World War I; Comintern Executive Committee member in Moscow 1920-21; delegate of Committee for Third International to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; CP founding member 1920; a leader of Red International of Labor Unions; expelled from CP as supporter of Left Opposition to Stalin 1924; broke with Left Opposition 1930 but collaborated with Trotsky and movement for Fourth International after 1936.

Roy, Manabendra Nath (Bhattacharya, Robert Allan-Roy) (1887?-1954)—Indian revolutionary; active in nationalist protests against British rule 1910-15; forced into exile 1915; attracted to Marxism in U.S. 1916-17; under U.S. federal indictment, escaped to Mexico 1917; participated in founding Mexican CP 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; founded Indian CP in exile in Tashkent 1920; headed Comintern Far Eastern bureau 1920; elected Comintern Executive Committee alternate member 1922-24 and full member 1924-27; Comintern representative to China February-August 1927; expelled from Comintern with Bukharin supporters 1929; returned to India 1930; led current critical of Comintern’s sectarianism on national struggle; imprisoned 1931-36; joined Congress Party with supporters 1936; founded Radical Democratic Party 1940 and edited its newspaper, *Radical Humanist*.

RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party)—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks); Mensheviks.

Rudas, László (1885-1950)—Hungarian CP Central Committee member 1918; carried out academic work in Moscow from 1922; imprisoned 1937; returned to Hungary after World War II and directed CP school.

Rudnyánszky, Endre (1885-1943)—Hungarian prisoner of war in Russia; joined Bolsheviks 1917; helped found Hungarian Communist Group; chair of Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian

CP late 1918; Moscow representative of Hungarian soviet republic 1919; Hungarian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; disappeared from Russia with Comintern funds and was expelled from Hungarian CP 1921.

Rühle, Otto (1874-1943)—joined German SPD 1900; voted with Liebknecht against war credits in Reichstag 1915; chair of Dresden Workers' and Soldiers' Council in November 1918 revolution; delegate to German CP founding congress December 1918; part of 1919 ultraleft split that later formed KAPD; delegated to represent KAPD at second Comintern congress, but left as congress began; expelled from KAPD November 1920; returned to German SPD 1923; served on Dewey commission to investigate Moscow frame-up trial against Trotsky 1937.

Russian Social Democratic Labor Party—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks); Mensheviks.

Rutgers, Sebald Justius (1879-1961)—joined Dutch Social Democracy 1899; part of left-wing Tribune group from 1909; organized U.S. supporters of *Tribune* current and Zimmerwald Left in Socialist Propaganda League during World War I; delegate at first Comintern congress 1919; headed Comintern's Amsterdam bureau 1919-20; headed settlement of U.S. volunteer workers in Kuzbas, Soviet Union, 1922-25; continued to live in Soviet Union until 1938, then returned to the Netherlands.

Ruthenberg, Charles E. (1882-1927)—joined U.S. SP 1909 and a leader of its left wing during World War I; CP national secretary 1919-27; Comintern Executive Committee alternate member from 1922 and full member from 1924.

Safarov, Georgy Ivanovich (1891-1942)—joined RSDLP 1908, soon became Bolshevik; worked in exile during World War I; returned to Russia with Lenin 1917; led Comintern work for Middle and Far East from 1920; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1922; associated with Zinoviev in Leningrad opposition and dropped from CP Central Committee 1925; member of United Opposition 1926-27; expelled from CP 1927; capitulated 1928; reexpelled 1934 and arrested; perished in prison camps.

Said Galiev, Sahibgiray (1894-1939)—Tatar; began revolutionary work in army 1916; joined Bolsheviks March 1917; held numerous posts leading political work among Muslim peoples 1918-20; chair of Central Bureau of the Communist Organization of the Peoples of the East November 1919; elected chair of Council of People's Commissars of Tatar autonomous republic 1920 and of

Crimean republic 1921; Tatar CP delegate to second Comintern congress; held other government posts until killed in Stalin purges.

Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association)—formed in Indonesia out of Association of Islamic Merchants 1912; initially reflected interests of Indonesian bourgeoisie against foreign competition; became mass nationalist movement, with strong rural support, claiming 360,000 members by 1916; adopted radical democratic program under influence of mass pressure and revolutionary Social Democrats 1917; 1.5 million members 1920; played no significant role after political break with CP 1923.

Sazonov, Sergey Dmitrovich (1860-1927)—tsarist diplomat; minister of foreign affairs 1910-16; represented Denikin and Kolchak at Versailles conference 1919; died in exile.

Scheflo, Olav (1883-1943)—Norwegian Labor Party journalist from 1905; editor of central organ *Social-Demokraten* 1918-21; led struggle for Norwegian Labor Party to join Comintern; represented party at second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1921-27; joined CP when Labor Party split from Comintern 1923; CP Central Committee member and chief editor of *Norges Kommunistblad* 1923-26; criticized as "right opportunist" from 1925; left CP 1928; rejoined Labor Party 1929; when Trotsky was in Norway, defended him against government and Stalinist attacks 1935-36.

Scheidemann, Philipp (1865-1939)—German SPD member; elected to Reichstag 1898; with Ebert, a central leader of party after Bebel's death in 1913; chauvinist during World War I; SPD cochair from 1917; as member of Ebert's cabinet, participated in suppression of 1918-19 revolution; chancellor 1919; forced into exile by Nazis 1933.

SDP—Social Democratic Party.

Second International—founded 1889 as international association of workers' parties; based in Brussels; collapsed at outbreak of World War I when leaders of most constituent parties supported interests of own bourgeoisies; revolutionary left wing founded Communist International 1919; right wing formed Bern International on procapitalist basis 1919 and Labor and Socialist International based in London 1923.

Sembat, Marcel (1862-1922)—prominent right-wing French SP leader; government minister 1914-16.

Serrati, Giacinto Menotti (1874-1926)—central leader of Italian SP during war; editor of *Avanti!* 1915-20; attended Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; led SP into Comintern; Italian SP delegate

to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; opposed break with reformists and remained head of SP after CP split 1921; led SP left wing into fusion with CP 1924; elected to CP Central Committee.

Shablin, Nikolai—see Nedelkov, Ivan.

Shatskin, Lazar Abramovich (1902-1938)—joined Bolshevik Party 1917; Communist Youth League Central Committee member from 1918 and first secretary 1919-22; elected to Communist Youth International Executive Committee 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member from 1920; closely associated with Stalin late 1920s; accused of opposition activities and excluded from political activity 1931; expelled from party and arrested 1935; died in Stalin purges.

Shiroki—right wing of Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria; Shiroki (Broad) faction split from revolutionary Tesnyaki (Narrow) faction in 1903; voted to quit Second International 1919; voted against joining Comintern 1920; left wing split and joined CP; Shiroki then had 8,000 members.

Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees—originated among engineers (metalworkers) in Clyde valley strike in Scotland 1915; grew with strike wave and by early 1917 was national organization opposed to official trade union leadership no-strike policy; advanced revolutionary demands; movement declined after 1918 but many militant stewards joined British CP.

Sirola, Yrjö (1876-1936)—joined Finnish SDP 1903; foreign affairs commissar in revolutionary government 1918; founding leader of Finnish CP 1918; elected to Comintern Control Commission 1921, 1928, and 1935; Comintern emissary to U.S. CP 1925-27.

Skulski, Leopold (b. 1878)—Polish politician; premier of Pilsudski's cabinet December 1919–June 1920; interior minister 1920-21.

Smeral, Bohumír (1880-1941)—joined Czech SDP 1897 and elected to Central Committee 1904; took chauvinist stand during World War I but spoke against collaboration with bourgeois parties from 1918; a leader of SDP left wing 1919-21; headed CP from its founding 1921; Comintern Executive Committee member 1922-35.

Sneevliet, Henk (Maring) (1883-1942)—joined Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party 1902; emigrated to Dutch East Indies 1913; became leader of rail union in Semarang and founding leader of Indies Social Democratic Association 1914; supported Russian October revolution 1917; deported December 1918; joined

Dutch CP 1919; represented Communist Association in the Indies at second Comintern congress; Comintern representative in China 1921-23; returned to Netherlands 1924; left CP 1927; supported views of Left Opposition led by Trotsky; founded Revolutionary Socialist Party 1929; with Trotsky, cosigned call for new International 1933; did not participate in launching Fourth International 1938; took part in resistance to Nazi occupation forces until captured and executed.

Social Democratic Federation (Britain)—founded 1884; changed name to Social Democratic Party 1906; participated in founding British SP 1911; chauvinist wing of SP split from antiwar majority 1916 and retook name Social Democratic Federation 1920.

Social Democratic Party of Austria—see Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria.

Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia—originated before 1914 as national breakaway from SDP of Austria; Marxist Left faction organized December 1919, which won leadership of party 1920; 650,000 members mid-1920; split fall 1920; left-wing majority took name CP with 350,000 members and adopted Twenty-one Conditions March 1921; united with Communist groups based among other nationalities November 1921; 170,000 members 1922. See also Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Social Democratic Party of Finland—founded 1899; adopted this name 1903; held internationalist positions during World War I; won majority of parliamentary seats 1916; after defeat of working class in Finnish civil war, SDP left wing founded CP in Russian exile August 1918 but also continued to work in SDP; underground Communists in Finland participated in left-wing split from SDP that led to founding of Socialist Workers Party May 1920.

Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)—founded 1875 as Social Democratic Workers Party from fusion of Marxist and Lassallean parties; changed name to SPD 1891; largest and most influential party in Second International; more than 1 million members 1914; majority leadership supported German imperialist war effort; expelled oppositionists 1917; 250,000 members March 1918; headed bourgeois government 1918-19; 1 million members 1919; opposed formation of Comintern, remained in Second International.

Social Democratic Party of Hungary—founded 1890; initially chauvinist during World War I; shifted to pacifist position 1915; fused with CP and participated in short-lived Hungarian soviet republic 1919; refounded 1921; functioned as legal reformist opposition party.

Social Democratic Party of Romania—see Balkan Communist Federation.

Social Democratic Party of Switzerland—founded 1888; leadership took centrist position during World War I, helping initiate and lead Zimmerwald movement; withdrew from Second International 1919; voted for Comintern affiliation at 1920 congress, but membership referendum later that year reversed decision; left wing split and fused with other Communist groups to form Swiss CP March 1921; SDP had 54,000 members 1921.

Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia—founded 1903 as Social Democratic Party of Serbia; opposed war credits 1914; participated in Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation from 1915; called April 1919 conference that united left wings of all Yugoslav Socialist parties (except Slovenian) to form Socialist Workers Party (Communist) April 1919 that joined Comintern; 50,000 members late 1919; changed name to CP of Yugoslavia June 1920.

Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria—founded 1888-89; loose federation of six autonomous national parties from 1896, which broke up by 1912; then functioned solely within German Austria; led governmental coalition with bourgeois parties November 1918–June 1920, left government October 1920; suffered no significant left-wing split after World War I; 335,000 members November 1920; main party in Two-and-a-Half International 1921-23; 491,000 members 1921.

Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils—formed October 1919 as left faction in Austrian SDP; expressed support for soviet power and Communist International; considerable influence over workers' councils late 1919; split over election tactics September 1920; reunited December 1920 and joined CP January 1921.

Social Democratic Youth League (Denmark)—founded 1906; youth organization affiliated to SDP of Denmark; opposed party's reformist line, supported Zimmerwald movement during World War I; split from SDP October 1919; most members fused with Socialist Workers Party to form Left SP of Denmark November 1919; minority returned to SDP; 10,000 members 1920.

Social Democratic Youth League (Norway)—youth organization of Norwegian Labor Party founded 1907; strong radical influence on party during war; 12,000 members 1920.

Socialist Labour Party (Britain)—founded with 80 members 1903 by split of Scottish sections of Social Democratic Federation; influenced by Daniel De Leon of U.S. SLP; opposed labor move-

ment's fighting for partial goals short of socialism; actively opposed World War I; supported Bolshevik revolution and Comintern; at first participated, then withdrew from unity talks on forming CP December 1919; 1,250 members 1920; minority split and participated in founding first CPGB August 1920; 100 members 1924.

Socialist Party of America—founded 1901; 1917 membership referendum denouncing U.S. entry into World War I ignored by most of leadership; 109,000 members January 1919; leadership representing right-wing minority expelled 70,000 members January-July 1919; membership referendum voted for conditional affiliation with Comintern early 1920, which was rejected by Comintern; membership dropped to 13,000 by 1921.

Socialist Party of France (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière; SFIO)—founded by merger of Guesde's SP of France and Jaurès's French SP 1905; deputies voted unanimously to support war credits August 1914; 93,000 members 1914; dropped to 34,000 1918; centrists won majority July 1918; split at Tours congress December 1920; majority of 120,000 changed name to CP; right-wing minority of 50,000 split, retained name SFIO, affiliated to centrist Two-and-a-Half International February 1921.

Socialist Party of Italy—see Italian Socialist Party.

Socialist Party (Shanghai)—formed September 1919 by laborers who were exposed to revolutionary movement while working in Europe 1917-18. See also Chinese Socialist Workers Party.

Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR)—formed in Russia by rightward-moving currents from populist Narodnik tradition 1901-2; affiliated to Second International; had wings that supported and opposed war effort during World War I; supported by majority of peasant delegates to soviets 1917; Right SRs opposed October revolution and took up arms against Soviet government; Left SRs opposed World War I, supported immediate confiscation of landed estates, backed October revolution and soviet power; joined Bolsheviks in coalition government November 28, 1917 (November 15, old style); broke from Soviet government and organized attempted insurrection July 1918; minority currents split away and eventually joined Russian CP.

Socialist Workers Party (Denmark)—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Socialist Workers Party of Finland—see Communist Party of Finland.

Socialist Workers Party of Palestine—founded October 1919; defended Zionism; called for alliance with Arab workers; banned by

British authorities in Palestine mid-1921; disintegrated shortly thereafter.

Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE)—founded by former members of Spanish section of First International 1879; policies reflected majority views of Second International; voted for conditional affiliation to Comintern June 1920, but reversed this decision April 1921; left wing split to form Communist Workers Party of Spain 1921.

Socialist Youth Federation (France)—founded as national organization, affiliated to SP, 1912; adopted chauvinist position during World War I; 1,300 members 1918; opposition won leadership June 1918; 15,000 members mid-1920, with significant communist, syndicalist, and pacifist currents; application to join Communist Youth International initially rejected; adopted positions of autonomy with respect to party; pro-Communist wing won majority, changed name to National Federation of Socialist-Communist Youth of France and affiliated with Communist Youth International October 1920.

Socialist Youth Federation of Italy—see Italian Socialist Youth Federation.

Socialist Youth Organization (Switzerland)—developed early 1900s from existing youth groups with anarcho-syndicalist influence; renamed Social Democratic Youth Organization and adopted increasingly revolutionary stance from 1911; took name Socialist Youth Organization 1915; French- and German-speaking sections unified 1919; joined Communist Youth International and Comintern 1919; broke with SDP January 1920; participated in second Comintern congress; 2,500 members August 1920; changed name to Communist Youth League November 1920.

Solf, Wilhelm Heinrich (1862-1936)—German colonial minister 1911-18; negotiated armistice as foreign minister 1918; ambassador to Tokyo 1920.

Souhy, Augustin (1892-1984)—anarchist from 1911; in Sweden and Denmark as opponent of draft during World War I; leader of German anarcho-syndicalist Free Workers Union 1919-33; represented it at second Comintern congress; refused to join Comintern or Red International of Labor Unions; leader of anarcho-syndicalist International from 1922; fled to France 1933; active in anarchist federation in Spain during civil war 1936-39; emigrated to Mexico 1942; returned to Europe, worked with UN International Labor Organization 1950s.

SP—Socialist Party.

Spartacus—illegal organ of German Spartacus group; appeared irregu-

larly September 1916 to October 1918; predecessor newsletters dated from fall 1914.

SPD—see Social Democratic Party of Germany.

SR—see Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Stalin, Joseph (1879-1953)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik from 1903; member Central Committee 1912; people's commissar of nationalities after October revolution; general secretary of Russian CP Central Committee 1922; presided over bureaucratic degeneration of Russian CP and Comintern and their rejection of revolutionary internationalist course; organized Moscow frame-up trials in 1930s and liquidation of majority of Bolshevik leaders of Lenin's time; dissolved Comintern as political gesture to imperialist allies 1943.

Steinhardt, Karl (J. Gruber) (1875-1963)—member of Austrian SDP from 1891; militant antichauvinist, expelled from party 1916; Austrian CP chair from 1918; elected general secretary 1919; on return journey from first Comintern congress imprisoned in Romania April 1919–January 1920; Austrian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; still active in CP after World War II.

Stinnes, Hugo (1870-1924)—leading German capitalist; headed industrial production during World War I.

Stoecker, Walter (1891-1939)—member German SPD 1908; joined USPD 1918; favored its affiliation to Comintern; USPD delegate to second Comintern congress; led USPD majority into united CP 1920; elected to CP Central Bureau 1920-21, 1923-24, and to Central Committee 1927-33; chair of CP parliamentary fraction 1924-31; arrested by Nazis night of Reichstag fire 1933; died in Nazi concentration camp.

Stoklitsky, Alexander I.—Russian emigrant to U.S.; head of U.S. SP Russian federation; a founder of U.S. CP 1919; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; remained in Russia.

Ströbel, Heinrich (1869-1944)—active in German workers' movement from 1889; editor of various Social Democratic newspapers; opposed SPD leadership during war; joined USPD; later returned to SPD; parliamentary deputy from 1924; founded journal *Klassenkampf*.

Ström, Fredrik (1880-1948)—Swedish SDP party secretary 1911-16; close to Zimmerwald Left during World War I; member of parliament 1916-21, 1928-48; a founder of Left SDP 1917; head of Stockholm Comintern liaison with western Europe 1919-20; a CP founder 1921 and its general secretary 1921-24; opposed Comintern policies with Höglund from 1924; resigned from CP and returned to SDP 1926.

Stuchka, Pyotr Ivanovich (1865-1932)—Latvian; joined Bolsheviks 1903; Bolshevik Central Committee member 1917; people's commissar of justice 1917-18; Latvian soviet government head 1918-19; chair of Supreme Court, Russian Soviet Republic 1923-32.

Sultanzadeh, Ahmed (Avetis Mikaelian) (1889-1938)—born in Iran, settled in tsarist Russia; joined Caucasus SDP 1907; joined Bolsheviks 1912; Iranian CP founder 1920; Central Committee member 1920-23 and 1927-32; represented Iranian CP at second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee and attended Baku congress 1920; left Comintern and Iranian CP posts 1923-27 to work in Soviet government; expelled from Iranian CP Central Committee 1932; arrested and died in Stalin purges.

Sun Yat-sen (Sun Ixian) (1866-1925)—Chinese revolutionary democrat; president of republic after first revolution 1911-12; founder of Kuomintang 1912; removed by Yuan Shikai 1912; after two failed attempts, established government in Canton 1923; accepted help of Soviet Russia from 1923.

Szamuely, Tibor (1890-1919)—joined Bolsheviks as Hungarian prisoner of war in Russia 1917; political commissar of First Internationalist Battalion of Red Army 1918; returned to Hungary January 1919 and became Hungarian CP Central Committee chair; as leader of soviet republic, visited Moscow May 1919; captured and died after fall of Hungarian soviet republic.

Tanner, Jack (1889-1965)—leader of British Shop Stewards during World War I, which he represented at second Comintern congress; joined CP 1921; leader of CP-led trade union Minority Movement 1920s; became right-wing opponent of CP in 1940s; continued to hold prominent posts in British trade unions until 1954.

Le Temps (The times)—daily newspaper published in Paris 1861-1942; unofficial voice of French government.

Tesnyaki—see Communist Party of Bulgaria.

Thomas, Albert (1878-1932)—leader of French SP right wing; chauvinist during World War I; held key government posts 1914-17; visited Russia April 1917 to promote war effort; led attempts to reorganize Second International 1919; first director of League of Nations International Labour Office.

The Times—leading Conservative British newspaper founded 1785, took present title 1788.

Tomsky, Mikhail Pavlovich (1880-1936)—joined RSDLP 1904; Bolshevik; chair of Revel (Tallinn) soviet in 1905 revolution; All-Russia Central Trade Union Council chair 1919-29; CP Central Commit-

tee member 1919-36 and Political Bureau member 1922-29; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; helped found Red International of Labor Unions 1921; with Bukharin, leader of Right Opposition 1928-29; stripped of all leading posts and forced to make self-criticism by Stalin 1930; committed suicide after publicly assailed during Moscow frame-up trials.

Treves, Claudio (1869-1933)—joined Italian SP 1893; parliamentary deputy 1906-26; editor of *Avanti!* 1909-12; called for Italian neutrality during World War I; leader of reformist, anti-Comintern wing of SP after World War I; stayed with SP when CP founded 1921; expelled from SP with rightist current that founded United SP 1922; emigrated to Paris when fascists took power.

De Tribune (The tribune)—founded 1907 as publication of left wing of Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party; became newspaper of SDP of the Netherlands 1909 and of CP 1919.

Troelstra, Pieter (1860-1930)—right-wing leader of Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party from its foundation 1894; member of International Socialist Bureau; chauvinist during World War I.

Trotsky, Leon (1879-1940)—Russian revolutionary leader; aligned with Mensheviks 1903-4; president of St. Petersburg soviet 1905; took intermediate position between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks 1904-17; led Mezhrayontsi into fusion with Bolsheviks 1917; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1917; people's commissar of foreign affairs 1917-18; organized and led Red Army 1918-25; prominent leader of Comintern; from 1923 led opposition in Russian CP and Comintern against retreat from Leninist policies; expelled from party 1927; exiled abroad 1929; launched fight for new, revolutionary International 1933; led in founding Fourth International 1938; main defendant, in absentia, at 1936-38 Moscow frame-up trials; assassinated by agent of Stalin.

Tsyperovich, Grigory (1871-1932)—joined Russian revolutionary movement 1888; worked in trade unions after October revolution; joined Russian CP 1919; represented CP at second Comintern congress; worked in Petrograd economic council, later chancellor of Leningrad industrial academy.

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—a founder of Italian SP; avowed reformist; voted against war credits during World War I but supported Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points; opposed Comintern; led right-wing split from SP 1922.

Two-and-a-Half International—derogatory name applied to the International Association of Socialist Parties; formed 1921 by centrist parties that opposed soviet power but had left Second Interna-

tional, with which it reunited 1923.

Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbist)—originated in Borotbist majority faction in Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries May 1918; fought against Skoropadsky and Directory governments under banner of soviet power and Ukrainian federation with Soviet Russia; joined Ukrainian soviet government April 1919; criticized Bolshevik policy toward demands of peasantry and Ukrainian national rights; formed Ukrainian CP (Borotbist) August 1919; applied to Comintern for recognition as its Ukrainian section August 1919 but was refused; fused with CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine March 1920.

Ukrainian National Directory—see Directory.

United Communist Party (U.S.)—see Communist Party of America; Communist Labor Party (U.S.).

USPD—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Vacirca, Vincenzo—member of Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL) delegation to Soviet Russia 1920; consultative delegate of Italian SP to second Comintern congress; left congress early with D'Aragona; expelled with Turati current from SP after Rome party congress 1922; joined United SP founded by Turati 1922.

Van Leuven, Vilem—member of Dutch SDP from 1909; stockbroker; a founding member of Dutch CP; Dutch CP delegate to second Comintern congress; quit CP 1924.

Van Overstraeten, Eduard (War) (1891-1981)—active in Socialist Young Guards in Belgium at end of World War I; founded Walloon Communist Federation 1920; represented it at second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1921; elected Belgian CP national secretary at founding congress 1921; imprisoned for opposing Ruhr occupation 1923; led majority of party Central Committee in opposing expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev 1927; expelled 1928; founder of Belgian Left Opposition but soon withdrew from politics.

Van Ravesteyn, Willem (1876-1970)—Dutch Social Democrat from 1900; leader of *Tribune* current from its inception 1907; Zimmerwald Left supporter during World War I; Dutch CP founding member 1918; expelled with Wijnkoop 1926 and retired from political activity.

Varenne, Alexandre (1870-1947)—member of French parliament 1906-10, 1914-36; part of SP chauvinist majority during World War I; opposed SP joining Comintern 1920; went with SP after CP formed 1920; member of SP central leadership body 1923-25; quit SP 1925-31 and again 1933; active in bourgeois parties; government minister 1946.

- Varga, Jenő** (Eugen) (1879-1964)—joined Hungarian SDP 1906; university economics professor; joined CP February 1919; people's commissar of finance in Hungarian soviet republic 1919; interned with Kun in Austria 1919-20 after collapse of republic; released with Kun and arrived in Moscow just after second Comintern congress; played leading role in Comintern from 1920; leading Soviet economist until criticized by Stalin 1947; restored to favor after Stalin's death.
- Vennerström, Ivar** (1881-1945)—Swedish SDP National Committee member 1911-16 and leader of left wing; member of parliament 1914-36; Left SDP cofounder 1917; opposed Twenty-one Conditions and broke with Comintern 1921; rejoined SDP 1924; defense minister 1932-36.
- Vorovsky, Vatslav Vatslavovich** (1871-1923)—Social Democrat from 1894; Bolshevik from 1903; edited *Vperyod* and *Proletary* with Lenin 1905; headed Bolshevik Odessa organization 1907-12; member of Central Committee abroad 1917; ambassador in Scandinavia 1917-19; Comintern secretary and Executive Committee member 1919-20; ambassador to Italy 1921-23; assassinated by White émigré.
- Vorwärts** (Forward)—main daily newspaper of German SPD; founded in Leipzig 1876; published abroad from 1933.
- Walcher, Jakob** (1887-1970)—German Social Democrat from 1906; active in Spartacus current during World War I; German CP founding member December 1918; Central Bureau alternate, then full member responsible for trade union work 1919-23; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked in Red International of Labor Unions headquarters 1924-26; returned to Germany 1926; expelled from party as "rightist" 1928; in exile in France and U.S. during Nazi regime; returned to East Germany and joined CP 1946; expelled 1951; readmitted 1956.
- Washington, Booker T.** (1856-1915)—born a slave in U.S.; Black educator; exponent of vocational self-improvement and accommodation rather than struggle for Black rights; founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute 1881 and National Negro Business League 1900.
- The Weekly Critic** (Hsing-ch'i p'ing-lun)—socialist newspaper published in Shanghai from mid-1919.
- Wesolowski, Bronisław** (1870-1919)—a founder of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and collaborator of Luxemburg; participated in Russian October revolution; murdered by Polish police.
- West European Secretariat**—established in Berlin by Comintern Exec-

utive Committee October 1919 as Comintern political and information center for central and western Europe.

Wijnkoop, David (1877-1941)—Dutch Social Democrat; chair of left-wing Dutch SDP 1909; supported Zimmerwald Left during World War I; leader of Dutch CP from 1918; CP delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920, 1924; expelled from Dutch CP 1926; reinstated 1930.

Williams, Robert (1881-1936)—secretary of National Transport Workers' Federation 1912-25; leader of Triple Alliance of mine, rail, and transport unions; helped form action council to oppose imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia and part of labor delegation to Soviet Russia spring 1920; British SP member and founding member of British CP; expelled from CP for failure to support miners' strike 1921; Labour Party chair 1926.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856-1924)—U.S. president 1913-21; led U.S. into World War I; announced Fourteen Points as alternative to Soviet program for democratic peace without annexations 1918; joined in organizing invasion of Soviet republic 1919.

Winberg, Carl (1867-1954)—organizer of Swedish rail workers' union; member of parliament 1911-17, 1919-30; cofounder Left SDP 1917 and CP 1921; expelled along with CP majority 1929; active in opposition CP led by Kilbom 1930s.

Wolfstein, Rosi (Rosi Frölich) (1888-1987)—joined German SPD 1908; internationalist during World War I; member of Spartacus group; delegate at German CP founding congress 1918; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected alternate member of German CP Central Bureau 1920, full member 1921-23; expelled from German CP as "rightist" early 1929; in exile 1933-50; active in groups aligned with pro-Bukharin opposition 1930s; returned to West Germany 1951 and joined SPD.

Workers' Dreadnought—published by Sylvia Pankhurst 1914-24 (during first three years under name *Woman's Dreadnought*); became newspaper of Shop Stewards' movement from 1918.

Working Group—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Wrangel, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1878-1929)—tsarist general; succeeded Denikin as head of White forces in Russian civil war April 1920; fled to Turkey after defeat by Red Army October 1920.

Yudenich, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1862-1933)—tsarist general; White army commander 1919; emigrated to Britain 1920.

Zetkin, Clara (1857-1933)—joined German Social Democracy 1878; a leader of Marxist wing of Second International; editor of SPD women's newspaper; secretary of International Bureau of Social-

ist Women; helped organize International Conference of Socialist Women in Bern 1915; Spartacus leader during World War I; joined German CP 1919; named head of Comintern's International Secretariat for Communist Women 1920; elected to Comintern executive committee 1921; remained a prominent figure in German CP and Comintern until death.

Zimmerwald—the Zimmerwald conference, the first gathering of anti-war parties and currents during World War I, was held in Switzerland September 1915; groups supporting the conference manifesto were linked in the Zimmerwald movement, active through 1917; the revolutionary forces at the 1915 conference formed the Zimmerwald Left, a precursor of the Communist International.

Zimmerwald—theoretical journal of Swedish Left SDP, then of CP 1917-21.

Zinoviev, Gregory (1883-1936)—joined RSDLP 1901; Bolshevik; elected to RSDLP Central Committee 1907; in exile in western Europe 1908-17; member of Zimmerwald Left bureau; chair of Petrograd soviet 1917-26; Russian CP delegate to ECCI until 1926; chairman of Communist International 1919-26; served on Presiding Committee at second Comintern congress; aligned with Stalin and Kamenev 1923-25; joined Trotsky and Kamenev in United Opposition to bureaucratic current led by Stalin 1926-27; capitulated 1928; convicted at first Moscow frame-up trial and executed.

Zubatov, Sergey Vasilevich (1864-1917)—tsarist police official; organized police-sponsored trade unions to maintain control over workers; committed suicide at the beginning of Russian February revolution.

**The Communist International
in Lenin's Time**

WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

**PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF
THE SECOND CONGRESS, 1920**

V O L U M E T W O

Edited by John Riddell

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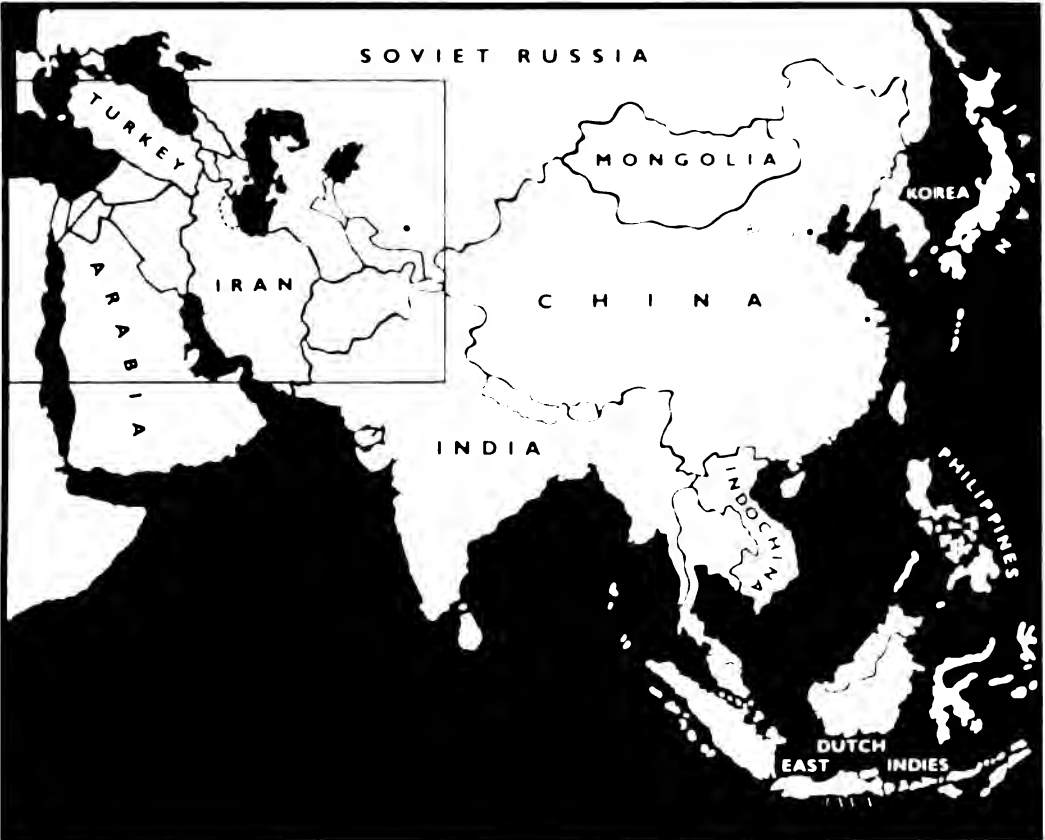
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Europe in 1920

Frontiers of Poland are those of October 1920



Asia in 1920
Detail, below



Session 11, August 3, 1920 (Morning)

Trade unions and factory committees

(PART 1)

Zinoviev: I declare the session open. Permit me to read the following telegram bringing greetings from the Working Group of Revolutionary Social Democrats of Austria, along with the Third International's reply.

"July 31, 1920

"The Congress of the Communist International:

"The Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils of Austria, a majority at the last congress of [workers'] councils, is fighting as the extreme left wing of the [Social Democratic] party for the dictatorship of the councils and for affiliation to the Communist International. Closely linked with you in spirit, we hope to be represented at the next congress. We enthusiastically greet the fighting proletariat of Soviet Russia and long for the moment when our united struggle will achieve the final victory of the world revolution. We wish your conference complete success.

"Revolutionary greetings! On behalf of the Working Group of Revolutionary Social Democrats of Austria,

***"Franz Rothe
Josef Benisch
Ernst Fabri"***

(Zinoviev reads the reply.)

"Dear Comrades:

"The congress of the Communist International is pleased to acknowledge your greetings. At this conference, the parties of all countries affiliated to the Communist International have voted to make the idea of soviets a reality in every country through unconditional discipline and solidarity in action. In Austria the Communist Party is conducting this struggle. If you are truly in earnest in your longing for the final victory of the

world revolution, then your solemn and most sacred duty in Austria is to wage a struggle to the death against the section of Austrian Social Democracy represented by the reformist and social-traitor leaders Renner, Bauer, Fritz Adler, Hueber, Tomschik, and Domes, to name only the best known. You must break unconditionally with the reformist Social Democracy, unite with the Communist Party of Austria, and fight in the workers' councils for communist demands. Not lip service but ruthless revolutionary action will bring a speedy victory of the world revolution."

(A vote is taken on the reply proposed by the Bureau. It is adopted.)

Zinoviev: We will now go to the next point on the agenda, which is the trade union question. The reporter, Comrade Radek, has the floor.

REPORT ON THE TRADE UNIONS AND FACTORY COMMITTEES

Radek: Comrades, the Communist International's relationship to the trade unions is the most serious and important question facing our movement. The unions are the proletariat's largest mass organizations. They play the decisive role in economic struggles, which are the most important factor in capitalism's disintegration. After the revolution triumphs the unions will be in the forefront of the mass organizations called on to work for the economic construction of socialism. The importance of unions in the ever-intensifying economic struggles and in the construction of socialism decrees that we can approach this question only through the closest scrutiny of conditions within the unions, if we aim to be guided not by our wishes but by an objective evaluation of possibilities for further development.

When the war began many of us thought that the trade union movement was finished. Many thought the unions—which had relied primarily on their treasuries in the fight against capital—would collapse when the war ended in view of the enormous tasks they would face. And when the German revolution erupted, no less a figure than Rosa Luxemburg believed that the unions were done for.¹ Very characteristically, even in the

debates at the KPD founding congress, this question played no role.

If we review union development in the most important countries for the periods before the war, during the war, and during the revolution, we obtain the following approximate figures: In Germany before the war broke out, the trade unions were 2.25 million strong. During the war the curve fell considerably and the number was lower. After the war, in December 1918, the unions numbered fewer than 2 million; since then they have grown to 8 million. In Britain they have grown from 4.5 million at the beginning of the war to 6.5 million. In France the number of organized workers has increased from 400,000 to 2 million today; in Italy from 450,000 to 2 million. Even in America the trade unions have grown from approximately 2 million at the beginning of the war to 4 million.

One leader of the KAPD, Schröder, said in his pamphlet on the factory committees that these figures do not express a healthy growth process but an “unhealthy puffing up.”² If it were only a matter of issuing a bad bill of health to historical events we dislike, we could be content to regard the trade unions as a tumor on the cadaver of capitalism. But since something else is at stake, the following facts must be recognized.

Although the working masses witnessed the union leaders’ betrayal during the war and are for the most part full of bitterness toward the union bureaucracy, at the same time the war taught them to act in an organized fashion—as a battalion, as an army corps. Now, faced with immense economic battles, forced to endure the onslaught of enormous price increases, the many difficulties of the housing question, and economic chaos, they are looking for ways to expand and strengthen their power in struggle. They have no choice but to join the unions and turn them into big, mass formations. And that is the road the masses are taking. It is typical that in no country do we see any particular growth of the so-called revolutionary unions. The Industrial Workers of the World in America is very weak organizationally, which cannot be explained by government persecution alone. The syndicalists in Germany, it is true, have grown in size but only to a very limited extent. The working masses go directly into the big unions.

That of course does not answer the question of what the trade

unions are and what their functions are. In assessing our attitude toward them, we must begin with an analysis of the possibilities and paths of communist struggle. We must answer whether there is any road to the emancipation of the working class other than the one the unions are following by intensifying the methods of struggle they have used until now. Reduced to a political formula, the question could be posed this way: What are the tasks of revolutionary unions?

Often revolutionary unions are counterposed to trade unions in general. Let us ask ourselves: What does the decline of capital consist of? What are the working class's methods of struggle and what can the unions accomplish if they want to conduct this struggle?

First, we know that the trade union bureaucracy, in keeping with its counterrevolutionary outlook, tries to escape from the situation by abolishing economic struggle in general. After the [November 1918] triumph of the revolution the German unions began to strengthen the Labor Boards. These organizations aim to achieve lasting reconciliation with the capitalists, in which of course the working class is at a disadvantage. In Britain the Whitley committees developed into the Joint Industrial Councils, which correspond perfectly to the concept of "labor boards":³ the attempt to create lasting agreement between workers and capitalists through an organization that can settle disputed questions.

This tactic of the union leaders aims at dismantling the class struggle, and it goes without saying that we can have nothing in common with it but must wage the sharpest possible struggle against such efforts. This struggle does not need to be waged under the banner of a new trade union policy, however, for in this case the novelty is on the other side—that of the union leaders.

As for a new trade union policy and the possibility that there may be some special, revolutionary union tactic, we have this to say: The process of capitalist decay consists of a disorganization of the continuity of the economic process. By trying to eliminate from the economic process the half of the European continent that supplies world markets with most of the raw material for industry and by trying to enslave these countries, Anglo-Saxon capital interrupts the division of labor in the entire world econ-

omy. The only conceivable outcome of this effort is the collapse of the capitalist system in America and Britain as well. Huge unemployment and the disruption of production leave no doubt that these countries are headed for a great economic crisis. In American literature there are now studies (such as Spargo's book) that present Russia as an "American affair" and try to show that America is on the verge of a crisis.⁴

This interruption of the economic process on a world scale is accompanied by a virtually insane rise in prices. We witnessed the colossal increase of all prices on the world market, aggravated by the differences in currency exchange rates between the defeated and "victorious" countries. Now we are beginning to see a drop in prices. The rise in prices created a kind of phony prosperity while bleeding the Central Powers dry. Now, the drop in prices means another crisis in production.

Given the general condition of the working class, any thought of reformist tactics, of gradually raising its real wages, its standard of living, is a completely opportunist illusion. The hope of gradually improving the condition of the working class is a reactionary utopia. This statement is confirmed by a review of Kuczynski's statistical data, which lead him to the conclusion that in Germany a family of four requires sixteen thousand marks a year for a bare subsistence standard of living, lower than before the war, and also that only about 10 percent of the population earns that much.⁵

If we then take the figures for America, that is, compare the most highly developed defeated capitalist nation on the one hand with the conqueror in the war on the other, this finding is completely confirmed. "The High Cost of Labor," an article in the Washington magazine the *Nation* of June 19, 1920, gives the following figures: According to statistical surveys for 1919, the minimum subsistence for a family of husband, wife, and three children was \$2,500 per year, a level defined not as the American standard of living but as one "below which the family would be in danger of physical and moral degeneration." Other statistics cited in the article arrive at the figure \$2,180. Next, calculating wages for 103 occupations, the magazine concludes that a wage corresponding to such an annual budget, \$6.50 to \$8.50 [per day], is earned by only 10 percent of all metalworkers. Consequently—at least according to the *Nation's* calculations—

90 percent live under conditions that put them, in the opinion of American statisticians, in danger of physical and moral degeneration. This bourgeois magazine goes on to say that even today a quarter of the working class suffers from undernourishment and lack of clothing. That was the situation in America before the crisis began.

It is clear that in this situation the trade unions' tactics and the tasks of communist struggle cannot be to make repairs on the capitalist structure but must be to work consciously for the overthrow of capital.

Along what road can we wage this struggle? On our "left" wing we frequently encounter the idea that since it is impossible to improve the condition of the working class by an increase in wages, there is no point fighting for that. Economic struggles are futile; it is necessary to wait until so much resentment has accumulated that the working class dispatches capitalism with a single blow. Then again we find propaganda for sabotage (of work or industry) as the road leading to a rapid collapse of capital.

One notion is as incorrect as the other. Even if the working class cannot save itself by seeking an increase in wages, there are still sound reasons why it should not remain indifferent to that struggle. For example, if the Berlin metalworkers cannot raise their wages in step with price increases, they will undoubtedly be worse off in March than they were in January. So, while raising wages may not solve the question, still it is a way to maintain the workers' ability to struggle.

Furthermore, for mechanical reasons alone it is inconceivable that capital will collapse immediately, just as a building from which the pillars have been removed does not collapse at once. Capitalism could encounter the gravest difficulties in the world and still survive for years if its decline did not unleash forces opposed to it. The working class will become convinced of the hopelessness of capitalism's situation only if, driven by necessity, it goes into struggle and becomes convinced in the course of this struggle that it cannot save itself within the framework of capitalism. *The main significance of struggles to raise wages is that they mobilize large masses of workers for revolutionary struggle.*

At the same time, the slogan of sabotage, at least sabotage of equipment, is directly counterrevolutionary. By this route our

inheritance will be pretty small, since civil war is bound in any case to result in destruction of values and of means of production. Therefore, it is the working class's responsibility to destroy this equipment only when absolutely necessary.

Sabotage is not a slogan of struggle. It is certainly not our duty to tell workers to exert themselves for the capitalists, but passive resistance is not a method that can lead to a collapse of capital. The working class's methods of struggle are active methods: broadening the front of the struggle by mobilizing millions of fighting workers, intensifying and prolonging that struggle, and forging unity among the struggling masses.

The question is this: struggles, though fruitless, will lead ultimately to a general attack by the working masses on capitalism. In this struggle there is no new method. If we rid those great mass formations, the trade unions, of the bureaucracy's counterrevolutionary tendencies, if we depose the bureaucracy, these mass proletarian organizations will become the organs best able to lead the proletariat's struggle on a broad front.

We come now to the question of the practical possibilities of transforming reactionary trade unions into institutions of the revolution. In the theses we are submitting to the congress, we give Communists the following slogan as a guideline: Join the trade unions and struggle in the big unions to win control of them. But in establishing this guideline, we should not close our eyes to the difficulties that became clear to us particularly in the course of our commission's lengthy deliberations. The difficulties lie in the fact that, in drafting the theses, perhaps we had the Russian and German experiences too much in mind. The German trade unions with their eight million organized workers encompass the great mass of the German workers—more than half of the German proletariat—and thus they are no longer merely organs of the labor aristocracy. More than 600,000 agricultural workers are in unions, and the mere fact that the great masses belong to unions opens the best of prospects.

But if we recall that in America there are only four million organized workers, and if we recall that they are dispersed in craft unions, we face the fact that at present in America organized workers constitute the labor aristocracy. Secondly, they are hermetically sealed off from the great masses of workers. And thirdly, even this labor aristocracy is scattered among a great

many small organizations of the old type. In America and Britain there are union organizations in which the bureaucracy is appointed for life. Thus, while adhering to the theses in general, we must authorize the American Communists, in cases where such general tendencies continue to prevail, to consider the possibility or even the necessity of forming new unions.⁶ A fine arena for this lies open before us, namely, the trades in which the labor aristocracy voluntarily relinquishes its leading role as organizer, that is, the many trades of unskilled, untrained workers.

We cite only a single case in our theses, namely, one where unskilled workers are oppressed by the union bureaucracy and the only way out is to organize new unions. In that regard, we must tell the American Communists, "It is your duty to take the initiative in organizing unskilled workers." The IWW is one organization there that is tackling this job. It is certainly the most persecuted organization, one whose breast is pierced by every spear of American capitalism. Therefore we should not be put off by the IWW's revolutionary romanticism. Instead, we tell our comrades to throw their full weight into supporting these organizations in their efforts to organize the masses. A united policy is possible only if we bring our efforts to organize the broad masses of unskilled workers into harmony with those of the IWW.

But unlike the IWW, we affirm that Communists' efforts to organize the broad masses of unskilled workers must not lead them to become isolated from the American Federation of Labor (AFL), from the Anglo-American labor organizations. Through the new organizations we must not only storm capitalism, we must also join the federation of labor.

In response to this the American comrades say they have been trying to transform the AFL for decades. But this argument is hardly convincing. Insofar as the AFL is concerned, workers always went into the unions with the good intention of taking up arms immediately. But not all the forces that did so were revolutionary. And do not forget that all these efforts were made in the epoch of peaceful development, when workers in Britain and America were unable to conceive of revolution at all.

Now the AFL itself is undergoing a transformation. I have authoritative witnesses for this in the *Times* of London, which

wrote in its anniversary edition last year:

“During the war and presumably as a result of it the trade unions grew enormously. Strikes became far more numerous than in normal times, and discontent with Mr. Gompers was loudly voiced—if not formally and publicly, then at least privately. . . . The existence of a strong Socialist group in the federation has been evident for some time, finding expression in the repeated efforts to unseat Gompers as chairman. Furthermore, experienced observers believe that this group is far stronger than the actions of the convention, its resolutions, or its elections for chairman and executive board would indicate. In addition, in a number of cases capable and experienced chairmen of craft unions were defeated in elections and replaced by men of the extreme, Socialist type. . . .” That was written on July 4 of last year.

I have a report on the last AFL convention, held in January of this year. This report, which appeared in Sydney Webb’s publication the *New Statesman*, discusses the fact that, by a vote of 29,000 to 8,000, the convention adopted a proposal not just to nationalize the American railroads but to do so under the supervision of a joint commission of labor and management representatives. This project, in itself reformist, has revolutionary significance, representing a breach in the American union movement. The *New Statesman* has this to say about the outcome of the convention discussions: “Mr. Gompers was reelected as chairman. Mr. Gompers for the first time in his career expressed the desire to lay down the scepter. *He senses that his throne is shaky and that his time is past.* The radicals departed in jubilation. They had won their first big, decisive victory at a convention of the AFL and, as one delegate put it, had showed ‘how to throw a monkey wrench into the works.’”

I do not want to be identified in any way with this optimistic appraisal. It is quite possible that things will develop differently. In any case, these events show that the AFL is no longer a monolithic bloc. There are rifts in it, and it is the American Communists’ duty to widen them.

When American Communists ask me what means can be used to transform the bureaucracy in the AFL or to get rid of it, I reply that if the Communists begin by going into the AFL with the slogan of destroying it, they will destroy their own work.

However, if as a result of their struggle it turns out to be necessary to destroy the federation, they should do so. But no tactical consideration requires us to take a hard stand against joining the federation. The task is to work *within it* as the factor unifying those acting on it from the outside with the body of British and American workers organized in the labor federation. The aristocratic arrogance of these organized workers will be broken by all the suffering brought down on them, even in America, by a capitalism that is collapsing. Thus, we make it a general rule to fight to win over the trade unions.

The other question we face is that of the spontaneously formed organizations. Originating in quite different ways, they are emerging out of the struggle during the war and today. As new phenomena, they require our closest attention. These are organizations such as the Shop Stewards and factory committees in Britain or the factory committees in Germany. Initially their composition is chaotic, but such a chaos engenders new life, and only the most thickskulled German trade unionist would fail to see new life in this movement.

We saw how the Shop Stewards arose when the British union bureaucracy renounced the strike weapon during the war. The workers themselves formed the committees that led the strike. After the war these shop committees became the center of the most active forces in the British working class, as those forces set out to organize strikes. Once again with no help from the union bureaucracy, they took on the task of working consciously to neutralize the bureaucracy and push it back. Because of this the Shop Stewards are an organization called on to renew British trade union life. As the struggle unfolds and this movement becomes consciously revolutionary, the Shop Stewards come to see themselves as the leaders of revolutionary political activity as well. They become the center of direct action by the masses in Britain.

Turning to Germany, we see that the rise of the factory committees can in large measure be ascribed to disillusionment with the trade unions. As new, unorganized masses pour into the unions, we see that the core of thinking workers senses that the unions are inadequate because they are dominated by a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy, because they are craft organizations, and because they splinter and fragment the masses. In

many cases this recognition causes workers to turn away completely from these trade unions. We see how the factory committee movement tries, under the yoke of capitalism, under Noske's rule, to lay the foundation of the future socialist economic order.

Now we face the principled question of judging and evaluating the opportunities for work in the trade unions in the capitalist countries. There is no need to dwell on our duty to support every factory organization that emerges among the proletariat with the goal of breaking the omnipotence of the union bureaucracy—not only in Britain but also in Germany, France, and every other country. When we consider the question of the factory committees' relationship to the trade unions in Germany, when we see not only the Legiens but also the right Independents (the Dissmanns and others) trying to integrate these organizations into the union apparatus on grounds of economizing revolutionary strength—saying that struggles must be led in a more unified way—we know these crafty people too well not to see through their intentions. If it were to happen that the Legiens and Dissmanns became leaders of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle, we would tell the factory committees to join their ranks. But that is not the case. The Legiens lead the German counterrevolution. Look at the right Independents' practice, examine Dissmann's policies in the metalworkers' union, and you will not see the slightest difference between his policies and those of the Legiens. Under these circumstances, the effort to fit the factory committees into the union apparatus is an attempt to destroy these revolutionary organizations, which in time of struggle can act as organs of the revolution.

As for the effort to turn these factory committees into a systematic organization able to facilitate the transition to socialism (an effort that belongs properly to a transitional epoch)—that was an illusion, as I believe will be recognized even by comrades who worked for that goal. Under the sword of capitalism and the state of siege, it is impossible to construct an organization that can be the apparatus of the future socialist economic order. The point is that the movement is growing, growing for a variety of reasons. It encompasses the most active parts of the proletariat, it combats the leaden weight of the union bureaucracy, and, as it grows, it increasingly organizes the struggle and

exercises control over production. If the capitalist economic system continues to decline, not only conscious workers but every single worker in the factory will face the question, Where can coal, raw materials, and so on be obtained?

For all these reasons a struggle arises and percolates through the factories, and the masses become its vehicle. The trade unions alone cannot be that vehicle, for they do not encompass the entire mass of workers in the factory; they are still craft organizations. Here a revolutionary organization is required that acts as a revolutionary force and that on a question like this takes as its primary task setting the *masses* in motion and leading them in struggle. Just as we said that it is the task of Communists to march at the head of the trade unions—not to be satisfied with communist propaganda but to attempt to become the movement's leading part—so too, where the factory committees and Shop Stewards are concerned, the initiative clearly falls to the Communists.

When we are asked whether new organizations should be created alongside the trade unions and what their relationship to each other should be, our answer is that these new organizations will be our bases against the union bureaucracy as long as the bureaucracy dominates the unions. However, when the Communists become the leaders of the movement, then it will be time to let the two streams merge and turn the factory committees into organs of the trade unions.

But today, any attempt to deliver the councils into the hands of the trade unions is counterrevolutionary.

There is one more question on which we must take a position, namely that of industrial unionism and the industrial unions. When we hear propaganda for industrial unionism from various quarters, it makes us think we are dealing with a new fetish. It is claimed that the craft unions can no longer serve the revolution, that the industrial unions are exalted and perfect. That is a completely metaphysical position. It has already been shown in practice that there can be such a thing as reactionary industrial unionism. If the workers organize themselves into industrial unions in order to make a pact with the capitalists, there is nothing revolutionary about that. On the other hand, it is possible for union organizations that are even more backward than the craft unions to unite in revolu-

tionary struggle if they are filled with a revolutionary spirit.

The ideology of these industrial unions can in fact be traced to a very simple fact: it is better if workers are organized by industry, not by craft. The tendency toward industrial unions is progressive. We want to support them, but we must not make a shibboleth of them. If we do, instead of preventing fragmentation we will create in addition to twenty craft unions a twenty-first, industrial union encapsulating yet another one-hundredth of the masses. The road to industrial unions leads through our struggle in the trade unions. If we were to split the unions in order to found an industrial union, the result would be the opposite of what we desire. We see this in the case of America, where after the rise of industrial workers' unions—which were supposed to unite all the workers—the unions remained as fragmented as ever.

The question of industrial unionism is related to that of syndicalism, and the fact that some of our comrades talk about it constantly indicates to me that they incline toward the syndicalist movement, which opposes the proletarian state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is very difficult to struggle against this current in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where the workers have never had a really revolutionary party nor seen a revolutionary struggle. We should not make such a struggle more difficult for them by adopting syndicalist ideology.

The Communist International's position on the syndicalist currents is established by the congress resolution admitting syndicalist organizations to the International.⁷ By adopting this resolution the Communist International showed that the old spirit of the Social Democracy is completely alien to it. Because we see syndicalism as a transitional ailment of the revolutionary workers' movement, we try to approach the syndicalists, to form a bloc with them, and when possible to struggle shoulder to shoulder with them. But at the same time we must point out to them all the unclarity of the road as they see it. With respect to the union movement we must recall that the great masses of workers are not in the syndicalist camp. We must take that into account, and direct our organizational efforts toward reaching the masses.

I am coming to my conclusion. The task of communism with respect to the trade unions is both very difficult and very re-

warding. Here in the unions we see the convergence of millions of workers destined by history to become the main contingent of the social revolution. They bring with them all of their prejudices, clumsiness, and changing moods. Nevertheless, these masses will wage the decisive struggles, and for that reason it is the Communists' duty not just to see the Legiens in the leadership. The Communists' task is to keep their eyes on the masses and work in the trade unions as long as necessary. The comrades say, "Yes, if we had time for that, a few years in which to work, we could win over those organizations." No one can say how long it will be before the victorious social revolution sets its foot on capitalism's throat; and if the masses must be won over to the idea of communism, that will take no less time than winning over the trade unions. There is only one road: shrink from no difficulty, go into these organizations, and conduct the struggle.

To my German comrades I say: To this day you have not started even a weekly trade union newspaper that could lead the struggle systematically. Where are the united fractions of Communists and Independents in the unions? Where has anyone tried to break up the organization of the union bureaucracy from below? We are only at the beginning of our systematic struggle and have no right to complain about the modest results. As for the situation in the Anglo-Saxon countries, we must say that less despair and more communist optimism would certainly do you good.

Let me sum up. The USPD press expressed the position on the trade union bureaucracy that we are taking now. This brings us to the last question on the union movement, which of course is that of communism. Here we are separated by an abyss from the theory and practice of the USPD—not so much in form as in deed. It is not solely a matter of whether or not we join the trade unions but rather what we will do in those unions. What the USPD accomplished in the trade unions was no more than the replacement of Schlicke by Dissmann.⁸ The point is not merely to go into the trade unions but rather to take up the struggle against the old trade union bureaucracy and its spirit, even at the risk of a split—which we do not fear, if it arises from the struggle.

Satisfied by their victory at the metalworkers' congress, the USPDers immediately reattached the leaden weight of propor-

tional representation by leaving the old bureaucracy on the executive board. Their membership in the General German Trade Union Federation binds them in practice to the Labor Boards. They look over their shoulder at every step. None of this, of course, is winning over the trade unions but signifies only that the USPD is replacing the Legiens and will continue their policy.

We are in favor of entering parliaments, and so are the Independents. But we do this in order to conduct revolutionary agitation and propaganda there, to provoke clashes. If necessary we will even participate in the commissions, since that is the best place to gather information. The Independents, however, behave differently. Let me give an example. During the war Comrade Haase was in the commission for foreign affairs, but he took care not to reveal the commission's secrets in parliament, even when they were directed against the German people. Keeping the government's secrets was very important to him. I think that when our comrades take part in those commissions, they will act differently.

It is the same with the trade unions. We join the unions in order to overthrow the bureaucracy there and, if necessary, to split the unions. We go into the unions in order to turn them into weapons of struggle. The result of the USPD's first year of work in the trade unions, however, is that they want to put the factory committees, revolutionary organizations of the proletariat, under the thumb of the union bureaucracy. It is a matter of the difference in spirit, in the will to act and struggle, the will to turn the trade unions into an instrument of the revolution.

The Communist Party advances its policies by utilizing elements left over from bourgeois society. We will try to convert the unions into organizations of struggle. If the bureaucracy's resistance proves stronger than we think, we will not be afraid to smash them, because we know that the most important thing is not the form but rather the workers' capacity to organize and their will to organize the revolutionary struggle. We will join the trade unions and try with all our might to win them over, without tying our hands. We will not let the trade union bureaucracy bind us hand and foot, and if it tries to restrict our possibilities for revolutionary struggle, we will lead the masses in driving it out of the unions. We go into the unions not to preserve

them but rather to promote working-class solidarity—the only basis on which the big industrial unions of the social revolution can be formed.

It is most essential to combine two things: to be with the masses and go with them, yet not to lag behind them. That is the direction of communist policy in the trade unions. We see the councils as spontaneous organizing by the proletariat, and as long as the unions fail to serve the revolution, as long as the union bureaucracy stands as a bulwark against the revolution, we will keep the councils separate and help them, so that along with them we can lead the masses in struggle.

That is what I wanted to say.

Now a few formal things. The commission elected by the congress had to overcome big problems. These originated in the fact that the resolutions were written too narrowly. Our theses gave too little consideration to British-American conditions, and I admit that for a long time it was difficult for me to figure out what these comrades wanted. We finally realized that there are no principled differences between our position and theirs. All agreed it is our duty to work in the trade unions. Only one American comrade proposed in his theses that Communists should remain outside of the AFL.⁹

Then the question arose of determining in which cases they should work outside the unions. One case had already been incorporated into our theses, namely, when the union bureaucracy suppresses our agitation. We established a second case when we learned that 80 percent of workers in America are unorganized and that the AFL consciously rejects organizing large masses by demanding very high initiation fees. In such a situation it is clear that Communists have the obligation to organize those masses.

The final problem, which we could not settle in the commission, is that the American comrades insist that numerous union statutes prevented their working in the unions, that the bureaucracy there is irremovable, that no conventions have been called in years, and so on. We acknowledge that such cases are theoretically possible, but I told the comrades frankly that I suspect they have a tendency to take the easy way out and run away from the unions. So I take no responsibility for this amendment. The American comrades should be specific here about this case. If

the situation is as they report, then we cannot refuse to let them form separate unions in such cases.

The other question concerned the factory committees. The resolution describes the final phase of the factory committees, when their task is to struggle for control of production. The passage gives the impression that this is a prospect for the future. We therefore agreed that the resolution should also take into account the factory committees' earlier phases of development.

The final point concerns the question of international trade union organization. On this there are two points of view. The Russian commission on unions submitted a version that takes as its starting point the statement by the unions of Britain, Italy, Russia, and Bulgaria, which have called a congress.¹⁰ The Russian resolution points out that the unions must become part of the Communist International. The American comrades object to the call by the Italian, Russian, and British unions. They made quite a few criticisms of it. These comrades will present these problems here themselves, and we will let the congress settle it.

I will not read the motions individually, simply because the commission must first edit them in any case. Therefore, I will merely repeat that they include the cases in which special organizations should be formed, that is, cases in which revolutionary union organizing is suppressed. They also mention the need to support the Shop Stewards and factory committees as organizations of proletarian struggle. Further, they say these organizations must remain separate as long as the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy dominates the unions. Finally, they deal with the still-undecided question of the trade union International.

(The next speaker is Baba Akhunde Samilov, representing the Khorezm delegation. He presents the following greetings.)

GREETINGS FROM THE TOILERS OF KHOREZM¹¹

Baba Akhunde Samilov: Dear comrades, we, the authorized representatives of Khorezm, bring you warm greetings on behalf of Khorezm's toiling poor. This Second Congress of the Commu-

nist International symbolizes the unity of the toilers of the whole world. We therefore congratulate you for having the opportunity to come together in this great assembly, and we consider it our great good fortune that we can be present here on this happy occasion.

Comrades, when the European capitalists ruled, we the toilers of Khorezm were oppressed under the political and economic yoke of their tsars and parliaments, for they made small nations like ours languish in chains and granted freedom only to the rich.

Today, with the help of soviet power in Russia, we the oppressed have raised ourselves up, freed ourselves from the oppressors' heavy hand, and declared our country an independent soviet republic.

We sincerely believe that assistance from the East, which thanks to soviet power in Russia has recently awakened, will help to bring about in the near future the liberation of the toilers of the whole world from the rapists and capitalists. We believe that the peoples of the East will not lay down their weapons until the toilers of the whole world have united into a single family.

Long live the unity of the toilers of the whole world!

Long live the European proletariat and the vanguard of the world revolution, the Communist Party!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the world soviet republic!

Long live Comrade Lenin, leader of the world revolution, and Comrade Broido, consolidator of the revolution in Khorezm!

Long live the Communist Party of Khorezm and the soviet republic of Khorezm!

MINORITY REPORTS ON THE TRADE UNIONS AND FACTORY COMMITTEES

Fraina.¹² After the discussion in the trade union commission we found ourselves much more in agreement than we expected. The differences that still persist are largely differences of emphasis and practice, not of principle.

The differences first developed out of the declaration conven-

ing a conference to organize an International of revolutionary labor unions. Some of the fundamental features of this declaration were totally unacceptable. For example, the condemnation of revolutionists' leaving the trade unions was put in such a form as to exclude construction of a new labor organization.¹³ This would cripple the American movement, since in our country, where 80 percent of the workers are unorganized and the trade unions are dominated by the labor aristocracy, the construction of a new revolutionary labor organization is an imperative revolutionary task. Furthermore, the admission of separate industrial unions to the conference is made conditional upon the consent of the central labor organization of each country.¹⁴ Moreover, no provision is made for a representative on the organizing committee of that labor International from both the IWW and the Shop Stewards of England—two movements of vital importance in the development of the revolutionary struggle.¹⁵

Our objections to Comrade Radek's theses (only some of which were met by his accepting several of our amendments) pertained, above all, to his conception of unionism. Radek approached the problem almost exclusively from the standpoint of winning the masses in the unions to communism. That, of course, is fundamental. But it is also fundamental to consider the unions in relation to our task—as organs of revolutionary struggle and as factors in the economic reconstruction of society after the conquest of political power. Radek also made the conditions under which new labor unions may be organized too narrow and artificial. And, finally, it appeared in Radek's theses as if our task was to capture the trade union bureaucracy. The theses reveal no understanding of and no provision for extraunion organizations (such as the shop committees, shop stewards, and so forth) as means of aggressive struggle against the bureaucracy and for the mobilization of the masses for action.

In the United States revolutionary conceptions have been spread through revolutionary unionism. These conceptions were the necessity of extraparliamentary action to conquer political power, destruction of the bourgeois state machinery, and organization of the proletarian state not on geographical but on industrial divisions. These conceptions made it easy for us to understand the fundamental tactics of the Russian revolution.

But at the same time we were compelled to carry on a severe theoretical struggle against the IWW conception that the overthrow of capitalism requires only the industrial unions, without soviets and proletarian dictatorship. The American Communist movement has done very important work in reconciling the old revolutionary conceptions of industrial unionism with the new conceptions of Bolshevism. And a necessary part of our work is to recognize the revolutionary functions of the labor unions.

The IWW in the United States has been a real revolutionary force, but not primarily because of its agitation for industrial unionism nor because it tried to boycott and destroy the American Federation of Labor—in neither of these things has it been very successful. The IWW has been a tremendous revolutionary force in the American movement primarily because it expressed the awakening to consciousness and action of the great masses of unorganized, unskilled workers excluded from the American Federation of Labor. All movements to break the AFL by leaving the old unions have been a failure. During the war when the old unions made a partnership with the government, the IWW members were compelled to join the old unions, and by agitating from within, these IWWs developed very powerful revolutionary movements in the old unions.

American experience, accordingly, emphasizes the necessity of working within the old unions (in a revolutionary way). But this experience equally emphasizes the necessity of constructing new unions (in accord with objective conditions) in order to unite revolutionary work within the old unions with work from without.

There is no controversy on the need to work in the old unions. On that we are all agreed. For the American Communist movement to reject working in the old unions and adopt the slogan “Destroy the American Federation of Labor” would destroy the Communist movement and not the reactionary labor unions.

The controversy centers on the methods and purposes of working in the old unions. We maintain that the emphasis must be not on capturing the bureaucracy but on liberating the masses from the domination of this bureaucracy and mobilizing the masses independently of it.

In the old unions the bureaucracy is practically immovable,

imposed upon the masses and a barrier to action. In the United States in addition to constitutional provisions, long-term offices, and parliamentary tricks, the trade union bureaucracy uses gunmen to suppress the rebel opposition in the unions. I mention this not as an argument against working in the reactionary unions but as an argument against the idea of capturing the bureaucracy. We must fight this bureaucracy in the unions, but it will be impossible to capture or destroy this bureaucracy until the revolution itself or after.

Really revolutionary work in the trade unions has two important aspects:

1. The organization of Communist groups (necessary in all workers' organizations).

2. The formation of extraunion organizations—shop committees, shop stewards, and so forth. These are organizations of workers in the unions expressing the requirements of the immediate economic struggle of the workers, and their struggle is against the bureaucracy and the limitations on trade union forms of organization.

The formation of extraunion organizations does not mean that the workers leave the old unions; on the contrary, the workers stay in the unions but organize their opposition in a different way. Moreover, these extraunion organizations act inside and outside the trade unions, and if in a crisis they cannot get the unions to act, they act independently of the unions and of the bureaucracy. They are the most adequate means of driving the unions to more revolutionary action and of mobilizing the masses for the aggressive struggle against capitalism. In England and the United States these extraunion organizations have been produced by life itself, by the experience of the workers' struggle. It is through the creation of such extraunion organizations that the Communists can best become the leaders of the immediate economic struggle of the working class.

What we insist upon is not leaving the old unions, but organizing an aggressive, decisive struggle in the unions and against the bureaucracy.

It is also necessary to carry on this struggle outside of the old unions. This is accomplished by the organization of new, independent unions. It is absolutely necessary that the organization of such unions (and secessions from the old unions) should be

based upon objective conditions and express the struggle itself. But it is equally necessary not to be afraid of new unions. It is just as harmful to act in general against splits and new unions (where these concern the masses) as it is to insist upon splits and new unions as a doctrinaire proposition, thereby isolating ourselves from the masses. A split, after all, is a decisive, aggressive act, and may accomplish more revolutionary agitation than years of peaceful routine work in the unions. Moreover, by uniting the independent industrial unions with the extraunion organizations in the old unions, we perfect a force that will batter from inside and outside and that, inspired and dominated by the Communists, will constitute a powerful factor in mobilizing the masses for action. We are in a revolutionary epoch, and our fundamental task is to liberate the masses for action. We cannot depend upon the peaceful prolonged process of capturing the bureaucracy.

Parallel with this problem of extraunion organizations is the problem of industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism. This problem has three aspects:

1. Industrial unionism is the organizational expression of the unorganized, unskilled workers, which in the United States comprise the majority of the industrial proletariat. The construction of new unions generally implies the adoption of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism is the basis for the development of revolutionary unionism.

2. Agitation for industrial unionism is a necessary part of our work in the old unions. These unions, mostly organized on the antiquated basis of crafts, are, under the pressure of concentrated industry, unable to really unite the workers in unions and carry on an aggressive struggle. Workers in the old unions revolt against the limitations of the craft forms as well as the purposes of the trade unions, and we must urge upon them the industrial union form of organization—an indispensable phase of our struggle to transform and revolutionize the old unions.

3. After the conquest of political power the unions will become organs for the administration of industry under the proletarian state. Because their organizational form does not correspond to integrated industry, craft unions cannot function in the management of industry. Industrial unions are necessary, as is proved by the Russian experience. The larger the industrial

unions and the greater the understanding of industrial unionism, the easier will be the task of economic reconstruction after the revolutionary conquest of power.

This is the conception of unionism developed and formulated by the American movement, and we are convinced that it is an indispensable phase of communist tactics.

Tanner: I speak in the name of the Shop Stewards' committees. I wish to emphasize that after the speech of Comrade Radek it has become clear to me that there can be no question of differences in principle. The main thing is to ascertain the relations between the Communists, the Shop Stewards, and the revolutionary organizations now coming into existence. It has been pointed out that there must be relations between the Communists and all revolutionary organizations. During the war, after the Shop Stewards came into existence, some people suggested that with the end of the war their role too would be finished. But this is not in accordance with the truth. They are called upon to play their revolutionary role now as well. As regards the purpose of all such organizations, one of their most difficult duties is to fight bureaucracy in the trade unions. But in spite of the difficulty, they must strive for great results in this respect.

Now what is the attitude of the Shop Stewards' supporters toward the question raised here? Although the trade unions are not organized democratically, we are far from saying that no one should belong to them under any circumstances. We hold the view that one must leave them, but we understand that the situation varies in each case. We put the main stress on the revolutionary class struggle, a struggle that must also be carried on against the bureaucracy of the old trade unions.

It has been pointed out that the conference of the Shop Stewards together with that of the factory committees should emphasize once more their attitude and tactics toward the soviet movement. Their purpose is to overcome capitalism and root out the wage system. Considering the fact that the revolution can be realized only by the mass actions of the workers, the Shop Stewards' attitude toward already existing organizations cannot be inimical. But it can be said that the movement of the Shop Stewards and factory committees aims at reorganizing the

trade unions on a revolutionary basis, changing their structure. This revolutionary purpose can be realized only if vigorous propaganda is carried on within the old trade unions and if there is more active participation in the work inside these organizations.

The Shop Stewards are in no way opposed to all work whatsoever within the trade unions. But they are against the Red trade union International and refuse to take part in it. The attitude expressed in the proclamation under consideration is unacceptable for the Shop Stewards because it contains the assertion that one must not leave the old trade unions.¹⁶ Given this condition the Shop Stewards cannot accept the proposal. The fact that such a passage has been included proves that the conditions in the various countries have not been taken into consideration. This proclamation should be submitted to criticism by the congress and be handed over to the commission. The comrades who have worked in the commission have proved that they do not share the standpoint of this proclamation.

Session 12, August 3, 1920 (Evening)

Trade unions and factory committees

(PART 2)

(The session opens at 10:00 p.m.)

Walcher: Comrades, this morning the reporter referred to the important fact that at the beginning of the revolution many of us believed that in the future the trade unions had no further role to play. But he is mistaken if he believes Comrade Rosa Luxemburg as well was among those who supported this idea. Let me state here that at the party's founding congress she expressly opposed those who envisaged solving the whole question with the slogan "Get out of the trade unions."¹

On the question at hand, I would like to say that I am skeptical of Comrade Radek's report and of the remarks made by subsequent speakers indicating that the commission achieved unity in principle on the disputed questions. It was evident from several comments made in the commission that the comrades in Europe and America are inclined to struggle against the old, ossified trade union bureaucracy by founding new unions and withdrawing from the old ones. Several comments made there breathed the KAPD spirit and sounded very familiar to me.

The situation in Britain and America is certainly very complicated, but if the British comrades want to remain in the trade unions while working in the Shop Stewards' movement as well, I do not understand why they spoke out so harshly and emphatically against the theses right from the beginning.

We have already stated the principle that it is the duty of Communists to form Communist cells in all organizations and carry out propaganda there. Thus the British comrades, whatever their activity in the unions, have not only the right but the duty to work for our ideas in the Shop Stewards' committees. If they nonetheless oppose the theses on principle, then I think that proves that the British and American comrades are as emotional about the trade union question as they are about the question of parliamentarism. In my opinion, we must take care

not to look at this question in an emotional way, especially in a time of revolution.

As Marxists we must not forget that the unions did not become what they are today by accident. Rather, we see the results of a reformist era that lasted for decades, during which the unions grew together with capitalist society to an ever greater degree. The objectively revolutionary situation we face today gives us the opportunity to revolutionize the old trade unions. If some comrades doubt this is possible, they are overlooking the fact that the objective situation has changed fundamentally, transforming what may have seemed utopian before the war into our duty today. These comrades feel that it is taking too long, that the road is too hard. But by now every comrade should know that without the millions in the unions we cannot carry out our task. That is why we absolutely must do this difficult work there. The slogan to quit the unions is an attempt to circumvent troublesome obstacles; unfortunately, however, it fails to remove them from our path.

I do not understand how those who say the masses are ready and we can conquer the whole world can deny that it is possible to win the minds of the masses in the unions. I say it is possible and we can and must do it. The argument continues, "Well, we do not need the broad masses; revolutions are always the work of small minorities." I think that when comrades say this they are thinking of a palace revolution like the one in Portugal or elsewhere.² The kind of revolution that we must carry out can be the work only of the great masses.

It will be said, "Yes, the masses are ready, but the leaders are to blame." This notion leads to the assumption that it is enough to eliminate the leaders, and then everything will be fine. The German Independents' entire trade union policy is oriented to filling individual leadership posts with their followers. They neglect revolutionary activity among the masses themselves. The Wolffheims and Rühles, on the other hand, say that even if the bureaucracy is eliminated, that will not change the essence of the matter.³ The British comrades reason the same way in their theses. This is a strange contradiction. On the one hand it is the leaders' fault; on the other, it does not matter whether there are leaders or not. In Germany the Wolffheims and Rühles put this to the test. It is our duty to issue a strong

warning against following their example.

We have fought hard over precisely this question, and the split in the KPD was caused primarily by its position on the trade union question. We have not just one example but hundreds to prove that the day the Communists leave the ranks of the unions the bureaucracy will hold a joyous celebration. I personally had to fight for a long time for my membership in the metalworkers' union. We will not do the union bureaucracy that favor. Our comrades know that this would be like uncoupling the locomotive from the train and driving it around by itself, leaving the train to its fate.

In both the theses and the reporters' remarks it was very correctly pointed out that we must not only conduct communist propaganda in the unions but look after all of the proletariat's interests and vigorously take up all questions. Precisely in the unions—my own experience has shown me this—the more selflessly and energetically Communists advocate all their co-workers' concerns and needs, the more rapidly they win the confidence of the masses.

Now, I also wish that what Comrade Radek said about sabotage and passive resistance had been included in the theses. After the experiences we have had with sabotage as a weapon in union struggles, that seems highly advisable to me. Of course there are situations in which we must use sabotage, but in general it is unsuitable and we should warn against using it.

Finally I would like to say a word about the position of the factory committees. The theses we have before us say quite correctly that the division of tasks between the factory committees and the trade unions is the result of historical development. But Comrade Radek said that any attempt to turn the factory committees over to the trade unions would be counterrevolutionary. In principle this statement seems to me to be correct, but in a situation like the one that exists in Germany at the present time it could well cause misunderstandings.

A debate has been under way in Germany for several months over whether the factory committees should exist as independent organizations or be incorporated into the unions. It is a struggle between the union bureaucracy and the central leadership of the factory committees. We supported the effort of the left Independents to unite the factory committees as indepen-

dent organizations, but to this day the effort has not been successful for reasons I will not go into here. I will say only that it is true that in this struggle—and earlier as well—half of the USPD took one side and half the other. They canceled each other out, and in practice the trade unions, supported by the right wing of the USPD, were able to impose their views.

The struggle can now be regarded as finished. And we must say that Legien emerged from it as the provisional victor, because the federation of the old German trade unions adopted his platform unanimously, and it has already been announced that a national congress of factory committees will be held soon. Our comrades are inclined to participate in it and continue the struggle against Legien on that terrain. The Legiens are trying to turn the factory committees into organs of “civil peace” and collaboration,⁴ but we are certain that they will not succeed. We will try to prevent them from doing this by firmly uniting our comrades everywhere and also by uniting our comrades in the factory committees into fractions. And if they become champions of all the proletariat’s needs arising from the decay of the capitalist order, we are certain to succeed in turning the factory committees and trade unions into organizations that direct their full force against capitalist society in a fully conscious way and consciously advocate communism.

Bombacci: I would like to explain in a few words why I cannot accept Comrade Radek’s theses. What was proposed here does not correspond either to the evolution of the trade unions over time or to the present stage of historical development in general. I fear—and I think that this applies to all of western Europe—that a danger can be seen in Radek’s theses of substituting the trade unions for the party. I stress that I understand his thinking well enough to see that these theses do not imply simply substituting the unions for the party. But that is the tendency.

I absolutely deny that trade unions have any revolutionary function whatever. I am referring to the examples of America and western Europe. Precisely in Russia, where there certainly is a trade union movement, it did not carry out a truly revolutionary function. The unions were a sort of intermediary between the workers and the bourgeoisie. I repeat, it would be a mistake to attribute a revolutionary function to the unions, and it would be an even greater mistake to permit the unions to replace the

parties. The unions represent a platform for propaganda. In parliament propaganda is limited in that it is addressed only to a certain number of people, whereas in the unions it is addressed to the entire working class.

During the war a movement developed in Italy to form a workers' party based on the unions. In Germany, too, during the events around the Kapp conspiracy, the unions said that if they took power, they would exercise it in the name of these same unions. I see a dangerous symptom in all these manifestations. Trade unions must not be allowed to exercise political functions; they develop a reformist activity and are not qualified for revolutionary tasks. I would like to draw the attention of the British and American comrades to this danger, and I point to the Italian experience, during which efforts were made to unite the most varied movements, efforts that naturally failed.

What is the task of Communist parties in the trade unions? The example of Italy shows us that certain unions were syndicalist and others reformist. Above all the opportunist heads of the unions must be replaced by Communists so that there is a Communist leadership in the unions as well. But the trade unions as such are unable to play any political role.

Lozovsky: Comrades, the question of the trade unions and what they mean for the revolution we are now experiencing is extremely important not only for this congress but also in the struggle now occurring in every country.

In my opinion, many comrades who have spoken on the union movement make a great error by looking at it from an incorrect point of view. Comrade Bombacci, for example, who just spoke on the union movement, asserted that it is absolutely impossible to win the trade unions—in Italy, for example—to the Communist movement. Other comrades, mainly the American and British, after studying the union movement in their countries, also reach very pessimistic conclusions. They say that the union movement cannot be used for the social revolution.

Do these conclusions correspond to the truth?

When we use the words “trade union” and “trade union movement,” do we mean the organizational structures—the unions, the councils, and so on? If we have only the leaders in mind, then it is clear that they are not the material for the social revolution. But when we speak of the union movement and the

unions, we want to talk about the masses in these organizations. The pessimistic comrades say it is absolutely impossible to win over the unions and, moreover, the unions in France and Italy are reformist and will always remain so. If this is so, they must necessarily conclude that the social revolution is completely impossible in those countries, since modern trade unions are not small but are mass bodies encompassing millions of workers. And if it is true that we cannot win over these organizations, we must despair of the world revolution.

At the same time, however, Comrade Bombacci tells us that the revolution in Italy is making progress and will be realized in a matter of weeks. Let me then ask him: With whom will you make your revolution? And who will make it? What will the trade unions do in the revolution? What role will they play? The comrade must answer these questions. Certainly we would be wrong to assert that these bodies are beyond all hope.

We will not point to the Russian unions, scarcely three years old, as an example. In fact, we were born only in 1917. We are still quite young.

Turning our attention to the old capitalist countries, especially America or Germany, where the unions have already existed for a long time, or to Britain, where they have existed for a century already, we see that in recent years, in the last few months, millions of workers have joined the trade unions and are changing them. We are not talking about the leaders here. We must drive them out. The important thing is to win over the masses.

Any tactic aiming to encourage the most advanced elements to leave the unions is a reactionary tactic, an admission that we are so weak that we cannot win over the masses. Comrades, the more difficult the task, the harder one must work to carry it out. It is necessary to go into the unions and conquer them. If we have a wonderfully organized union such as the metalworkers in Germany, should we form a new one alongside it? If we have a solidly organized union in Britain, must we start a new one?

From all of this it is plain that some comrades, who seemed in their speeches to be very revolutionary, are in reality proposing a reactionary tactic that must be rejected.

A Communist, who understands the situation and hopes and believes that the masses of workers will march hand in hand

with the Communists, says, "Join the unions and win them to our cause!" That is a primary condition for seizing power and overthrowing the bourgeois state.

This is where the question of the factory committees comes up, and it takes different forms in different countries. I asked a German comrade, "How many workers have you organized in these factory committees in Germany?" He answered, "There were seventeen million."

Mention was also made of the Shop Stewards' committees in Britain. Unlike the factory committees in Russia and the factory committees in Germany, these are groups of like-minded workers who have united to form bodies called Shop Stewards' committees. These are not factory committees but Communist or revolutionary fractions in the factories, which is not quite the same thing. When people talk to us about the Shop Stewards' committees, we reply that it is a very particular question since their situation has nothing in common with that of the factory committees in Germany and the factory committees in Russia.

We must reach agreement on this question. If you mean to say that a Communist or vanguard fraction must be formed in the unions, go ahead and do it. But if you want to organize factory committees outside of the unions, committees that encompass all workers,⁵ we reply that you are wrong to form them outside of the unions. Some people say that the unions are reactionary and that it is therefore necessary to form a counterorganization outside of the unions. No, this organization must be formed *inside* the unions themselves. If you establish factory committees as organizations standing outside the unions, the masses of workers in the unions will be *against* you. But if you organize factory committees in the shops and factories, if they function as auxiliary bodies, doing the same work as the unions, and if their work also transforms and arouses the unions, then in the end your perseverance, your labor, and your propaganda will revolutionize the unions.

Such a result is possible not through speeches but only through actions. And this action must be carried out by the soviets and factory committees. Only from this point of view can the work of the factory committees be understood; only thus can the need to organize them be grasped.

We reshaped the factory committees before the October revo-

lution. We will reorganize the trade unions before the social revolution—not through propaganda of words but rather through deeds—because the unions must become the organ of this revolution. If we do not win the unions *before* the decisive battle, if we cannot make use of the unions' discipline for the social revolution in every country, we will be defeated. These unions must be won before the social revolution in order to constitute the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the lesson that can be drawn from the Russian revolution.

Finally, a few words on the international movement.

We discussed with several American comrades the prospects for an international trade union organization. They said the organization that has been created is not revolutionary enough.

Here in Moscow we laid the basis for a new organization.

We had discussions with the British comrades for six days and six nights. What were our differences? I will tell you. The same comrades who today accuse us of not being revolutionary enough did not want to sign the point on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They said that the state must be overthrown. "Which state?" we asked them. We said, "The bourgeois state must be overthrown," explaining that we want a revolution, but we do not want ambiguities.⁶

Those are the differences of opinion that prevented the Shop Stewards' committees and the IWW from supporting the statement we signed. I hope this statement will be included in the congress proceedings. Two questions in it are of great importance.

This statement, signed by the delegates of seven countries, makes three important points:

1. We are now creating an organization opposed to the Amsterdam International.
2. This organization is based on the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the violent overthrow of bourgeois society.
3. The main elements of the vanguard must not withdraw from the workers' trade unions but must win them.

Those who feel too weak to fight to win the unions do not share this position. We, however, believe that the workers' movement is making great strides forward in all countries, driving the workers toward social revolution. It is up to the Communists to

do everything possible to win the unions (that today still have such an opportunist orientation) and utilize union discipline for the greatest possible good of the social revolution.

I have not said everything that I wanted to say, but it is almost everything that I could say in the short time allotted me.

Zinoviev: The Presiding Committee proposes ending debate and proceeding to the vote. There are sixteen more speakers on the list. We have heard a report and two coreports, which presented the positions adequately. The commission held six meetings, each five hours long, and in addition the question is sufficiently explained in the literature.

Reed: I have nothing to say against closing the list, but I am against ending debate. The discussion is being closed on purpose, to avoid discussing this point with the English and American delegations. During the commission sessions Comrade Radek refrained from discussing the trade union question, pretending there were differences over principles, and today he declared there are no differences. All of this proves that a discussion is necessary, even if it lasts all night, because this subject has not really been discussed here at all.

Radek: Reed's speech is certainly not distinguished by excessive fear of distorting the truth. The whole description of what happened in the commission is an objective falsehood. The situation in the commission was this: For two sessions no amount of massaging could coax a single idea out of Comrade Reed. Finally Comrade Reed and his comrades put forward theses. The principled position they developed was that the trade union organizations must be demolished. He defended the principled position of smashing the unions. I then stated that there was a difference in principle between his theses and ours. Consequently, there seemed to be no purpose in a point-by-point discussion. Comrades Murphy and Fraina were also present in the commission. You could detect a factual content in their remarks that could not be gotten from Reed's speeches.

Yesterday we devoted a session to this question. The American and British delegates were of the opinion that we had reached an agreement and that there was no disagreement on principle. Reed's position was dropped. Reed himself put forward not a single motion. Even though no alternative position was before us, the British and American comrades had two coreporters

today. After this, if Reed has the temerity to say discussion is being cut off for fear of the great genius John Reed, that is shameless. He may have the time to continue discussion until tomorrow morning, but other people do not.

MacAlpine: I ask that we close the speakers' list but not end the discussion. Radek's speech, which lasted two hours, was given to us in a twenty-minute translation. It strikes me as rather strange that time is being valued so highly here, because on the whole it is hard in Russia to notice any such economizing of time. I urgently ask that six or seven hours more be given for the discussion and that the English-speaking comrades be given the chance to express their opinion.

Gallacher: I think Radek should play fair here. He gave a bad translation in the commission too. They did not want to allow us time for the discussion of the theses. And we English-speaking comrades have the impression that the theses are simply going to be railroaded through. We therefore ask that the debate be continued and that Comrade Reed be given a chance to explain his standpoint.

Zinoviev: The commission met six times; today we had discussion all day long in plenary session; and now we are told, "You want to shut us up, you do not want to play fair," and so forth. There should be discussion, but not until we drop. We have had seven speakers: three from the British-American group, three supporters of Radek's theses, and the seventh was Bombacci, who took a position rather close to that of the English delegates. The discussion was apportioned quite fairly. The English-speaking comrades had half of the speakers or even more. So I think that our English friends are in the wrong to make such heated speeches. After we have had so much discussion here, they now declare that we are being disloyal toward them. It is outrageous on their part to take such a position after so many concessions have been made to them. I suggest we resolve to end the discussion.

Tanner: I insist on our request that we receive the floor and that the list of speakers not be closed. In the commission we were promised that the question would be discussed in detail, because it is admitted to be one of the most important. The theses, the amendments, the motions have not been translated. And the members of the commission have hardly had the chance to become familiar with them. I believe that if two and a

half days were spent on the question of the admission of the French Socialists and the Independent Socialist party then this question, which is of greater importance, must be discussed at greater length.

Radek: Never before have I heard of a group disavowing its own reporters. The British-American group appointed two reporters. After they spoke Tanner came forward and said their arguments had not been adequately presented.

Does Reed think it takes two days to present his ideas? That does not require long discussions. Reed is not a separate political party or tendency. The tendency he represents was defended by the British-American reporters. The fact that they did not appoint Reed as a coreporter showed that they do not see him as a representative of a separate tendency. They had the opportunity to explain their position here. It was Fraina and Tanner who spoke for the group.

If anyone claims it is not true that Reed demanded leaving the trade unions, I have here the theses that he submitted. They say, "The trade union apparatus must be destroyed as surely as we must destroy the bourgeois state." I do not understand what will remain of the trade unions after the trade union apparatus has been destroyed.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in today's session we will not adopt any final resolutions. I will not give a summary. The issue goes back to the commission because prolonging the discussion will not settle the matter.

Zinoviev: No one has asked for the floor. The vote will now be taken. All in favor of the Bureau's recommendation to cut off discussion and vote on the theses, raise your hands. I ask all in favor of closing the debate to hold up their red cards.

In favor, 50; against, 25. The discussion is closed. (*Reed asks to make a statement.*) We now come to the vote on the theses. If various groups want to make statements on the vote, I will grant them two minutes.

Reed: On behalf of the American delegation I declare that we decline to take part in the vote on these theses.⁷

Tanner: On behalf of the British delegation I declare that, since the Bureau considers the subject of so little importance, we decline to participate in the commission and in the voting.

Serrati: I will vote for Comrade Radek's theses. I had not

proposed any amendment, but I think the theses will need to be amended subsequently. We will see at the next congress what amendments we will have to submit. The American delegation can view the question in exactly the same way. I do not completely agree with Comrade Radek, since I question the possibility of changing the orientation of the [American] Federation of Labor. It is a narrow organization that has not changed for twenty-five years and remains reactionary. Nothing can be done to change it. I will vote for the theses because they correspond to the direction of our party; we never stopped supporting them. But I will reserve judgment on the question of the Red International of Labor Unions. In my opinion, this organization should not be dependent on the Third International but should be an autonomous and fraternal organization.

Radek: I believe there is a misunderstanding here. Comrade Serrati did not know that the vote was final; he thought that the motions would be referred back to the commission as has been done with all other questions and as I announced.

Wijnkoop: When Radek spoke, I understood that he meant to say that we would vote on these motions and not on his theses. I am sorry that now, after Radek introduced the matter that way, further amplification is impossible and the discussion is being cut off like this. As I understood the matter, Radek himself proposed not voting on his theses at this time. If what he said was that a vote would be taken on the theses only as a basis, then the procedure followed here would have been no different from the one followed for the other theses. But I thought he wanted to proceed differently here. I believe that several other members, when they voted to end the discussion, also understood that a commission would meet here at six o'clock, at which time the discussion that is being denied now would be continued. However, since the vote is to be taken without discussion, I do not believe that we will be able to cast our vote under such conditions.

Pestaña: I protest against the irregular manner in which the debates are being conducted. Nothing is being translated into French for us. However, the trade union question is of fundamental importance. It is even the most important question debated at the congress. Given this irregularity, I will abstain on the vote.

Zinoviev: We will vote on the theses as a basis. The question will be referred to the commission and will be dealt with further

there. I would also like to point out that one should be sparing with threats to leave the congress—first because no one is afraid of threats and second because it will not be tolerated at a Communist congress.

Maring: Comrades, I believe that a solution can be found to this matter. There was the same problem with the colonial question, and the matter was referred back to the commission. If complete unity had not been achieved there, the commission would have had to come before the congress again. Thus, if the trade union commission does not now reach complete agreement—and so far I see no possibility that it will—then the question will come back from the commission to the congress. If that is how it will be, then I can state my agreement with the proposed arrangement.

Zinoviev: We will come to a vote. All in favor of making Comrade Radek's theses the basis, in favor of referring the amendments to the commission for further discussion, and—if agreement cannot be reached—bringing them back here, raise your hands. (*Vote*) The motion carries with 64 votes in favor and 13 abstentions.⁸

The Bureau wishes to make the following proposal. We must have an accurate text of all of our resolutions. We have four main groups, and we ask each of them to name one comrade to a committee that will be responsible for taking in hand all the texts, checking them, and preparing the final texts in the four languages.

The plenary session on the agrarian question will be tomorrow at eleven o'clock. The session on the organization question will be tomorrow afternoon.

(*The session adjourns.*)

THESES ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, FACTORY COMMITTEES, AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL⁹

I

1. The trade unions created by the working class during capitalism's period of peaceful development were workers' organi-

zations for the struggle to raise the price of labor power on the labor market and improve its conditions of employment. Revolutionary Marxists strove to draw the unions, along with the political party of the proletariat, the Social Democracy, into a common struggle for socialism. International Social Democracy turned out to be, with few exceptions, not a tool of revolutionary proletarian struggle to overthrow capitalism but an organization that serves the bourgeoisie by holding back the proletariat from revolution. For the same reasons, the trade unions in wartime became in most cases part of the bourgeoisie's war apparatus, helping it squeeze as much sweat as possible out of the working class so that war could be waged as vigorously as possible in the interests of capitalist profit.

The unions were made up chiefly of the skilled, most highly paid workers. Limited by their narrow trade union outlook and fettered by a bureaucratic apparatus, these workers were divorced from the masses and led astray by their opportunist leaders. These unions betrayed not only the cause of social revolution but even the struggle to improve living conditions for their worker members. They abandoned trade union struggle against the employers, replacing it with a program of making peaceful deals with the capitalists at any price. This type of policy was pursued not only by the liberal unions in Britain and America, not only by the ostensibly socialist Free Trade Unions in Germany and Austria, but also by the syndicalist unions in France.

2. The economic consequences of the war—complete disorganization of the world economy, insane inflation, increased use of female and child labor, deterioration of housing conditions—all drive the broad masses of the proletariat onto the road of struggle against capitalism. This struggle, by the scope and character it acquires in greater measure every day, is revolutionary, objectively destroying the foundations of the capitalist order. Wage increases won today through economic struggle by one or another category of workers are outstripped tomorrow by inflation. This inflation can only intensify because the capitalist class of the victorious countries, while destroying central and eastern Europe with its exploitative policy, is not only incapable of reorganizing the world economy but disorganizes it without letup.

In order to succeed in the economic struggle, very broad masses of workers who formerly remained outside the unions are pouring into their ranks. Trade unions have registered enormous growth in all capitalist countries. They are now no longer organizations only of the advanced part of the proletariat but of its main masses.

Streaming into the unions, the masses seek to turn them into their weapon of struggle. Sharpening class antagonisms¹⁰ compel the unions to lead the strikes that are sweeping the entire capitalist world in a great wave, continually interrupting the process of capitalist production and exchange. In pace with quickening inflation and their own growing exhaustion, the working masses are escalating their demands, thereby destroying the basis of all capitalist cost calculations, which are an elementary precondition of any orderly economy.

During the war the unions became instruments for influencing the working masses in the interests of the bourgeoisie.¹¹ Now they are becoming instruments for the destruction of capitalism.

3. This change in the unions' character is impeded in every possible way by the old trade union bureaucracy and the old organizational forms. In many cases the old bureaucracy tries to preserve the unions as organizations of the labor aristocracy, retaining the regulations barring the poorly paid working masses from joining unions.¹² Even now, the old bureaucracy still tries to replace the workers' strike battle—which daily acquires more of the character of a revolutionary struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—by a policy of making deals with the capitalists and signing long-term contracts—contracts made meaningless simply by the constant, insane leaps in prices.

The bureaucracy tries to impose on the workers the policies of Labor Boards, of the Joint Industry Council and, aided by the capitalist state, tries to place legal obstacles in the way of conducting a strike.¹³ At moments of greatest tension in the struggle, the bureaucracy sows dissension in the masses of struggling workers, preventing the different categories of workers from uniting their struggles into one general class struggle. It is aided in this by the trade unions' old craft form of organization, which divides workers in one branch of industry into separate groups

by occupation, even though the process of capitalist exploitation unites them. It relies on the power of ideology passed on by the old labor aristocracy, even though that aristocracy is constantly weakened as individual groups of the proletariat lose their privileges due to the general collapse of capitalism,¹⁴ the leveling of conditions of the working class, and the generalization of their hardship and insecurity.

In this way the union bureaucracy splits up the powerful stream of the labor movement into weak rivulets, trades the movement's overall, revolutionary goals for reformist partial demands, and in general hinders forging the proletariat's struggle into a revolutionary struggle for the destruction of capitalism.

4. Given the influx of huge masses of workers into the unions, given the objectively revolutionary character of the economic struggle that these masses are waging in spite of the bureaucracy, Communists in every country must join the unions in order to turn them into instruments of conscious struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for communism. They must take the initiative in forming trade unions where none exist.¹⁵

Shunning the union movement by choice poses an enormous danger for the Communist movement. So too do attempts to create separate unions artificially, unless this is made necessary by unusually outrageous actions on the part of the union bureaucracy (the disbanding of individual revolutionary union locals by the opportunist central leaderships)¹⁶ or by narrow-minded, aristocratic policies barring the great masses of less-skilled workers from membership in the organizations. Such actions threaten to separate the most advanced, most class-conscious workers from the masses who are on the road to communism, leaving them at the mercy of opportunist leaders, who play into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The inadequacies of the masses of workers, their ideological irresolution, their openness to the pretexts offered by the opportunist leaders can be overcome only in the process of sharpening struggle; only as the broad layers of the proletariat come to understand through their own experience—their victories and defeats—that decent living conditions can no longer be achieved under the capitalist economic system; only if the advanced Communist workers learn not just to be prophets of communist ideas in the economic struggle but also to become

the most resolute leaders of that struggle and of the trade unions. This is the only possible way to remove the opportunist leaders from the unions. It is the only way Communists can gain the leadership of the union movement and turn it into an instrument of the revolutionary struggle for communism. Only in this way will they be able to overcome the unions' fragmentation and replace it with industrial unions. Only thus can they eliminate the bureaucracy, which is divorced from the masses, and replace it with an apparatus of factory representatives, leaving only the most essential functions to the head offices.

5. Since Communists put the aim and nature of trade union organizations ahead of their form, they must not shrink from a split in the unions if avoiding a split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the unions, abandoning the effort to make them into a tool of revolutionary struggle,¹⁷ and abandoning organization of the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should prove necessary, it should be carried out only when the Communists succeed—through unrelenting struggle against the opportunist leaders and their policies and through vigorous participation in the economic struggle—in convincing the broad masses of workers that the split is being undertaken not for the sake of distant, revolutionary goals that they still do not understand but rather in the concrete, immediate interest of advancing the working class's economic struggle. In the event that a split becomes necessary, Communists must examine with constant attention whether it will lead to their becoming isolated from the masses of workers.

6. When there has already been a split between the opportunist and revolutionary union leadership, when—as in America—unions with revolutionary (although non-Communist) tendencies exist alongside opportunist unions, Communists are obligated to support revolutionary unions, helping them to shed their syndicalist prejudices and to take the side of communism, the only reliable compass in the chaos of the economic struggle. Wherever organizations such as the Shop Stewards or factory committees emerge in the factories, inside or outside the union framework—bodies that adopt the aim of struggling against the counterrevolutionary tendencies of the trade union bureaucracy and support direct, spontaneous actions by the proletariat—Communists must of course support them with all

their energy.¹⁸ But supporting revolutionary trade unions must not mean that Communists resign from the opportunist trade unions, which are in a state of ferment and are beginning to support class struggle. On the contrary, by seeking to accelerate this development in mass unions on the road to revolutionary struggle, Communists will be able to play the role of uniting union workers ideologically and organizationally for the common struggle to destroy capitalism.

7. In the epoch of capitalism's decline, the proletariat's economic struggle turns into political struggle much more rapidly than was possible in the age of its peaceful development. Every major economic clash can confront the workers directly with the question of revolution. Therefore, it is the duty of Communists to point out to the workers in every phase of the economic struggle that it can be successful only if the working class defeats the capitalist class in an open contest and begins the work of socialist construction through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Proceeding from this, Communists must strive to bring about the most complete unity possible between the unions and the Communist Party, subordinating the unions to the party's leadership as the vanguard of the workers' revolution. To this end, Communists must form Communist fractions in trade unions and factory committees¹⁹ everywhere and with their help take control of the trade union movement and lead it.

II

8. The proletariat's economic struggle for higher wages and an overall improvement in living conditions of the masses of workers is more and more coming up against a dead end. The economic ruin spreading to country after country on an ever larger scale shows even backward workers that it is not enough to fight for better wages and a shorter working day: the capitalist class is daily less able to restore economic life and guarantee workers even the living conditions they had before the war. The growing realization of this by masses of workers gives rise to efforts on their part to create organizations that can take up the struggle to save the economy by means of workers' control of production through factory committees. The desire to form factory committees, which is spreading to more and more work-

ers of different countries,²⁰ has many sources: struggle against the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy; discouragement after union defeats; the striving to create an organization encompassing all workers. Ultimately, however, it leads to the struggle for control of industry—the factory committees' special historic task. It is therefore a mistake to want to organize factory committees only among workers who already support the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, it is the Communist Party's task to organize *all* workers on the basis of the economic crisis, prepare them for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and do this by broadening and deepening the struggle for workers' control of production, which they all understand.

9. The Communist Party will accomplish this task if, through the factory committees' struggle, it deepens the masses' understanding of the fact that systematic restoration of the economy on the foundation of capitalist society—which would mean a new subjugation of the workers by the government in the capitalists' interests—is now impossible. Organizing the economy in the interests of the masses of workers will be possible only when the government is in the hands of the working class and when the firm hand of the workers' dictatorship begins to abolish capitalism and carry out socialist reconstruction.

10. The factory committees' immediate general goal in the struggle against capitalism is workers' control of production. Workers in every enterprise and every branch of industry, whatever their job, suffer from sabotage of production by the capitalists, who often find it more profitable to discontinue production in order to starve the workers into agreeing to the most oppressive working conditions or to avoid making new capital investment in a time of generalized inflation. Defense against the capitalists' sabotage of production ties the workers together, whatever their political views. Factory committees elected by all the workers of a particular enterprise are therefore the proletariat's broadest mass organizations.

Disorganization of the capitalist economy, however, results not only from the conscious will of the capitalists but to a much greater extent from capitalism's irrepressible decay. Thus, in their struggle against the consequences of that decline, the factory committees will have to go beyond the bounds of con-

trolling individual factories. Factory committees in each factory will soon face the question of workers' control over entire branches of industry and over industry as a whole.

The workers' attempts to regulate supplying the factories with raw materials or to audit the factory owners' financial operations will provoke vigorous measures against the working class by the bourgeoisie and the capitalist governments. The struggle for workers' control over production thus leads to the struggle of the working class to take power.²¹

11. Agitation for factory committees must be conducted in such a way as to fix in the minds of the broadest possible popular masses, even if they do not belong to the factory proletariat directly, the conviction that blame for the crisis rests on the bourgeoisie whereas the proletariat, by raising the slogan of workers' control of industry, is fighting to organize production and to eliminate speculation, disorganization, and high prices. The Communist parties' task is to struggle for control of production around the burning questions of the day, such as the shortage of heating fuel and the decline of the transportation system. They must link the isolated parts of the proletariat with one another and win to their side broad layers of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more proletarianized every day and suffers immensely from the economic decay.

12. Factory committees cannot replace the trade unions. Only in the process of struggle can the councils go beyond the framework of individual factories and workshops, unite by branch of production, and create an overall apparatus to direct the struggle as a whole. The unions are already centralized organs of struggle, although they do not encompass such large masses of workers as can the factory committees, which are a loose organization accessible to all the workers in an enterprise.

The division of tasks between the factory committees and the unions results from the historical evolution of the social revolution. The unions organize the masses of workers to struggle on the basis of demands for higher wages and a shorter working day in the entire country. The factory committees are organized to exercise workers' control over production, for the struggle against economic crisis. They include all the workers in an enterprise, but only gradually can their struggle become national in scope. Communists should support efforts to turn the

factory committees into trade union factory groups only to the extent that the unions overcome the counterrevolutionary tendencies of their bureaucracy and become conscious instruments of the revolution.²²

13. The task of Communists is to inspire the unions and the factory committees with an identical spirit of resolute struggle and with knowledge and understanding of the best methods for its pursuit—in short, with the spirit of communism. In carrying out this task, Communists must, in fact, subordinate the factory committees and unions to the Communist Party's leadership, thus creating a proletarian mass organization, the basis for a powerful, centralized party of the proletariat embracing all organizations of proletarian struggle and leading them all along the same road: toward the victory of the working class through the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward communism.

14. By turning the trade unions and factory committees into powerful weapons of the revolution, Communists prepare these mass organizations for the great task that will devolve upon them after the proletarian dictatorship is established, that of being a principal element in reorganizing economic life on a socialist basis. The unions, consolidated into industrial unions and based on the factory committees as their factory organizations, will then acquaint the working masses with their production tasks and train the most experienced workers as managers of the factories. They will supervise the technical specialists and, together with representatives of the workers' government, design and execute the plans of socialist economic policy.²³

III

Even in time of peace, the unions were already striving to unite internationally because the capitalists resorted during strikes to recruiting workers from other countries as strikebreakers. But before the war the trade union International was of secondary importance. It tried to encourage unions to support each other financially, to organize social statistics, but not to organize the common struggle. This was because the unions, led by opportunists, sought to avoid all revolutionary struggle on an international scale.

The opportunist union leaders—who during the war, each in

their own country, were lackeys of the bourgeoisie—are now endeavoring to reestablish the trade union International, trying to make it a weapon for international, direct struggle by world capital against the proletariat. Under the leadership of Legien, Jouhaux, and Gompers, they are forming a “labor office” of the League of Nations, that organization of international capitalist banditry. In every country they try to strangle strikes with laws and try to oblige workers to submit to courts of arbitration made up of representatives of the capitalist state. Everywhere they try to win concessions for the skilled workers through agreements with the capitalists, hoping that this will shatter the growing unity of the working class. Thus, the Amsterdam trade union International is a replacement for the bankrupt Second International of Brussels.

Communist workers, in contrast, who belong to the unions in every country, must strive to create a front for international trade union struggle. The question is no longer one of financial support in the event of a strike. Rather, when danger threatens the working class of one country, the unions of other countries, as organizations of the broad masses, should help to defend them and prevent the bourgeoisies of their own countries from aiding another country’s bourgeoisie that is locked in struggle against the working class.

Every day, the proletariat’s economic struggle becomes more and more a revolutionary one. Therefore, the trade unions must consciously exert all their strength to support every revolutionary struggle, in their own country as well as in others. Toward this end they must strive for the greatest possible centralization in struggle, not only in each country but also on an international scale. They must do this by joining the Communist International, fusing with it to form an army whose separate parts support one another and conduct the struggle as one.

The agrarian question

(The session opens at 12:30 p.m.)

Zinoviev: The session is open. Comrade Balabanoff has the floor to deliver a message.

Balabanoff: Comrades, unfortunately we are in the most unhappy position of having to share news that is as distressing for you as it is for us. The day before yesterday, one of our best and most active comrades, Comrade Augusta Åsen, who came from Norway and has been active in the movement for twenty years, was visiting the airport to view our Red air force. An accident occurred that claimed her life. We do not need to tell you how dreadfully and how deeply we feel this great loss. We ask you to stand in honor of the memory of the deceased. (*All present stand.*) Thank you. We ask all comrades to take home with them the assurance that the Russian proletariat will not forget our deceased comrade. Though her death was the result only of an unfortunate accident, she came here and died in struggle for the proletariat and out of love for the Communist International.

Zinoviev: The Bureau proposes that we express in the name of the congress our deepest condolences to our sister party in Norway.

We will now move to the next point on the agenda. The topic is the agrarian question. The reporter, Comrade Ernst Meyer, has the floor.

REPORT ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Meyer: Comrades, since the proper reporter for this question, Comrade Marchlewski, is prevented from speaking in connection with the encouraging advances of the Red Army,¹ I will deliver a report in his place briefly summarizing Comrade Lenin's theses and the work of the commission.

The social revolution in eastern and central Europe has

placed the agrarian question on the agenda. It requires a solution not merely in theory but in practice. Very little preliminary work has been done on this question until now. The Second International did practically nothing here. It was usually satisfied with drawing beautiful pictures of agrarian production in the future after the advent of socialism. But as to how the rural population can be won to the proletarian revolution and what struggles must be waged to attain this splendid goal, the Second International said very little and made no practical preparations.²

The best forces in the Second International were content to polemicize against the opportunist wing, who, based on a distorted reading of the statistical data, claimed that socialization of rural property was out of the question and, furthermore, that the social revolution could not establish a base in the countryside. Using German statistics, the revisionists tried to prove that Marxist theories do not apply to the countryside and, on the basis of these theories, they gave up the social struggle and the social revolution. Those who contradicted these reformists, such as Kautsky, did so basically to prove only that Marxist theory still applies to this field.³ Further practical conclusions were not drawn, however.

The Communist International's position on this question is different. We believe that the countryside must be truly revolutionized, because there is no doubt that without the active participation of broad layers of the rural population, it is not possible to achieve and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us, the Communist International, what is most important is achieving the revolution, and only from this perspective is it possible to examine and resolve all aspects of the agrarian question. The Communist International's tasks with respect to the agrarian question can be summarized by asking: How do we carry the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle, into the countryside?

Revolutionizing the rural population, whose needs can be satisfied only through the revolution, is on history's agenda. Even the limited experiences here in Russia and the experiences with agrarian reform in central Europe bear out the thesis that guides all the proceedings at this congress: bourgeois democracy cannot solve this problem, and a satisfactory solution can

be achieved only through the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The parties that supposedly represent the interests of the rural population, such as the Socialist Revolutionaries in Russia and the bourgeois peasant parties in Europe, betrayed their own programs when they got into power and could have put them into practice.

Bourgeois democracy is unable to solve this question. Not only is this shown by the conduct of the Socialist Revolutionaries in the countries bordering on Russia. In addition, all attempts at an agrarian reform in the other countries amount to dividing up and distributing part of the large landholdings in order to create a new proletarian or semiproletarian layer that can be a source of cheap labor for exploitation by the remaining large landowners. The measures prescribed by Germany's Settlement Laws either were never implemented or provided labor for exploitation by the large landowners.⁴ The single exception, where an agrarian reform law that appeared to be more serious was put into effect, was in Bohemia [Czechoslovakia]. But even it was adopted only to aggravate national conflicts between the Czechs on the one hand and the Jewish and German population on the other. The Czech peasants were partially satisfied by expropriating the Jews and Germans.

The Communist International must go beyond what bourgeois democracy has done; in particular it must strive to overcome the differences between city and country. It must forge unity between urban and rural proletarian populations for the common struggle, for the proletarian revolution. That will happen if we see to it that rural workers are given all the advantages available to urban workers, and if we raise the consciousness of the urban proletariat regarding the importance of rural labor.

The question of how the proletarian revolution can be taken to the countryside and village can be answered only by making a precise analysis of the different layers of the rural population. The theses you have before you attempt to separate the rural population into different layers: first, the agricultural proletariat, or wageworkers; second, the semiproletarians and the peasants with small plots; third, the small peasants; fourth, the middle peasants; fifth, the large peasants; and sixth, the large landowners. Naturally the theses provide only a general framework. Since the composition of the rural population varies

widely from one country to another, conditions in each country must be carefully studied in order to determine how to begin revolutionizing the rural population in each case. Only a general outline for assessing where things stand in the rural population can be given here at the congress for consideration by the Communist parties.

The groups that are important for the proletarian revolution are first and foremost the farm workers, forest workers, and also workers active in industrial enterprises connected with agriculture, such as dairies, distilleries, and so on. The large market farms, which employ a great many wageworkers, should be included here. The social conditions of this layer of the rural population are very difficult and very harsh, but this is so well known that we do not need to discuss it further. The miserable economic situation, low wages, and bad living conditions combine with political and social oppression by the large landowners to ensure that these proletarian forces will rally to the revolution automatically. This layer is one of the most active forces in the proletarian revolution, and today, despite its inexperience, its ability to organize is very great. I need recall only that the farm workers' union in Germany is one of the largest free trade unions today, numbering 500,000 members. In a country as small as Italy the farm workers' union includes more than 800,000 members. This shows how important this layer is to the social revolution and also how relatively easy it will be to integrate it into our ranks. Not only should these masses be organized into unions, but even more important, they must be drawn into our political bodies, the Communist parties. And every effort should be made in all other areas of work (education and so on) to win them over.

I would like to add something here about work among women in the countryside. Farm girls and the wives of small peasants have been forced by the war and present social conditions to do a good part of the farm labor on their own. Prospects for recruitment among them are very promising and should certainly not be neglected.

In this framework the questions already resolved by the congress (work in the trade unions and in parliament) acquire added importance. Those opposing work in the unions argue that even outside the unions there are ample opportunities to

organize the proletariat and carry on agitation. This may hold true for the industrial proletariat. Reaching the rural proletariat, however, can most easily be done by Communists collaborating in the farm workers' unions and participating in election campaigns. Both of these are excellent avenues for reaching broad layers of the rural population with revolutionary agitation. Systematic agitation will be very successful.

Consider the experiences in Russia and Germany. In March, in beating back the Kapp putsch, Germany's rural proletariat conducted itself very courageously. Estate owners were driven out or locked up, while farm production was maintained. The farm workers unhesitatingly delivered surplus food to the cities. In addition, farm workers came together and provided fighting cadres to the proletariat in the cities. Not only in struggles preceding the seizure of power, but also thereafter, the rural proletariat will be one of the main pillars of soviet power. Our task is to give this movement of the rural proletariat, which at first is largely spontaneous, an organizational form. The best way to bring together these tempestuous, spontaneous forces is to build estate councils.

The second layer of the rural population, the semiproletarians and peasants with small plots, will be won to the proletarian revolution in a similar manner, though not as easily as the farm workers. These toilers are also dependent on the large landowners, suffering the same hardships as farm workers. Indeed, their situation is perhaps even more difficult, because they have the additional worry over their individual speck of land. In most countries it would be advantageous to incorporate these semiproletarian forces into the organizations of the farm workers in the narrower sense of the word.

Somewhat more difficult is the question of the small peasants and tenant farmers who can just barely earn their living by working their land, but employ no outside labor. Included here are also the small tenant farmers and market farmers who grow vegetables and fruit. They are not revolutionary-minded, but a portion of them should still be counted among our ranks in the struggle. The task is to teach them about the need for social revolution and about their own interests. In reality these small peasants suffer greatly under present conditions. They are also dependent on the large landowner and on capital—though

indirectly for the most part—and they also perform unpaid labor in that they must come up with mortgage interest, pay high prices for agricultural machinery, and so forth. The standard of living of this layer is often strictly proletarian. The burden of taxes, the purchase fees and other such obligations, and the general inflation that this layer suffers are questions that we must help them understand through systematic agitation. Forming a union among this layer is not excluded either. An association for farm workers and small peasants was formed in Germany last year. It became apparent that it was inappropriate to organize a special association outside the trade unions, and it was dissolved. Nevertheless, the small peasants in southern Germany asked us to maintain it and to continue to publish our magazine for them,⁵ explaining that they were very interested in our ideas. And so in Germany we ended up creating an organization for the peasants, which though somewhat looser, is important.

In Germany we also encourage the small peasants to form small peasant councils, not only to pursue economic interests but also to take up the political and social struggle. I must add that so far this work has had no success. We had estate councils in a great many villages. Although small peasants have not yet participated, we are not slackening off this agitation. Occasionally we have succeeded in convincing the small peasants that they would not benefit very much from dividing the land and that they would gain by uniting in small peasants' councils and cooperatives to work in common the large landholdings, which should be expropriated.

Admittedly, it must be emphasized that in many countries, especially in the small western democracies, the small peasants are very reactionary, and in general it is therefore to be assumed that during the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, this layer will vacillate between private property and communism. These small property owners are demoralized by individual-capitalist views. To overcome their vacillation and win their support, we must help them realize that they are suffering under the present system, telling them what advantages they will gain with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of the proletarian state power.

We must assure them that they can keep their small plots. It

would serve no purpose to expropriate them, because during the period of the struggle it is neither politically nor technically possible to work the plots collectively against the will of their owners. Not only must we promise that they can keep their property, but we must also do everything we can to eliminate the usurers that oppress these small peasants. Liberation from the burden of taxation, rent, mortgages, and purchase fees are gains for the small peasant that the proletariat must grant without hesitation. Furthermore, they must be freed from dependence on large landowners for the right to use field and forest. They also must be promised that help will be provided in the form of buildings, machinery, tools, and seed taken from the large landholdings. Finally, they must be told that the cooperatives, which today in virtually every country are in the hands of the rich peasants, must be transformed into organizations that serve the interests of the small peasants exclusively. In countries where there are restrictions on free trade and where peasants are required by law to deliver foodstuffs, they must also be told that this obligation must remain in force, but the organizational apparatus necessary to carry it out will be taken away from the bureaucracy and placed in the hands of the small peasants themselves.

The small peasants must be made aware of the benefits they will derive from socialization of the large enterprises and reduction of the cost of agricultural machinery. Therefore, methodical educational work should be conducted among the small peasants. They must be made conscious of their particular place in society. If agitation is carried out in this manner, some peasants can be expected to side with the proletariat or at least not oppose the proletarian dictatorship. As a whole, farm workers, semiproletarians, and smallholders are an excellent arena for Communist Party work, and after the conquest of power by the proletariat, all three layers will see that supporting proletarian state power is the best way to satisfy their particular interests.

More complicated than the question of the small peasants is that of the middle peasants. They use some outside labor power and have enough land to be able to produce a surplus of food. This layer is by no means small. The theses point out that in Germany this middle layer, with holdings between five and ten hectares [twelve and twenty-four acres], numbers more than

half a million people.⁶ Clearly it is impossible to drive this layer from its land, since that would mean reducing food production. So we must treat this layer differently; we must try to neutralize them. Kautsky pointed out that the peasantry must be approached in such a way that they do not actively support the bourgeoisie. For these middle peasants, too, the immediate abolition of private property is out of the question. It will even be possible to give the middle peasants somewhat more land, as long as it is land they already rent. The middle peasants will also benefit from having their rent eliminated. Obviously all these advantages can be accorded to the middle peasants only on the condition that they recognize soviet power, supply food, and offer no resistance.

Here again the experience in Russia shows that such a course can cause the middle peasants to adopt a loyal attitude toward soviet power. This stance toward the middle peasants, that of preserving their private property, is essential. The attitude of this layer of peasants can be summed up as a Russian peasant did in a bad joke: We are for soviet power, but against communism. The example of Russia shows that these peasants adjust and reconcile themselves to proletarian state power when they are treated wisely. A large number of the middle peasants are in the Red Army doing their duty in the struggle against the external enemy.

The large peasants, on the other hand, who as a rule employ outside labor, are among the most numerous and determined opponents of soviet power. It is to be expected that, not only now but also later, after the establishment of soviet power, they will engage in every kind of sabotage and also offer military resistance. This danger must be kept clearly in mind, and every preparation must be made to thwart and defeat this resistance wherever it appears. The large peasants must be disarmed.

But even for these large peasants, expropriation is excluded as an immediate task of the revolution. The parcels of land they offer for rent must be taken away if the small and middle peasants need them. If they offer stubborn resistance, they will be immediately and totally expropriated. If their land is not needed, however, the large peasants may keep it. It is important that the political and military resistance of this layer be eliminated. And there again the experience in Russia shows that it is

possible to elicit such halfway loyal conduct from this layer. As soon as the victory of the proletarian revolution is achieved or certain to be achieved, even the large peasants will accept the new relations.

The large landowners, some of whom made large land purchases during the war, must be immediately expropriated, without exception and without compensation. Expropriation with compensation, as proposed by Kautsky and other Independents, is out of the question. What should be done with the expropriated land? The most natural and useful thing is to hand it over in its entirety to the farm workers who previously worked it. Soviet enterprises must be organized that function as organs of the proletarian state and on its instructions. These enterprises will operate the estates, provide for their own needs, and supply the surplus to the soviet government. Perhaps it will be possible to establish collective enterprises that work the land cooperatively. These two solutions are best, not only for farm workers and semiproletarians but also for the urban population, who will thereby gain partial independence from the peasantry with regard to food supplies.

A precondition for this solution is that the rural proletariat must have accumulated a certain amount of technical experience. Since this prerequisite is not always present, we must be prepared to make exceptions in some cases. Such exceptions were made in Russia, where the large landholdings were sometimes divided up. This is not a violation of the principles of communism, as Kautsky wanted to prove, because the main task of the proletarian state is to consolidate itself and the proletarian revolution and lay the basis for communism. All other questions are secondary to this central point. Even a reduction in agricultural production, which today can be so painful, is not too important to be subordinated to this question.

When may large landholdings be divided up? A division can be considered only when the land has been rented to small peasants, that is, when the large landholdings are not being farmed as a unit. In that case dividing it up does not mean renunciation of large-scale production at all. Such division is also possible when a large landholding is broken up and wedged between small-peasant settlements. In these cases the hunger for land is so great that sometimes it must be satisfied in order to

preserve the revolution. In southern Germany it is conceivable that the few existing large estates will be divided up. Finally, where the rural proletariat is too backward, dividing the land among experienced peasants can be considered. In any case, the main thing is that the estate owners may not keep their estates; they must be driven out. If the large holdings cannot be farmed without the estate owners, the peasantry must be persuaded to work this land. After the proletarian state has been established, it will become possible to obtain the cooperation of bourgeois specialists, under the supervision of the soviet state.

The precondition to winning the rural proletariat is a determined struggle by the urban proletariat for social revolution, without fear of sacrifices, and here the Communist parties must take the lead and be the vanguard.

In order to win over the layers that are still vacillating or are open to communist ideas, they must be accorded economic benefits immediately after the victory of the proletarian revolution. The semiproletarians and the small and middle peasants must feel that they have a stake in the new order. These benefits must be granted at the expense of the exploiters.

To advance this movement Communists must link up with economic struggles in the countryside, above all the strike movement. In almost every country great strike movements have begun. They must be used by the Communist parties to convince the rural proletariat that a real improvement in its conditions will be achieved not by higher wages but only by the victory of the proletarian revolution. To link up with these economic struggles, the Communist parties must go into the rural areas and create their own organizations. The rural proletariat has to be convinced that it must organize itself into estate councils for the liberation struggle.

Rural industrial workers, most of whom come originally from the urban population, will have a special role to play in strengthening this movement in the countryside. The Communist parties must appeal to them for help in taking the movement into the rural areas and strengthening it. Special agitation is also necessary among the small peasants, and it must be carried out with all available means. The theses make additional suggestions about revolutionizing the countryside through agitation, meetings, the collaboration of trade unions, and by raising the

agrarian question in parliament.

These, in brief, are the tasks presented to the congress in the theses. The commission spent many sessions going over the theses thoroughly and made a large number of changes, most of which were stylistic alterations in the original German text. The theses should set only the general framework for the activity of the Communist parties in the countryside. It would be useful if Communists of all countries would write their own agrarian programs with specific proposals. I would like to point out, for example, that in Germany the Communist Party already has such an agrarian program.⁷

As for substantive changes: in thesis 2, on page 33, after "wage labor in capitalist farming" insert "and related industrial enterprises." Further, after "the organization of this class," insert "including craftsmen on the estates, forest workers, and so on."

On page 34, we added, "In some countries the first and second groups are not sharply differentiated. Therefore, under special circumstances it is permissible to organize them together."

On page 38, thesis 4, several passages were struck in which the interests of the middle peasants were compared to those of the wageworkers, that is, from the phrase, "because the world outlook and sentiments of the property owners are prevalent among this stratum" to the words "the victorious proletariat."

On page 39, we inserted, "In most capitalist states it is out of the question for the proletarian state to abolish private property immediately."

The most important changes are in thesis 6. The original version put much too much emphasis on the exceptions to the rule that the land should not be divided. The commission struck the sentence that said it would be a mistake not to divide the land and replaced it with: "the principle that the large-scale enterprise must be maintained."⁸

The changes are so numerous that I do not want to read out this whole new version. They correspond almost verbatim to a proposal by Comrade Marchlewski. In the German edition everything was deleted from where the paragraph begins on page 43, "It would nevertheless be a big mistake," to the point on page 45, "the inventory of the large-scale enterprises." It has been replaced with a new version. From there on the old text

remains with few changes.

Then on page 46 a polemic against the Second International, the German and British Independents [Independent Labour Party], and the French Longuetists was struck because the same idea was expressed in other places.

Those are the main changes.

In conclusion I would like to point out again how important it is that the Communist parties carry the social revolution into the countryside. Victory cannot be ensured, especially in central and western Europe, unless the rural proletariat is incorporated into the urban proletarian vanguard. Especially favorable conditions existed in Russia because the peasantry also had a stake in proletarian power, through the questions of peace and land, which are to some degree absent in central and western Europe. This makes it all the more important that Communist parties base themselves, in the countryside, on *those* sections of the rural proletariat that under present conditions suffer as much as urban workers and sometimes even more. And the commission hopes that the application by the different Communist parties in each country of the proposals that were made here will also bear fruit.

Graziadei: I am speaking only for myself. First I must state that in general I accept the theses proposed to us by Comrade Lenin, especially after the very significant changes made by the commission, particularly to thesis 6.

Although the subjects are very different, there are striking similarities between Comrade Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions and Comrade Meyer's on the agrarian question. It is the same method applied to different questions, which consists of dividing the opponents and making concessions according to the needs of the moment and the character of those to whom they are made.

This method can be called economizing efforts in order to facilitate and accelerate the seizure of power and to create conditions favorable to holding power once it is conquered.

I will limit myself to noting that there is a danger in this method, which could be called that of left opportunism.

But because these theses and their application are entrusted to such comrades as Lenin and other Russian comrades, we can

be very sure that this danger will remain only theoretical. Certainly I can tell you that there are other countries and other situations where I will not express so much confidence.

In order to facilitate the taking of political power by the proletariat, Comrade Lenin's theses analyze the peasant masses quite correctly and divide them into several parts. He tells us, "We can draw some of them over to our side, and neutralize others. But one portion will always be our enemy, and it is against it that we must fight untiringly."

The second part of Lenin's thesis concerns the question of what to do once power has been conquered. Given the proposed corrections, this thesis can be accepted. Nevertheless, I must make some practical observations.

In the thesis on the small and middle proprietors, Lenin shows himself to be very original. He tries to avoid two counterposed errors that Socialists have made up to now.

Many Socialists believed they could get rid of the important question of the small proprietors by saying that they are, in fact, destined to disappear in bourgeois society, and we therefore do not have to be concerned about them. That conception was completely wrong, above all because the law of concentration of capital does not unfold everywhere as described by Marx. In any case, the way people tried to apply the law of concentration to small proprietors was utterly absurd. Furthermore, you understand very well that if we say the small peasants are destined to disappear, we will fall into one of two dangers: either we will pay no attention to them at all, or we will drive them into the arms of our adversaries. If we tell the small proprietors that they are going to disappear and that we want to make them disappear artificially, obviously such a policy will turn millions of people against us.

The opposite mistake, the one committed by the Socialists, was to think that since the small peasants are not bound to disappear, they must be organized, and we cannot make the revolution until that is done. That is the same as saying that we must postpone the revolution indefinitely. That is unacceptable.

Comrade Lenin proposes a position that falls between these two diametrically opposite mistakes, and I find it fairly precise and acceptable. He says we should show the small peasants that

they have everything to gain from following us. That is good. But I must express several reservations about the passage on the forms of organization and the struggle in the period before the conquest of political power.

The next to last thesis, thesis 8, talks of strikes by agricultural wageworkers, which the small proprietors may join in some cases. Far be it from me to deny the revolutionary importance of rural strikes. In Italy there have been significant ones, and these vast movements have had far-reaching consequences.⁹ All the same, I will raise two objections. I do not understand why we say that in some cases small proprietors might participate in strikes. I do not believe they will. It is also an error to claim that striking is the only major weapon in all countries. In some countries organizations of agricultural wageworkers are so strong that they are preparing for revolution and even now, in bourgeois society, are able to begin the process of instituting proletarian dictatorship.

In Italy some workers' organizations organize public works directly. Similarly, there are cooperatives that buy or rent land and cultivate it collectively. These are extremely important forces both in the struggle and in reconstruction, and we should not ignore them.

That is why I would like to propose that the following be added in thesis 8 [at the end of paragraph 1]:

"Under certain conditions and in certain countries, the most exploited rural masses, if their organizations are quite advanced, may also organize themselves in cooperatives to carry out public works, to cultivate collectively part or all of lands purchased or rented, and so on. Communists should take an interest in these organizations and try to lead them, among other reasons in order to prevent their making shady political compromises."

I want to discuss the question of the small proprietors as well. In many countries small proprietors are already organized in cooperatives that buy, sell, and process goods. Very often they are organized by our opponents.

Organizing small proprietors is not the Socialists' primary task. But if small proprietors begin to organize, we should join their organizations, because we should take part in all organizations where there are toilers. Therefore, I propose that we make

the following addition at the end of thesis 8:

“As for the small peasants, Communists join their organizations (cooperatives for buying and selling) in order to increase our influence over these forces, neutralize opponent tendencies there, and try to limit their fixation on private property.”

Let me mention another point. I accept the conception, as amended by the commission, regarding what the proletarian government should do as soon as it is in a position to take up the agrarian question. But in thesis 6, at the end of the second paragraph, I would like to make a small addition regarding reconstruction.

It is very correct that we oppose compensating former large landholders. I believe it is correct to remind Socialists and Communists that this is an antisocialist and, moreover, an anti-communist act. And I find it strange that the proposal to give monetary compensation was supported by the comrades from Italy, Austria, and Germany. That would place an enormous burden on the rural masses. But since we must ease the transition as much as possible, we should try, after the first period of struggle, to use the talents of some of the proprietors. We should take note of this situation. I therefore propose this addition to the end of the second paragraph of thesis 6:

“Although the idea of monetary compensation must be absolutely ruled out, the possibility of granting a personal pension to former large landowners is admissible, if their age does not permit them to work and adapt rapidly to the new conditions of existence.”

Of course it will all depend on their political conduct, since it would be ridiculous to grant anything to counterrevolutionaries. But if there are some who accept the new situation, we should ease their conditions somewhat.

Finally, I believe that in thesis 3, line 2, we should not say “in all capitalist countries,” but rather “in almost all capitalist countries,” because it is not accurate that in all capitalist countries the rural masses make up the big majority of the population.¹⁰ In Britain, particularly, the rural masses are the minority.

Shablin: Comrades, although there is considerable industry in Bulgaria’s cities, the predominant form of property in the villages is small landholdings. The workers are concentrated in the cities, and it is from them that the Communist Party draws most

of its forces. But the Communist Party is beginning to extend its influence into the countryside, because the proletarianization of the small peasants is advancing very quickly, and as a result of the war the position of small peasants who succeeded in holding on to their plot of land has become very difficult.

The predominant form of land ownership in Bulgaria is the small holding. In Bulgaria there are 495,000 landowners, and the average area of each holding is 90 decares.¹¹ But these holdings are distributed as follows: 225,000 holdings up to 50 decares; 175,000 up to 100 decares, 95,000 up to 1,000 decares, 936 more than 1,000 decares.

The first category, which is also the largest, consists of semi-proletarians, whose land is not even sufficient for their own needs. They are forced to work a good part of the year either for the rich peasants or in the mines, factories, and cities. Most of our rural cadres come from this group.

The second category is the small landholders, whose land is barely enough to satisfy the needs of their families. They do not exploit the labor of others; they cultivate their land themselves. The Communist Party works among this layer and has remarkable results to show for it. As a result of a significant decline in agricultural productivity, which resulted from the destruction of livestock during the war, the economic situation of this category has actually become very insecure.

These two categories, semiproletarians and small peasants, make up about four-fifths of the entire peasant population of Bulgaria. All they can expect from the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state is intensified taxation to cover war expenditures, which will deepen their impoverishment. The Communist Party is carrying out active agitation and intensive propaganda among them. Our party does not hide from the semiproletarians and small peasants our maximum program, namely the socialization of the land.¹² In our country the profitability of small agricultural holdings is so slim and the poverty of semi-proletarians and small landowners so great that the idea of increasing agricultural productivity through common ownership of the land is gaining ground every day.

At the same time, we tell them that the proletariat, once in power, will expropriate the large landowners, not the small peasants and semiproletarians, and will even allow the middle

peasants free use of their land. The semiproletarians and small landowners will come to the idea of collective ownership and cultivation of the land of their own accord, once the proletarian state shows them by its actions the advantages of the new socialist order, and once the use of improved agricultural machinery, electrification of the farm, and the development of agricultural knowledge make collective ownership and cultivation of the soil economically feasible.

That is the basic direction of our agitation, which takes into account the real situation of the semiproletarians and small landowners. We also strive to break the working masses of the peasant population away from the influence of the urban and rural bourgeoisie and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and win them over to the cause of the proletarian revolution. I must emphasize in particular that we have already been very successful in this respect. The Communist Party has begun to publish a Communist newspaper for the peasants;¹³ it has approximately a thousand Communist organizations and groups in the countryside, embracing twenty-five thousand farm workers, semiproletarians, and small landowners, and it is preparing them for the revolution. The slogan of workers' and peasants' councils is greeted enthusiastically by these masses, who have lost confidence in the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois state, and the bourgeois parliament. We are working to have the majority of these masses on our side at the moment of the revolution, and with their help we will thwart the bourgeoisie's efforts to use the peasantry to strangle the revolutionary proletariat in the cities—a proletariat, I must add, that has already been completely won to communist ideas.

The middle peasants—that is, those who sell their agricultural products on the market—amassed no small amount of bank notes during the war, and many of them became rich. They represent the reactionary classes in the countryside, but in our country they are a numerically weak and insignificant layer.

Even fewer in number are the large landowners, who together with the middle peasants constitute the peasant reaction on which the power of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie rests today. In our country—just as in the other capitalist countries—the peasant bourgeoisie (middle and large landowners) exerts a rather large influence and plays a greater political role because of its pre-

dominance in the market for agricultural products, whose prices have undergone an incredible increase. These peasant bourgeois are in the camp of reaction and counterrevolution. Today they are allied with the urban bourgeoisie, through the banks and corporations, both in speculation and exploitation of the masses and in bloodthirsty policies to suppress the proletarian revolution with the most gruesome methods available to the bourgeois dictatorship.

But I must repeat: in our country the peasant bourgeoisie is only a very thin layer of the rural population, and if we succeed in winning over the majority of the semiproletarians and small peasants, we will be able to break the resistance of the peasant bourgeoisie when the revolution occurs. For these reasons we are making the greatest efforts in the countryside to organize the farm workers, who are united in a union. But what we want most of all is to draw over to our side and win for communism the semiproletarians and small peasants in the countryside, who constitute the big, overwhelming majority of the rural population.

We also clearly recognize the need to neutralize the middle peasants in the revolution. We are not frightening them with the idea of expropriating their land, for with the technical means now at our disposal we cannot immediately organize collective agricultural production in place of private agricultural production. Our goal is to expropriate the large landowners. Should we succeed in neutralizing the middle peasants, we will have split in two the forces of the reactionary bloc and will more readily defeat them.

As for forming peasants' councils, in our view this is closely tied to the creation of workers' councils in the cities. Workers' and peasants' councils can exist as revolutionary organs for the conquest and exercise of proletarian power only if they are defended arms in hand by the workers and peasants. When the revolutionary struggles reach their high point, when the working class and the urban poor resolve, as their struggle broadens, to go all the way to the creation of soviets and armed insurrection, only then will it be possible and permissible to proceed to establishing peasant councils, consisting of the poor, the proletarians, and the semiproletarians in the countryside.

Therefore the Bulgarian delegation adopts and supports the

theses submitted to the congress by the Executive Committee with the commission's amendments presented by the commission reporter, Comrade Meyer.

Serrati: I asked for the floor so that Comrade Wijnkoop could not come and reproach me for making a statement at the time of the vote.

In my opinion, this question does not interest the congress. This is a congress of comrades from industrial countries who do not know how important the question is.

As for me, I will just make a statement. I think that the next congress should discuss this question more thoroughly, when we have acquired more experience.

I will abstain on the vote. Personally I am against the theses, which do not seem to me to correspond sufficiently to the needs of the revolution in the western countries. Our party in Italy has not yet come to a final decision on this very serious question, and I do not think I have the right to substitute my personal will for that of the comrades who sent me to the congress as their delegate.

In general it seems to me that the needs of the postrevolutionary period, during which the proletarian state is forced to adapt to certain circumstances, are being confused with those of the prerevolutionary period, during which Communists must follow a precise and sharply defined line against all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

The theses on the agrarian question, just like those on the national and colonial questions, do not take into account that the concessions made to certain social layers to influence them in our favor, or at least to neutralize them at the time of the revolutionary melee, can be very dangerous for the proletarian layers and start them on a road of increasingly opportunist concessions.

In general the small peasants of western Europe are very grasping and know very well what political position to take to defend their interests. It is not enough to make declarations of sympathy for them—they want something practical. They are for high tariffs and administrative autonomy and against industrializing the land. That is what they were promised by the parties that organized them. Can we in turn promise them the same? Would they believe us? Furthermore it is necessary to recall that

in the most advanced countries, the peasants—small and middle proprietors—already have their parties. That is the case in Switzerland and France.

The small and middle proprietors and the tenant farmers in these countries are fighting against the agricultural wage-workers, who want to dispossess them right now. In Italy this struggle has been going on for twenty years and occasionally has bloody consequences. Can we go and say that we were wrong?

The small landholding is an economic form that exists for a reason in certain areas, especially in the mountains. The Communists should not harm the small peasants. They should accept certain inevitable solutions during and after the revolution. They should understand and make others understand that after the fall of the bourgeois regime, compromises should be possible with even the middle peasants. But especially *before the revolution* the Communists have a particular duty not to make concessions to the agricultural petty bourgeoisie so as not to harm the interests of the proletarian masses.

It is for these reasons and because I am not adequately acquainted with the opinion of our party's leadership on this subject that I will abstain on the vote.

Grigory Sokolnikov [Communist Party of Russia]: Comrade Graziadei tells us that he considers Marxist theory, in its application to the agrarian question, as childishness.

Graziadei: I did not say that. I said that the theory of the concentration of capital has not proved correct everywhere in the manner contemplated in *Capital*. I said that it is childishness on the part of certain comrades to conclude, based on the law of the concentration of capital, that all the petty proprietors must disappear in the bourgeois world.

Sokolnikov: Which word is used is not of great importance. Comrade Graziadei says that Marxist theories are wrong on the concentration of capital in agriculture.

Comrade Graziadei is, if I am not mistaken, an outstanding professor of political economy, but in the present case, which concerns Marxist theory, I really think that it is he who is wrong, and that he is following the example of professors of political economy who have so often declared that in general Marxist theory is of no value when applied to a specific question.

If it were really true that Marxist theory proved not to apply

to the question of agriculture, then we would have to draw the necessary conclusion: we would have to admit that the entire socialist and communist conception must fall, since Marxist theories do not hold up on the question of agriculture.

If it is impossible to organize socialist production in agriculture from the foundations left by capitalist development, that obviously means the collapse of the socialist system in industry. Furthermore I believe that when Comrade Graziadei spoke against applying Marxist theories to agriculture, he failed to note that the centers of agricultural production have shifted. Central Europe has ceased to be the grain basket of Europe. Large-scale agricultural production now is located on the other side of the ocean. It is North America and in recent years South America that feed European industry and make possible the provisioning of the European working masses. This forces us to talk about the change that has taken place in Europe and America during the war and in the last few years.

I would also like to comment on Comrade Serrati's remark that the war did not proletarianize but, on the contrary, enriched the peasants. He gives the example of the Italian peasants whose wool socks are full of gold. I think he is mistaken there. It is true that a portion of the peasants—those who were able to sell their grain, the products of their small holdings—enriched themselves, but in a completely conventional manner. I will return to this point, but I want to point out that, quite the contrary, a large portion of the peasants were ruined by the war. The war snatched away hundreds of thousands of the peasant masses, and that means a terrible blow, a death blow, for all small proprietors.

They are condemned to the depths of poverty. A great many peasants are emigrating or going to work in the factories. The war has certainly dealt the small proprietors and peasants a terrible blow, driving them to ruin.

If you now look at the mass of those who were able to sell their agricultural products, you can be sure that they put a lot of money into their wool socks. But I doubt it is gold. It is bank notes—paper. And this is a form of expropriating the peasant holdings through the imperialist war. In reality they became propertyless and their holdings were expropriated. In return for their real goods they received paper that is of little value and

that increasingly depreciates. You mentioned the example of Switzerland, which did not even participate in the war and, moreover, is a small country. It is indisputable that in France, Germany, and Russia the war was a form of expropriation of the small peasant.

When Comrade Serrati tells us that he does not believe that the change in our policy toward the small peasants has real merit, I must point out that there is a change in our policy nonetheless. There is no change in the policy of the Communist Party, but there is a change in the conditions of the small peasants. You cannot compare the conditions of a small peasant in Europe in 1851, at the time of Napoléon's coup d'état, with the present situation of a small peasant in Europe.¹⁴ A great change took place during the development of capitalism. The small peasant was proletarianized in very specific ways and became greatly dependent on capitalism.

The great banks, the export companies, and the capitalist organizations have in various ways brought the small peasants, the petty proprietors, to a situation that is not far from that of a proletarian. And because of this change in the small peasant's conditions of life, he has become the slave and enemy of capitalism. That is why the Communist Party turns to these petty proprietors, these small peasants, with great prospects of success.

The situation of the small peasant was changed by the development of capitalism in recent years. The war transformed him even more deeply. Hence the proletarianization of the peasant that we now see. The war was the cause of the expropriation of the small peasant. That is why the Communist Party today can count on the small peasant and the semiproletarian entering its ranks and fighting together with the workers in the cities against capitalism and for the social revolution.

Lefebvre: I am taking the floor to comment on certain of Serrati's statements. His intransigent argumentation was founded on opportunist considerations, proposing that communist policy be based solely on the alliance with farm workers against small peasants. His key reason was that small peasants will not accept the Communists' word the day after we take power when we come and say to them, "You will preserve your privileges—and even get new ones."

It seems to me to be (please excuse my using the term) shameless demagoguery to not say and not support something except to the degree that you hope it will pay off immediately and will be useful for current propaganda. We are here not only to prepare today's propaganda, aimed at taking power, but equally to establish under what conditions we can organize a communist society in our countries.

What is more, Serrati spoke in the name of western Europe. It seems to me that you said that the situation in western Europe is such that the policy advocated in the theses could not satisfy propaganda needs.

I do not share this view. I believe on the contrary that—I can speak only of France, because that is the country I know fairly well—this policy fits the situation in France pretty well. First, it seems to me virtually impossible to undertake anything at all if we have the mass of French petty proprietors against us. Furthermore, I think—without going as far as Comrade Sokolnikov and without sharing his optimism—that things could soon be that way in France. I would say that even if the war has not proletarianized small proprietors in France, it could be that it has had a big effect.

Obviously, the French small peasant appears to have been enriched by the war. But in a society in decomposition, wealth, once born, withers again just as quickly, and we can already foresee for what reason and by what process small-peasant property is going to find itself injured by what we could call the postwar period.

In France, for electoral reasons, the big bourgeoisie appeared to support the interests of the small peasantry. But now, since discussion of a law about a month and a half ago, we have seen the big bourgeoisie drop the interests of the small peasantry on the wheat question in such a way that the situation of the small peasantry is soon going to be quite serious in our country.¹⁵

Sokolnikov is right to say that the wealth of the peasants is paper wealth. We should add that, up to now, the small proprietors have really benefited from the war in the sense that they have paid off their mortgages with paper. Now, the repayment of the mortgages in France is an accomplished fact, and the paper is in the peasants' strongboxes. And now that the French peasant has to keep this paper at home, he is greatly concerned to

know how much it is worth.

So, in our country—and I think that this is international—the peasant feels contempt for those who borrow. This leads the peasant to hold the capitalist state in contempt because in France it has no policy beyond a continuous stream of borrowing.

For this reason, communist propaganda is finding a very attentive reception in France. Where there was no sympathy before, today this propaganda is received with respect. Pamphlets are bought, groups are formed. A policy that would lead to turning this class into an implacable enemy would be an absolute disaster.

Furthermore, it would be impossible to organize agrarian production after taking power without the total collaboration of the small peasants.

I do not protest against the point of view of Comrade Graziadei, who would like to put a paragraph into the theses benefiting the large landowners. Obviously, the collaboration of those among them who rally to the soviet regime will be welcomed and they can be given government posts. But there is no point in putting into the theses a paragraph on them that would imply some sort of right.

SUMMARY

Meyer: Comrades, I will be brief. I am glad that the Italian comrades participated in the discussion and told us something about the agrarian question in Italy. Unfortunately, for factional reasons, they did not send their representatives to the commission.¹⁶ I hope they will make further information available to the agrarian commission. I recommend that Comrade Graziadei's proposals be referred to the commission for consideration. I agree with Comrade Lefebvre that there is no need to mention compensation of former large landowners. The other addition, on cooperatives, will be made by the agrarian commission in one form or another, since the commission also discussed this question.

As for the role of the small peasants, I agree with what Com-

rade Sokolnikov laid out. It is true that during the war, in the belligerent as well as the neutral countries, a portion of the small peasantry not only covered their own needs out of their production, but also transformed the surpluses into capital. That happened and continues to a certain degree even today. In the meantime, however, the prices for all consumer goods, especially clothing and agricultural implements, have risen so sharply, and the tax burden for all low-income layers has become so much heavier, that gains won previously by the small peasants have been canceled out. If that is not yet evident in all countries, in the coming period it will and must increasingly become the case. I share Comrade Sokolnikov's view that the small peasant must be made aware of the drop that can be expected in his own standard of living.

There is no break with the program of socialism in these theses. Comrade Serrati opposes them because he believes the Communist International has given up the idea that the large enterprises should be nationalized. That is not at all true. The point was only that in fact it is impossible to socialize small landholdings right now. That is because the rural proletariat in general is not sufficiently prepared and also lacks the technical means for collective farming. Therefore we make concessions that preserve for now the private property of the small and middle peasants and a portion of the large peasants. We project making all the preparations to overcome this transitional stage, to influence the small and middle peasantry in favor of the cooperative enterprise, and to show them the advantages of collective farming.

That is one course that was proposed. Second, the technical preparation to expand rural large-scale enterprises must take place through consolidating proletarian power, even though this entails concessions to different layers of the rural population. Proletarian state power must be consolidated to the point that it completely dominates heavy industry, so that it can produce more machines for agriculture. As soon as these technical preconditions are at hand, it will be possible to fuse together these small and middle farms. There is thus no break with our earlier program; rather we are being shown in detail how we arrive at socialization of agriculture. That is the meaning of the theses.

With that I think I have answered the questions raised in the discussion. I propose that you adopt the theses in principle and refer Comrade Graziadei's motions to the commission. No further substantive changes will be made.

Zinoviev: Now we come to the vote on the theses.

(The theses are adopted unanimously with 1 abstention. The session adjourns at four o'clock.)

THESES ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION¹⁷

1. Only the urban and industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can free the toiling masses of the countryside from the yoke of capital and landlordism and protect them from ruin and imperialist wars, which are always and forever inevitable so long as the capitalist system endures. The toiling masses in the countryside can find their salvation only in alliance with the Communist proletariat, in wholeheartedly supporting its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the Junkers (large landowners) and the bourgeoisie. Conversely, the industrial workers cannot carry out their world-historic mission of freeing humanity from the yoke of capital and war if they confine themselves to their crafts and their narrow, trade union interests and complacently limit themselves to trying to better their conditions, which are sometimes tolerable in a petty-bourgeois sense.

But in many advanced countries that is precisely the situation with the "labor aristocracy," which constitutes the base of the so-called Socialist parties of the Second International. In reality these parties represent socialism's worst enemy—its betrayers, petty-bourgeois jingoists, and agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement. The proletariat acts as a truly revolutionary and truly socialist class only by taking a stand and acting as the vanguard of all toilers and exploited, as the leader in the fight to overthrow the exploiters. But this cannot be accomplished without carrying the class struggle into the countryside, without rallying the rural toiling masses, without the Communist Party of the urban proletariat, without the urban proletariat

educating that of the countryside.

2. The toiling and exploited masses of the countryside, whom the urban proletariat must lead in struggle or at least draw over to its side, are represented in the capitalist countries by the following groups:

First, the agricultural proletariat—the wageworkers (seasonal, migrant, and day laborers) who make their living by wage labor in agricultural and related industrial enterprises. The basic task of the Communist Party in all countries is to organize this class—including forest workers, estate workers, and so on—independently and separately from the other groups of the rural population, in political, military, trade union, cooperative, and educational organizations. The Communist Party also must increase propaganda and agitation among this group and win it over to the side of soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Second, the semiproletarians or smallholders, who make their living partly from wage labor in agricultural, industrial, and capitalist enterprises and partly by toiling on their own or a rented scrap of land that yields only a portion of their family's needs. This group of rural toilers is very numerous in all capitalist countries. Its existence and particular conditions are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and Socialists belonging to the Second International. They do this in part consciously, to mislead the workers, and in part blindly, because they give in to the conventional philistine viewpoint that confuses this group with the mass of the peasantry in general. This method of bourgeois deception of the workers can be seen most clearly in Germany and France, but it also takes place in America and other countries. This group can become a solid supporter of the Communist Party if the party's work is properly organized, because the conditions of these semiproletarians are very hard, and the benefits that soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat bring them are significant and immediately effective.

In some countries the first and second groups are not sharply differentiated. Therefore, under special circumstances it is permissible to organize them together.¹⁸

Third, the small peasants—farmers who own or rent small parcels of land that barely cover their families' needs and who

hire no outside labor. They gain implicitly and immediately from the victory of the proletariat in the following ways: (a) they are freed from paying rent or a portion of their crops to the landowners (for example the *métayers* [sharecroppers] in France and Italy, and so forth); (b) they are freed from the burden of mortgages and purchase fees; (c) they are freed from the yoke of dependency on the large landowners in its various forms (use of forest and pasture, for example); (d) the proletarian state immediately helps small peasants' farms by, for example, enabling them to use agricultural equipment and a portion of the lands of the large capitalist enterprises expropriated by the proletariat, and the proletarian state immediately transforms the consumer and agricultural cooperatives, which under capitalism have mainly served the rich and powerful peasants, into organizations that primarily help the poor, that is, the proletarians, semiproletarians, small peasants, and so forth.

At the same time, the Communist Party must be conscious that during the transition period from capitalism to communism—that is, during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—at least part of this layer will inevitably waver toward full freedom of trade and free use of private property. This layer, which acts, even if only on a small scale, as a seller of food, has been corrupted by speculation and the habits of proprietorship. However, if there is a firm proletarian policy, a decisive settling of accounts by the victorious proletariat with the landowners and large peasants, the waverings of this layer cannot be significant and cannot in any way change the fact that for the most part the small peasant will be on the side of the proletarian overthrow.

3. The three above-mentioned groups taken together constitute the majority of the rural population in all countries. That is why the ultimate success of the proletarian overthrow is ensured not only in the cities, but also in the countryside.

The contrary opinion is widespread, but it persists only because of, first, systematic deception by bourgeois science and statistics, which does all it can to conceal the deep gulf between these rural layers and the exploiters, landowners, and capitalists as well as between the semiproletarians and the small peasants, on the one hand, and the large peasants on the other.

Second, it survives because the heroes of the Second Interna-

tional and the "labor aristocracy," corrupted by imperialist prerogatives, are unwilling and unable to carry out truly proletarian, revolutionary propaganda and agitational and organizational work among the rural toiling population. The opportunists' whole attention was and is directed at concocting an agreement, in theory and in fact, with the bourgeoisie, including with the large and middle peasantry, and not at the revolutionary overthrow by the proletariat of the bourgeois government and the bourgeoisie.

Third, this false opinion persists as a result of an obstinate prejudice, linked to all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices. This view resists the following truth, fully proven by Marxist theory and entirely confirmed by the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia. The fragmented, oppressed, and intimidated rural population of the above-mentioned groups, condemned to a semibarbaric standard of living in even the most advanced countries, stand to gain economically, socially, and culturally from the victory of socialism. But except for the rural workers, who today already support the revolution, this population can give decisive support to the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat has conquered power, the large landowners and capitalists have been decisively dealt with, and these layers see in practice that they have an organized leader and defender who is powerful and firm enough to help them and guide them on the correct course.

4. The middle peasantry refers in the economic sense to the small farmers: owners or renters of small pieces of land that under capitalism usually not only ensure the upkeep of the family and farm but also yield a small surplus which, at least in good years, can be transformed into capital. These farmers are often in a position to hire outside labor. An example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country is the layer in Germany which, according to the 1907 census in Germany, has farms of from five to ten hectares of land, of which about one-third employ agricultural wage labor.¹⁹ In France, where there is specialized cultivation (vineyards, for example) requiring a particularly great expenditure of labor, this group probably uses outside, hired wageworkers on an even greater scale.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot take on the task of win-

ning this layer over, at least not in the immediate future and in the opening stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, the proletariat must restrict itself to the task of neutralizing this layer, of preventing it from actively assisting the bourgeoisie in the latter's struggle against the proletariat. The vacillations of this layer are unavoidable, and at the beginning of the new epoch its prevailing tendency in the developed capitalist countries will be to favor the bourgeoisie, because the outlook and frame of mind of property owners are predominant here.²⁰ The victorious proletariat will improve this layer's lot by abolishing rent and mortgage debts, providing machinery, introducing electricity in agricultural production, and so on.

In most capitalist states it is out of the question for the proletarian state to abolish private property immediately. But the proletarian state power certainly will abolish all obligations this layer is subject to because of private property rights.²¹ In any case, the proletarian state guarantees the small and middle peasants not only that they will retain their piece of land but also that it will be enlarged to encompass the land they previously rented (by abolishing rents).

Combining measures of this sort with the relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the success of the policy of neutralization. The transition to collective farming can be implemented by the proletarian state only gradually and with great care, without any force, and through example, by providing machinery and introducing technical improvements and electrification.²²

5. The *large peasantry* comprises the capitalist agricultural enterprises, which as a rule employ several wageworkers and are connected with the peasantry only through their level of culture, way of life, and through personal, physical work on their farm.

This is the most numerous of the bourgeois layers, and it is a direct and decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. Freeing the toiling and exploited majority of the rural population from the spiritual and political influence of these exploiters and struggling against this layer must be the main goal of the Communist Party's work in the countryside.

After the proletariat's victory in the cities, it is inevitable that this layer will carry out every possible form of resistance, sabo-

tage, and direct, counterrevolutionary armed struggle. Therefore, the revolutionary proletariat must immediately begin the intellectual and organizational preparation of the necessary forces to disarm this group and, in addition to overthrowing the capitalists of industry, to deal it a decisive, ruthless, devastating blow at the first expression of resistance. For this purpose the rural proletariat must be armed and organized into soviets (estate councils), in which there can be no place for exploiters, while the proletarians and semiproletarians must be ensured predominant influence.

Nevertheless, expropriating the large peasants should not be the immediate task of the victorious proletariat, because the material, especially technical, but also social conditions for socializing such farms are still lacking. In certain cases, probably exceptions, the parts of their lands that they rent out or that are especially needed by the small peasantry in the area will be expropriated. These small peasants must also be ensured the free use, under certain conditions, of a portion of the large peasants' agricultural machinery. In general the proletarian state power can allow the large peasants to keep the land and will expropriate it only if they resist the power of the toilers and exploited. The experience of Russia's proletarian revolution, in which the struggle against the large peasants was especially complicated and protracted by a number of special conditions, accordingly showed that this layer, when taught a resounding lesson for the slightest resistance, is capable of loyally fulfilling the tasks set by the proletarian state and even begins to feel respect for this power that protects all who work and ruthlessly prosecutes the idle rich.

The particular conditions in Russia impeding the proletariat, after its victory over the bourgeoisie, in its fight against the large peasants were by and large the following: After the uprising of November 7, 1917 [October 25, old style], the Russian revolution went through the stage of the general democratic—that is, basically, bourgeois-democratic—struggle of the entire peasantry against the estate owners. The urban proletariat was culturally and numerically weak. The distances, given the extremely poor means of communication, caused great difficulties.

The revolutionary proletariat of Europe and America must

energetically prepare for total victory over the large peasants' resistance, eliminate any attempt at even the slightest resistance, and achieve victory significantly more quickly, decisively, and successfully. Such a complete victory of the masses of rural workers, semiproletarians, and small peasants is essential. Without it the proletarian state cannot be considered secure or sturdy.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must immediately, without exception and without any compensation, expropriate all the lands of the large landowners, estate owners, and those people who, performing no physical labor themselves, directly or through rents systematically exploit the labor power of wage-workers and the neighboring small (and often middle) peasantry. Here are found most of the descendants of the feudal lords—the nobles in Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored former feudal large landholders in France, the landlords in Britain, the former slaveholders in America, and, in addition, financial magnates grown rich—hybrids of these two varieties of exploiters and loafers. Propaganda for or implementation of any compensation to the large landowners for expropriated landed property must not be allowed in any form in the ranks of the Communist Party. In the present situation in Europe and America, that would be tantamount to betraying socialism and imposing a new burden on the toilers and exploited masses. These masses have already been burdened more than enough by the war, in which the number of millionaires and their wealth proliferated.²³

For the most advanced capitalist countries, the Communist International recognizes it as correct to preserve for the most part the large agricultural enterprises and to run them along the lines of the Soviet enterprises in Russia.

It would also be appropriate to support the formation of collective enterprises (agricultural cooperatives and communes).

In Russia the economic backwardness of the country made it necessary to divide these lands among the peasants for their use. Only in comparatively few exceptional cases was it possible to utilize these lands to establish a so-called Soviet enterprise, run by the proletarian state on its own account. The former wage-workers thereby become both workers for the state and mem-

bers of the soviets that administer the state.

Preserving the large landed enterprises best protects the interests of the revolutionary layer of the rural population, the propertyless farm workers and the semiproletarian plot owners, who earn their livelihood mainly from wage labor in the large enterprises. Furthermore, nationalizing the large enterprises makes the urban population at least partially independent of the peasantry for provisions.

On the other hand, where vestiges of the medieval order such as the *corvée* system lead to special forms of exploitation, where servitude or sharecropping or the like exist, it may be necessary to turn over to the peasants part of the land of the great estates.

In countries and regions where the large agricultural enterprise plays a relatively small role, but there are, on the other hand, a great many small peasant owners striving for land, distributing the large landowners' land will prove to be the surest method of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while preserving the large enterprises has no particular significance for supplying the cities.

The proletariat's first and most important task is to secure a lasting victory, come what may. For the sake of the revolution, the proletariat must not hesitate even at a temporary decrease in production. Only by keeping the middle peasants neutral and winning the support of the majority of the small peasantry, if not all of it, can the proletarian state achieve lasting stability.

In any case, whenever large landholdings are distributed, the interests of the rural proletariat must be safeguarded first and foremost.

The assets of the large enterprises absolutely must be transformed, without compensation, into state property with the vital stipulation that, after the needs of the large state enterprises have been met, these assets can be used without charge by the small peasants, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

In the period right after the proletarian uprising, it is absolutely necessary that the large landowners be immediately expropriated without compensation, and that in general they be expelled and interned as leaders of the counterrevolution and ruthless tyrants of the entire rural population. In addition, as proletarian power is consolidated not only in the city but also in

the countryside, the effort must be made systematically to involve in the establishment of large socialist agricultural enterprises men from the bourgeoisie with useful experience, knowledge, and organizational ability, under the special surveillance of reliable Communist workers and under the supervision of estate councils.

7. Socialism will defeat capitalism definitively and be secure forever only after the proletarian state has broken all resistance by the exploiters, securing total dominance and complete obedience, and reconstructed industry on the basis of scientific, large-scale enterprises and the most modern achievements of technology (electrification of the entire economy). This is the only way the city can offer the more backward and dispersed rural population the technical and social assistance that will create the material basis for significantly increasing productivity in agriculture and of rural labor in general. This is also the way that the smaller landowners will be induced by force of example and self-interest to change over to large, cooperative, mechanized enterprises.²⁴

Especially in the countryside, effectively carrying out the successful struggle for socialism requires the following: The Communist parties must instill in the industrial proletariat a recognition of the need for sacrifices in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to consolidate proletarian power. For the dictatorship of the proletariat signifies both the proletariat's ability to organize and guide all toiling and exploited masses and the vanguard's capacity to make the greatest efforts and heroic sacrifices for the sake of this goal. Success imperatively requires that the conditions of the toiling and most exploited rural masses be immediately and significantly improved by the proletariat's victory at the cost of the exploiters, because without this, the industrial proletariat cannot be certain of the support of the countryside and cannot count on provisions for the cities.

8. The tremendous difficulty of organizing and training in revolutionary struggle the masses of the rural population, who because of capitalism are intellectually undeveloped, scattered, oppressed, and often held in a condition of medieval dependency, demands that the Communist Party give special attention to the strike movement in the countryside and energetically

support and broaden the mass strikes of the rural proletarians and semiproletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, now confirmed and developed by the experiences in Germany, Poland, Italy, Britain,²⁵ and other developed countries, proves that only the advancing strike movement of the masses (under certain circumstances with the participation of the small peasants) is capable of awakening the slumbering village, arousing class consciousness and an understanding of the necessity for the rural exploited classes to organize along class lines, and making clear, in word and deed, the importance of their unifying with the urban workers. Therefore, demanding the trade union organization of the farm workers and collaboration by the Communists in farm and forest workers' unions is especially necessary. The Communist parties should also support the formation among the exploited rural population of production cooperatives that work closely with the revolutionary workers' movement. Furthermore, there should be agitation aimed particularly at small peasants.²⁶

The congress of the Communist International brands as traitors and turncoats those Socialists—found not only in the Second International but also in the parties, very important for Europe, that have left that International—who manage not only to watch the strike movement in the countryside with indifference, but who (like the trade union bureaucracy, the Scheidemanns, and Kautsky), oppose the strikes, seeing them only in terms of the danger of a decrease in food production.²⁷ No program whatsoever and no declaration, however solemn, has the slightest value unless the Communists and workers' leaders prove in practice that they put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory before everything, and that they therefore are ready to make the greatest sacrifices, since there is no other way and no other means of overcoming hunger and ruin once and for all and preventing new imperialist wars.²⁸

9. The Communist parties must do all in their power to proceed as soon as possible to form soviets in the countryside, primarily estate councils of representatives of the wagedworkers and semiproletarians. The formation of small peasant councils should also be promoted.²⁹ Only when linked to the mass strike movement and when acting together with the most oppressed classes will the soviets be able to perform their functions and

become consolidated, bringing the small peasants under their influence and later drawing them into their ranks through the fusion of the small peasants' soviets with those of the farm workers.³⁰ So long as the strike movement is not yet strong, however, and the agricultural proletariat is still poorly organized because of both heavy pressure by landowners and large peasants and insufficient support from industrial workers and their organizations, forming soviets in the countryside will require painstaking preparation. This preparation must take place by creating Communist Party cells, even if they are very small at first, through active propaganda that presents the demands of communism in popular form and uses examples to illustrate the various methods of exploitation and subjugation, and furthermore by using systematic agitational tours of industrial workers to the countryside, and so on.

Statutes

Zinoviev: On behalf of the Bureau I move that the following comrades do the final editing of all theses: Meyer (German); Rosmer (French); Reed (English); and Sokolnikov (Russian).¹ (*Vote*) We proceed now to the question of the statutes. Comrade Kabakchiev has the floor to give the report.

REPORT ON THE STATUTES

Khristo Kabakchiev [Communist Party of Bulgaria]: Comrades, first of all, I will review the main considerations that speak in favor of the Statutes of the Communist International as proposed by the Executive Committee, and then I will spend some time on the most important objections raised in the commission.

The defeat of the Second International occurred when the bourgeoisie succeeded in destroying the proletariat's international solidarity. One of the Communist International's first tasks, therefore, is the restoration of proletarian solidarity. Only revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism will make it possible to create the necessary preconditions for solidarity and unity of the proletariat in different countries. Clearly, the mere existence of a counterrevolutionary international alliance makes it necessary that there be unity in revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries. This alliance is organized and led today by the Entente, by the Supreme Council of the governments of the big capitalist countries, and by their creation and agent, the League of Nations. Unification and centralization of proletarian forces is the main condition necessary for the success of the proletariat's revolution against the counterrevolutionary united front of the bourgeoisie. The Communist International is the only organ capable of making unity among the proletarian forces of the world a reality.

There is another reason for the defeat of the Second International. The Second International admitted all parties on the

strength of their spoken or written statements but never took the trouble to learn the real policies pursued by parties that joined. It tolerated in its midst parties whose policies and practice were in obvious conflict with the policies of the revolutionary proletariat. Moreover, it admitted petty-bourgeois parties that had nothing in common with socialism. The experience with the Second International teaches us that if the Communist International is to carry out its tasks and achieve its goal, it must become a strictly disciplined and tightly centralized organization. It must oversee, lead, and bring into harmony the practical activity and revolutionary action of the proletariat of all countries.

The triumph of the revolutionary proletariat in Russia showed us clearly that strong centralization is needed in each Communist party and consequently also in the Communist International itself. The Communist Party of Russia can serve us as a model and an inspiration not only because its policies are farsighted and its actions strictly Marxist but also because of its iron discipline and strict centralism. The Russian Communist Party's principle of centralism and its discipline, which was displayed in all the Russian proletariat's revolutionary activity, was further strengthened after the conquest of power; it was extended to the organization of the Soviet republic, which helped to consolidate the revolutionary victory and make it unshakable. Without a centralized and disciplined organization, the Russian proletariat would never have triumphed. Without a centralized and disciplined organization, the international proletariat will never break capitalist rule. It is impossible to imagine how the proletariat could overthrow bourgeois rule and triumph over the capitalist state—a class tool that wields centralized and powerful means of coercion—without centralization.

We all agree that the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But anyone who says "dictatorship" must presuppose that the class that exercises this dictatorship and the party that leads that class have a centralized and strictly disciplined organization. Without such iron discipline and such a centralized organization, the Communist International cannot look forward to the advent of the proletarian dictatorship. The task of the Communist International is to unite the proletarian parties and other revolution-

ary proletarian organizations of all countries and fuse them into a bloc of struggle.

The economic crisis, a consequence of the imperialist war, created a revolutionary situation in most capitalist countries, ensuring in turn the rapid growth of the Communist International. The International has the duty to attract the mass organizations of the proletariat. The most effective—and perhaps only—way to shield the Communist International from the danger that rapid growth will threaten the purity of its revolutionary policies is to organize it on the basis of firm centralism. Merely adopting the theses proposed at this congress will not assure that the parties that have joined the Communist International will also remain true to its principles and policies. On the contrary, only organizational centralism and voluntary and sincere subordination to the Statutes of the Communist International provide a foundation for the parties that have already affiliated to communism and those that will do so in the future.

The proposed statutes establish the organizational foundation of the Communist International. But the Communist International, especially in the future, must develop in step with the expansion of the international revolutionary proletarian movement.

One of the most important principled objections to the draft statutes concerns the passage after the introduction that says, “The Communist International takes as its goal to struggle with all possible means, including with arms in hand, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international soviet republic as a transitional step toward complete destruction of the state.” The comrades that raised objections concerning this question reasoned as follows: First, the Communist International must not openly state and concede that it will employ force of arms in order to attain its goals. Second, the statutes must not talk exclusively about armed struggle; this could lead to the conclusion that other weapons of struggle do not come in question and that the Communist International knows no methods of struggle other than rifles and machine guns.

The first argument requires no detailed refutation. Seventy years have passed since the founders of revolutionary socialism, Marx and Engels, ended the renowned Communist Manifesto

with this declaration: "The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."²

Today we have before us the example of the Russian proletarian revolution, a revolution that triumphed through force of arms. The great, victorious Red Army is dealing mortal blows to the imperialism of the Allies and clearing the way for the world proletarian revolution. We claim we are going through a revolutionary epoch in which the bourgeoisie is openly organizing White Guards against us and civil war is flaring up in country after country. Is it possible today, after all this, to propose that we remain silent, to have the Communist International remain silent on the need to utilize the mightiest and most effective means of struggle, the one weapon above all others upon which the actual, ultimate success of the proletarian revolution depends?

No, comrades! In its statutes, the Communist International must refer quite explicitly to the need to engage in armed struggle. Hypocrisy concerning the use of such means will not spare us persecution by the ruling bourgeoisie. We must state plainly that the bourgeoisie understands what is at stake and thus knows our true revolutionary aims and methods of struggle perfectly well. It organizes White Guards to press other institutions into its service. The Communist International must declare openly, before the whole world, that the marching orders for the revolution can be only: Struggle to the death; struggle, arms in hand, against capitalism and for communism.

In the same manner we can answer the comrades on the commission who thought it would be dangerous to express the need to form illegal organizations alongside legal ones. (See article 12 of the statutes.) When the bourgeoisie of a given country found it convenient and in its interests to proscribe the Communist Party, it did so; when it thinks this a good idea in the future, it will do so, as it has already in several countries.

But is this really cause for the Communist Party to conceal its objectives and refrain from disseminating the idea that armed struggle is necessary? Not at all. Under such circumstances, to remain silent on the need to form illegal organizations is needless caution and causes confusion. What is more, comrades, we

say that such diplomatic caution is dangerous, for today the illegal organization is just as important as the legal one. And it is not just important but indispensable and imposed on us by necessity. And as you know, the congress has already adopted theses that settle this question and require the formation of illegal organizations. Comrades who have already voted for these theses would find themselves in a contradiction, as would the congress that adopted them, in rejecting the corresponding article of the statutes. We will parry the bourgeoisie's blows not by discarding the article in the statutes on illegal organizations but by learning, by becoming accustomed to forming illegal organizations, which will frustrate the bourgeoisie's investigations and vigilance. And for that we need revolutionary experience and revolutionary skill.

The question of the composition of the Executive Committee generated a lively discussion in the commission. I will repeat the most important objections made there. Several comrades believe that because the Communist Party of their country is currently weak, it is impossible to release a member to be a permanent representative to the Executive Committee. Others say that since the Communist parties of each country cannot maintain regular correspondence with their delegates to the Executive Committee, those delegates will have little information about the situation in their country and the state of the revolutionary movement.

To me these considerations do not seem very sound compared to the role that the Communist International and its Executive Committee plays and must play. We live in a revolutionary epoch in which the Communist International has important and immediate tasks to perform every day, in which questions of worldwide significance constantly arise that absolutely must be answered. The Communist International must be a powerful, centralized organization of struggle. It must therefore be led from a center that is representative and in which the largest Communist parties have permanent representatives.

The tasks of the Communist International are so important that every Communist party must select from its ranks a comrade of merit, equal to the magnitude of the assignment, so that this party can be represented on the Executive Committee and thereby maintain close contact with the Communist Interna-

tional. The Executive Committee will not be able to base its decisions on the real international situation unless it includes representatives of the large Communist parties of different countries. On the contrary, there is a danger that in certain cases Communist parties not represented on the Executive Committee will not recognize its decisions as binding, on the excuse that the Executive Committee does not know the true situation in their countries and makes decisions without first consulting them.

Several comrades demanded that the Executive Committee be composed of representatives from every party that belongs to the Communist International, every representative having decision-making vote. Otherwise, these comrades fear, the small countries and small parties will be left with no representation on the Executive Committee. I represent a small country, but the Communist Party there is tightly organized and unites the workers and peasants. I am certain that in appointing members to the Executive Committee the congress will take into account not a country's geographic size but rather the real strength of the Communist Party. If every party that belongs to the Communist International is given the right to have representatives with decision-making vote on the Executive Committee, it will become a cumbersome apparatus, in danger of being dominated by a majority of small and weak parties and never having a clearly defined composition. The congress must make a final decision on the size of the Executive Committee, selecting not which individuals but which parties should belong to it. The statutes give all parties the right to representation on the Executive Committee with consultative vote. That is sufficient.

The question was posed in the commission whether the Executive Committee should be given the power to expel from the Communist International individuals, groups, or even parties that "contravene decisions of the world congress" (article 9 of the statutes). But it is this power that gives the necessary effective force to all the other powers granted by the statutes to the Executive Committee. How can its decisions have the necessary authority and binding force if the committee does not have the power of expulsion? Not to give the Executive Committee this power would be to return to the old practices of the Second International.

Finally, the statutes give the Executive Committee the power to involve representatives of organizations and parties sympathetic to communism by giving them consultative vote.

The question was also raised whether the Executive Committee has the power to admit two parties from the same country with decisive vote. The commission did not resolve this question; it is left open in the statutes. I think that only one Communist party in each country should belong to the Communist International. This is absolutely necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist movement in each country. If the Communist International begins to follow the example of the Second International, admitting into its ranks two or more competing parties from the same country, whose differences are sometimes fabricated by less conscious elements and sometimes inspired and sustained by the bourgeoisie itself, that will hamper the development of the Communist movement.

The Executive Committee's experiences with the auxiliary bureaus in Amsterdam and Berlin show that all organs and bureaus it creates must be directly subordinate to it and act only within the guidelines it establishes. That is the only way we can create a centralized and disciplined international Communist organization.

Siegfried Bamatter [Socialist Youth Organization, Switzerland]: The commission on statutes instructed the editing commission to incorporate the editorial changes and motions into the statutes. This was no easy task for us, because our only basis was the three drafts that had been translated from the Russian, and not one of the translations was correct. For that reason we cannot present the statutes in their final form. Instead, I will read you only the editing commission's motions and those of its changes in wording that bear on principle. The statutes must go back to the commission again.

In the second paragraph on page 1, a sentence is missing from the German translation and must be inserted into the quotation. This sentence does appear in the French statutes.

Several small stylistic changes were made, which I will not enumerate. A change was made on page 2 that provoked a major debate in the commission. The line in question, which began, "The Communist International takes as its goal," was

changed to begin, "The Communist International takes as its goal to struggle with all possible means, including with arms in hand." Another change was made on page 3 in the last sentence of the first paragraph, which now reads, "The Communist International pledges to support every soviet republic, wherever one is created." Articles 1, 2, and 3 were adopted unanimously without change.

In article 4, second sentence, the following change was inserted. Instead of, "The world congress usually meets," it now says, "The world congress meets regularly once a year." The third sentence in article 4 was deleted, as was the last sentence. Articles 5, 6, and 7 were adopted with no substantial changes.

A few stylistic changes were made in article 8. For example, the first sentence began, "The main burden and responsibility . . ." It now begins, "The party . . . bears the main burden of the Executive Committee's work." Then, further on, in the next-to-last sentence of article 8, it now reads, "the ten to thirteen most important Communist parties," instead of, "the ten largest parties."

At the end of article 9 the following motion was added: "Executive Committee representatives discharge their political duties in the closest possible communication with the party leaderships of their respective countries." The last sentence of article 10 now says, "that, although not members of the Communist International, are in close sympathy with it." Article 11 was adopted unchanged.

Article 12, which reads, "The general situation in all of Europe and America compels Communists around the world to form illegal Communist organizations parallel to the legal ones," now continues, "The Executive Committee must see that this is done everywhere." In the first sentence of article 13, instead of beginning, "As a rule all important political communications," it now begins, "As a rule, political relations between individual parties belonging to the Communist International are conducted through the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

The first sentence of article 14 states, "Under the Communist International's leadership," instead of "Under the supervision . . ." The second sentence now says, "These unions appoint," instead of "The Communist unions appoint . . ." Article

15 is changed to read, "The Communist Youth International is a member of the Communist International with full rights, subordinate to its Executive Committee." The last sentence of article 15 was deleted. Articles 16 and 17 were adopted with no change. That completes the changes. The final version of the statutes will be presented later.

Alexander Bilan [Communist Labor Party, United States]: The statutes of our organization is one of the most important questions we have to decide. The reporter pointed out that the discipline of the Communist Party of Russia helped it play such an important role. We must therefore study the statutes carefully. If we adopt them, we must treat them seriously, be prepared to carry them out to the fullest extent, and not regard them as simply a piece of paper.

In several of the articles, the way the statutes were edited differed from one language to another, and therefore it was not possible for the members of the commission to reach agreement on several questions.

An editorial change must be made on the question of armed struggle. In my opinion, the wording of this article confuses the concept of ends with that of means. The concepts must not be confused. We want to pose armed struggle not as the goal of the revolutionary movement but rather as a means forced upon us. We must also clarify the circumstances under which such armed struggle becomes a necessity. Otherwise, if we call for it in general, we could experience what sometimes has happened in the past, when anarchists brandish hand grenades and that is seen as the Communist International's conception of armed struggle.

If we establish armed struggle as a general rule without taking into account the situation in each country, that is, whether conditions are sufficiently mature and whether such an armed struggle is really necessary and practically possible, then in some countries, where such struggle is not yet possible, the call to armed struggle could have the effect of a provocation. I point to the example of the KAPD, in which the concept of armed struggle is not understood in a mature and serious way and produces only harmful effects.

I proposed several amendments to articles of the draft statutes to the commission, but it did not adopt them. I would like to

bring them before the plenary session now. I move that the following sentences be added: "The Communist International's objective is to overthrow the international bourgeoisie in order to liberate humanity from the fetters of slavery and exploitation. It is determined to make use of armed struggle against the international bourgeoisie as the best possible way to achieve this objective."

Article 12 of the statutes reads, "The general situation in all of Europe and America compels Communists around the world to form illegal Communist organizations." There are countries where opportunities still exist to agitate and work legally for communist ideas. If we retain this article in its present form, we will enable governments to claim that the parties in their respective countries belong to the Communist International, which calls upon them to build illegal organizations. This could serve governments as a pretext to persecute very harshly comrades who might otherwise be able to struggle legally. Therefore, I propose to make a slight change in this section, striking from the passage the words implying that it is obligatory for parties belonging to the Communist International to form illegal organizations. With my change the article reads, "The general situation in all Europe and America compels the Communists of the whole world to form Communist organizations."

Wijnkoop: I did not vote on this point in the commission, and in my opinion it cannot be voted on. Instead, the question must first be referred to the parties in each country for study. Statutes are very important, in my view, and comrades in every country must know exactly what they have all agreed to in this matter. That can happen only if the parties in every country hold discussions on it. The discussion we had tonight and the discussion in the commission are not enough. That is why I did not vote and will abstain in the plenary session, too.

I say that statutes are very important because I believe they must be implemented and made reality. In this case the statutes must reflect what the different parties in various countries, after a thorough discussion, declare to be their will.

The key question for me is article 8, which reads, "The party of the country where, by decision of the world congress, the Executive Committee is located bears the main burden of the Executive Committee's work." In my opinion, although this

gives the impression that an international Executive Committee is being formed, the reality is quite different; we are setting up an expanded Russian Executive Committee. Now please understand me. I have no objection to a Russian Executive Committee if that is necessary, and perhaps now it is necessary. If we really cannot have an international Executive Committee, we must have a Russian one, because the Russian party is the most revolutionary and the most powerful. I have nothing against that, but then it should be stated. We should not act as if we were getting an international Executive Committee. It should be stated that at this time we cannot have anything other than a Russian Executive Committee and that this congress places power in the hands of the Russian Executive Committee. I would be for that without hesitation.

But all we will have is an expanded Russian Executive Committee; here, at this time, we can have no other Executive Committee. Why do I believe this? Because I am not as optimistic as some comrades about the blockade. For Russia it is a reality and may not be eased for some time—although some believe that it has already eased. If that were true, then of course my argument would no longer be appropriate. For the moment, however, it is not true.

I will give only one example. When delegates are here, that is, if delegates from the largest parties are sent here, they cannot monitor the world situation because they receive no reports on world politics. They do not hear enough about the organization in each country. They get reports only on what happens here. If it is possible for ten of the best men in the international movement to be sent here, they will lose contact with their own countries and will be informed only about Russia. And whether their character and intelligence are great or small, they will necessarily be guided by Russian information and therefore by the Russian Executive Committee. That cannot be otherwise, and nothing else is conceivable, because they will lose touch with their own country.

When this Executive Committee makes decisions, it might be said in those countries, "So-and-so, one of our leaders, is there, and he was present there. Yet such and such a decision was made, and it is a bad one, because he is not taking into account the situation in the countries of Europe and America." The

workers in these countries would become even more separated from their leaders—who came here after all in order to maintain contact between Moscow and the rest of the world. They would become convinced that their leaders had lost their sure perception of the world situation. So I do not believe that we can proceed this way.

I proposed that the Executive Committee be located outside of Russia, and I think this question should be discussed here. I suggested Italy or Norway as a site for the Executive Committee because I think that the workers' movement in those countries is strong enough now to make it possible to hold meetings of an international Executive Committee there. Comrade Levi proposed Germany as the Executive Committee's location. Indeed I would agree to Germany as readily as to Norway or Italy—for one thing because the workers' movement of those countries is sufficiently strong, and for another because people there are well informed about the world situation. The Russian delegation can certainly come to Norway or to Italy. Comrade Levi thinks they could come to Germany too.

I propose that this question be discussed. If the congress believes that changing the seat of the Executive Committee is impossible, then there cannot be a truly international Executive Committee at this time, and we will have to be satisfied with a Russian one. This question is very important, because we are giving this Executive Committee a great deal of authority, authority so broad that the Executive Committee can even expel entire parties, groups, and individuals. But surely it can do this only if it knows the situation in the various countries extremely well. That is why I feel that the statutes cannot simply be adopted in their present form.

Zinoviev: It has been moved that the speakers' list be closed. Is there any objection? (*The motion carries.*)

Levi: The questions under discussion here are so important that it is a shame they are being taken up when the delegates are in such a state of exhaustion that they cannot follow them properly.

First, I propose deleting from article 8 the words "not less than." The sentence that concerns me would read, "The party of that country sends five representatives . . ." Adding the words "not less than" could result in a misunderstanding. Although I

certainly do not think this was intended by those who proposed it, it could be inferred that the country where the Executive Committee resides may assign as many representatives to the committee as it likes. Five representatives is what it should be, no more and no less.

Furthermore, in my opinion, part of what Comrade Wijnkoop said is right. After a time, the representatives assigned here from abroad will lose living contact with the parties in their countries. I would not put it the way Comrade Wijnkoop did, that after a while a delegate sent here would be dependent solely on Russian information. Rather, I would say that from the moment he sets foot on Russian soil he has exactly the same sources of information as the Russian comrades.

As for Comrade Radek's objection that it would be no different in any other country, that is correct in principle but looks quite different in practice. Nowhere else for example, does it take ten days for letters or newspapers to arrive—even from Germany. And there is no doubt, in my opinion, that this will cause big problems, because when the Executive Committee must make decisions, the inadequacy of sources of information could, undoubtedly, influence the outcome.

How very true that is was shown by an example I raised in the commission yesterday. The Russian comrades gave credentials to the Dutch comrades. When we in Germany saw that decision, we said right away it was an error. And when the comrades in the Netherlands saw their credentials, they immediately said the same thing.³

I do not conclude from this that the Executive Committee should not remain here—other considerations speak too strongly in favor. No, I favor its staying here. But I believe that we must find a way to make important, unpostponable decisions. Representatives who come here to make decisions must be able to do that. And that is why my other motion reads, "The Executive Committee must meet in plenary session every three months." That, in my opinion, is what needs to be said to make sure that particularly important decisions are made by party representatives who are very well informed about these questions and have close contact with their party.

I also move that article 12 of the statutes be amended by striking the words up to "the Executive Committee" and replac-

ing them with "The Executive Committee must see that . . . "

In my opinion, there is no need to give a special place in the statutes to the illegal organizations provided for here. What we have to say about illegal organizations is found anyway in another one of our resolutions, so it is quite enough to state in general that the Executive Committee has to see to it that the congress resolutions are carried out. That says everything, and I believe that for many parties affiliated to the Communist International, omitting mention of these illegal organizations can entail only advantages.

Gallacher:⁴ With regard to the statutes read out here, which demand establishment of a united Communist party, I must say that the British communists who are marching under the banner of the British Communist Party are in fact holding on to the Communist International with one hand and the Second International with the other. They have not decisively adopted the platform of the Communist International. The British Socialist Party too is considered a communist party and at the same time is affiliated to the Labour Party. The Labour Party is a conglomeration of quite diverse parties standing on conflicting platforms. I see this as a contradiction and as a reason to ask whether the British Socialist Party can be regarded as a truly communist party. Comrade Radek asked me whether I am not myself in the Labour Party as a trade union official. My reply is that I am not an official but a member of the union. There is a difference between someone who is forced to join a labor organization and someone who joins a noncommunist organization voluntarily.

In order to get real power into our hands, we must first of all make sure that we rouse the masses to fight vigorously against the capitalists and industrialists. That is the first and most important step. Then we must see to the creation of an organization with the material strength needed to undertake armed struggle. The British Socialist Party, which is regarded here as a communist party, is in fact not at all in favor of armed or physical struggle. It is pacifist, although Comrade Quelch may deny it, for he himself said that he opposes the use of any force in this struggle.

The trade union movement in Britain can never be won over to communism. On the contrary, this whole organization must

be regarded as capitalism's most powerful bulwark for defense against social revolution. Several delegates representing the union movement, who were received here with open arms, upon their return to Britain appeared at large meetings and recounted how they were received here with such honor.⁵ When it is really necessary to fight for the workers' cause, they participate in arbitration boards, thereby harming the revolutionary struggle.

Reed: I disagree with those who do not want to include the point on armed insurrection in the theses. I base my position especially on experience in America. The workers will not understand why something like this is passed over in silence. And if they knew it, they would take it to mean that the party is afraid of the consequences. Experience shows that no matter how legally you express yourself, whenever the government wants to pass state-of-emergency laws against Communists or revolutionaries, it finds a way to turn the most legal thing into something completely illegal. That is why I am against saying nothing.

In addition I propose that article 14, which talks of a Red trade union International, not be incorporated into the statutes, or at least that it not be voted on until the whole trade union question has been considered in the commission and discussed here. Yesterday it was said here clearly that all questions concerning the unions would first be dealt with in commission and then presented to the congress.

I also wish to point out that it was said that in general the trade union International should have a looser relationship to the Communist International. But according to article 14 it would appear that the union International is going to become a section of the Communist International. According to the new statutes, even the youth International will have much greater autonomy than the union International. For this reason, I would like to ask that no vote be taken on this point at present.

Fraina: First of all, I would like to emphasize what Reed has said concerning the trade union International. This is a vital question. Precisely as we broke the Second, Socialist International, we must now break the Amsterdam trade union International—an indispensable condition for our struggle against world imperialism. I am absolutely in favor of the proposed plan for the Communist International to organize the labor unions

of the world. But we feel that this question should be considered separately and not as part of the statutes, since it deserves serious consideration, and we would like to put forward certain proposals.

Concerning the statutes, I totally disagree with Comrades Wijnkoop and Levi in their suggestion that the Executive Committee of the International should be elsewhere than in Russia. Before the congress many comrades feared that because of the blockade, lack of adequate information on the world movement, the requirements of "practical politics," and so forth, it might be necessary to have the Executive Committee in some other country. But now everyone must conclude that all these fears were imaginary. The Russian comrades know precisely what is going on, and no one in this congress has shown a finer international spirit than the comrades of the Russian party.

Moreover, the argument was advanced that the Executive Committee should be in the country that is currently the center of the world revolution. This argument is sound. We are past the stage of mere agitation; now is the stage of actual action. The world revolution is a fact, and the strategy and tactics of the Communist International must conform to this fact. Upon the country that is for the moment the center of the world revolution (in this case Russia) play all the world forces of imperialism and revolution, compelling the Communist movement in that country to adhere absolutely to an internationalist standpoint, failing which it will meet disaster.

Everything that happens in the world intimately concerns the Russian comrades, not as a matter of theory and tendency of coming events, but as a matter of life and death. What happens in England today immediately concerns Russia much more intimately than the United States; what happens in the United States concerns Russia much more intimately than England. And so with every country. World politics converge upon Soviet Russia. In intimate matters of the policy of our own imperialist governments, the Russian comrades are frequently more informed than we ourselves. Objective conditions, if nothing else, impose an international standpoint upon the Russian comrades, and with them in control of the Executive Committee we have a guarantee that problems will be met in the spirit of the International. It is absurd to suggest that the Executive Committee

should be transferred to Berlin. They have had a West European Secretariat in Berlin, and it has been parochial, narrow, to some degree nationalistic, and not international.

It is surprising that any delegate to this congress would oppose inserting in the statutes the clause concerning illegal work. Not only is the combination of illegal and legal work absolutely necessary, but it should be openly proclaimed and made mandatory. Where a party is legal, a tendency develops against illegal work, and where a party is illegal there develops a tendency against utilizing legal opportunities. We must insist upon the combination of the two. Let there be no illusions: your party may be legal today, but tomorrow it can become illegal. We suffered greatly because of this in America, where we recognized that we would ultimately become illegal, but in practice had not done enough to prepare for this. As a result we were caught unawares when the great repression came. Moreover, even where a party is perfectly legal, there are indispensable forms of work—such as agitation among soldiers and sailors—that require illegal organization.

I am firmly convinced that centralization is our fundamental problem. The great difference between the Second and the Third International is precisely this matter of centralization. It may be objected that centralization is a purely organizational problem and not fundamental, but that argument is sheer Menshevism. Centralization is a revolutionary necessity. The Communist International is a highly centralized organization precisely because it is revolutionary, while the Second International was decentralized and autonomous because it was a loose federation of reformist and nonrevolutionary organizations. World imperialism is centralizing. This is only partial, since rivalry of interests prevails, but centralization of imperialism is a fact insofar as the opposition to world revolution is concerned.

The proletariat and Communist parties of the world have a complete identity of interests and can achieve a centralization impossible to imperialism, a fact that gives us an enormous advantage. The world revolution is a problem that requires flexibility, adaptation to each peculiar development of the world situation, and unified strategy and tactics. Unless the International is firm, centralized, and moving as one in a particular direction determined by events, we shall never conquer.

There must be concentration of forces and unity of command so that the International and its affiliated organizations will move unitedly, focusing on each specific phase of the world revolution. The International must have the right to issue orders to each national organization. It must have the authority to say, in accord with events, whether a certain thing should or should not be done. Only in this way will we conquer.

SUMMARY

Zinoviev: Comrades, three objections have been raised on points of principle. First, by the American comrades, who propose deleting article 14 and not taking up the trade union question at all. These comrades said we promised to wait until the trade union commission had completed its work. Comrades, I believe that is not correct. Article 14 says:

“Trade unions that uphold communism and that are united internationally under the Communist International’s leadership constitute a trade union section of the Communist International. These unions appoint representatives to the world congresses of the Communist International through the Communist parties of their respective countries. The trade union section of the Communist International appoints a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee has the right to designate a representative with decisive vote to the trade union section of the Communist International.”

We really need not wait until the trade union commission has concluded its labors before stating this, for it should be clear to every Communist. We want the Communist International not only to organize political parties but also to encompass every mass organization of the proletariat that takes a communist position. That is the first principle of the Communist International. Or do Comrade Fraina and Comrade Reed want to dispute that?

As has been mentioned several times, we build on the same foundation as the First International; we seek to continue its traditions. Well, one of the First International’s most important

traditions was that it sought to organize not only political parties but all proletarian mass organizations that took a communist position. That is what is stated here; no more, but no less either. If we were to call that into question, we could not build the Communist International. We must encompass not only political parties but revolutionary proletarian trade unions as well. And it is quite clear that if unions come to us, we must organize them in some way as a section of the Communist International, as part of the Communist International. Can anyone challenge that? Not at all.

All questions such as whether to remain in the American unions, whether or not the British unions should be split at once—all the questions that have been raised here have nothing to do with this. These questions are issues that must be discussed again in the commission. Only one thing is stated here: In the Communist International we want not only political organizations but all proletarian organizations and above all the trade unions. That is the ABC of the Communist International.

Our first principle is that the trade unions must send delegations to the world congress and constitute themselves as a section of the Communist International. Each must be represented on the other's Executive Committee. That is incontestable. And every serious Communist must accept it. Otherwise our practice will be like that of the Second International.

But we want to renew the practice of the First International under new historical conditions and to carry on the traditions of Marx, namely that the Communist party leads not only in politics, but in every aspect of the workers' movement, and that we must organize every branch of the workers' movement in the world within the Communist International.

Let us turn to the second question, to article 8, regarding the Executive Committee. Comrade Wijnkoop suggested here that the Executive Committee be moved, perhaps to Norway. Any number of proposals could be made, and various exotic republics could be located. But I must point out that here in article 8, as in the statutes in general, there is not a word about Russia. That is a different question, which we must discuss and decide separately. The statutes say, "The location of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be determined by each world congress of the Communist International." If it

should happen that the proletarian revolution is victorious in France or Britain, we will of course agree to the Executive Committee being moved to one of those countries. Russia is not mentioned here at all. That is a separate question. Therefore, it is not anticipated here. The principle advanced here is that the congress must decide where the Executive Committee shall be located.

Now we come to the composition of the Executive Committee. The statutes read, "The Executive Committee shall consist of five comrades from the country where the Executive Committee resides and of one comrade from each of the ten largest parties." I agree with Comrade Levi's motion to delete "not less than five comrades" and say "five comrades." Wijnkoop says that the Executive Committee will be an expanded Russian committee. But I say that perhaps it will be an expanded Dutch committee. The point is simply that the Executive Committee shall have fifteen members: five from one country and ten from other parties of the different countries belonging to the Communist International. That will be an international committee. So how can anyone claim that this will be merely an expanded Russian committee? It will be an international committee if all ten of these parties send delegates, and they should do that.

It was said here that it is impossible for all parties to send one comrade each. I take issue with that. Apparently it is considered a luxury to have a qualified comrade here, because he is needed in Germany or somewhere else. This will not do. We regard the Executive Committee as the foremost instrument of the workers' movement. Every important party should thus find a prominent comrade to participate in it. It is the most important organization of the international movement and also has great significance for every Communist movement. We are asking for only one comrade from each country, and if the parties rotate their delegates regularly, I think it will always be possible to find the number required by the statutes. We should and must make this sacrifice for the Communist International.

I also deny that it is correct to say that a comrade who stays here will lose contact with his organization. You do not lose contact in two or three months, especially if you are a veteran militant. We lived in exile for many years and did not lose contact. Today the movement is much broader. As we envisage

it, each delegate to the Executive Committee should become the first secretary of the committee for his country. The German comrade should be secretary for Germany, and so forth. Obviously, it would be best if comrades were not changed too often. But it is possible that even if the comrade in question changed places with someone else, he would remain secretary. He can have a technical assistant, but the leadership should be entrusted to the party representative in question. Only if this is the case will we have a real Executive Committee.

In some cases the Executive Committee is more important even than the congress. We have discussed a number of questions here, but we cannot foresee everything. In two weeks the most important questions might be posed anew under entirely different circumstances. Just now we stressed that we are acting in an epoch of revolutionary struggles. The Executive Committee must give help and answers to immediate questions, and therefore its composition too must be such that it has the formal and moral authority to speak in the name of the Communist International. That is why we must insist that it consist of fifteen members and that the ten most important parties actually send comrades to serve on the Executive Committee. If that does not happen, half of the meaning of our work will be lost.

The very meaning of our congress is that we want to construct a tightly knit organization, an international general staff of the fighting proletariat. If we are unable after the congress to form an Executive Committee, we will have destroyed at least half of our work. During the first year we were only a propaganda society. The Executive Committee could not function as a centralized body. It was a Russian institution—we state this frankly. That is exactly what we want to change now. We have said so openly. Now we want to have a centralized international organization, always able to give direction. We have vested great authority in the Executive Committee, including even the power to expel entire parties. Therefore the parties must see to it that they have a representative here. Otherwise our work has been in vain and we will not be able to tell the world proletariat, “Now we have a centralized International.”

That is why I am against the motion by Comrade Levi that there be a plenary session of the Executive Committee once every three months. Yesterday in the commission I wavered a bit.

I thought we should make concessions to our German friends. But if you think over Comrade Levi's proposal—that the party send representatives only in special cases or only once every three months—it is clear that every party will do that. Once every three months there will be a full session, but between sessions we will not have a functioning Executive Committee.

Thus we must tell our friends, "Although it will be difficult for you to keep a comrade here at all times, you must make this sacrifice, because it is in the interest of your own party." Communists will not pose this question as do the Independents, for example, who play a double game, saying the electoral struggle is one thing and the Communist International quite another. The point is to see that they are one and the same. We are a united international party with branches in different countries. The work of the International is just as important for Germany as it is for Russia. Thus we must insist categorically that the wording remain as it is, so that we have an Executive Committee of five members from one country and ten from others, all of whom are secretaries for their countries and who all work together.

We now come to the last disputed point, in article 12, on the illegal organizations. Article 12 states: "The general situation in all of Europe and America compels Communists around the world to form illegal Communist organizations parallel to the legal ones. The Executive Committee must see that this is done everywhere." We in the commission also considered perhaps phrasing this a bit more cautiously. My opinion, after having listened to everything, is that we should leave it as it is. There may be some negative considerations, but the positive ones outweigh them.

In countries like Britain and America, the so-called classic countries of bourgeois freedoms, it had not occurred to anyone to form illegal organizations. Perhaps it was accepted in theory, but it was never carried out in practice. Only now, when five thousand Communists are in jail in America, is it beginning to be understood there that we cannot do without illegal organizations. Experience in Germany also confirms this. There the party is legal at some times and illegal at others. And there is a lesson in this for the proletariat of the world: we must have an illegal organization no matter what the circumstances. It is im-

portant for every country. That is the lesson of the Communist International's fifteen months of existence. It is important to say this and put it into action. We must make it as binding as possible on all of us so that we know it and carry it out.

Practical considerations have been advanced, such as, "We shall see, perhaps we can get by with a legal organization." That is not the case. Comrade Levi said of Germany that he believes the bourgeoisie there has become so accustomed to Communists' legal work that it will not venture to take any action against it. Consequently, the German comrades say, whether or not we mention illegal organizations in the statutes, the bourgeoisie cannot deny us our legal status. In Italy the party is so strong that the bourgeoisie cannot take away its legal status. Then there is the experience of Bulgaria, where we have an old party that is legal and has forty or more deputies that have been subjected to much persecution.

We are in favor of expressing this point clearly and openly. The experiences in the Balkans, in Germany, Austria, and Italy should be decisive for us. Perhaps this clause will cause one or another party some difficulty, but the positive side is much more important for us.

And experience tells us we must make it mandatory in the statutes, because, to the bourgeoisie, whether we hang them illegally or legally is not a decisive question. What is important to them is whether we really hang them, whether we fight for communism. To them our form of organization is not the most important thing. That is something we have already learned, arms in hand. In any case, comrades, the prosecutor will quote these theses—it will amount to the same thing. We can only lose by failing to state clearly what every man and woman worker should and must know. That is why we insist that the wording remain as it is.

We must tell proletarians around the world, "Now that you have entered the epoch of decisive struggles, you should understand that you must develop an illegal organization systematically and everywhere. For when the decisive hour strikes, the bourgeoisie will trample on your legality and you will be left with nothing and have no organizations." That is why we must express this clearly.

I believe the congress can confidently approve what was de-

cided by a large majority of the commission, which unanimously adopted the statutes in general, with one abstention. I propose that the congress adopt the statutes unanimously. It is important that we adopt the constitution of our international party unanimously if at all possible and show the whole world that we are no longer merely an amorphous propaganda society.

We have matured and become a united international party that has statutes, that knows what it wants and what its international obligations are, whose members have bound themselves together by a mutual pledge and in comradely discipline in order from this hour forward, truly united, to fight for communism.

First I will call for a vote on the different motions, beginning with those pertaining to article 8.⁶ (*The text is adopted unanimously in the original version.*)

Now the vote will be taken on the statutes as a whole, which read as follows:

STATUTES⁷

The International Working Men's Association, also called the First International, was founded in London in 1864. The General Rules of the International Working Men's Association state:

"That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economical subjugation of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

"That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal

bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

“That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

“That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements.”⁸

The Second International, which was founded in 1889 in Paris, pledged to continue the work of the First International. But in 1914, as the world slaughter began, it suffered a complete collapse. Undermined by opportunism and broken by the betrayal of its leaders, who went over to the side of the bourgeoisie, the Second International collapsed.

The Communist International, founded in March 1919 in Moscow, capital of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, solemnly proclaims to the whole world that it undertakes to carry forward and complete the great work begun by the First International, the International Working Men’s Association.

The Communist International was formed at the end of the 1914-18 imperialist war, in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of different countries sacrificed twenty million human beings.

“Remember the imperialist war!” That is the first appeal that the Communist International addresses to every toiler, no matter where he lives, no matter what language he speaks. Remember that because the capitalist order exists, a handful of imperialists was able for four long years to force the workers of different countries to cut each other’s throats. Remember that the bourgeoisie’s war wrought the most dreadful famine and the most terrible misery throughout Europe and the entire world. Remember that unless capitalism is overthrown, a repetition of such predatory wars is not only possible but inevitable.

The Communist International takes as its goal to struggle with all possible means, including with arms in hand, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international soviet republic as a transitional step toward

complete destruction of the state. The Communist International believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only means offering the possibility of freeing humanity from the horrors of capitalism. And the Communist International regards soviet power as the historically determined form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The imperialist war created a particularly close bond between the fate of proletarians in one country and that of proletarians in all countries. The imperialist war has reaffirmed what was said in the General Rules of the First International: The emancipation of the workers is neither a local nor a national but an international problem.

The Communist International breaks once and for all with the traditions of the Second International, which in reality recognized the existence only of people with white skin. The Communist International sets as its task the liberation of the toilers of the whole world. People of white, yellow, and black skin color—the toilers of the whole earth—are fraternally united in the ranks of the Communist International.

The Communist International supports completely and wholeheartedly the conquests of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in world history, and calls upon proletarians of the whole world to take the same path. The Communist International pledges to support every soviet republic with all its strength, wherever one is created.

The Communist International knows that in order to achieve victory more rapidly, the international workers' association that fights to destroy capitalism and create communism must have a strictly centralized organization. The Communist International must be, truly and in fact, a united Communist party of the whole world. The parties that work in each country are only its individual sections. The organizational apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee the workers of every country that at any given moment they will receive maximum assistance from the organized proletarians of other countries.

To this end, the Communist International adopts as its statutes the following points:

1. The new international workers' association was founded to organize the common activity of the proletarians of different

countries who strive for one single goal: overthrowing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and an international soviet republic to completely abolish classes and realize socialism, the first stage of the communist society.

2. The new international workers' association is called the Communist International.

3. All parties belonging to the Communist International bear the name Communist Party of such and such a country (Section of the Communist International).

4. The highest authority of the Communist International is the world congress of all parties and organizations belonging to it. The world congress meets regularly once a year. Only the world congress is empowered to change the program of the Communist International. The world congress shall discuss and decide the most important questions of program and policy affecting the work of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes allotted to each party or organization is determined by a special congress decision.

5. The world congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the governing body of the Communist International between world congresses. The Executive Committee is responsible only to the world congress.

6. The seat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be determined by each world congress of the Communist International.

7. An extraordinary world congress of the Communist International can be convened either by decision of the Executive Committee or by demand of one-half of the parties belonging to the Communist International at the time of the last world congress.

8. The party of the country where, by decision of the world congress, the Executive Committee is located bears the main burden of the Executive Committee's work. The party of that country appoints five representatives with decisive vote to the Executive Committee. In addition, the ten to thirteen most important Communist parties—a list that will be approved by the regular world congress—shall each send one representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee.⁹ Other organizations and parties accepted into the Communist International have the right to appoint one representative apiece with consul-

tative vote to the Executive Committee.

9. The Executive Committee directs all the activities of the Communist International from one congress to the next, publishes the central organ of the Communist International (the magazine *Communist International*) in at least four languages, issues in the name of the Communist International such appeals as are required, and issues directives binding on all organizations and parties belonging to the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the authority to demand of its member parties the expulsion of groups or individuals that breach international discipline, as well as the authority to expel from the Communist International any party that contravenes the resolutions of the world congress. Such parties have the right to appeal to the world congress. As necessary, the Executive Committee organizes in different countries technical and other auxiliary bureaus, which are strictly subordinate to the Executive Committee. Executive Committee representatives discharge their political duties in the closest possible communication with the party leaderships of their respective countries.

10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the authority to co-opt representatives with consultative vote from organizations and parties that, although not members of the Communist International, are in close sympathy with it.

11. Publications of all parties and organizations that belong to the Communist International or are among its sympathizers are required to print all official resolutions of the Communist International and its Executive Committee.

12. The general situation in all of Europe and America compels Communists around the world to form illegal Communist organizations parallel to the legal ones. The Executive Committee must see that this is done everywhere.

13. As a rule, political relations between individual parties belonging to the Communist International are conducted through the Executive Committee. In urgent cases such contact may be direct, but the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be informed simultaneously.

14. Trade unions that uphold communism and that are united internationally under the Communist International's

leadership constitute a trade union section of the Communist International.¹⁰ These unions appoint representatives to the world congresses of the Communist International through the Communist parties of their respective countries. The trade union section of the Communist International appoints a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee has the right to designate a representative with decisive vote to the trade union section of the Communist International.¹¹

15. The Communist Youth International is a member of the Communist International with full rights, subordinate to its Executive Committee. The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International shall appoint a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the authority to designate a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall approve the international secretary of the Communist Women's Movement and shall organize the women's section of the Communist International.

17. Any member of the Communist International who moves from one country to another shall receive fraternal assistance from members of the Communist International there.

(The statutes are adopted unanimously.)

Zinoviev: Comrades, we now have statutes for the Communist International. We have finally organized ourselves as an international party. I congratulate the congress on this occasion. I believe that this is one of the international proletariat's most important conquests. At last we have organized ourselves formally. Long live the Communist International!

(End of session.)

Forming workers' councils; Part 3 of trade unions and factory committees

Serrati: The session is open. Comrade Radek has the floor on behalf of the Credentials Commission.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMISSION

Radek: The Credentials Commission had to decide the question of the Americans' credentials. Both American parties, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, are represented here. A delegate from America, Comrade Flynn, has now arrived with the news that the two parties have united into one. But one portion of the Communists declared it would not go along with this unification, placing itself outside the United Communist Party. Therefore, the Communist Party representatives want to keep their old credentials. Comrade Flynn, however, moved that the credentials of two comrades, Fraina and Stoklitsky, be revoked.

In the commission we decided to continue to recognize these comrades as delegates for the following reasons: In America we face a situation that is changing rapidly. In this specific case the only fact before us is that the United Communist Party has been formed. We are unable to judge here to what extent there were compelling reasons for a minority of the Communist Party to remain outside the united party. To take away their credentials would be to declare from the outset that we are in solidarity with the United Communist Party as the only Communist party. That may prove necessary when we receive more detailed reports, but we cannot disqualify a Communist organization on the strength of information that is insufficient. For that reason, we voted to recognize the credentials of both parties.

And since Comrade Fraina by no means denies that—as he understands the situation—the majority of organized Communists are in the ranks of the United Communist Party, we divided

the credentials so that the United Communist Party representatives received 6 votes and the Communist Party representatives 4. Comrade Fraina, by the way, declared that although he and Comrade Stoklitsky do not in any way support the split, they cannot join the United Communist Party without discussions. On behalf of the Credentials Commission, I ask the congress to approve this decision without delay.

The Ukrainian comrades insist that I make one other announcement, which is that the Credentials Commission did not recognize the credentials of the Ukrainian Communist Party [Ukapists]. As comrades may know, there is a large Communist Party [Bolsheviks] of the Ukraine, and in addition to it a group has formed that numbers between one hundred and five hundred members. Clearly, what is involved is a very small group that has nothing to do with actual Communist work.

*Flynn [Edward Lindgren, United Communist Party, United States]:*¹ I protest against recognizing the credentials of the Communist Party of America or adopting Comrade Radek's motion. After several attempts, a United Communist Party was finally formed from thirty thousand members of the Communist Party and twenty thousand members of the Communist Labor Party.² It took up illegal work, and a kind of separation developed in the party itself because only one part of it wanted to do illegal work. Consequently, a part of the Communist Party split away from the united party.

Now, one could understand the Communist Party's credentials being recognized here if the American comrades had initiated the party unification. But that was not so. A delegate from the Communist International was sent to America to bring about this fusion. Since the fusion has already taken place, we cannot understand why the Communist International sanctions the split by recognizing the part that split away.

Fraina: It is very unfortunate that this controversy should come before the plenary session of the congress, all the more since the Credentials Commission has settled the matter already. When I arrived in Moscow, Comrade Stoklitsky and I discussed the situation with delegates of the Communist Labor Party. We proposed to them (before Comrade Flynn's arrival) that we, as representatives from both parties of the American Communist

movement, come to an agreement, first, to recognize the necessity of complete and final unification, second, to appear and work in the congress as one group, third, to call upon the Executive Committee of the International to act for complete unity among Communists in America, and fourth, to pledge to fulfill the decisions of the Executive Committee.

Flynn speaks as a factionalist, not in the interests of the American Communist movement as a whole. Recognition of the Communist Party will not create more discord. On the contrary, it will facilitate complete unity, and what is more, promote clear and uncompromising understanding of revolutionary principles and tactics, since the Communist Party is more consistent than the other organization. None but a factionalist of the worst sort would make a proposal to exclude the Communist Party from this congress.³

Comrade Stoklitsky and I have an unassailable right to sit in this congress as the representatives of our party. The question of how large or small the Communist Party may be is unimportant in this connection; no one but a Menshevik would speak in that way. It may be that the majority of the Communist Party has united with the Communist Labor Party, but I do not know, and Flynn's factional spirit makes me doubt his statement.

We can be excluded from the congress only if the Communist Party itself withdraws us as delegates, only if the Executive Committee decides to exclude the Communist Party of America from the International. But otherwise its representatives have the right to demand that they remain here as delegates.

The Communist Party, historically and actually, represents the most consistent Communist elements in the American movement, whereas the former Communist Labor Party represented the less consistent and developed elements. In this sense the Communist Party is of vital importance to the American movement. It must be given the opportunity to impose upon the coming unity its consistent understanding of the revolution.

(A motion is made to end the debate.)

Reed: I oppose the motion of closure. I wish to give a few reasons why Radek's proposition should not be adopted.

(The motion to close debate carries. The Credentials Commission report is then adopted by a vote of 19 to 9.)

REPORT ON FORMING WORKERS' COUNCILS

Zinoviev: Comrades, I hope that the conditions under which workers' and soldiers' councils should be formed are known to all of you—they are on pages 73 to 77 in the German edition. I venture to voice the hope that for once we may be able to adopt these theses without discussion, because from all the discussions we have had with various delegates we have determined that there is unanimity on this question. The point of these theses is that we must tell all our comrades that soviets can and should be created only when the historical conditions for them are present. Such formations should not be created artificially; that would compromise the idea of soviets.

We all know that the entire working class of Europe—and perhaps of the whole world as well—has been won to the idea of soviets. The working class has grasped that in the next historical period political life will unfold in the form of soviets. It is to the Communist International's good fortune that this idea has stirred the masses. Now that the working masses have made this idea their own, it possesses great power. Today, however, we see powerless groups in various countries forming soviets, doing so where the historical preconditions do not exist at all. This was the case in France and in other countries too. In the name of the entire congress, we want now to emphasize to the workers of the world that propaganda must always be made for soviets (the time is always right for that) but that unfortunately the historical conditions for the forming of soviets are not always and everywhere present.

In my theses I refer briefly to the history of these new ideas.

As all of you well know, the idea of workers' councils was born in 1905; in other words, it is only fifteen years old. In 1905, during the first Russian revolution, the first, temporary formation was created, the Petrograd soviet, and its history shows us that special historical conditions are required for soviets. The soviets of 1905 were destroyed immediately. They died after tsarism triumphed over the revolution. Once the revolutionary flood began to ebb, it became clear that the soviets could not be maintained.

The brilliant idea that the soviets are merely class organizations and cannot be organizations of the state, defended today

by Mensheviks and right Independents, was expressed back then too. "The soviets should act as the proletariat's class organization but not as a state organization." That is what Kautsky and many of his supporters promoted during the German revolution.⁴ The history of the past fifteen years has shown that the soviets acquire significance only if they become not ordinary, everyday class organizations like the trade unions, but *state organizations, a form of the proletarian dictatorship*. That was shown by the first Russian revolution, by the first stage of our new revolution (the historic first eight months, those of the Kerensky government).⁵ And it is also shown by the history of the German and Austrian revolutions—especially the German revolution.

When the working class in Germany achieved a victory in November 1918, workers' and soldiers' councils arose of their own accord. But the Social Democracy betrayed the workers' cause, and the bourgeoisie together with the counterrevolutionary Social Democracy defeated the workers. The soviets then began at once to die out. During the Kapp days the soviets summoned their last spark of life. That is only a brief episode in history, but the fate of the soviets is reflected in it in miniature. When the workers were advancing toward victory, the soviets tended to revive, but when the jackboot of reaction triumphed, immediately they began to die away again. This episode shows that the soviets become important only when they are carried by a really large mass movement that is moving toward turning them into a state power.

At the beginning of 1917, when we were still in exile, when the revolutionary movement in Russia was already very intense and our comrades had already begun to form councils of workers' deputies, we told our comrades, from abroad, that the idea would not last. We should make propaganda for the idea of soviets, we said, but the call to form them should be issued only when we are convinced that the preconditions exist and that the masses themselves are for them and want to fight for that cause.

That is why we are against the efforts being made by our comrades in France. Although only a small group, they publish a paper in which they present themselves as a soviet, on behalf of a few hundred members, and call that a "soviet" movement.⁶

I read several leaflets that our Swiss comrades issued during the election campaign in Switzerland. When everyone is going

to the polls, our party raises the slogan "We demand soviets." Here we see soviets are being demanded of the bourgeoisie, of the government. But soviets are not something you demand. They are created when the working class is ready to make the revolution. Is it perhaps communist to raise such a demand? First the working class must be organized, aroused, and prepared; then, when the moment arrives, it is not necessary to raise the demand.

Today the moment has arrived when the question of revolution, the struggle for power, is becoming acute and the working class in many countries has already been won to the idea of soviets. Therefore I believe that the Communist International's task is no longer to popularize this idea, as it was for the First and Second Internationals. That is already taken care of; the idea is popular enough. Something much bigger is at stake: *it is a matter of impressing upon the working class of the whole world what conditions are necessary for the formation of soviets.* That is the second step we must take.

The purpose of the theses is to lay the basis for this. We must tell the working class clearly the conditions under which we can and must form such soviets. Because forming soviets artificially serves only those who oppose this idea. We will be ridiculed, as has happened already in some countries. That would compromise this great idea. We should not play with this word. We should show the working class a clear road forward, explaining under what conditions soviets may be formed.

In these theses we have tried to analyze the experiences of several parties. There is a peculiar situation in Austria, approximately like the one that existed here during the first stage of the Kerensky period. A rather powerful workers' council exists there, in which the social patriots and the Center hold the majority. The Communists are in the minority but are growing every day. The soviets there have a certain amount of power, rivaling the legitimate government of Messrs. Renner and company; they are a sort of parallel government. We had an analogous situation here, in different historical circumstances, during the first eight months of the revolution. Such a movement is a weighty matter, and our comrades must participate in it. They must try to bring their influence to bear in the soviets and fight for power in them.

A different situation where soviets exist can be found in Germany. A number of books, good and bad, have been written on the soviet system there. Our German comrades always talk about it as "the system." Well, they have a system, but no soviets. We would prefer it if they had a worse system and better soviets. All schemes for fitting the soviet system into the bourgeois Social Democratic counterrevolutionary republic are artificial. Thus, objectively speaking, the soviets sometimes even play a counterrevolutionary role, because the working class is not told what are the only conditions under which soviets can be established.

We tried to incorporate into the theses the experience in Germany and of course above all the experience in Russia, where the soviet idea was born. With the aid of these examples—the Russian revolution of 1917 and the two revolutions in 1918 in Germany and in Austria—we want to show the working class the circumstances under which we can form soviets.

I am convinced that the Second Congress of the Communist International is the precursor of an international congress of soviet republics. Those of us who are not yet too old will live to see the moment when we will have such an international congress of soviet republics. But to hasten that moment, we must see the way clearly, keep the idea pure, and present to the working class concretely the road we really should follow in order to achieve an international soviet republic.

*(The vote is taken on the theses. The theses are adopted unanimously.)*⁷

THESES ON THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WORKERS' COUNCILS MAY BE FORMED⁸

1. Councils of workers' deputies (soviets) originated in Russia in 1905 at the height of the Russian workers' revolutionary movement. In 1905 the Petersburg [Leningrad] soviet was already taking the first, instinctive steps on the road toward the conquest of power. The Petersburg soviet was powerful then only to the extent that it had the prospect of conquering power. As soon as the tsarist counterrevolution gained strength and the

workers' movement began to ebb, the soviet, after a brief stagnation, ceased to exist altogether.

2. In 1916, at the beginning of a broad, new, revolutionary upsurge in Russia, the idea arose that workers' soviets could be organized immediately. The Bolshevik Party warned the workers against this, pointing out that this would be appropriate only when the revolution had already begun and the immediate struggle for power was on the agenda.

3. When the 1917 revolution began, the soviets of workers' deputies in Russia immediately turned into soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies; brought the broad, popular masses under their influence; and instantly commanded enormous authority, because the real power was on their side and in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from its surprise at the first blows of the revolution, and when the social traitors—the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—helped the Russian bourgeoisie get the power into its hands, the importance of the soviets began to diminish. Only after the events of July 1917 and the failure of Kornilov's counterrevolutionary campaign, when the broad popular masses came into motion and the collapse of the counterrevolutionary government of bourgeois and compromisers became acute, did the workers' soviets begin to revive. Soon thereafter they acquired decisive importance throughout the country.

4. The history of the German and Austrian revolutions shows the same thing. When broad masses of workers rose up, when the revolutionary wave climbed especially high and washed away the citadels of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies, workers' and soldiers' councils were formed spontaneously in Germany and Austria. Initially, the councils had real strength and were on their way to gaining genuine power. But when a combination of historical circumstances caused power to pass to the bourgeoisie and counterrevolutionary Social Democrats, the councils soon began to fade, and they dwindled to nothing. At the time of the abortive counterrevolutionary Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch, for a few days the councils in Germany began to revive. As soon as the struggle ended in another victory for the bourgeoisie and the social traitors, however, the councils that had begun to raise their heads withered away.

5. These facts show that specific preconditions are necessary

to create soviets. It is possible to organize workers' soviets and transform them into soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies only when the following three conditions are present:

- a. A revolutionary mass upsurge of broad layers of men and women workers, soldiers, and the toiling population generally.
- b. The political and economic crisis is so acute that power begins to slip from the hands of the old government.
- c. A firm will to begin a decisive, systematic, and well-planned struggle for power has matured among significant layers of workers and, above all, in the ranks of the Communist Party.

6. When these preconditions do not exist, Communists can and must propagate the idea of soviets systematically and persistently, popularize this idea among the masses, and show the broadest possible layers of the population that soviets are the only practical form of the state during the transition to complete communism. But it is not possible to organize soviets directly without the conditions specified above.

7. Objectively, the attempt by the social traitors in Germany to clip the soviets' wings, debase them, and incorporate them into the overall bourgeois-democratic constitutional system is a betrayal of the workers' cause and misleads the workers. For real soviets are possible only as a form of state organization that supersedes bourgeois democracy, shatters it, and replaces it with a *workers' dictatorship*.

8. The propaganda by right-wing leaders of the Independents (Hilferding and Kautsky, among others) aimed at demonstrating that the "soviet system" is compatible with a bourgeois national assembly either shows a complete lack of understanding of the laws of development of the proletarian revolution or is a conscious effort to mislead the working class. *Soviets* mean the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. *National assembly* means the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. It is not possible to unite and reconcile workers' dictatorship with dictatorship by the bourgeoisie.

9. The propaganda by some representatives of the left USPD in Germany—who give the workers a contrived, paper plan for a "council system" that has no connection with the real course of civil war—is pedantry. It distracts the workers from the tasks of the day in the real struggle for power.

10. The attempts by some communist groups in France, Italy, America, and Britain to create soviets that do not encompass the

broad masses and are therefore unable to launch a direct struggle for power only harm the real work of preparation for a soviet revolution. At best such artificial, greenhouse "soviets" become small propaganda societies for soviet power. At worst, however, these unsuccessful "soviets" can only compromise the idea of soviet power in the eyes of wide layers of the population.

11. A special situation has arisen in Austria, where the working class has succeeded in maintaining workers' councils encompassing broad masses of workers. The situation there is reminiscent of the period from February to October 1917 in Russia. The workers' councils in Austria are an important political factor and are the seed of the new power.

It is self-evident that under such circumstances Communists must participate in the workers' councils and help them permeate the country's entire social, economic, and political life. They must form Communist fractions in the workers' councils and assist their development in every way.

12. Soviets without revolution are not possible. Soviets without proletarian revolution must inevitably turn into a parody of soviets.

True mass soviets appear as the historically necessary form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All honest and serious supporters of soviet power must treat the concept of soviets with caution. They must propagate it constantly among the masses but proceed to realize it in life only when the conditions stated above are present.

REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION ON TRADE UNIONS

Radek: Comrades, in keeping with the decision of the plenary session, the Commission on the Trade Union Question took the Executive Committee's theses as its starting point, merely supplementing them with several amendments. Before proceeding to them, I would like to point out that on one important point the commission failed to arrive at a common decision, and a representative of the commission minority will therefore speak as well.

The issue is that the amendment proposed by the American

comrades in fact canceled out the main content of the theses. The position of the congress as expressed in the vote is, first of all, that we establish the duty of all comrades, of all Communist parties, to work in the unions. The minority on the commission, primarily the American comrades, seemed to accept this decision. But while making no motion explicitly nullifying the congress's decision, they proposed amendments that nullified it in effect.

I have already pointed out in my report that, in a certain sense, the theses we proposed are worded too narrowly. They do not take into account that in America 80 percent of workers are unorganized. Moreover, the labor federation not only does nothing to organize these unskilled workers but uses very high initiation fees to prevent them from joining the unions. Therefore we propose mentioning an additional basis for quitting the old unions and forming new ones, besides when revolutionary agitation in the unions is suppressed. New trade unions must be formed whenever the old craft organizations fail to organize unskilled workers, because the aristocratic upper layers of the working class hold sway in them. But this does not satisfy the American comrades. They propose a different wording aimed at making it possible for the American Communists to sabotage the congress's decision.

I will read out here not the entire amendment, which is to replace three points in our resolution, but only the relevant part. It says: (*Reads from "The new trade unions" down to "represent."*)⁹ These three headings, establishing when it is permissible to leave the old trade unions and form new ones, encompass every possible case. Communists who have no desire to work in the unions and think it much more communist to stay outside them and fill reams of paper with articles on the worthlessness of the trade union bureaucracy can always offer the excuse either that the union's structure makes change impossible or that given the powerful revolutionary sentiments built up in the proletariat there is no room left for revolutionary work in the unions. The best proof that we are not imagining things, that this is a strict call to boycott the big American unions on principle, is provided by the resolution of the United Communist Party of America. We have just received the issue of their newspaper with their resolution on the unions. This resolution says:

“Craft unionism has become the bulwark of capitalism in this country. In every recent struggle of moment the workers have been betrayed by the reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods. The officials of the latter organization even went so far as to call upon the government to use the courts against the workers engaged in what they chose to call ‘outlaw’ strikes. The tactics of the trade union leaders are those of dickering with the capitalists and their governmental representatives to secure privileged positions for their trade groups, at the expense of the mass of workers.

“The concentration of industry rapidly enlarges the new class of industrial workers, the unskilled laborers and semiskilled machine tenders. It is among these workers particularly that there has developed the new form, industrial unionism—and the new method of struggle, mass strikes of all the workers in the industry. The common level of labor and wages and the common interest of workers by the millions bring class solidarity in opposition to craft disunity.

“The United Communist Party rejects the conception, as advocated by the IWW, that industrial unionism is of itself the means through which industry can be transferred from the capitalists to the workers. The proletarian revolution cannot be achieved by direct seizure of industry by the workers, without the workers first having conquered the power of the state and establishing themselves as the government. While pointing out that industrial unionism cannot transform society, the United Communist Party recognizes that industrial unionism is a revolt against the existing trade unionism and offers more efficient methods of struggle.”

Now comes the decisive point:

“The Socialist Party policy of ‘boring from within’ the AFL is vicious in that it is only an indirect and hypocritical method of supporting an inherently reactionary labor organization. A Communist who belongs to the AFL should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it. The struggle against the AFL must not be purely negative. The IWW is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character. The IWW must be upheld as against the AFL. At the same time the

work of communist education must be carried on within the IWW.”¹⁰

Thus, this resolution flatly negates the resolution we adopted making it the duty of every Communist to fight to win the unions from within. In other words, the question here is not merely whether to go into the unions to destroy them. Boring from within, any struggle at all inside the unions, is rejected. This position stands opposed to our theses, and what the comrades of the United Communist Party are advocating here is nothing less than an obvious negation of our position.

To rescue their position, the comrades try to go from the defensive to the attack. They point out that just a few months ago the position that the United Communist Party has now adopted was held by the Executive Committee. They refer to an Executive Committee letter to the American party that said: “Aiding by all means the more rapid process of rupture in the American Federation of Labor, and other allied trade unions and their branches, the party must strive to establish a closer connection with those economic organizations of the working class, in which one can notice tendencies toward industrial unionism (IWW, One Big Union, WIU, and insurgent unions breaking away from the AFL).”¹¹

I do not hesitate to say openly that this letter from the Executive Committee—which certainly was not adopted by its full membership—was wrong. Formally the comrades can cite this position, although it is not quite identical with their own, since this letter dealt specifically with the American Federation of Labor.

But the issue here is not whether in the past the Executive Committee took an incorrect position in a letter. Rather the question now is whether the United Communist Party representatives here are openly expressing their party’s position. They had the opportunity to present it here and did not do so, claiming they oppose splitting as a matter of principle. They are trying to insert a Trojan horse in the resolution. I believe it is up to the congress not only to reject this amendment but also, in a separate resolution, to draw attention to the American comrades’ position as one that contradicts that of the Communist International. The congress must proceed quite forcefully here because it is not just a question of giving the American com-

rades the right to destroy this counterrevolutionary organization if they can. Rather, the question is whether they will destroy themselves.

This point struck a chord with Comrade Bombacci as well, and that deserves a comment. Bombacci's position differs from that of the American comrades in that he is not taking a revolutionary stand but just playing games. Although the Americans say, "Down with the AFL," they also cry, "For the IWW! Let us build new unions!" Not so Comrade Bombacci, who nonchalantly declares, "I do not care a hoot for the unions; they are doomed to be counterrevolutionary forever." But if he bases himself on the fact that the unions in Italy are in the hands of syndicalists or of gray-bearded reformists, we must tell him openly that he is playing games with us; that is not a communist policy. If Bombacci defends a Marxist position, he should fight for it in the Italian unions and not say here that the unions are unimportant and will always be counterrevolutionary. We object to such treatment of the most serious question before the workers' movement, and we attach great importance to inducing the congress to take a completely clear position on this.

I said earlier that I would be prepared to consider other amendments. In the present situation, however, after this resolution by the United Communist Party, any compromise or retreat is impossible. Communism must be led toward beginning to do communist work and away from forming communist sects and playing sectarian games.

The next question up for debate is that of our position on factory committees. We propose an amendment that says the following: "Communists should support efforts to turn the factory committees into trade union factory groups only to the extent that the unions overcome the counterrevolutionary tendencies of their bureaucracy and become conscious instruments of the revolution." This means that in countries where the union bureaucracy holds the reins, it is the duty of Communists to support the struggle of factory committees and all similar organizations for an independent existence. Communists can take the reins of the unions only by turning these factory organizations into basic units of the new unions and of their Communist factory units.

I wish to supplement and clarify these amendments with two

remarks. First, where it says: "Wherever organizations such as the Shop Stewards or factory committees emerge in the factories, inside or outside the union framework—bodies that adopt the aim of struggling against the counterrevolutionary tendencies of the trade union bureaucracy and support direct, spontaneous actions by the proletariat—Communists must of course support them with all their energy." The objection was raised, "You oppose forming small, revolutionary unions counterposed to the large ones, when there is no need to set up something separate. How can you demand support for all the factory organizations?" Let me point out that we say here, "that are formed inside the trade unions or outside of them," but not in opposition to them. The factory committees in Germany are by no means organizations meant to threaten the unions' existence. In part they have separate functions, but in part they are supposed to put pressure on the union bureaucracy. They are not directed against the unions' existence as organizations. We do not support organizations opposed to the unions. No exceptions can be made, apart from the cases described in our theses where we think it necessary to form separate trade unions.

Now to the second question. We say that we will support the unions' efforts to absorb the factory committees as subordinate bodies only to the extent that the unions become revolutionary organizations. In response, the question was raised of the situation in Germany. Most factory committees there are legally constituted,¹² we were told, and the Communists' task there was to stretch the councils' activities beyond the provisions of the law. These factory committees, we heard, were already subordinate to the unions.

Judging from the material at my disposal, I maintain that this is not the case. The union bureaucracy's struggle to dominate and absorb these factory committees has only begun. Here we say that we see it as the duty of Communists to struggle against attempts by the Legiens to gain control of the factory committees, even if it should turn out later that we are not strong enough to prevent this. I believe it is wrong to abandon the struggle at the outset, because it will decide not only a formal question but also the Communists' future course in the factory committees. Even if the great majority of factory committees were to spontaneously subordinate themselves to the unions,

and it were not advantageous to maintain the revolutionary factory committees separate from the others, our present struggle to warn the masses about Legien and his goals would clearly put us in a stronger position for the future in factory committees subordinate to the unions.

It is a different question whether, should the struggle indeed turn out to be hopeless, we still ought to be dead set on keeping the small groups isolated. If the battle failed for the moment to lead to victory, would we still continue to struggle in factory committees subordinate to the unions?

But that is not the question right now. A struggle is raging in large areas of central Germany and in Berlin. The German Communists say that the great battle against the Legiens should not be turned into a struggle over external form. We reply that it is up to you to see to it that this struggle is fought out over principle, not just over who should control these factory committees. There is a principle involved: strengthening the spirit of resistance against the trade union bureaucracy.

Finally, we proposed an amendment that brought together in a separate clause the various remarks scattered throughout the resolution on the unions' future role. It reads: "By turning the trade unions and factory committees into powerful weapons of the revolution, Communists prepare these mass organizations for the great task that will devolve upon them after the proletarian dictatorship is established, that of being a principal element in reorganizing economic life on a socialist basis. The unions, consolidated into industrial unions and based on the factory committees as their factory organizations, will then acquaint the working masses with their production tasks and train the most experienced workers as managers of the factories. They will supervise the technical specialists and, together with representatives of the workers' government, design and execute the plans of socialist economic policy."

I would like to point out briefly what a difference there is between this conception of the unions' functions after the proletariat conquers political power and that of the syndicalists. In the syndicalist vision of socialist development, after the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie through general strikes, it organizes into a federation of industrial trade unions, linked by free agreement, which runs the economy together with the Commu-

nists without a proletarian state.

We think this conception is wrong. First, without the dictatorship, without establishing the proletarian state as an instrument to break the bourgeoisie's resistance, the proletariat cannot gather power into its hands. Second, running the economy is something that cannot be done by each union on its own or by free agreement among the unions. That is because some categories of the working class play a prominent role in the industrial process and could create an aristocratic, privileged position for their members in the economy as a whole. By exploiting this position, they manage to obtain privileges for themselves vis-à-vis less developed, less important groups in the working class.

Under the proletarian state, the working class must direct the economy in a way that not only brings workers together in an organization for each branch of industry but also gives them tasks for overall production. Alongside organizations that view their tasks from the angle of one industrial branch, the working class, through its proletarian state, must champion the interests of the proletariat as a whole. The entire economic plan and its implementation must be subordinated to the overall interests of the proletariat. We see here that alongside the unions' prominent and decisive role, the regulative function of the state has developed primarily in the form of the councils. The unions help to run the economy through the organs of the state as a whole.

Those are the main amendments to the theses. More than the first draft, we have taken into account the fact that in many countries the unions pursue an aristocratic policy. In those cases we made it the duty of Communists to begin organizing the masses into trade unions independently. Second, we make it the duty of Communists to support the new proletarian economic bodies that are appearing spontaneously: the factory committees. Communists must defend the factory committees' independence from encroachments by the union bureaucracy, yet regard them as part of the unions when those unions are revolutionary.

The third amendment defines the unions' tasks after the conquest of political power.

Fourth, there was a question about the international trade union association.

On this question the commission decided that it was adequate for now to accept the third point of our theses, which has already been printed. But that point did not address the current, concrete situation, that is, the establishment of the international council of revolutionary trade unions formed here in Moscow by representatives of the Italian, Russian, and Bulgarian unions and part of the British. Before us was the position advanced by the American and British comrades, who think this organization in its present form is inappropriate and premature, and that of the Russian comrades, who submitted a resolution.¹³ Since one resolution had already been rejected by some members of the Executive Committee,¹⁴ and since it was already four in the morning yesterday, I declined to take any position at all. Zinoviev will explain his position here.

There are profound differences of opinion over the trade union question. True, at this congress they have not assumed the character of a conflict over principle. But we should not be blind to the fact that the ferment in the working class has led to attempts in every country to launch new trade unions and many members in every Communist party support this. We should have no illusions about the dangers this entails. The congress must take these dangers into account and give the Communist parties a clear line of march.

The second point that requires the congress's attention—and it will need the International's attention in the future more than it has in the past—is the question of the factory committees, all the new organizations, the Shop Stewards' committees, and so forth. One thing must be said here: it is not that the question has been insufficiently clarified but rather that it is still evolving. The task is not one of clarification. We must weigh the possibility that as the revolution develops it will create entirely new phenomena in this regard, and Communists should not take an inflexible, negative position on them. We have tried to set down in the theses what can be said so far. But all of us sense that this cannot be the last word. These organizations are developing, and they will confront us with entirely new questions. We must be willing to consider this issue in light of new facts. The Communist International was launched in a time of revolutionary ferment, when many things seemed chaotic that later became solid, valuable creations. I intentionally stress the nascent

character of these phenomena in order to prepare the Communist International for them and to avoid lapsing into the old trade union habit of disapproving of everything new.

We do not yet know what will become of the British Shop Stewards; they are just coming into existence. We do not know what will become of the German factory committees. For the moment they are still products of the receding wave of revolution. They arose when the workers seized the idea of councils but did not form political councils. We do not yet know what new life the next wave of revolution, which is no doubt approaching, will bring into these organizations. We do not know yet even whether these organizations will be a fully revolutionary force in the trade unions. But one thing can be said. As things stand today, it is the task of Communists to tell workers, "You must not forsake the unions. They are the proletariat's largest mass organizations."

The second thing we can say is that we are groping for an approach to the factory committees' tasks, trying to determine which tasks are theirs and which belong to the unions. We are trying to achieve clarity about the relationship between the two organizations. But this is far from our last word on the topic. If the tempo of the revolution in western Europe lags, if capitalist decay spreads and the proletariat fails to take power in a succession of quick blows, this area can provide a new field of work for the masses we have prepared, provided we approach these bodies not with rigid formulas but with critical minds and the willingness to act and to mold the new phenomena.

I will not say much now about the tasks of Communists in the trade unions. We are guided by the unshakable conviction that we are quite capable of carrying out communist propaganda in the proletarian mass movement and its organizations, although we cannot count on their adopting a fighting communist policy.¹⁵ In formulating a policy for Communists, we act on the simple idea that organizations uniting millions of workers are not crystals that must be shattered. The analogy between the bourgeois state and the trade unions is lame in both legs. No matter how villainous the union bureaucracy may be, no matter how much it may be the lackey of the bourgeoisie, it can determine the unions' character only so long as the unions' development has not really gotten under way. When that happens, the

workers will determine the character of their unions.

Gorter, the current theoretician of left communism, says in his pamphlet, "The union bureaucracy's power lies in the masses' lack of independence." And yet he claims that the unions cannot be taken over. This means that this comrade, who thinks the revolution is just around the corner, for whom nothing is radical enough, is convinced that he can make the revolution despite the masses' existing submissiveness and dependency. Because if he expects their dependency to vanish, he cannot defend the formulation that the unions are the basic units of the capitalist social order and are doomed to remain so.

We look forward to developments with the healthy revolutionary optimism on which a revolutionary movement must be founded. We are convinced that the masses will begin to move and cast off their servile submissiveness. In this belief, we make the call to struggle against the union bureaucracy. We do this only because we know that history does not take place independently of our will; rather we ourselves must be factors in its development. Thus we are firmly convinced that the unions are the broad arena in which the Communist parties must win the great masses of workers to communism, not through propaganda and pamphlets alone but by participating in the struggle. It is in this spirit that we ask the congress not only to adopt the theses but to make them its guide in day-to-day trade union activity.

MINORITY REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION ON TRADE UNIONS¹⁶

Reed: I object to the assertion that sabotage of the commission's motion was intended. The question is not at all one of sabotage but of fundamental differences and contradictions. It is not as if the English and American comrades were of the opinion that the trade unions must be abandoned. At issue is changing as far as possible the spirit and structure of the unions. Radek does not deal with the essence of the amendments. What he proposes amounts to nurturing the old reactionary spirit in the trade unions,¹⁷ as has been done in the past. While the amendments

aim at changing the old spirit in the unions, Comrade Radek proposes nothing to destroy this spirit. Radek limits himself to mechanical "capture" of the unions, while our amendments propose a fundamental alteration of their spirit, forms, and purposes. The whole discussion must be based on the differences between these two conceptions.

By numerous documents I can show that Radek is contradicting himself in various theses. This contradiction may be particularly seen in the letters addressed by the Communist International to the IWW and the American workers.¹⁸

I find that the theses of Comrade Radek do not contain the communist conception of unionism. There is nothing in them on the necessity of altering the spirit of the trade unions as such. Here I am referring to clause 2 of the amendments. Clauses 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the theses might be cut out altogether because some of them are not clear, others are not precise, and still others are not broad enough. Generally they contrast with the clarity of the other theses. The only comrade who really expressed the opinion of the west European labor movement on this question was Comrade Bombacci. His position was clear, but some have evaded the question by silence and others have expressed a wrong conception.

I leave it to other speakers to express the final views of the minority on the subject of the Red trade union International.

It should not be forgotten that there is a difference of principle between Radek's position and that of the minority. I shall read our amendments, particularly those which define the conditions under which Communists have the right to leave the old unions. Radek claimed these were of such a nature that might fit all and every condition and might afford to any Communist a pretext to leave the unions. I challenge this statement. It is refuted by the very conditions that are intended to enable us to implement our position in a principled way.

In conclusion, I believe that this question, which is one of principle, must be discussed here. There are so many contradictions in the theses of Comrade Radek, as well as in his conception and that of the Communist International of relations between the labor unions and the International, that it raises the question of what their position is on parliamentary struggle and the workers' movement. No clear picture of this position can be

gotten from the theses. The Third International will have to express itself definitely and clearly on this matter. For the English and American minority the key thing was not any wish to quibble but a desire to see their position carry, through amendments that could not have been new to Comrade Radek.

The English and American delegations are interested in imbuing the old trade unions with the new spirit, and this will be out of the question if the theses in their present form are adopted. The transformation of the unions must be undertaken by the Communists. If they do not, the Communists will stand alone and remain a small party. They will become an officer corps without an army, because the rank and file will stand outside their influence.

DISCUSSION

Gallacher: When I came to Russia and arrived in Petrograd, Lenin's booklet "*Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*" came into my hands, and I found my name mentioned in it in connection with my activity. I have taken this rebuke as a child takes the rebuke of a father. Now comes Comrade Radek and attempts to do the same, but he will not succeed. If he insists upon his point of view, he will see that the problem he has to solve is not so easy.

It is simply ridiculous to talk of winning the old unions, with their hardened bureaucracy. Setting the masses of the working classes into motion can be achieved by agitation not only inside but also outside the unions, under the banner of a left trade union organization. The English comrades have been active for the last twenty-five years in the trade unions without, however, being able to revolutionize them from within. They found that when they succeeded in getting some of their comrades appointed as union officials, the unions, instead of changing their tactics, only corrupted their own comrades. We have very often managed to get our comrades into big posts in the unions, but we have found that the work of communism and of the revolution was not furthered in any way by this. There are actually no masses in the unions. For instance, in a union that counts five

hundred members, usually not more than thirty attend the meetings, and these are under the control of the bureaucracy. But we can reach the masses by working in the workshops and factories.

I myself was for many years active in the union movement and was myself a union official. The conclusions I came to are the result of my own experience. When Lloyd George came to Glasgow, the officials prepared a festive reception. I was then one of the officials, and I fought against it. While I gained my point in the official committee, an unofficial committee was formed to arrange the reception. I and my comrades carried on an agitation in the works and factories.¹⁹ The result is that Glasgow is now a city where Lloyd George dares not appear, because the workers in Glasgow have been revolutionized by the agitation carried on in the works and factories.

If Radek's theses are adopted and the masses are in consequence told that they must remain loyal to the old unions and their officials, we shall be laughed at. Talk of winning the trade unions from within is as ridiculous as talk of winning the capitalist state from within. The English and American comrades must be given the opportunity of working and fighting for communist ideas outside the trade unions.

Zinoviev: We propose to take one speaker for the theses and one speaker against alternately.

(The motion carries.)

Zinoviev: Comrades, we must have absolute clarity on this question, and I assume here that we will not make a single concession to the British comrades, because what they want amounts to the destruction of the Communist International. If we adopt their position, the result will be that we destroy not the trade unions but communism.

On the one hand, the British and American comrades are very optimistic: the social revolution will arrive overnight, the triumph of the social revolution is in the bag, and so forth. But where the unions are concerned, all at once we see a tremendous pessimism with regard to the working class. They say, "We will eliminate the Morgans and Rockefellers, we will eliminate capitalism, but the union bureaucracy—we will never be able to eliminate that. The reactionary statutes will always be with us." But these statutes will do them no good. The working class will

seize the bureaucracy by the collar as surely as it will the bourgeoisie.

To the British and American comrades it seems as if the union bureaucracy were the worst thing in the world. That is not true. There are far worse creatures than Gompers. His teeth are already rotten, and we will not need surgical implements to knock out every last one of them. Of course the statutes are reactionary. That is true. The membership fees are high. But what do you expect? The working class is becoming more revolutionary not by the day but by the hour. It wants to overthrow capitalism completely, and it will do with those union statutes what it must: throw them out the window.

You cannot deny that the unions have organized millions of workers. Our slogan is "To the masses!" and it applies to our British and American parties most of all. They must go to the masses, because they are not yet with the masses.

Comrades, when you listen to the speeches of the British and American comrades you can formulate a law, namely, that an inverse proportion applies here: the fewer workers you have organized, the more radical you are. They say, "We do not need the old trade unions; we will establish new ones." Meanwhile, Britain and America have an enormous working class numbering in the millions, and workers are oppressed by a highly developed, large-scale capitalism. The working class there is becoming more revolutionary from one day to the next, but so far, the number we have organized is insignificant. The United Communist Party of America has approximately twelve thousand members. That is simply ridiculous. Our comrades have not yet taken the first steps; they should be in these unions, which have organized millions of workers. And what do we have in Britain? In Britain there are several communist parties, each having a few hundred members. There is an enormous working class there that is becoming ever more revolutionary. It is our task to be with the masses, to lead them, to show them the way when they are in motion and are evolving. Should we not take part in the unions, when millions of workers belong to them? I have read the resolution of the American Communists' unity convention. I cannot imagine confusion greater than that in the part that says the American trade unions must be destroyed.

Comrade Gallacher said we should proceed against the

unions just as we would against the bourgeois state. That is absurd. The unions consist of workers, the state consists of the bourgeoisie, and here we are told they are the same. Where are we heading? Do we want to make a laughingstock of the International? We do not need to destroy unions that millions of workers belong to. We must revolutionize them and lead them onto our path. We will never make a proletarian revolution if millions of union members are against us. Comrade Gallacher says we will be a laughingstock if we continue to work in the unions. My response to this is: you should make the unions revolutionary. You did well to refuse to receive Lloyd George. You should form illegal groups in the unions in order to fight not only with words but also with weapons. In Germany they are already fighting, arms in hand. Our comrades in the Communist Party have fought against the Yellow trade unions many times, arms in hand.

If we left the unions, however, that would be the best possible gift to Legien and his gang. They would say, "The Communists are really stupid; they left the workers to us." That is exactly what Gompers and Legien need. But we will never do that. We are not a sect. We want to be a really communist International, one that will win. And in order to win, we need the millions in the working class.

There are plenty of difficulties. It is easy to say, "We will leave. We want nothing to do with these people. We will establish a pure workers' union." There might be 20,000 workers in this union—and 8 million with Legien. That is what the KAPD did; it formed a workers' union in opposition to Legien's 8 million workers. That is childish. Where are the masses with whom we will make the proletarian revolution in Germany? In this workers' union, which is not the least bit centralized, not the least bit organized? We must go into the trade unions.

We often see you pay homage to the experiences of the Russian revolution. But we ask you to study them as well. Here too there were treacherous trade unions, but within a few months of the triumph of the Bolshevik revolution, we gained the majority in them. We won over the trade unions—a goal for which we had fought for decades. But if we had run away, the Mensheviks would have had what they wanted.

The British and American comrades say, "We will not go into

the unions. We are Communists, good and pure, but the working masses are with the traitors." Well, comrades, does this not mean being the instrument of the opportunists? What Comrade Reed proposes is exactly what Gompers wants. That is all he needs. If we had done that, the Huysmans and Vanderveldes would have rubbed their hands in glee and said, "These people have done our work for us."

Our slogan is "With the masses always!" But that does not mean that we always praise the masses. We tell them, "You are wrong, but we will not leave. We will stay here with you so that we can lead you at all times." The Communist International must not commit the error of running away. If it does that, we are lost. Socialism would still triumph, of course, but perhaps in ten years, and our task is precisely to hasten its triumph.

That is why we must tell our British and American comrades: if you want to belong to the Communist International, you may not walk away from the trade unions. You must go into the trade unions, fight there, revolutionize the masses, show them the right road, and establish a strong Communist party that revolutionizes the trade unions and leads the proletarian masses on to the revolution.

*Fraina.*²⁰ I am surprised that Comrades Radek and Zinoviev are so wrought up. At issue here is clarifying the basic differences between the two currents. Both speakers insist on emphasizing the necessity of working in the unions—but that is an argument against only the representative of the United Communist Party of America, who is opposed to working in the old unions. But the position of that party is emphatically not that of the other comrades who are criticizing Comrade Radek's theses. In my opening address I emphasized our acceptance of working in the old unions, not simply because of the arguments made here, but because the whole experience of the American movement imposes that policy upon us.

The Shop Stewards—are they against working in the old unions? It would be preposterous to assert that. The Shop Stewards and similar organizations are part of the old unions; they are the most adequate expression of the Radek-Zinoviev policy of working in the labor unions. I consider it essential to form committees of factory stewards and similar organizations as independent formations inside the unions that do not, however,

replace them. I must stress that Comrade Tanner and others belong to unions by the mere fact that they participate in the Shop Stewards' committees, which are a component part of the unions.

I have said, as concerns the United States, that approximately 80 percent of the workers are unorganized. Nevertheless, it is impossible to abandon the old, reactionary unions, if for no other reason than because the majority of the unorganized workers are foreigners, the majority of the organized workers, Americans. We must make our contact with these American workers, since they will necessarily assume the leadership in the revolution—not in theory but in revolutionary action.

The speakers for the minority were misunderstood. They referred to the fact that it was precisely in America where the first example was seen of a militant upsurge following the Communists' intervention in the unions. Thus we saw strikes, undertaken against the will of the leaders, that drew the masses into struggle.

But how are you going to work in the old unions? That is the crucial question—the question of methods and means. When you say, "Work in the old unions," you say much—and nothing. It is necessary to have Communist groups in the old unions, but what are they to do? Are they simply to preach abstract communism? Radek answers, "No, they must become the leaders of the workers' economic struggle." Very well; but that requires means, and the means, we insist, do not consist of peaceful penetration of the unions, of simply trying to elect new officials in place of the old, of making a fetish of maintaining the old organizations and forms of unionism. The means consist of aggressive struggle in the unions, of mobilizing the masses against the bureaucracy and liberating them, of the agitation for and construction of extraunion organizations and industrial unions. It is essential to call the masses to action, and for this appropriate organizations are needed within the unions. Comrade Radek recognizes and accepts this, but does not make it a living and pulsating part of his theses. Radek is so absorbed with the problems in Germany, where certain people have issued the slogan "Abandon the old unions," that he overemphasizes the other policy.

Again, because of his concentration on Germany, Radek is

extremely cautious regarding the problem of organizing new and breakaway unions. Under certain conditions a split is necessary; it must not be forced. But equally we must not allow a split to be imposed on us. We must not be like lambs; we must possess a policy on new unions that gives the initiative in the matter to us and not to our enemies. After all, a split is to a certain extent a revolutionary act. It may accomplish more in driving the masses onward than months and years of ordinary agitation. Sometimes it may be necessary even to force a split. Splits should not, however, hinge on whether the union supports or opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat; there must be real grounds for them. It is action that we insist upon. It is on the basis of action, and not theoretical divergences, that splits must come.

Moreover we insist upon recognition of the new forms that are developing in unionism. Particularly in England and America, this development is of the utmost importance. We must objectively study these developments and learn from them, adapting our theory to the peculiar variations and infinite forms of life itself. That is revolutionary practice; that is what is necessary, particularly on problems of unionism.

We must liberate the masses in the unions for action. Through their economic struggles, through understanding and adapting ourselves to the variations they develop in forms of organization and action, we mobilize them for the revolution. We must not be abstract or doctrinaire; we must always realize that it is the action of the masses that potentially develops the means and the forms of the final revolutionary struggle.

I repeat again: our differences with Comrade Radek are not of principle but of emphasis. But the Russian comrades must realize the new and variegated forms of unionism that are developing. They must realize that in our countries unionism is a much more vital factor in the revolution than in their revolution.

At the next congress I believe we will be in agreement.

*Serrati:*²¹ I have before me a motion of closure. It is agreed.

Reed: I propose that the vote also be taken on the minority resolution, taking the amendments first.

(The vote is taken on Radek's theses. They are approved by a vote of 57 for, 8 against, and 1 abstention.²² Personal statements follow.)

Bombacci: I am astonished to hear it said that I am playing games on the trade union question. On the contrary, I think it is Comrade Radek who is playing games here, because he himself admitted that he neither heard nor read my speech. I have been in the union movement for fifteen years, and for ten years I was secretary of a union; I have a very clear attitude toward them. It has never occurred to me to say that Communists should take no interest in the trade union question. I remind you that since 1914 the Italian communists have made every effort to wrest leadership of the unions away from the reformists and to take it themselves. Innumerable times I have said that the unions are a mine from which the revolution must extract precious metal, whereas parliament is a petty platform by comparison. But the unions are not revolutionary and never will be.

Radek: Comrade Bombacci's last statement confirms what I said of him earlier. He declares that the trade unions never have been, are not now, and never will be revolutionary organizations. His comparing the unions to parliament confirms what I said. In his view, our relationship to the unions must be the same as our relationship to parliament: we should take advantage of the unions for propaganda purposes, but they will never become revolutionary organizations whose purpose is to establish the dictatorship. Comrade Bombacci says the same thing in his detailed report published in *Izvestia*. I find the contradiction all the more incomprehensible given that not only did his opponents understand his speech that way, but every Italian delegate whom I asked about the speech confirmed its meaning. Comrade Bombacci has worked in the trade unions for fifteen years, but why did he do so? If he views the trade unions as counterrevolutionary institutions yet does not work with a party to destroy them, he is presenting a position that a revolutionary cannot take seriously.

*(Reed moves that a vote be taken on the amendments before the vote on the theses themselves. The vote is taken.)*²³

Zinoviev: As Comrade Radek indicated in his report, the commission still has to work out its position on the Red trade union International. I have an additional proposal on this point.²⁴ Permit me to say a few words in motivation. As you know, an international association of trade unions that support the Communist International's platform was established here in Moscow

on July 15, and several unions joined it: Comrade Rosmer for the minority of the French unions, all the Russian unions, the Italian unions, and so forth. A statement has been drafted that is inadequate as a platform but represents a first step,²⁵ and we should support it and organize the international congress of Red trade unions as rapidly as possible. I propose adopting that as a separate motion. We will continue this effort with the aim of quickly certifying the Red trade unions. Second, I move that we leave it to the Executive Committee to issue an appeal to the trade unions of the world explaining the significance of the Amsterdam Yellow International and calling on them to join the new trade union International.²⁶

(Tanner asks for the floor to explain relations between the Yellow and Red trade union Internationals.)

*Tanner:*²⁷ I am against this proposal. I maintain that if we take into account the persons who participated in forming the trade union council and the council's general character, we must characterize it as a miscarriage.

Zinoviev: Comrades, the Red trade union International that is being organized encompasses five million members of the Russian trade unions; two million revolutionary Italians (even though D'Aragona is a reformist); the French union minority represented here by Rosmer, who are revolutionary and have several million members; the trade unions of Bulgaria, which have several hundred thousand members;²⁸ and a few others—altogether, approximately eight million workers organized in unions. We now want to unite these eight million organized workers into a trade union International. Comrades, I ask you, is that bad?

D'Aragona endorses this because the Italian workers are for us, for the soviets, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. And we hope that when another congress of the Italian unions is finally convened, after an interval of seven years, it will be led by a revolutionary Marxist, not a reformist. Here we have almost ten million workers who support the Communist International, and we are told that we should not organize them. Tanner says, "We have contact with the masses." How many members does the Shop Stewards' organization have? Two hundred and fifty thousand. We invited them too because we say it is a mass organization, and we must support it. But it is really very modest of you

to say you have sufficient contact with the masses in a country like Britain. Rather than be satisfied with that, we should act as an international organization. The main enemy is Amsterdam, not Brussels.²⁹

We keep hearing talk about the trade union bureaucracy. D'Aragona is a bureaucrat. Does that mean we should not set up an International?

Amsterdam is a force. It represents many millions of workers, but they are led by the Messrs. Social Democrats and are therefore reactionary. We must split them and bring them over to our side. That is the main task, and our first step is a big step forward. Now we can say to every trade union: You should resign from the Amsterdam International. Now you have the Red trade union International, and you should join it. It may be only a Zimmerwald, and from there you must proceed to Kienthal and then to Moscow, yet that is quite a step forward.

We invited the Shop Stewards, but they did not want to sign the manifesto because it mentioned the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now they have listened to reason.

So do not come to us and say, "Why did you not build it on a broader basis?" We built it on this basis because we have ten million members. Sooner or later every trade union will join this International.

Tanner believes it is a contradiction to say we must remain in the unions at the national level, while internationally we want a separate body. We want to remain in the unions nationally in order to bring people over to our side. Rather than abandon the unions to the Amsterdam International, we want to unite them and place them under the leadership of the Communist International. We want to win the unions in every way possible, at the national level if necessary. You would have to be doctrinaire from head to toe to stand aside now, when on one side there is the Yellow International and on the other the Moscow association. There are those who want to stand on the sidelines. Should I not make a deal with Robert Williams against Henderson? Of course. But is he not the leader of the Triple Alliance? Why are the Shop Steward comrades not leading that multimillion-member union? That shows they are sectarians and not revolutionaries. Revolutionaries must drive out the likes of Williams and put themselves in the leadership. These people form small groups,

and when mass movements of millions grow, they stand on the sidelines. But you do not fight by standing on the sidelines. You fight by placing yourself at the head of the masses and going with them.

I believe it is a big step forward that we have a center for the trade union International. That is the most important blow we can deal the bourgeoisie. What if D'Aragona is an opportunist? That does not matter—he will go, but the Italian workers will remain. We will shove the union bureaucracy aside, and millions will go with us against capitalism and against the Yellow trade union International.

Endre Rudnyánszky [Communist Party of Hungary]: I move that debate be ended.

(The motion carries. A vote is taken on the motion by Tanner and Reed to refer this question to the commission for consideration. There are 13 votes for this motion, but the majority supports Zinoviev's motion, with 1 abstention.³⁰ The session is adjourned.)

Tasks of the Comintern; Part 4 of conditions for admission, and other business

(Zinoviev opens the session.)

Zinoviev: The Bureau proposes bringing the congress to a conclusion with today's session.

Münzenberg: In the name of the youth organization representatives present here, I move that we not end the congress without taking up the question of the youth movement. The representatives of the youth movement are greatly interested in discussing the Communist youth movement and its relationship to the Communist International in plenary session. Moreover, the youth movement has such great importance for the Communist Party that this question should be discussed before the entire congress. If it can be dealt with today, we are not opposed to the Bureau's motion. Otherwise we are opposed, since the question of the youth movement should be discussed regardless.

Sylvia Pankhurst [Britain]: We have been in session so long, we could meet for a little while longer. The question before us now has not yet been sufficiently discussed. I am against ending congress deliberations.

Goldenberg: I support Münzenberg's position. The youth question must be discussed before the congress ends.

Zinoviev: I would like to defend the Presiding Committee's proposal. As comrades who unfortunately arrived very late, like Sylvia Pankhurst, are aware, we have been discussing these questions for two weeks here, and previously we discussed them for two or three months in the Executive Committee. Therefore we propose to conclude today. We cannot take up the youth question thoroughly today. For a rounded discussion of this question, it is necessary that the youth movement representatives also take part in the discussion. Perhaps it would be advisable for the youth movement and for the entire International to have a special conference to discuss their movement. But it will be well for comrades who have been away from home for more

than two weeks to be able to return. Therefore, we want to resolve the question quickly and without debate so we can end today. (*The motion is adopted.*)

(*Rosmer reports on behalf of the Commission on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International, outlining the amendments made to the theses on this question.*)¹

Zinoviev: Comrades, we have decided to terminate the congress today, and we must therefore be economical with time. Already twelve speakers have signed up for every question. I propose that new amendments not taken up in the commission only be read out and not discussed. The commission will then make the final decision. Second, on the question of entering the Labour Party, I propose to allow only two speakers for and two against.²

Wijnkoop: Comrades, I am opposed to this proposal because the question of the Labour Party and the British Socialist Party is of paramount importance. It is very important not only for Britain, but for the whole world, and it therefore seems to me necessary to be able to discuss this question quite freely. If we allow only two speakers for the one position and two for the other, in reality only the British delegation will be able to say anything on the question. Maybe two against, one in favor, and perhaps one other party besides the British will have the opportunity to say something. That will not do. The workers of the entire world have the right to know why we take one side or another. This is particularly important, and I am for a free discussion of the question. But even if we do not decide to have a free discussion, I think that two speakers in favor and two against are too few. At least a few other parties should have a chance to express their position. As a counterproposal to that of the Presiding Committee, I move that we have a free discussion on this question.

(*A vote is taken and Zinoviev's motion is adopted.*)

AFFILIATION TO BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

Pankhurst: It is quite impossible to make clear to workers what the differences are between the Communist Party, the BSP, and the Labour Party. It is very characteristic of Britain in general

that no clear demarcation exists between the policies of the various parties inside the Labour Party that would allow anyone—especially the workers—to distinguish one party from the other. Therefore, it would be very difficult to explain to them how the adherents of the Communist Party differ from those of their own party.

I want to use the example of Comrade Williams to illustrate this lack of clarity. He was thought to hold a pro-Soviet position, and now it has come out that he favored British workers loading ammunition for Poland. That helps show how easy it is to be mistaken. They declare that they believe in communism, but they are compelled to carry out such policies because they belong to the Labour Party. The discipline of the party binds them.

Then again, take for example the situation during any phase of the election campaign. One would like to know the difference between the candidates, that is, who the candidates are and what they represent. I deny that this is possible, first, owing to the structure of the Labour Party, which is dominated by the old traditions; second, because we are talking here about salaried officials; and third because all members of those parties affiliated to the Labour Party are subject to the strictest discipline. Anyone who takes a position in Parliament on any question is also officially subject to party discipline. Local organizations can select their candidates for elections, but the Labour Party National Executive must approve any candidate who runs. It is the same with speeches and votes. All this has already made it clear to the members of the Independent Labour Party that it is very difficult to be an adherent of the ILP and at the same time belong to the Labour Party, because one is bound hand and foot by discipline.

Comrade Newbold, a very radical member of the ILP, is an example. He was put up as a candidate and read his appeal, his program, to his electors before presenting it to the Labour Party. After it was reviewed by the Labour Party, he again read the program to his electors. There was a big stir because the Labour Party had considerably altered its member's program. Once again I emphasize the tremendous dependence and discipline. When we speak of the Labour Party we must not forget its extremely ossified structure and the character of the trade unions that belong to it, which are also bureaucratic, ossified organizations. So the structure we find is very different than you

think. It is impossible to remain in the party and alter this organization in any manner.

As for parliamentarism, the situation in Britain is more difficult than anywhere else. This is a country with old parliamentary traditions and real democratic traditions, deeply rooted in the working class. If you propose to British workers to participate in the elections in order to damage the Labour Party, they do not understand such advice. They are not open to this because they have been strongly influenced by the bourgeois press.

The experience in Britain cannot be compared to that in Russia. In Britain every worker reads the bourgeois press after he has finished his daily work. I myself have seen—and I am one of those speakers who spoke most on the question of the Russian revolution—that what was most difficult to explain to workers was precisely the Russians' attitude toward parliamentarism. They ask why the Constituent Assembly was first convoked and then dispersed. Democratic prejudices are deeply rooted in the British working class, and we have to take that into consideration.

There is another reason why I am against the standpoint being advanced here by the International. If we tell the parties they should affiliate to the Labour Party and let themselves be bound by common discipline and action, we are putting the fate of the proletarian revolution in Britain into the hands of the old trade unions. All the arguments that have been discussed here go against this viewpoint, and one sees daily how difficult it is to fill the unions with a new spirit. Also in Russia the unions were against a dictatorship in the factory committees. The proposal that the British Communist Party affiliate to the Labour Party would abandon the trade unions and soviets of workers' deputies to the old ossified trade unions. I ask you, therefore, to consider the special conditions prevailing in Britain.

Concerning what Comrade Lenin said, that we should not be too extreme, I think we should be even more extreme than we are. Especially in Britain there is a great scarcity of courageous people. Although I am a socialist, I have fought a long time in the suffrage movement and I have seen how important it is to be extreme and to have the courage to stand up for one's ideas. In politics it is necessary to stand up for the most extreme positions. This was proven on the question of supporting soviet power in Britain, and on every question where courageous con-

duct was necessary. I therefore hold to my point of view and ask the congress *not* to accept the resolution on entering the Labour Party.

McLaine: Comrades, nothing new has been said here, because we all know Comrade Pankhurst's views on parliamentarism in general. The resolution proposed to the congress by the commission is only the logical development of those resolutions that have already been adopted on other questions. I think it is no coincidence that the comrades who are most in favor of the Communist Party affiliating to the Labour Party are representatives of a country where proletarian dictatorship already exists, that is, mostly the Russian comrades.

What does the Labour Party really represent? The Labour Party is nothing other than the political expression of the workers organized in trade unions. The Labour Party represents the economic standpoint of the workers on one question or another. Nine-tenths of those who belong to the Labour Party are at the same time members of the unions.

I think Comrade Pankhurst's example is childish, because she singled out the most reactionary unions. On the whole, no one can deny that the workers organized in unions are turning to the left. We can see the union movement changing under the pressure of time and events. We cannot look upon the trade unions and their members as something set in stone. I remember the big strike of the Manchester engineers in 1917,³ in which several comrades present here participated. Communists appeared there, expressing the strikers' standpoint in the light of the communist movement. We achieved the best possible results.

We can also refer to the results obtained lately in the Labour Party. At first it was proposed that the Labour Party should affiliate to the Third International, but this was not even put to the vote. However, the fact that this question was raised stirred up great political interest. The question has been discussed throughout Britain and in all the sections of the Labour Party, which otherwise would never have heard anything at all about the Third International. A vigorous agitation developed out of this.

Contrary to what has been stated here, although the BSP is affiliated to the Labour Party, it retains full freedom of criticism. I myself and comrades of my party have repeatedly criticized the leaders of the Labour Party in the press and on other occasions

at congresses without any adverse consequences for us.

I insist on two points: first, that the Labour Party is the political expression of the workers organized in unions and must be seen as a political organization, and second, that the adherents of other parties belonging to the Labour Party keep their full freedom of action and criticism.

Gallacher: I regret indeed that this congress has to occupy itself with the same hackneyed phrases that have been put forward for twenty years in the British working-class movement by the BSP, which argued for the same positions it has here. They say they favor affiliation to the Labour Party because they believe they can get into better contact with the masses through it. But we *are* in contact with the masses. We must distinguish between those who really are in contact with the masses and those who do not wish to be so. I could cite you many examples from the last period of the struggle in Scotland, where the adherents of the BSP and ILP proved to be very modest and, together with the reformists, got in touch with the bourgeoisie, never venturing to stand up against them.

It was we who organized the big demonstrations in Scotland. The greatest speakers in Britain came to Scotland and wanted to make social-patriotic speeches. They had brought their clique along with them, the worst part of the population, to give them support. Although the representatives of the Labour Party advised us to keep quiet, we succeeded in preventing those speakers from getting hold of the crowd. We arranged large popular counterdemonstrations, despite all difficulties. This is what I call close contact with the masses.

I would like to recall our experience during the war, when, in spite of the chauvinism dominating at that time, the Scottish workers were able to obtain humane treatment for the families of the interned Germans, while the other workers' parties, hindered by their attachment to the bourgeoisie, could not participate in this work.

I also ask you not to forget the various well-known social patriots, like Thomas and Henderson, who have betrayed the working class many times. I ask you, how can we speak in the name of the very same party that Henderson represents? I want to explain to you the relations existing in reality between the "intransigent" British Socialist Party and the Labour Party. An

excellent example is provided by my article against chauvinism. The paper that at the time refused to publish it was the *Call*.

It seems very strange to me that Comrade Lenin and other comrades should share McLaine's standpoint. Surely the responsibility Comrade McLaine has taken upon himself is a very weighty one; he has converted the other Communists to his ideas, which are not in the real interests of the movement. To me the most important thing is to use agitation and action to make the masses understand the present situation. We should arouse the indignation of the proletariat and use every means possible to set the masses into motion, not choose detours or means that only divert them from their revolutionary struggle.

I close with the request that you not accept the motion made here, which would deform the Communist Party's character. I ask all the comrades who represent the various parties at this congress not to support this motion. Leave us free to create a genuine Communist party on a really communist basis, and let us find the ways and means to speak to the masses. We shall then make the masses able to decide this question themselves. You cannot expect us to work and speak against all for which we have been fighting for years and years. This is the opinion of the revolutionary and communist elements. I urge you not to make the position of the Scottish comrades difficult and unbearable by forcing upon them a resolution they cannot defend, since it contradicts all they have stood for until now, all that has made them respected and popular among the workers.

Lenin: Comrades, Comrade Gallacher began his speech by expressing regret at our having been compelled to listen here for the hundredth and the thousandth time to sentences that Comrade McLaine and other British comrades have reiterated a thousand times in speeches, newspapers, and magazines. I think there is no need for regret. The method of the old International was to refer such questions for decision to the individual parties in the countries concerned. That was a grave error. We may not be fully familiar with the conditions in one or another party, but in this case we are dealing with the principles underlying a Communist party's tactics. That is very important and, in the name of the Third International, we must clearly state here the communist point of view.

First of all, I should like to mention a slight inaccuracy on the

part of Comrade McLaine, which cannot be agreed to. He called the Labour Party the political organization of the trade union movement, and later repeated the statement when he said that the Labour Party is "the political expression of the trade union movement." I have met the same view several times in the paper of the British Socialist Party. It is erroneous and is partly the cause of the opposition, fully justified in some measure, coming from the British revolutionary workers. In fact, the concepts "political organization of the trade union movement" or "political expression" of that union movement are erroneous.

Of course, most of the Labour Party's members are workers. However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely on whether its members are workers but also on who leads it and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only the latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat. Regarded from this point of view, the only correct one, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organization of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers with the aid of the British Noskes and Scheidemanns.

We have also heard another point of view, defended by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst and Comrade Gallacher, who have voiced their opinion on the matter. What was the substance of the speeches delivered by Gallacher and many of his friends? They told us that they are insufficiently linked with the masses. But take the case of the British Socialist Party, they went on. It is still less linked with the masses and it is a very weak party. Comrade Gallacher told us here how he and his comrades had organized, and done so really splendidly, the revolutionary movement in Glasgow, in Scotland; how in their wartime tactics they maneuvered expertly; how they gave skillful support to the petty-bourgeois pacifists Ramsay MacDonald and Snowden when they came to Glasgow, and used this support to organize a mass movement against the war.

It is our aim to integrate this new and excellent revolutionary movement—represented here by Comrade Gallacher and his

friends—into a communist party with genuinely communist, that is, Marxist, tactics. That is our task today. On the one hand, the British Socialist Party is too weak and is incapable of properly carrying on agitation among the masses. On the other hand, we have the younger revolutionary elements so well represented here by Comrade Gallacher who, although in touch with the masses, are not a political party. In this sense they are even weaker than the British Socialist Party and are totally unable to organize their political work.

Under these circumstances, we must express our frank opinion on the correct tactics. When, in speaking of the British Socialist Party, Comrade Gallacher said that it is “hopelessly reformist,” he was undoubtedly exaggerating. But the general tenor and content of all the resolutions we have adopted here show with absolute clarity that we demand a change in this spirit in the tactics of the British Socialist Party. The only correct tactics of Gallacher’s friends will consist in their joining the Communist party without delay, so as to modify its tactics in the spirit of the resolutions adopted here. If you have so many supporters that you are able to organize mass meetings in Glasgow, it will not be difficult for you to bring more than ten thousand new members into the party. The most recent conference of the British Socialist Party, held in London three or four days ago, decided to assume the name Communist Party and introduced into its program a clause providing for participation in parliamentary elections and affiliation to the Labour Party. Ten thousand organized members were represented at the conference. It will therefore not be at all difficult for the Scottish comrades to bring into this “Communist Party of Great Britain” more than ten thousand revolutionary workers who are better versed in the art of working among the masses and thus to modify the old tactics of the British Socialist Party in the sense of better agitation and more revolutionary action.

In the commission Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst pointed out several times that Britain needed “lefts.” I, of course, replied that this was absolutely true, but that one must not overdo this “leftism.” She also said that “we are better pioneers, but for the moment we are rather noisy.” I do not take this in a bad sense, but rather in a good one, namely, that they are more able in carrying on revolutionary agitation. We do and should value

this. We expressed this in all our resolutions, for we always emphasize that we can consider a party to be a workers' party only when it is really linked up with the masses and fights against the old and quite corrupt leaders, against both the right-wing chauvinists and those who, like the right Independents in Germany, take up an intermediate position. We have asserted and reiterated this a dozen times and more in all our resolutions, which means that we demand a transformation of the old party, in the sense of bringing it closer to the masses.

Sylvia Pankhurst also asked, "Is it possible for a communist party to join another political party that still belongs to the Second International?" She replied that it was not. It should, however, be borne in mind that the British Labour Party is in a very special position: it is a highly original type of party, or rather, it is not at all a party in the ordinary sense of the word. Made up of members of all trade unions, it has at present a membership of about four million, and it allows sufficient freedom to all affiliated political parties. It thus includes a vast number of British workers who follow the lead of the worst bourgeois elements, social traitors who are even worse than Scheidemann, Noske, and similar people.

At the same time, however, the Labour Party has let the British Socialist Party into its ranks, permitting it to have its own press organs, in which members of the selfsame Labour Party can freely and openly declare that the party leaders are social traitors. Comrade McLaine has cited quotations from such statements by the British Socialist Party. I too can certify that I have seen in the *Call*, organ of the British Socialist Party, statements that the Labour Party leaders are social patriots and social traitors. This shows that a party affiliated to the Labour Party is able not only to severely criticize the old leaders but openly and specifically to call the old workers' leaders social traitors, mentioning them by name.

This is a very original situation: a party that unites enormous masses of workers, so that it might seem a political party, is nevertheless obliged to grant its members complete latitude. Comrade McLaine has told us here that at the Labour Party conference the British Scheidemanns were obliged to openly raise the question of affiliation to the Third International and that all party branches and sections were obliged to discuss the

matter. In such circumstances, it would be a mistake not to join this party.

In a private talk Comrade Pankhurst said to me, "If we are real revolutionaries and join the Labour Party, these gentlemen will expel us." But that would not be bad at all. Our resolution says that we favor affiliation insofar as the Labour Party permits sufficient freedom of criticism. On that point we are absolutely consistent. Comrade McLaine emphasized that the conditions now prevailing in Britain are such that, should it so desire, a political party may remain a revolutionary workers' party even though connected with a special kind of labor organization of four million members, which is half trade union and half political and is headed by bourgeois leaders. In such circumstances it would be highly erroneous for the best revolutionary elements not to do everything possible to remain in such a party. Let the Thomases and other social traitors, whom you have called by that name, expel you. That will have an excellent effect upon the mass of the British workers.

The comrades have emphasized that the labor aristocracy is stronger in Britain than in any other country. That is indeed true. After all, the labor aristocracy has existed in Britain not for decades but for centuries. The British bourgeoisie, which has had far more experience—democratic experience—than that of any other country, has been able to buy off workers and to create among them a sizable stratum, greater than in any other country, but one that is not so great compared with the masses of the workers. This stratum is thoroughly imbued with bourgeois prejudices and pursues a definitely bourgeois reformist policy.

In Ireland, for instance, there are 200,000 British soldiers who are applying ferocious terror methods to suppress the Irish. The British Socialists are not conducting any revolutionary propaganda among these soldiers, though our resolutions clearly state that we can accept into the Communist International only those British parties that conduct genuinely revolutionary propaganda among the British workers and soldiers. I emphasize that we have heard no objections to this either here or in the commissions.

Comrades Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst cannot deny that. They cannot refute the fact that the British Socialist Party, while

remaining in the ranks of the Labour Party, enjoys sufficient freedom to write that certain leaders of the Labour Party are traitors; that these old leaders represent the interests of the bourgeoisie; that they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement. All this is the absolute truth. When communists enjoy such freedom, it is their duty to join the Labour Party if they take due account of the experience of revolutionaries in all countries, not only of the Russian revolution (for here we are not at a Russian congress but at one that is international). Comrade Gallacher said ironically that in the present instance we are under the influence of the British Socialist Party. That is not true; it is the experience of all revolutions in all countries that has convinced us. We think we must say that to the masses. The British Communist Party must retain the freedom necessary to expose and criticize the betrayers of the working class, who are much more powerful in Britain than in any other country. That is readily understandable.

Comrade Gallacher is wrong in asserting that by advocating affiliation to the Labour Party we shall repel the best elements among the British workers. We must test this by experience. We are convinced that all the resolutions and decisions that will be adopted by our congress will be published in all British revolutionary socialist newspapers and that all the branches and sections will be able to discuss them. The entire content of our resolutions shows with crystal clarity that we are representatives of working-class revolutionary tactics in all countries and that our aim is to fight against the old reformism and opportunism. The events are revealing that our tactics are indeed defeating the old reformism. In that case the finest revolutionary elements in the working class, who are dissatisfied with the slow progress being made—and progress in Britain will perhaps be slower than in other countries—will all come over to us.

Progress is slow because the British bourgeoisie is in a position to create better conditions for the labor aristocracy and thereby to retard the revolutionary movement in Britain. That is why the British comrades should strive not only to revolutionize the masses—they are doing that splendidly (as Comrade Gallacher has shown)—but at the same time to create a real working-class political party. Comrade Gallacher and Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, who have both spoken here, do not as yet belong to

a revolutionary communist party. Such an excellent proletarian organization as the Shop Stewards' movement has not yet joined a political party. If you organize politically you will find that our tactics are based on a correct understanding of political developments in the past decades, and that a real revolutionary party can be created only when it absorbs the best elements of the revolutionary class and uses every opportunity to fight the reactionary leaders, wherever they show themselves.

If the British Communist Party starts by acting in a revolutionary manner in the Labour Party, and if the Hendersons are obliged to expel this party, that will be a great victory for the Communist and revolutionary working-class movement in Britain.

Zinoviev: Now we must vote on the question of the British party entering the Labour Party. All those in favor of the commission's motion, that is, in favor of the British party joining the Labour Party, raise their hands. (*The motion is adopted 58 to 24 with 2 abstentions.*)

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Zinoviev: Now we must vote on the resolution as a whole, but first a few comrades want the floor to make statements.

Serrati: I am voting against the theses, first because of differences on the British and American questions, and second because of the criticism directed against the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party. I do not want to hold up the congress with overly long explanations. I will submit to the Bureau a detailed explanation to be inserted into the proceedings.⁴

Graziadei: We propose that thesis 17 be formulated as follows: "Concerning the Socialist Party of Italy, the Second Congress of the Third International considers the revision of the party program adopted by the Bologna congress last year a very positive step on the party's road to communism. The proposals submitted to the National Council of the Socialist Party of Italy in the name of the party's Turin section, as set forth in *L'Ordine Nuovo* of May 8, 1920, correspond to the fundamental principles of the Third International."⁵

“Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Socialist Party of Italy to convene its next congress in accordance with its statutes and with the conditions for admission to the Communist International and to discuss there, along with these proposals, all the decisions of the two congresses of the Communist International, especially regarding the questions of the parliamentary fraction, the trade unions, and the noncommunist elements in the party.” Signed: Graziadei, Bombacci, Polano.

Zinoviev: On behalf of three members of the Russian delegation, Lenin, Bukharin, and myself, I declare that we accept this version by Graziadei and hope that the majority of the commission will also adopt it.

Wijnkoop: I would like to say here that even though the theses do not correspond to my view on the British question I will vote for them because they take a sharp position against the opportunists and because they were sharpened even more in the commission, precisely on the Italian question.

Serrati: Despite the statements of Graziadei and the commission members, I stick to what I said in my declaration, given that in fact there is no difference between what was stated in the theses and what was just said. Maybe a lawyer could find one or read one into it, but this is not a congress of lawyers but of Communists. The theses are a repudiation of the Italian party leadership and of *Avanti!* That should be openly stated.

Zinoviev: I must say that Serrati is right. In fact there is no difference, but this is a proposal from the Italian comrades, and we have obliged them. We are always ready to make accommodations of form for comrades who want to fight against lawyers. On this question I would say that the majority of the commission and of the congress sides with Comrade Serrati.

Bordiga: Speaking on behalf of the Communist-Abstentionist faction of the Italian Socialist Party, I attach no importance to the form of the theses concerning the Italian Socialist Party.

Based on everything that was said here about this party, particularly by Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev, I see that the party as such is being criticized here because at its Bologna congress it did not do what was required on the question of its parliamentary activity. Given the presence of opportunist and Social Democratic forces in its ranks, its conduct since the Bologna con-

gress is out of line with its affiliation to the Communist International.

On the question of antiparlamentarism, we will submit to the discipline of the congress, but we ask that all other resolutions of the congress be strictly observed by the Italian party—specifically with respect to noncommunist members of the party, the parliamentary fraction, and reformist-led trade unions. We are firmly convinced that the Executive Committee of the International will see that these decisions are implemented.

Should the Italian party have the opportunity to carry out the obligations laid on it here, it will do so. The Central Committee is capable of ensuring that the decisions made here command respect.

Zinoviev: We now move to the vote on the theses as a whole. (*The theses are adopted with 2 votes against and 1 abstention.*)

That concludes the matter.

THESES ON THE BASIC TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL⁶

1. The present stage in the development of the international Communist movement is marked by the fact that the finest representatives of the revolutionary proletariat in all capitalist countries have fully grasped the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power, ranging themselves with unbounded enthusiasm on the side of the Communist International. An even bigger and more important step forward is the definite sympathy with these fundamental principles that has taken shape everywhere among the broadest masses, not only of the urban proletariat but of the advanced section of the rural workers as well.

On the other hand, two errors or weaknesses are to be observed in the very rapidly growing international Communist movement. One is very grave and constitutes an immense and immediate danger to the success of the cause of proletarian emancipation. It is that some of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International—in part yielding half uncon-

sciously to the wishes and pressure of the masses, and in part deliberately deceiving the masses in order to retain their function of agents and assistants of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement—declare their qualified or even unqualified adherence to the Third International, while actually remaining, in all their practical party and political work, on the level of the Second International.

Such a state of affairs is absolutely intolerable. It leads to downright corruption of the masses, detracts from the Third International's prestige, and threatens a repetition of the same acts of treachery as were perpetrated by the Hungarian Social Democrats, who so hastily assumed the title of Communists.

The other error, which is far less significant and is more in the nature of growing pains of the movement, consists in a tendency toward "leftism." This results in a wrong appraisal of the role and the tasks of the party with regard to the class and the masses, and a wrong attitude toward the revolutionary Communists' obligation to work in bourgeois parliaments and reactionary trade unions.

Communists are duty-bound not to gloss over shortcomings in their movement but to criticize them openly, so as to remedy them the more speedily and radically. For this purpose it is necessary, first, to define as concretely as possible, particularly on the basis of the practical experience already acquired, the content of the concepts "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "soviet power." Second, the precise content of the immediate and systematic preparatory work to be carried on in all countries so as to give effect to these slogans must be specified. Third, the methods and means of rectifying the faults in our movement must be demonstrated.

I. The essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of soviet power

2. The victory of socialism (as the first stage of communism) over capitalism requires that the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class, accomplish the following three tasks:

First, overthrow the exploiters—and first and foremost the bourgeoisie, as their principal economic and political representative—utterly rout them, crush their resistance, and absolutely

preclude any attempt on their part to restore the yoke of capital and wage slavery.

The second task is to win over and bring under the leadership of the Communist Party—the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat—not only the entire proletariat, or its vast majority, but all who labor and are exploited by capital. It is to educate, organize, train, and discipline them in the very course of a supremely bold and ruthlessly firm struggle against the exploiters. It is to wrest this vast majority of the population in all the capitalist countries from dependence on the bourgeoisie, and imbue it, through its own practical experience, with confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and of its revolutionary vanguard.

The third task is to neutralize or render harmless the inevitable vacillation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and soviet power, to be seen in the class of petty proprietors in agriculture, industry, and commerce—a class that is still fairly numerous in nearly all advanced countries, although comprising only a minority of the population—as well as in the stratum of intellectuals, salary earners, etc., that corresponds to this class.

The first and second tasks have an independent character, each requiring its own special methods of action with regard to the exploiters and the exploited. The third task follows from the first two, and requires merely a skillful, timely, and flexible combination of measures for the first and second tasks, depending on the specific circumstances in each separate instance of vacillation.

3. In the concrete situation created throughout the world—and above all in the most advanced, powerful, enlightened, and free capitalist countries—by militarism, imperialism, the oppression of colonies and weak countries, the worldwide imperialist butchery, and the Versailles “peace,” the very idea of the capitalists peacefully submitting to the will of the majority of the exploited, the very idea of a peaceful, reformist transition to socialism, is not merely sheer philistine stupidity but also downright deception of the workers, a whitewash of capitalist wage slavery, and a concealment of the truth. The truth is that the bourgeoisie, even the most enlightened and democratic, no longer hesitates at any fraud or crime, even the massacre of

millions of workers and peasants, in order to preserve private ownership of the means of production.

Only the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc.—right down to the wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters and the institution of strict surveillance of them so as to foil their inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery—only such measures can ensure real submission of the whole class of exploiters.

Just as much a whitewash of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, just as much a deception of the workers, is the view—common among the old parties and the old leaders of the Second International—that the majority of the exploited toilers can achieve complete clarity of socialist consciousness and firm socialist convictions and character under capitalist slavery, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. This yoke, moreover, assumes an infinite variety of forms that become more subtle and at the same time more brutal and ruthless the higher the cultural level in a given capitalist country.

In fact, it is only after the vanguard of the proletariat, supported by the whole or the majority of this, the only revolutionary class, overthrows the exploiters, suppresses them, emancipates the exploited from their state of slavery, and immediately improves their conditions of life at the expense of the expropriated capitalists—it is only after this, and only in the actual process of an acute class struggle, that the masses of the toilers and exploited can be educated, trained, and organized around the proletariat, under whose influence and guidance they can get rid of the selfishness, disunity, vices, and weaknesses engendered by private property. Only then will they be converted into a free union of free workers.

4. Victory over capitalism calls for proper relations between the leading (Communist) party, the revolutionary class (the proletariat) and the masses, that is, the entire body of the toilers and the exploited. Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled

by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and through it with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass—only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in a final, most ruthless, and decisive struggle against all the forces of capitalism.

On the other hand, it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught and of overcoming the inevitable apathy and occasional resistance of that small minority, the labor aristocracy, that has been corrupted by capitalism, the old trade union and cooperative leaders, etc. Only then will it be capable of displaying its full might, which, because of the very economic structure of capitalist society, is infinitely greater than its proportion of the population.

Finally, it is only after they have been really emancipated from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois state machinery, only after they have found an opportunity of organizing in their soviets in a really free way (free from the exploiters), that the masses—that is, the toilers and exploited as a body—can display, for the first time in history, all the initiative and energy of tens of millions of people who have been crushed by capitalism. Only when the soviets have become the sole state apparatus is it really possible to ensure the participation in the work of administration of the entire mass of the exploited. Even under the most enlightened and freest bourgeois democracy, these masses have actually always been 99 percent excluded from participation in the work of administration. It is only in the soviets that the exploited masses really begin to learn—not in books but from their own practical experience—the work of socialist construction, of creating a new social discipline and a free union of free workers.

II. What immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat should consist of

5. The present stage in the development of the international Communist movement is marked by the fact that in the vast majority of capitalist countries, the proletariat's preparations to

effect its dictatorship have not been completed, and, in many cases, have not even been systematically begun. From this it does not follow, however, that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is perfectly possible, since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in causes of a sudden flare-up. The other condition for revolution, apart from the proletariat's preparedness, also exists, namely, a general state of crisis in all the ruling and in all bourgeois parties.

It follows from this, however, that the Communist parties' current task consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat. It must be prepared for a revolution through action.⁷ On the other hand, the facts cited above from the history of many Socialist parties make it incumbent on us to see to it that "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not remain a matter of mere words.

Hence, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, the Communist parties' principal task at the present moment is to unite the scattered Communist forces, to form a single Communist party in every country (or to consolidate or renovate the already existing party) in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of state power—political power, moreover, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The usual socialist work conducted by groups and parties that recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat has by no means undergone the fundamental reorganization, the fundamental renovation, that is essential for this work to be considered communist and adequate to the tasks to be accomplished on the eve of the proletarian dictatorship.

6. The proletariat's conquest of political power does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it renders that struggle most widespread, intense, and ruthless. Owing to the extreme intensification of the struggle, all groups, parties, and leaders in the working-class movement who have fully or partly adopted the stand of reformism, of the Center, etc., inevitably side with the bourgeoisie or join the waverers, or else (what is the most dangerous of all) land in the ranks of the unreliable friends of the victorious proletariat.

Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls not only for an intensification of the struggle against re-

formist and centrist tendencies, but also for a change in the character of that struggle. The struggle cannot be restricted to explaining the erroneousness of these tendencies; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose any leader of the working-class movement who reveals such tendencies. Otherwise the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie.

This struggle is such that at any moment the weapon of criticism can be replaced by criticism with weapons—and, as experience has already taught, this does happen. Any inconsistency or weakness in exposing those who show themselves to be reformists or centrists means directly increasing the danger of the power of the proletariat being overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which tomorrow will utilize for the counterrevolution that which shortsighted people today see merely as “theoretical differences.”

7. In particular, we must not restrict ourselves to the usual repudiation, in principle, of all cooperation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of all “collaborationism.” Since private property in the means of production will be preserved under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will never be able to abolish private property completely at one blow, simple defense of “freedom” and “equality” will be transformed into a kind of “cooperation” with the bourgeoisie that actually undermines the power of the working class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means that the state uses its whole machinery of power to uphold and perpetuate “unfreedom” of the exploiters to continue their oppression and exploitation, “inequality” between the owner of property (that is, one who has appropriated for himself certain means of production created by social labor) and the nonowner. What prior to the victory of the proletariat seems merely a theoretical difference on the question of “democracy” inevitably becomes, on the day following victory, a question that is settled by force of arms. Consequently, even preliminary work to prepare the masses to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a radical change in the entire character of the struggle against the centrists and the “champions of democracy.”

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and revolutionary form of the proletariat’s class struggle against

the bourgeoisie. This struggle can be successful only when the most revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has the backing of its overwhelming majority. Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat entails more than explaining the bourgeois character of all reformism, of all defense of democracy while private ownership of the means of production is preserved. It entails more than exposing such trends, which are in fact a defense of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement. It also calls for old leaders being replaced by Communists in proletarian organizations of absolutely every type—not only political but also trade union, cooperative, educational, etc.

The more complete, long-standing, and firmly established the rule of bourgeois democracy has been in a given country, the more the bourgeoisie will have succeeded in securing the appointment to such leading posts of people whose minds it has molded and imbued with its views and prejudices, and whom it has very often directly or indirectly purchased. These representatives of the labor aristocracy—bourgeoisified workers—should be ousted from all their posts a hundred times more sweepingly than hitherto. They should be replaced by workers, even by wholly inexperienced men, provided they are connected with the exploited masses and enjoy their confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will require the appointment of such inexperienced workers to the most responsible posts in the state; otherwise the workers' government will be impotent and will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat means that all toiling and exploited people—who have been disunited, deceived, intimidated, oppressed, downtrodden, and crushed by the capitalist class—come under the full leadership of the only class trained for that leadership by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat must begin everywhere and at once and must include the following measures:

In all organizations, unions, and associations without exception, first and foremost in proletarian organizations, but also in those of the nonproletarian toiling and exploited masses (political, trade union, military, cooperative, educational, sports, etc.), groups or cells of Communists should be formed. These

groups should preferably be open, but underground groups are also needed and are essential whenever there is reason to expect their suppression, or the arrest or banishment of their members on the part of the bourgeoisie. These cells, which are to be in close touch with one another and with the party center, should, by pooling their experience, carry on work of agitation, propaganda, and organization. They should adapt themselves to absolutely every sphere of public life and to every variety and category of the toiling masses, systematically educating themselves, the party, the class, and the masses by means of such diversified work.

In this connection, it is of the utmost importance that necessary distinctions between the methods of work should be evolved in practice. As for the "leaders," or "responsible representatives," who are very often hopelessly beset with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices, such "leaders" must be ruthlessly exposed and expelled from the working-class movement. But as for the masses, particularly after the imperialist war they are for the most part inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine that guidance from the proletariat is essential as the only way of escaping from capitalist slavery. We must learn to approach the masses with particular patience and caution so as to be able to understand the distinctive features in the mentality of each stratum, occupation, etc., of these masses.

10. In particular, there is a group or cell of Communists that deserves exceptional attention and care from the party. That is the parliamentary fraction: the party members who are deputies to bourgeois representative institutions, primarily national, but also local and municipal. On the one hand, it is this platform that is held in particular regard by large sections of the toiling masses who are backward or imbued with petty-bourgeois prejudices. It is therefore imperative for Communists to utilize this platform to conduct propaganda, agitation, and organizational work and to explain to the masses why the dispersal of the bourgeois parliament by the national congress of soviets was legitimate in Russia (and, at the proper time, will be legitimate in any country). On the other hand, the entire history of bourgeois democracy, particularly in the advanced countries, has converted the parliamentary rostrum into one of the principal—if not the principal—venues of unparalleled fraudulence,

financial and political deception of the people, careerism, hypocrisy, and oppression of the working people. The intense hatred of parliaments felt by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is therefore quite justified.

The Communist parties and all parties affiliated to the Third International—especially those that have not arisen by splitting away from the old parties and by waging a long and persistent struggle against them but through the old parties accepting (often nominally) the new political positions—should therefore adopt a most strict attitude toward their parliamentary fractions. These fractions must be brought under the full control and direction of the central committees of the parties and they must consist, in the main, of revolutionary workers. Speeches by members of parliament should be carefully analyzed in the party press and at party meetings from a strictly communist standpoint. Deputies should be sent to carry on agitational work among the masses. Those who manifest Second International leanings should be expelled from the parliamentary groups. And so on.

11. One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the super-profits gained by finance capital, etc., the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor aristocracy, a section that comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the centrists. At present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie.

No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless an immediate, systematic, extensive, and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already fully shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois White Guards with many a recruit after the victory of the proletariat. All parties affiliated to the Third International must at all costs put the following slogans into effect: “Deeper into the heart of the masses,” “Closer links with the masses”—meaning by the masses

all those who toil and are exploited by capital, particularly those who are least organized and educated, who are most oppressed and least amenable to organization.

The proletariat becomes revolutionary only insofar as it does not restrict itself to the narrow framework of craft interests, only when, in all matters and spheres of public life, it acts as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses. It cannot achieve its dictatorship unless it is prepared and able to make the greatest sacrifices for the sake of victory over the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the experience of Russia is significant both in principle and in practice. The proletariat could not have achieved its dictatorship there or won the universally acknowledged respect and confidence of all the toiling masses, had it not made the most sacrifices, suffering more from hunger than any other section of those masses at the most crucial moments of the onslaught, war, and blockade effected by the world bourgeoisie.

In particular, the Communist Party and all advanced proletarians must give all-around and unstinting support to the spontaneous mass strike movement. It alone is capable, under the yoke of capital, of really rousing, educating, and organizing the masses, of imbuing them with complete confidence in the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such preparation, no dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. People capable of publicly opposing strikes, such as Kautsky in Germany and Turati in Italy, cannot possibly be tolerated in the ranks of parties affiliated to the Third International. This applies even more, of course, to those trade union and parliamentary leaders who so often betray the workers by using the experience of strikes to teach them reformism and not revolution. These include such people as Jouhaux in France, Gompers in America, and J.H. Thomas in Britain.

12. In all countries, even in those that are freest, most "legal," and most "peaceful" in the sense that the class struggle is least acute there, the time has now come when it is absolutely indispensable for every Communist Party to systematically combine legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organizations. Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the governments of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois-democratic system is most "stable," are already systematically and secretly drawing up blacklists of Com-

munists. They constantly violate their own constitutions so as to give secret or semisecret encouragement to the White Guards and to the murder of Communists in all countries, making secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, planting agents provocateurs among the Communists, etc.

Only a most reactionary philistine, no matter what cloak of fine “democratic” and pacifist phrases he may don, will deny this fact or the conclusion that of necessity follows from it, namely, that all legal Communist parties must immediately form illegal organizations for the systematic conduct of illegal work and for complete preparations for the moment the bourgeoisie resorts to persecution. Illegal work is especially necessary in the army, the navy, and the police. For since the imperialist holocaust, governments the world over have begun to stand in dread of people’s armies that are open to the workers and peasants. They are secretly resorting to all kinds of methods to set up military units specially recruited from the bourgeoisie and equipped with the most up-to-date weapons.

On the other hand, it is likewise necessary that, in all cases without exception, the parties should not restrict themselves to illegal work but should conduct legal work as well, overcoming all obstacles, starting legal publications and forming legal organizations under the most varied names, which should be frequently changed if necessary. This is being practiced by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, Hungary, partly in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It should be practiced by the Industrial Workers of the World in America and by all Communist parties that are at present legal, should public prosecutors see fit to initiate proceedings against them on the grounds of resolutions adopted by congresses of the Communist International, etc.

A combination of illegal and legal work is an absolute principle dictated not only by all features of the present period—that of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship—but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, any sphere of activity that cannot be won by the Communists. Above all, it is dictated by the fact that broad strata of the proletariat and even broader strata of the nonproletarian toiling and exploited masses still exist everywhere who continue to believe in bourgeois-democratic legality and whom we must undeceive without fail.

13. In particular, the condition of the working-class press in most advanced capitalist countries strikingly reveals the utter fraudulence of liberty and equality under bourgeois democracy, as well as the necessity of systematically combining legal work with illegal work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America, the entire power of the bourgeoisie's state machinery and all the machinations of the financial magnates are employed to deprive the workers of their press. These methods include legal proceedings, the arrest (or murder by hired assassins) of editors, denial of mailing privileges, the cutting off of paper supplies, etc., etc. Besides, the news services essential to daily newspapers are run by bourgeois wire services, while advertisements, without which a large newspaper cannot pay its way, depend on the "good will" of the capitalists. To sum up: through skulduggery and the pressure of capital and the bourgeois state, the bourgeoisie is depriving the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

To combat this the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for mass distribution among the workers: first, legal publications that, without calling themselves Communist and without publicizing their links with the party, must learn to make use of any legal opportunity, however slight, just as the Bolsheviks did under the tsar after 1905; second, illegal leaflets, even the briefest and published at irregular intervals, but reprinted at numerous printshops by workers (secretly, or, if the movement has become strong enough, by the revolutionary seizure of printshops), and providing the proletariat with outspoken revolutionary information and revolutionary slogans.

Preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a revolutionary struggle, into which the masses are drawn, for the freedom of the Communist press.

III. Correcting the political line—partly also the composition—of parties that belong to the Communist International or wish to join it

14. The degree to which the proletariat in countries most important to world economics and politics is prepared to establish its dictatorship can be seen with the greatest objectivity and precision in the fact that the most influential parties of the

Second International—namely, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labour Party of Britain, and the Socialist Party of America—have withdrawn from this Yellow International, and have decided, on certain conditions, to affiliate to the Third International. This proves that not only the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat but its majority too have begun to come over to our side, convinced by the entire course of events. The main thing now is the ability to consummate this process and to consolidate firmly on organizational terms what has been achieved, so as to be able to advance all along the line, without the slightest wavering.

15. All the activities of the parties mentioned (to which should be added the Socialist party of Switzerland,⁸ if the telegraph reports of its decision to join the Third International are true) show—as any periodical of these parties will strikingly confirm—that they are not yet communist, and quite often run directly counter to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power in place of bourgeois democracy.

Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Communist International declares that it cannot immediately accept the affiliation of these parties. It endorses the reply given by the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German “Independents.” It confirms its readiness to conduct negotiations with any party that withdraws from the Second International and desires to enter into closer relations with the Third International. It will admit the delegates of such parties in a deliberative capacity to all its congresses and conferences. It sets the following conditions for the complete adhesion of these (and similar) parties to the Communist International:

a. All decisions of all congresses of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee are to be published in all the periodicals of the parties concerned.

b. These decisions are to be discussed at special meetings of all sections or local organizations of the parties.

c. After such discussion, special congresses of the parties are to be convened to sum up the results. This congress must be convened as soon as possible and not more than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International.⁹

d. The parties are to be purged of elements that continue to act in the spirit of the Second International.

e. All periodical publications of the parties are to be placed under exclusively Communist editorship.¹⁰

f. Parties that now wish to join the Communist International but have not yet broken radically with their old policies must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their central committees and their central leadership bodies are composed of comrades who spoke out publicly and unambiguously in favor of joining the Communist International before its Second Congress. Exceptions can be made only with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee also has the right to make exceptions for the representatives of the Center mentioned in thesis 7.¹¹

g. Party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and theses formulated by the Communist International must be expelled. The same also applies to delegates of the special congress.

The Second Congress of the Third International should instruct its Executive Committee formally to accept these and similar parties into the Third International after first ascertaining that all these conditions have actually been met and that the activities of the parties have assumed a Communist character.

16. As to the question of the conduct of communists now holding a minority of the responsible posts in these and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Communist International resolves that, in view of the swiftness with which a revolutionary spirit is now growing among the masses, it would be undesirable for communists to resign from these parties, as long as they can carry on work within them for the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power, and as long as it is possible to criticize the opportunists and centrists who still remain in these parties. However, whenever the left wing of a Center party becomes strong enough—and when such action would further the development of the Communist movement—it may leave the party as a unit and form a Communist party.¹²

At the same time, the Second Congress of the Third International should declare in favor of Communist groups and organizations, or groups and organizations sympathizing with communism, joining the Labour Party in Britain, despite its member-

ship in the Second International. As long as this party ensures its affiliated organizations their present freedom of criticism and freedom to carry on work of propaganda, agitation, and organization in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power, and as long as this party preserves the character of a federation of all trade union organizations of the working class, it is imperative for Communists to do everything and to make certain compromises in order to be able to exercise their influence on the broadest masses of the workers, to expose their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune—one in fuller view of the masses—and to hasten the transfer of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the “labor lieutenants of the capitalist class,” so that the masses may be more quickly weaned away from their last illusions on this score.

17. Concerning the Socialist Party of Italy, the Second Congress of the Third International considers the revision of the party program adopted by the Bologna congress last year a very positive step on the party’s road to communism. The proposals submitted to the National Council of the Socialist Party of Italy in the name of the party’s Turin section, as set forth in *L’Ordine Nuovo* of May 8, 1920, correspond to the fundamental principles of the Third International.¹⁵

Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Socialist Party of Italy to convene its next congress in accordance with its statutes and with the conditions for admission to the Communist International and to discuss there, along with these proposals, all the decisions of the two congresses of the Communist International, especially regarding the questions of the parliamentary fraction, the trade unions, and the noncommunist elements in the party.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as erroneous a number of views on the party’s relation to the class and to the masses, as well as the view that it is not obligatory for Communist parties to participate in bourgeois parliaments and in reactionary trade unions, and it has refuted these positions in detail in special decisions of the present congress. They are advocated most fully by the Communist Workers Party of Germany, and partly by the Communist Party of Switzerland, by *Kommunismus*, organ of the East European Secretariat of the Communist International in Vienna, by several Dutch com-

rades,¹⁴ by several communist organizations in Britain, as for example, the Workers' Socialist Federation, etc., and also by the Industrial Workers of the World in the U.S.A. and the Shop Stewards' committees in Britain, etc.

Nevertheless, the Second Congress of the Third International considers it possible and desirable that those of the above-mentioned organizations that have not yet officially affiliated to the Communist International should do so immediately. For in the present instance, particularly as regards the Industrial Workers of the World in America and Australia, as well as the Shop Stewards' committees in Britain, we are dealing with a profoundly proletarian and mass movement, which in all essentials actually stands by the basic principles of the Communist International. The erroneous views held by these organizations regarding participation in bourgeois parliaments can be explained not so much by the influence of elements coming from the bourgeoisie, who bring their essentially petty-bourgeois views into the movement—views such as anarchists often hold—as by the political inexperience of proletarians who are quite revolutionary and connected with the masses.

For this reason the Second Congress of the Third International requests all Communist organizations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries—even if the Industrial Workers of the World and the Shop Stewards' committees do not immediately affiliate to the Third International—to pursue a very friendly policy toward these organizations, to establish closer contacts with them and the masses that sympathize with them, and to explain to them in a friendly spirit—on the basis of the experience of all revolutions, and particularly of the three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century—the erroneous nature of their views as set forth above, and not to desist from further efforts to amalgamate with these organizations to form a single Communist party.

19. In this connection the congress draws the attention of all comrades, particularly in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, to the fact that since the war a profound ideological division has been taking place among anarchists all over the world regarding the attitude to be adopted toward the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power. Moreover, a proper understanding of these principles is particularly to be seen among proletarian

elements that have often been impelled toward anarchism by a perfectly legitimate hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International. That understanding is growing more widespread among them the more familiar they become with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Germany.

The congress therefore considers it the duty of all Communists to do everything to help all mass proletarian elements to abandon anarchism and come over to the side of the Third International. The congress points out that one of the criteria for measuring the success of the work of genuinely Communist parties is how able they are to win the genuine proletarian elements away from anarchism.

CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION (PART 4)

Zinoviev: We will move on to the report of a second commission: on the conditions for joining the Communist International. Comrade Meyer has the floor for the report.

Meyer: The conditions for joining the Communist International, as formulated in Comrade Lenin's theses, were also discussed by the commission on the tasks of the Second Congress. On page 7, five conditions for affiliation are listed.¹⁵ In discussing them, it was noted that the congress had already adopted conditions for joining. So discussions took place in a joint commission, composed of seven members from the Commission on Conditions for Admission and seven from the commission on tasks of the Communist International. This joint commission proposes to the congress that the theses on joining the Communist International be changed somewhat. In section 7 of the conditions for joining, on page 82 of the German edition, Kautsky, Turati, Hillquit, MacDonald, and others are named as notorious reformists. This new commission decided to insert Hilferding as well.

The commission also took up suggestions made here in the plenary and referred to it for consideration. The joint commission adopted the Russian delegation's motion that two-thirds of all central leadership bodies of parties that now want to join the

Communist International must be composed of comrades who had already come out in favor of this before the congress of the Communist International. Furthermore, a motion was adopted that the parties that now belong to or want to belong to the Communist International must call a special national congress as soon as possible and at least within four months of the Second Congress of the International to examine all the conditions adopted here. In addition, the commission approved a motion whereby parties that want to belong to the Communist International are obliged to expel members who reject the principles. The same goes for delegates to the special party congress who vote against joining the Communist International.

Today the subcommission of the Commission on Conditions for Admission also took up the decisions of the joint commission and made a few small changes. The Executive Committee is to retain the right to allow exceptions with respect to making up party bodies out of supporters of the Communist International and expelling notorious reformists. The relevant passages now read:

“19. All parties that belong to the Communist International or have applied to join it are required to call a special congress as soon as possible but no later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International to consider all these conditions. In doing so, the central leaderships must see to it that all local organizations become acquainted with the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

“20. Parties that want to join the Communist International now but have not radically changed their previous policies must, before joining, make certain that not less than two-thirds of the members of their most important central bodies consist of comrades who even before the Second Congress of the Communist International publicly and unambiguously advocated that the party join it. Exceptions are permissible with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee also has the right to make exceptions for representatives of the Center tendency mentioned in thesis 7.

“21. Party members who reject on principle the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International must be expelled from the party. This applies in particular to delegates

to the special congress.”

The commission, which adopted these changes by majority vote, recommends that you approve them. The theses on the tasks of the Second Congress must make reference to these twenty-one conditions.¹⁶

Zinoviev: I have received two requests to speak, but I suggest we vote without further discussion. (*Adopted with a small minority opposed.*)

THESES ON THE CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION¹⁷

The First Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for admission into the Communist International. When the First Congress was convened, only Communist *tendencies* and *groups* existed in most countries.

The Second Congress of the Communist International assembles under different circumstances. Today in most countries there are not merely Communist currents and movements but Communist *parties* and *organizations*.

The Communist International is now frequently approached by parties and groups that only recently belonged to the Second International and now want to join the Communist International, although they have not in fact become communist. The Second International has been definitively smashed. The intermediate parties and the groups of the Center, seeing that the Second International has no prospects at all, try to lean on the Communist International, which is becoming ever stronger. However, they hope to preserve enough “autonomy” to continue their former opportunist or “centrist” policies. The Communist International is becoming rather fashionable.

The desire of some leading Center groups to join the Communist International indirectly confirms that it has won the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of the whole world and is becoming a more powerful force every day. It is in danger of being diluted by vacillating and irresolute groups that have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International.

Moreover, in some large parties in countries such as Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Yugoslavia,¹⁸ where a majority takes a communist position, there remains to this day a significant reformist and social-pacifist wing. This wing is just waiting for the moment when it can raise its head again and begin actively sabotaging the proletarian revolution, thereby helping the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist may forget the lessons of the Hungarian soviet republic. The Hungarian proletariat paid dearly for the unification of the Hungarian Communists and the so-called left Social Democrats.¹⁹

Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Communist International considers it necessary to define very precisely the conditions for admission for new parties and to call to the attention of parties accepted into membership the duties that are incumbent upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International establishes the following conditions of membership in the Communist International:

1. *All propaganda and agitation* must have a truly communist character and correspond to the program and resolutions of the Communist International.²⁰ All of the party's publications must be directed by reliable Communists who have demonstrated their dedication to the proletariat's cause. The dictatorship of the proletariat may not be spoken of simply as if it were a stock phrase to be learned by rote. Instead, it must be popularized so that every ordinary working man and woman, every soldier and peasant, can understand the need for it from the facts of everyday life, facts that our press must systematically follow and utilize every single day.

Periodical and nonperiodical publications as well as all party publishing houses must be completely subordinate to the party executive committee, regardless of whether the party as a whole is legal or illegal at any given time. It is impermissible for the publishing houses to misuse their autonomy to pursue policies that do not correspond entirely to those of the party.²¹

In the columns of the newspapers, at public meetings, in the trade unions, in consumer cooperative societies—anywhere that supporters of the Communist International can gain admission—it is necessary to denounce systematically and unmerci-

fully not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices: the reformists of every shade.

2. Every organization wishing to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically remove reformists and centrists from all positions of any responsibility in the workers' movement (party organizations, editorial staffs, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, cooperative societies, local governments) and replace them with reliable Communists without being deterred by the prospect that, especially at first, ordinary workers from the masses will replace "experienced" opportunists.

3. In almost every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can place no faith in bourgeois legality. It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel organizational apparatus that in the crucial hour can help the party discharge its duty to the revolution. In all countries where a state of siege or emergency laws make it impossible for Communists to carry out all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary that legal and illegal activity be combined.

4. The duty to disseminate communist ideas carries with it a special obligation to conduct vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army.²² Where emergency laws hinder such agitation, it is to be conducted illegally. Refusal to carry out such work would be tantamount to a betrayal of revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Communist International.

5. Systematic and consistent agitation is necessary in the countryside. The working class cannot be victorious unless it has the support of the rural proletariat and at least a part of the poorest peasants and has, through its policies, neutralized part of the remaining rural population.²³ At the present time, communist work in the countryside is gaining exceptional importance. It must be carried out principally by revolutionary Communist *workers* of town and country who have ties with the countryside.²⁴ To renounce this work or to leave it in unreliable, semireformist hands is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International is duty-bound to expose not only overt social patrio-

tism but also the duplicity and hypocrisy of social pacifism; to explain systematically to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no treaties of any kind curtailing arms production, no manner of “democratic” renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent new imperialist wars.

7. Parties wishing to belong to the Communist International are duty-bound to recognize the need for a complete break with reformism and the policies of the Center and must conduct propaganda for this among the broadest layers of the party membership. Without this, no consistent communist policy is possible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and as an ultimatum that this break be carried out at the earliest possible date. The Communist International cannot accept that notorious opportunists as, for example, Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, and MacDonald should have the right to consider themselves members of the Communist International.²⁵ That could lead only to the Communist International coming to resemble in large measure the ruined Second International.

8. In countries whose bourgeoisies possess colonies and oppress other nations, it is necessary that the parties have an especially clear and well-defined position on the question of colonies and oppressed nations. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to expose the tricks of “its own” imperialists in the colonies, to support every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, to demand that the imperialists of its country be driven out of these colonies, to instill in the hearts of the workers of its country a truly fraternal attitude toward the laboring people in the colonies and toward the oppressed nations, and to conduct systematic agitation among its country’s troops against all oppression of colonial peoples.

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must carry out systematic and persistent activity in the trade unions, the workers’ and factory committees,²⁶ the cooperatives, and other mass workers’ organizations. In these organizations it is necessary to organize Communist cells that win the unions and other organizations to the cause of communism

through persistent and unremitting work. In their daily work everywhere the cells are duty-bound to expose the betrayal by the social patriots and the fickleness of the Center. The Communist cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. Every party that belongs to the Communist International has the obligation to wage a tenacious struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of Yellow trade unions. It must conduct forceful propaganda among workers organized in unions on the need to break with the Yellow Amsterdam International. It must use all available means to support the emerging international association of Red trade unions affiliated to the Communist International.

11. Parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the duty to review the individual composition of their parliamentary fractions, removing all unreliable elements from them, and to subordinate these fractions to the parties' executive committees not just in words but in deeds, demanding that each Communist member of parliament subordinate all of his activity to the interests of truly revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. Parties belonging to the Communist International must be organized on the basis of the principle of democratic *centralism*. In the present epoch of intensified civil war, the Communist Party will be able to fulfill its duty only if it is organized in the most centralized way possible and governed by iron discipline,²⁷ and if its central leadership, sustained by the confidence of the party membership, is strong, authoritative, and endowed with the fullest powers.

13. Communist parties of countries in which Communists pursue their work legally must from time to time carry out purges (reregistrations) of the party membership in order to systematically cleanse the party of the petty-bourgeois elements that worm their way into it.

14. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International is obligated to render unconditional assistance to every soviet republic struggling against the forces of counterrevolution. Communist parties must conduct unambiguous propaganda aimed at preventing the shipment of war matériel to enemies of the soviet republics. In addition, they must use every

possible means to carry out propaganda, etc.—legally or illegally—among troops sent to strangle workers' republics.

15. Parties that still have their old Social Democratic programs are required to change them as rapidly as possible and to formulate a new, communist program that corresponds to the specific conditions in their country and is in keeping with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the program of each party belonging to the Communist International must be approved by a regular congress of the Communist International or by the Executive Committee. If the Executive Committee of the Communist International does not approve a party's program, that party has the right to appeal to the congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions by congresses of the Communist International as well as by its Executive Committee are binding on all parties that belong to the Communist International. The Communist International, working under conditions of most acute civil war, must be organized in a far more centralized way than was the Second International. At the same time, of course, in all their activity the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diverse conditions under which each party has to struggle and work, adopting universally binding decisions only on questions in which such decisions are possible.

17. Taking all this into consideration, all parties that wish to belong to the Communist International must change their name. Every party that wants to belong to the Communist International must bear the name: *Communist* Party of such and such country (Section of the Communist International). The question of name is not just a formality but a matter of great political importance. The Communist International has declared war on the whole bourgeois world and all Yellow, Social Democratic parties. It is necessary that the difference between the Communist parties and the old, official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the banner of the working class, be clear to every ordinary toiler.

18. The leading publications of parties in all countries are required to print all important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.²⁸

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International or

have applied to join it are required to call a special congress as soon as possible but no later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International to consider all these conditions. In doing so, the central leaderships must see to it that all local organizations become acquainted with the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.²⁹

20. Parties that want to join the Communist International now but have not radically changed their previous policies must, before joining, make certain that not less than two-thirds of the members of their central committees and of all their most important central bodies consist of comrades who even before the Second Congress of the Communist International publicly and unambiguously advocated that the party join it. Exceptions are permissible with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee also has the right to make exceptions for representatives of the Center tendency mentioned in thesis 7.

21. Party members who reject on principle the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International must be expelled from the party. This applies in particular to delegates to the special congress.³⁰

Zinoviev: Now we must vote on the twenty-one conditions as they are now formulated. (*Adopted with 2 votes cast against.*)

OTHER BUSINESS

Zinoviev: Now we come to the question of the statutes. Here only one change was proposed, namely, that the Executive Committee be set up with five representatives from the country that is the seat of the committee and ten representatives from other countries. On behalf of the Russian party, I would like to propose that we say not ten representatives, but between ten and thirteen. As we put together the list, it turned out that a number of significant parties would be excluded from participating in the Executive Committee if we said ten. If we say between ten and thirteen, then we have a committee of at most eighteen members.

If no one wishes to speak, then we will vote on whether ten to thirteen representatives of other parties should be included. (*The new proposal is unanimously adopted.*)

Now we must vote on the statutes with this change. (*From the floor: "The statutes were adopted yesterday."*)

Then we do not need to vote on them again. Now we want to decide where the seat of the committee should be in the next period, until another world congress decides otherwise. Russia has been proposed. (*It is unanimously decided that the committee will remain in Russia for the next period.*)

That leaves the women and youth questions. We propose to refer these two questions to the new Executive Committee to be decided with the participation of women and youth representatives. We do this not because we do not think they are important—they are very important—but because we cannot decide them here in half an hour. That is why we want to leave these questions, together with that of representation from the women's and youth organizations, to the new committee, which will be somewhat expanded.

(*It is decided, with a minority against, to refer the woman and youth questions to the committee.*)³¹

Now we come to the report of the Commission on Parliamentarism.

Wolfstein: The commission has yet to vote on the changes proposed by Comrades Levi and Bukharin. All commission members have expressed their support. We put before you the theses as discussed in the plenary with the corresponding amendments. We should vote on them now. (*Adopted*)

Meyer: Graziadei's motion on cooperatives still needs to be added to the theses [on the agrarian question]. The commission agrees on this. If the congress agrees, then the question is settled. I do not think that there will be any debate on this.³²

Zinoviev: I move that the commission work out the final wording. (*Adopted*)

Zinoviev: Now Pestaña has a motion on the question of Esperanto.

Pestaña: Whereas the work of world congresses such as the present one is made much more difficult by the translation of everything said into several languages, I propose that in the future every speaker use whatever language they find easiest,

and that translation take place only into the auxiliary language Esperanto. This language is readily learned and quite appropriate to our needs. We can save much time and labor by using it for translation.

Zinoviev: With Comrade Pestaña's agreement we propose referring the motion to the new committee. (*Adopted*)

With that we have finished the agenda.

Tomorrow we plan to hold a ceremonial session of the congress together with the Moscow soviet and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Soviets, in order to evaluate the congress, deliver a few speeches, and then close the congress. The session will take place tomorrow afternoon at four o'clock in the Bolshoi Theater.

Münzenberg: Unfortunately it was not possible for the congress to take up the youth question. For this reason we have decided to call a conference of the youth representatives tomorrow at twelve noon, and we invite to it all comrades interested in the youth movement. It will begin promptly at twelve o'clock in the Kremlin in the Central Executive Committee building.

Radek: Since the delegates will probably want their passports, I ask that for their own peace of mind they pay attention to the following: tomorrow the committee will discuss the ordering of the "evacuation." One comrade will make all the arrangements, so you can relax in the hotel.

Zinoviev: The question of the [Executive] Committee is not yet settled. We decided how many parties, but not yet which. I have a preliminary list I would like to read to you:

Russia (five), Britain, Germany, France, America, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Scandinavia, Poland, Finland, the East.³³

These are the parties that should have the right to have one member each with decisive vote on the committee.

Wijnkoop: I want to say that I cannot agree with this list. The Netherlands has been excluded from the Executive Committee. I have already given the arguments for including the Netherlands. I think the Netherlands is the only real, fighting revolutionary party that has been excluded from the committee. I will not go into this matter and hope that the committee will rethink it. If you persist in not giving the Netherlands a vote on the committee, then I maintain my protest.

Radek: We have exchanged so many unpleasant words with the Dutch comrades during the congress that it is painful for me to have to speak once again in opposition to Comrade Wijnkoop's protest. The Netherlands is not on the list proposed to the congress of those to be represented on the Executive Committee, not for reasons of political orientation but for purely objective reasons of party size. The political current expressed by and large by the Dutch party is also represented by the American and a portion of the British delegations. Which countries are on the list? They are either countries with a big revolutionary movement, like Russia, Germany, and Italy; countries that already were soviet republics, like Hungary and Finland; Poland, which has a thirty-year-old mass revolutionary movement; or countries like Britain, France, and America, whose revolutionary movements, it is true, are still weak, but that are of decisive importance for the International's politics, and with whose representatives we have to consult on every matter.

The Dutch Communist Party has merits that none of us would want to belittle. It was one of the first parties that dared to split from the Social Democratic party, and the Dutch comrades stood true to the banner of communism in a difficult situation. No one can take that away from them, and we recognize it fully. But it is a small party that does not play a decisive role in the international situation. It would perhaps be considered if it could claim theoretical forces. But Comrades Pannekoek and Gorter's group is outside of the Dutch movement, as Wijnkoop said. The Dutch party's forces are too few to permit it to put some at the International's disposal. When the German comrades turned to them in great need, they could provide no help. The proposal is based on purely objective considerations, without the least animosity toward the Dutch comrades, with whom we hope to struggle together as comrades, despite differences of opinion. We hope that they will soon win more forces and will have some to spare for the International.³⁴

Wijnkoop: I thank Comrade Radek for his friendly opposition. But I must say that we do not want to be honorary members of the Executive Committee. That is not what we demand; otherwise we certainly would have it. We are among the Communist parties with the most integrity and have always done what Communists must do. We make this demand because we are a com-

munist force, as the committee recognized at another time. First, why did it set up an auxiliary bureau in Amsterdam? This matter was discussed in the committee. Everyone can make mistakes, and I will not go into that. We only did what we were assigned to do as Communists, and we cannot be reproached for this. We were given this bureau because of our importance, which now no one has heard of.

Radek spoke of Gorter and Pannekoek. But Pannekoek did not work in the Dutch Communist movement. Maybe in Germany, but not in the Netherlands. In any case, you cannot gauge the communist strength of a party by two people, by Gorter and Pannekoek. Those who know the *Tribune* well, know that not Gorter and Pannekoek, but Van Ravesteijn, Ceton, and I were always its editors, and that together with other comrades, we led the *Tribune*. That is the strength of the Dutch Communist movement, and it still exists.

It has been said that the movement there is not large. It seems to me that too much is being made of big numbers. Although our numbers are small, we are a disciplined, revolutionary party that holds great influence in our country. That is shown by the fact that we have a Communist daily newspaper. It is shown by the fact that many of our members sit on municipal councils, and that we exercise a great deal of influence in the union movement.

In my view the committee must reconsider this matter. It should have given us a seat on the Executive Committee—particularly in light of our conduct at this congress. We did not always agree with the committee. We do not always have to agree. In the discussions that take place in the committee, the different viewpoints must receive an attentive hearing. I think that the committee has every reason to give the Netherlands a vote. I hope that it does so. Otherwise, I must protest.

Maring: We agree that even though the Eastern peoples do not yet have an organized party they should be represented on the Executive Committee with decisive vote. This recognizes that the East is of great importance for the Communist International. Nevertheless, I would like to make the following comment. I do not think that the East is sufficiently represented in the Communist International with one delegate. The conditions in the Middle and Far East are completely different, so that it would be very difficult to find someone who can adequately

represent the interests of both parts of Asia. Also, we fear that the comrades here, the Russian and perhaps other comrades, know the delegates from the Middle East better than those of the Far East. Therefore I would like to ask that our part of Asia, which is the most important for our movement and for imperialism, be given a representative on the committee. Thus we ask for not one but two representatives for the Eastern peoples, so that the Middle and Far East can each send a representative with decisive vote to the committee. I hope this will be possible, and that the congress will thereby decide to transform Lenin and Roy's theses in the next period into a reality, one that will be of great significance for the International.

Roy: For the same reasons, I ask that two delegates to the committee be approved, because it is a matter of our interests being represented.

Milos Vanek [Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia (left wing)]: For the reasons given by both the previous speakers, I propose that the congress adopt the following motion: "The Executive Committee is empowered to expand its membership by cooptation in order to allow representation of parties whose strength and numbers gives them a world importance for the social revolution." I need not further substantiate this motion, because I think that this flexibility, allowing the Executive Committee to expand its ranks, corresponds with the overall mandate that it has already been accorded.

Zinoviev: On the question of the Netherlands, I would like to say on Radek's behalf that Wijnkoop makes it sound like a slight to the old movement and the old comrades if the Netherlands is not also given a seat on the committee. Our intention, of course, was not to treat anyone unfairly, but we cannot include every party. There is also nothing more to be said against the Middle East. Someone said that an exception was made only for Scandinavia, but there we grouped together a number of countries. We have not increased the number of representatives from the East, not because we want to curb anyone's rights but because we want a committee, not a congress. If a strong party comes that fulfills every condition, the committee should have the right to make an exception and admit such a party.

Walther Brüngolf [Social Democratic Party of Switzerland (left wing)]: I would like to say a few more words about Switzerland. Our

situation is not such that we could demand a seat on the Executive Committee, although it would be very desirable to obtain one. As Humbert-Droz already said earlier, Switzerland should be taken into account in filling out the committee because it is going through a clarification that makes it very important to be in direct contact with Russia. We went into this in our report to the committee and hope that it will be adopted.³⁵

(A motion is adopted to include the Netherlands, the Middle East, and the Far East. Vanek's motion is also adopted.)

(The following list is voted on and adopted: Russia (five), Britain, Germany, France, America, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Poland, Finland, the Far East, and the Middle East.)³⁶

Zinoviev: That ends the matter. We have on hand several drafts of manifestos. One is a draft manifesto to the KAPD. We owe them an answer, after their delegation walked away from the congress.

(It is decided to refer the draft letter to the KAPD to the Executive Committee.)³⁷

We intend to issue a major political manifesto, which is almost finished. Comrade Trotsky, who drew up the manifesto of the First Congress, is doing most of the work. We hope to read out the manifesto tomorrow, but should that not be possible, we will give the committee a mandate on this matter as well and publish the manifesto over the signature of all the delegations, perhaps with two delegates from each country.³⁸ *(Adopted)*

Finally, I want to inform you that the first session of the new Executive Committee will take place tomorrow morning at eleven o'clock. I want to ask all delegations to make a preliminary choice of their representatives. The central committees of the relevant parties can substitute and send other delegates, but first the delegations must send their representatives.³⁹

This session is adjourned.

(The congress ends by singing the "Internationale" and with cheers for the Soviet republic and the world revolution.)

Closing rally¹

Kalinin: Comrades, I declare open the joint session of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee, the Moscow soviet, and the plenary session of the trade unions and factory committees. (*Applause; the "Internationale" is sung.*)

Comrades, the workers and peasants of the Russian Soviet Republic can be proud and happy that the Second Congress of the Communist International is taking place in our country. Comrades, the moderate Second International, which has a relationship with the bourgeoisie marked by some degree of trust—or at least by an absence of hostility—prevailed for twenty-five years. But it could not meet in Russia. It met in western Europe, in rented halls. It had no access to rooms like those where the Second Congress of the Communist International met. As you know, the Second Congress met in gilded halls, in the halls of the great Kremlin palace, where only recently the power of Russian tsarism was on display. And as this congress began, the death of the old order and the coming to life of the new proletarian order took place before our very eyes.

Comrades, we greet the Second Congress of the Communist International most especially because it frees us to a certain extent from the political responsibility that the Russian working class and the Communist Party of Russia have carried on their shoulders to this point. For some time we have thought and confidently hoped that the revolutionary energy and labor of the Russian proletariat would be transferred to the international proletariat, which would carry it forward. We thought we could count on its help soon. And today, comrades, in the course of the Second Congress, we see that already a certain portion of the revolutionary work, a part of the burden has been transferred from the shoulders of the Russian proletariat to the shoulders of the international working class. That, comrades, is the greatest service done by the western European proletariat. We need not mention here that at different times the French and British proletariat has halted the war supplies intended for

White Poland. We saw the highest expression of solidarity during the days when the revolutionary committee was formed in Poland. While we participate in revolutionary work and stand unrelentingly in the fire of revolution, we pay too little heed to events of the greatest import that signify a new chapter in the history of the workers' movement. Undoubtedly the appearance of the Polish proletariat, at the moment White Poland is combating the Russian Soviet Republic, is a new stage, a new phase in the revolutionary struggle.

Besides the Russian, no other proletariat has yet managed to seize power at the moment when war raged most fiercely. But now we see how the policies of the Russian proletariat are being passed on, how the Polish proletariat takes up the struggle against the Polish bourgeoisie. It is an event of great import; not only historians but political leaders will later learn from this.

We heartily greet the delegates of the Communist International as the best representatives of the proletarian classes that want to help us. We hope they return as soon as possible to the international proletariat and that soon we will be united with the international proletariat in a common front of struggle.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Second Congress of the Communist International! (*Applause*)

The representative of the Scottish workers, Comrade Gallacher, has the floor.

Gallacher: (Speaks in English.)

Kalinin: Comrade Radek has the floor to translate.

Radek: Comrades, allow me first of all to say a word about Comrade Gallacher, who spoke here. Moscow workers are less familiar with him than they should be. He is a worker from an area where Britain's huge munitions factories are located and was one of the main leaders of the revolutionary struggle in this region during the war. Together with Comrade McLaine, Comrade Gallacher organized an enormous struggle that was so successful that the British government ministers cannot speak of Comrade Gallacher without losing their composure.

Comrade Gallacher says:

Gallacher: Just now, as the delegates of the Second Congress are already departing, I have received word that the British government is preparing a new attack against Soviet Russia. It

intends to act in the guise of a defender of Poland's independence. This same British government that plunders and enslaves Ireland, India, and Egypt dares to say that it will act as the defender of Poland's independence. This independence is not at all threatened by the Red Army. The British government is shamelessly exploiting the banner of Poland's independence, fighting to block the uprising of the Polish working masses, to make impossible the creation of soviet power in Warsaw.

I am convinced that the British government's threats will not frighten the Russian workers. The Russian revolution has created a powerful Red Army. The entire working class of Russia must back the Red Army as one man and think only of supporting it, so that this army can break the last resistance of the enemy forces and achieve final victory. You can count not only on the Red Army but on other armies that will come forward in defense of Soviet Russia, that is, the armies of the western European proletariat, who in the last few years have come to know Soviet Russia rather well. They see Soviet Russia as their homeland, since it is the first country of the rising sun of socialism. Upon returning to Britain, I myself and my comrades will become a link calling upon the British workers to fight not only to defend Soviet Russia but also to seize power. (*Applause*)

I know the immense obstacles that block the path of the British revolutionaries. For the compromisers, still strong in Britain, the blood of the working class is cheap, blood that they spilled in the cause of the bourgeoisie. When the liberation of the proletariat is at stake, they say, "Be careful, avoid bloodletting, do not make sacrifices." But however strong these people may be, these bureaucrats in the trade union movement, however powerful they may be in Parliament, I am convinced that the British working class will send them to the devil, because it is ever more convinced that there is no way out of the situation other than the path the Russian proletariat took two and a half years ago.

On behalf of myself and my comrades I pledge that upon our return, the British comrades will have but one thought: how to help Soviet Russia in its struggles, how to make clear to the working class that here was born the great Red Army that the Russian proletariat relies upon, and that the British workers must unite with the Russians for common victory over world imperialism. (*Applause*)

Kalinin: Comrades, Britain is striving to push White Finland into a war with Soviet Russia. I recognize the finest representative of the Finnish workers, Comrade Manner.

Kullervo Manner [*Communist Party of Finland*]: (*Speaks in Finnish.*)

Kalinin: Comrade Rahja has the floor to translate.

Jukka Rahja [*Communist Party of Finland*]: Comrade Manner, the delegate of the Communist Party of Finland to the Second Congress of the Communist International, is one of the senior leaders of the workers' movement in Finland. Even when Finland was under the banner of Social Democracy, Comrade Manner was one of the best representatives of the workers' movement. When the Finnish workers had 103 out of 200 seats in the national assembly,² he was its chairman. In 1918 Comrade Manner was chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in socialist Finland, which fell under the blows of German imperialism. He says:

Manner: I greet you and through you Russia's revolutionary proletariat. I do so at a time when the imperialists of the entire world, under the leadership of the British government and British capital, are again preparing a final blow to smash Soviet Russia. For this blow, they will bring to bear all the forces at their disposal, especially the small border areas, which like watchdogs await the master's command. At the very moment when the Finnish bourgeoisie is negotiating peace with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in Dorpat [Tartu], Britain is trying to influence the White Guard troops, trying to induce them to attack Petrograd.

Two years ago, in 1918, the Finnish proletariat was the first to answer the Russian proletariat's call and begin its revolutionary struggle alongside the Russian proletariat. At that time the Finnish proletariat had no idea how to carry out a revolution and suffered a defeat. But the Finnish proletariat, defeated two years ago, has learned now, under the frightful blows of the terror, that to win it must have a revolutionary, tightly knit organization. Such an organization, small but well organized, now exists in Finland. On behalf of the revolutionary proletariat of Finland, I declare that if the Finnish bourgeoisie dares to carry out Britain's instructions and attack Petrograd, the revolutionary proletariat of Finland will deal it a blow from the rear. (*Ap-*

plause) The two years of the terrible White Terror have taught the Finnish proletariat one thing: a small country, a country that can barely be seen on the map, has in the international revolutionary struggle at least one destiny—to die, if its death can help the working class of the entire world to victory. The Finnish proletariat will know how to do this. (*Applause*)

Kalinin: Comrade Levi, member of the congress and representative of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League), has the floor.

Levi: (Speaks in German.)

Kalinin: Comrade Radek has the floor to translate.

Radek: Comrades, Comrade Levi has led the entire illegal work of the Communist Party of Germany after the deaths of Comrades Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. He says:

Levi: World capital thinks it ended the World War at Versailles. But now, after four years of war and one and a half years after the “end” of this war, the whole world is still where it was in August 1914. Again it stands on the eve of a great war. This war may well break out between Soviet Russia and the Entente, but it cannot leave Germany on the sidelines. It will draw Germany into the struggle, causing the German proletariat and bourgeoisie to participate in solving the major questions before the world.

The German bourgeoisie returned from the war defeated. It expected a handsome sum from British capital in order to turn once again against the German proletariat. But now this proletariat is not the same as it was in 1914, when it accepted without protest the decision of the bourgeoisie that sent its sons to the battlefield in the bourgeoisie’s cause. Then it still saw no way forward of its own. The German proletariat lost millions of its sons on the battlefield. Now it knows that capitalism means death and poverty. When it returned from the four and a half years of war forced on it by the bourgeoisie, it found on the streets of Germany the marks of the spilled blood of the proletariat, for whose liberation Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht had fallen. The proletariat understood that there is no salvation other than in revolutionary war; otherwise slavery will be reestablished. This proletariat has already learned to fight. Although it has not yet been able to take power into its hands, it certainly knows how to use the means at its disposal.

Hundreds and thousands have been thrown out of work. Conditions are terrible for the proletariat, and it will now have to choose between its ruin and a fight against the entire capitalist world. The moment the Entente dares incite Germany against Soviet Russia, the moment they try to reach White Poland through Germany, the German proletariat will understand that the decisive hour has struck, that it must make its stand for the world revolution. I am deeply convinced that the German working class will do this without hesitation, because the struggle to save Soviet Russia is the struggle of the German proletariat against destitution and slavery. I am convinced that the cry that resounds through Russia, the cry "Long live Soviet Russia," will find a loud response among the millions of the German proletarian masses. And if the Red Army, in its battle against the White army of Poland, approaches Germany's borders, it will hear from the other side, over the bayonets, a cry of the German proletariat, the cry "Long live Soviet Russia!" (*Applause*)

Kalinin: Comrade Radek has the floor as representative of the Polish proletariat.

Radek: Comrades, I am convinced that our Red Army's capacity to deal blows to the Polish estate owners attacking Soviet Russia will continue. I am convinced that no efforts by Polish capital or the Polish estate owners can strangle the Polish proletariat.

In the last few days we received news that Pilsudski's government, the government of bankrupts, has been trying to halt the course of events by throwing hundreds more Communists into prison. Most of the leaders of the Polish Communist movement known to us are now under lock and key. The Polish government is threatening them and their families, saying that if the Polish White armies have to evacuate Warsaw, they will leave behind in the city the bodies of the Polish Communists, just as they previously murdered our old comrades, Wesolowski and Fabierkewicz. This desperate cry of the Polish bourgeoisie is exactly what proves that the Red Army is threatening its rule. Even more, it shows that the Polish working class is very well aware that far from threatening the independence of the Polish people, Russia will help it break the chains with which the capitalists of Poland and the Entente have shackled it.

Today Poland is an absolutely dependent country. Today even

the Polish bourgeoisie admits that its army gets its weaponry from the Entente, that its army is fed by the bread supplied by the Entente so that Poland can fight. But the campaign that Soviet Russia is conducting against White Poland is supporting Poland, not conquering it. It is the assistance of Russia's working class, which for twenty years fought in alliance with Poland's working class against its opponents and now wants to reunite with the Polish proletariat. There was a time when the Polish insurgents, trying to link up with the Russian revolutionaries, raised the slogan "For our freedom and yours." We have not buried this slogan. Now we are striding to victory, so that together we may, with our own hands and our own strength, get the work under way in the devastated countries to build the temple of socialism.

Comrades, I am firmly convinced that the Polish proletariat, which all along fought side by side with the Petrograd and the Moscow proletariat in the front ranks of the Russian revolution, will prove in action that it knows how to deal with the terrible, savage pressure of the world bourgeoisie. I am certain that our Red Army, which is bearing the full weight of the struggle and whose powerful blows are coming to the aid of the Polish proletariat, will find there iron divisions of veteran Polish workers, steeled in struggle, marching, I am firmly convinced, as your allies until the final victory. (*Applause*)

Trotsky: (Thundering ovation; the "Internationale" is sung.) Comrades, the Second Congress of the Communist International convened one and a half years after the First Congress. A year and a half is only a few months, but these months have more historical content than whole years did previously. For us the Second Congress of the Communist International is not just a periodic event or an international roll call. Comrades, on the path leading upward, over obstacles and chasms, we must take a look back, without letting the enemy out of our sight, to determine the path we have traveled. We must erect signposts on the road before us and advance without losing time. If we look back now on these seventeen or eighteen months between the first and second congresses of the International and most carefully examine our consciousness, our revolutionary conscience, we have the right to say that the path we charted at the First Congress of the International of the world commune was the

correct one, and that when we scored successes, they were achieved along this path. When the world proletariat suffered defeats and occasionally had to retreat, it was because it did not take the path indicated by the Communist International.

The eighteen months that have passed since the First Congress have drawn a line in blood under this entire period of humanity's development. This epoch had its laws, its methods, its uniformity, its world relations, its alliances, its struggle, its lies, the democratic lie of official doctrines, the lie of the church. The World War drew a balance sheet on all this. And the bourgeois classes, who called the peoples out for this world slaughter, simultaneously promised them a new dispensation, a new order, a new regime.

But what do Europe and the entire world show us? What do they look like after the World War? In what condition have they emerged from the workshops of the Versailles treaty? The bourgeois order has no secure point of support. Everything is in motion, all the foundations are shaking, all the bourgeoisie's state programs canceled, all international associations torn apart. And the bourgeoisie, trembling at what tomorrow will bring, searches in vain for a way out of this situation, created by centuries of plunder and rape.

England, France, and the United States promised to give the peoples a world association, the "League of Nations," that would put an end to imperialist collisions, to international wars. And now we have before us the League of Nations. Barely was it out of the diplomats' chancelleries when its own creator, the American president Wilson, shrank back from it in fright.³

Comrades, only recently, ten or twelve months ago, all the leaders of the Second International greeted Wilson's plans and called upon the workers to support them. Our International, on the contrary, had already declared a year and a half ago in Moscow that Wilson's campaign was an attempt by the American plutocracy, the New York Stock Exchange, to subordinate Europe and the entire world to itself, that the League of Nations would be nothing but a world corporation headed by the United States. American capital is accustomed to extending itself through combinations and to pulling ever-increasing millions upon millions of people into the reach of its exploitation. And it tried to extend its conditions to Europe, Asia, and the entire world.

But when Wilson came from his big American province to Europe and ran head-on into the whole world's life-and-death questions, he saw that the helm was in British hands. Britain has the strongest fleet, the most extensive transoceanic cables, the richest experience in matters of world plunder and rape. And this small-town American, Wilson, with the dollar's favorable exchange rate not only tucked in his pocket but imprinted on his forehead, who thought that his Fourteen Points would become the gospel of the world, ran into the British fleet, and into something even more threatening: he ran into Soviet Russia and communism. So the aggrieved American apostle returned to the White House in Washington, to his Sinai. However, comrades, we should not assume that this signifies renouncing world domination. American capital has no other choice.

While American capital was in the opening stage of accumulation, expansion, and liberation, it advanced its theory, the Monroe Doctrine, which reads, "America for the Americans," that is, let no one dare mix in the affairs of America, where American capital alone reigns, exploits, and robs.

American capital found the borders of the Americas, which it had made its colony, too constricting. As American heavy industry rose up during the war like a huge pillar to the heavens, American capital discarded the slogan "America for the Americans," or better, changed it to read, "Not just America for the Americans, but the whole world for the Americans." Then it sent its apostle Wilson out with a new dispensation. We know that Wilson did not accomplish his mission. But the mission remains to be accomplished and now the American oligarchy draws its conclusion and says, "Our fleet is weaker than Great Britain's by so many tons and so many guns of this and that caliber." And the American naval war department works out a new program that is supposed to make the American fleet stronger than Britain's by the year 1925—some say sooner, in three years.

But what does that mean? Britain's strength lies in its fleet, its ships. Britain watches over all the sea-lanes, and that gives it the power to rob the world. Britain's naval program consists of its fleet being stronger at all times than the combined fleets of the two next largest naval powers. Now America with its wonderful dollar, its rate sky-high on the foreign exchanges, says, "In three years my fleet must be stronger than Britain's." So for British

imperialism, the question is posed: To be or not to be.

That means further that Britain and the United States are steering at full steam toward a new, big, bloody conflict, because in the world of imperialist states there cannot be two masters. The crown of world domination must in the end belong to Britain or America, if the world proletariat does not take it from them first. And after four years of terrible world war, which laid waste the powerful states of central Europe, devastated Europe, and ruined the entire world, we see how a new, more powerful struggle is being prepared on the bones of the fallen.

France is Soviet Russia's main enemy, the most bitter, rabid enemy of the world proletariat. It now considers itself the victor. Actually, the simpletons, the petty bourgeoisie, the social patriots, and a deluded section of the workers think that France has won. That is a cruel delusion. Long before German imperialism was defeated, Austria-Hungary was a beaten land. It was maintained by German militarism, just as German imperialism, later, was maintained by the Entente. And France today is one of the most exhausted and ruined of the independent countries of the world. Of course France can plunder in the Black Sea, but only until it is Britain's turn. France can dictate laws to little Belgium, which it has made into its province, but with respect to Great Britain, France itself is nothing but a larger Belgium. Naturally France would be economically and militarily defenseless without American and British support, but in its petty-bourgeois mindlessness it nevertheless raises claims to mastery and thinks that it will play the role of chairman and arbitrator between the United States and Britain. The United States did not even join the League of Nations. And France, almost on its knees, had to beg for alms, for assurance of its state independence.

And what about the little nations, the little states? Freedom and independence were promised them, but dominant Britain has laid its claim upon them all—on Finland as on White Estonia and Latvia. What is left of the independence of Sweden and Norway? It has disappeared. What does the Baltic Sea represent? A bay in which Britain takes little outings. What does the Indian Ocean represent, ringed as it is by peoples subject to Britain? What with Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and India, the Indian Ocean has become a British lake.

From the body of Austria-Hungary, from the old tsarist Russia,

a whole number of little states have been carved. They are not at all viable, yet the Entente and the League of Nations, that is Britain, do not allow them to die—for now. We have a crucified and mangled Austria. We have Hungary, which made the heroic attempt to lead central Europe out of the chaos, to take the great road of soviet federation, that is, a fraternal alliance, economic, cultural, and in every other way, of the victorious workers. It was trampled and thrown back into chaos.

We have Poland, that wretched Poland, whose liberation fills the first pages of the history of the First International. It was created by dying imperialism for its sordid goals and tasks. This democratic republic, goal of the struggle of entire generations of Polish revolutionaries who fled tsarism in great waves and fought and died on all the barricades of the revolution, this democratic Poland is today a dirty and bloody tool in the hands of French capital. Comrades, just as the First International in its struggle against tsarism inscribed an independent Poland in the first pages of its history, so too Russia, freed from tsarism, now fulfills its great mission and gives the crucified, ravished Poland back to the Polish workers and the Polish peasants. (*Applause*)

From every parliamentary rostrum there is talk of Europe's economic reconstruction. There is no greater lie than this. In the year and a half that has passed since our first congress, Europe has been unable to right itself. It is a great deal poorer and more hopeless than it was, and with it the entire world. Can Europe be reconstructed without Russian raw materials, without Russian grain? Can Europe be reconstructed without German technology, without the German working class? That is not possible. Upon returning home, the representatives of all lands will say, "Workers of Europe and the entire world, on the basis of the little that we saw, we testify that once imperialism leaves Soviet Russia in peace, if we help Soviet Russia with our technology, even only on a small scale, then in two or three, at most five years, Soviet Russia, precisely because it is a soviet republic based on the principles of communism, will give you six times more grain and raw materials than tsarist, bourgeois Russia gave."

Hot on the tracks of victory, Anglo-French capital believed that boundless colonial territories lay before it. Formerly tsarism was Britain's competitor in Asia, and Germany was an even

greater competitor of Britain's on the world market. Germany is defeated. Germany has been nailed to the cross. Austria even more so. And Anglo-French capital believes that the colonies begin immediately to the east: from the German people, subject to France, right on through Soviet Russia. Overrun Soviet Russia, seize Russian raw materials and Russian grain, force German workers to work like slaves to transform Russian raw materials into finished products that Anglo-French capital will control. That is the dazzling program of the League of Nations in its first period.

It tried to accomplish that. It tried to overthrow the Soviet republic, to bring our steppes, our seas, forests, our underground riches under its control and to use German coal and German labor to process it. One and a half years of hard fighting have passed, and with justifiable pride we can say to our western European brothers: Your bourgeoisie did not overthrow us. We live still, and we receive you in Moscow.

And that happened not only thanks to the powerful efforts of the Russian working class and the army it created. We know our efforts and our sacrifices, and now the delegates of the world working class are better acquainted with them. But we must say that we held out mainly because we felt and were aware of the growing help in Europe, America, and all parts of the world. Every strike of the Scottish proletariat on the Clyde, every movement in the cities and towns of Ireland, where flies not only the green flag of Irish nationalism but also the red flag of the proletarian struggle, every strike, every protest, every uprising in any city in Europe, America, and Asia, the powerful movement of Britain's colonial slaves in India and the growth in the development of consciousness, the growth of one central slogan, the slogan "Soviet world federation"—that is what gave us the certainty that we are on the right path, so that in the darkest hours, when we were surrounded on all sides, when it seemed that we would be strangled and executed, we could say: We are not alone. The proletariat of Europe and Asia and the entire world is with us. We will not give up, we will stand firm.

And we stood firm. (*Applause*)

Without Russia and without Germany, Europe cannot be reconstructed. In order to reconstruct Germany, it must be allowed to live, to feed itself, to work. But if Germany, crucified

and oppressed, is not allowed to live, to feed itself, and to work, then it will rise up against French imperialism. French imperialism knows only *one* commandment—pay up! Germany must pay! Russia must pay! Therefore these French profiteers are prepared to put to the torch all four corners of the earth just to get their interest payments. They cannot allow Germany to work, because a working, upright Germany means an independent Germany, which will be against them.

They have but one recipe to achieve the conditions of the Versailles treaty. This recipe is the Senegalese, the African Negroes, the Arabs they send over the Rhine to occupy German cities. And when in France too little coal arrives from Germany, when the German gold does not come on time, the French bourgeoisie says with gritted teeth, “Why are they not paying on time? Does Marshal Foch have no more Blacks?”

Comrades, at this congress we greet Comrade Roy, representative of the toiling masses of India. (*Applause*) I hope, comrades, that at the third congress of our International, African Communists, Arabs, Senegalese, and other Negro peoples from the colonial possessions of France and Britain will be among us. Today some four to five hundred Senegalese brought our Russian soldiers, who were slaves in France for years, into the harbor of Odessa. Despite the precautionary measures that were taken to keep the Senegalese separate from the Russian soldiers, we know that no foreign regiment, no foreign company, has ever entered a Russian harbor and remained untouched.⁴

Comrades, the policy of Marshal Foch, who supplies seaplanes to Wrangel, who helps Poland in its hopeless fights, will not restore Europe’s economy. This is the policy of a gambler who has lost hopelessly, who has already lost billions. Just recently the French parliament discovered that, of the 4 billion that was marked for the restoration of the devastated northern departments of France, Clemenceau spent only 1.5 million for this purpose. He used 3.9985 billion not to restore the devastated departments of France, but to devastate Russia’s provinces and districts.

This policy, this squandering of billions, is the policy of a gambler, possessed by the hope of winning something back with his last bets—and normally he never wins anything back. Right now we can say with calm certainty that the hour is near when

we, in alliance with the French proletariat, will break the bank of the French croupier. (*Applause*) The Senegalese in the Odessa harbor, the French generals in Warsaw—today perhaps they are still there, but they are not preparing to move east anymore, but west. (*Stormy applause*) All together they will not increase by a single pood the amount of coal and other raw materials, the amount of grain that France needs.⁵

The entire world is suffering from a very profound crisis. The shortage of raw materials and fuel and the fact that during the war years all labor was directed not toward creating values but toward destroying them cannot remain without consequences. For the most basic labor is that by which man uses all his thoughts and machines to draw from the bosom of the earth the essential materials, grains, and coal. This labor has continually decreased. Now the entire policy of world production must be directed toward ensuring free trade with Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. All countries have been existing on leftover stocks, and the entire policy of imperialism takes as its starting point that trade relations in the next year will be marked by mutual blockade. Now we have the politics of plunder. But we have seen that the British, in the many months they were in Baku, managed to take out only a few million poods of oil, when they could have taken out tens of millions. The world economy suffered an extremely important loss when British and French mercenaries devastated the Don region, when the French blew up bridges and destroyed railroads, when British warships blocked passage to all countries and thereby undermined production—the main loser in all this was the world economy. That is the outcome of the Entente's economic policy.

Therefore comrades, when we look back on our year and a half of work in the Soviet economy, familiar with all its shortcomings, all its privations, we have no cause to cover up these shortcomings. Instead, we reveal this picture of our work to our Western brothers, the Americans and other representatives from all countries, all parts of the globe. I think that if anyone came here with any doubts at all, he will have been convinced that we have chosen the right path. The only possible way out of the world's misery is through a planned nationalization and socialization of the economy, whereby all artificial state obstacles and barriers are cleared away and the policy necessary for

an integrated economy is followed. And, comrades, if despite the blockade and despite the war, we were in a position not only to supply our army but also to survive these three years, especially the last year and a half—this is in and of itself the greatest historic fact—we were able to do this because our economy was based on the principles of communism.

Finally, comrades, if we proceed from the questions of international politics and economics to those of the political struggle, we must say that the road charted by the First Congress of the Communist International was the correct one, confirmed by experience in all its principal features. If there are still honest, thinking workers who expect something from democracy, they are in a fantasyland. Where is there democracy in Europe? The newborn democracy of Germany has a democratic form, the right to vote. The Social Democrat Ebert stands at its head. This democracy murders the best workers' leaders, the best representatives of the working class, in whose name Comrade Levi spoke. Who rules there? The magnates of capital, who arrange their most important business in the stock-market pits.

During the war the French bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisies of other countries still clung to some remnants of the old democratic ideology. The bourgeoisie had to deceive the workers. They spoke of defense of the fatherland, they said that this war would be the last, they promised a league of nations. But now, after the wars and the Versailles treaty, now the hangman shows himself in all his nakedness. Now the toiling masses are robbed and reduced to beggary. Now the last shreds of this ideology are tossed aside. Now the bourgeoisie itself dispenses with virtually any allusion to the old testament of democracy, which earlier had served it to deceive the working class. Now it demands a firm, steeled will. If we take a look at any parliamentary report in any country, we see that even the most pitiful bourgeois ministers or any petty official who wants to reap a storm of applause need but shake a threatening fist in the direction of the revolutionary proletariat. The bourgeoisie demands blood and iron from its protégés, minions, and ministers, because it has understood that we—we, the entire world—have entered not the epoch of parliamentary mediation between the classes, but the epoch of fierce, brutal, and hard struggle.

And what did the working class—or at least the portion of it

that made it back home—find on returning from the World War? In its cities and towns the working class found a new bourgeoisie, even more insolent and bloody than the one it left behind. War contractors, black marketeers of world repute, upstarts with shady backgrounds, who have robbed millions and yet more millions by speculating in blood, have climbed to the top. These greedy and dissolute scum have contaminated the air of the European and American cities with their poisonous breath. Their love of ostentation has taken on the character of a crazy fever, a drunken madness, a nervous frenzy. The workers, home from the trenches, see before them this licentious, gilded bourgeoisie, which brought everything under its control, which tramples on everything, wants everything, ready at any moment to gun down the working class with its cannon just to assure its chance to live, to rule, to revel in its pleasures.

Working-class outrage in all countries flares to an ever brighter flame. Inflation provokes strikes and demonstrations of hungry men and women workers. And what a tremendous factor in the workers' movement, in the history of all humanity, is the fact that women, these downtrodden slaves, have awakened, and that proletarian youth are rising up in ever greater masses, coming to our aid and relieving us. With women and with proletarian youth, a new, more powerful stream of revolutionary lava pours into the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, which will provide the movement of the Communist International with a new, inexhaustible supply of energy. (*Applause*)

Comrades, there is no doubt that the proletariat of all countries would already have taken power if a big, strong, intricate machine did not still stand between the masses and power, between the revolutionary masses as a whole and their advanced layers. This machine is the parties of the Second International and the trade unions of the world, which use their apparatus to serve the bourgeoisie, even in the epoch of its collapse and death. It was the Second International that tied its fate during the war to that of the bourgeoisie through mutual guarantees, that took upon itself responsibility for the old world, that intercepted the toiling masses' rush of outrage and indignation. Its authority sank, it disintegrated. Ever larger parts, millions of toiling masses, are splitting off from it. But like a buffer the

Second International countered the first rush of the proletariat, the first outbreak of indignation against bourgeois society. And if the German working class is sacrificing tens of thousands and will sacrifice tens of thousands more, German Social Democracy is guilty. At this moment in world history, one that confers grave responsibility, this party has transformed itself into a counterrevolutionary machine, just as the leading parties of the Second International transformed themselves into a counterrevolutionary machine in the service of bourgeois society.

When we look back on the whole of past history for counterrevolutionary forces, we find nothing comparable. We know the history of the world Catholic church, which, like all other churches, was a powerful tool, a powerful and strong means in the hands of the possessing classes in defense of their privileges and domination. But the service rendered to the possessing classes by the church and world Catholicism is pitiful compared to the role that the parties of the Second International are playing at the critical moment of world history. For decades they have led the working class, enjoyed its confidence, organized and sustained it through their authority. But at the moment when the working class had to direct all its energy toward its liberation from the yoke of capital, they used this machine to bind the working class hand and foot, to enslave it to world capital not only materially, not only bodily, but also in spirit.

While we here in Moscow live through these days of the Second Congress, meeting in Geneva is the congress of the Second International, counterposed in program and spirit to our International of the Red proletarian commune. And from this day forward, from this congress forward, from these two congresses the split in the world working class will proceed ten times faster. Program against program, strategy against strategy, method against method. The German Independent Socialist party wobbled and wavered and to this day its upper layers are still wavering. But we, the Communist International, saw to it that this party, impelled by the pressure of the German workers, sent its representatives here. The party of French parliamentary socialism was also forced by the outrage of its proletarian masses to send delegates here to us.

But we are not going to make any concessions. The Communist International is no International of compromises and deals.

We have a banner and a program. Whoever wants can place themselves under this banner. That is what we said to the representatives of the German Independent Social Democratic Party and the French parliamentary party. We asked them, "Do you hope to realize reforms through your parliament that will gradually lead to the realm of socialism?" We asked that ironically, because the facts of life have already given us the bitter response. And although the German Independent party and even the party of the French parliamentary Socialists have not yet learned to lead the proletariat onto the path of civil war and proletarian dictatorship, they certainly have learned not to believe in the path of parliamentary reformism. And the French and German workers have learned not to believe in their wavering and wobbling leaders anymore.

This congress coincides with the congress of the Second International. Moreover—and this is important and meaningful for us and for the workers of the entire world—it coincides with the threatening battles that the Entente, using White Poland, is leading against the Soviet republic. It coincides with the glorious victories of the Red Army on the western and southwestern fronts. The congress will erect great signposts for the further development of the proletarian world revolution. In its resolutions, this congress has drawn the balance sheet of the total experience of the world working class. You have read these resolutions. This congress also turns to the men and women workers of the entire world with a manifesto whose basic content I have laid out in this report, which will be published in all languages. It draws the balance of imperialism's work in international relations and the economic arena. It correctly appraises the final remnants of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism. It shows the proletariat of the entire world and the subjected toiling masses of the colonial countries the sure, clear, and distinct road of struggle.

What joy, what pride we Moscow workers and the workers of all Russia feel that for the second time we could assemble among us the best fighters of the world working class, that based on our experience we have helped you to forge your weapons. With your hands, comrades, we have kindled a fire in our Moscow foundry. In this fire we have made the proletarian steel glow. We have worked it with the hammer of our proletarian

soviet revolution. We have tempered it in the experience of the civil war and have forged a superb, incomparable sword for the international proletariat. With this sword we will arm ourselves, with it we will arm others. We say to workers around the world: We have forged a strong sword in the Moscow fire. Take it in hand and drive it into the heart of world capital. (*Applause*)

*Zinoviev:*⁶ Comrades, for three weeks representatives of the workers' organizations around the world have been meeting in Moscow, and with every day the fraternal alliance of the workers around the world has grown stronger.

Some time ago, when we first raised the question of calling the congress openly in Moscow, many doubted this could succeed. The very idea seemed too daring. Surely the world bourgeoisie, which persecutes its worst enemy, the Communist International, with the greatest hatred and venom would prevent this from happening.

But, comrades, so great was the striving of workers around the world to reach us, so widespread was the cry "To Moscow!" that, despite all the resistance of the world bourgeoisie, despite all obstacles laid in our path, we convened the congress, as you see. We can now say to the entire world that this congress has been a complete success and that it has been a genuine *world* congress of the proletariat. (*Applause*)

Comrades, just as the earth thirsts for rain after a long drought, so too the workers of the world have thirsted for international unity since the accursed war ended. This thirst, this striving by the workers for unity, is the greatest factor in world history; it is the main driving force of the Communist International. Especially important is the recognition by the workers of every land that only through close unity can they achieve what is foreordained for them by history. This consciousness is the greatest living force of the Communist International and of world history. Thanks to this consciousness, even though the blockade has not yet been broken and our sister parties in a great many countries must work illegally, the congress was a success.

I have before me a list of delegations, which fills several pages. I will only mention the *countries* that were represented: Britain, Germany, France, Sweden, Austria, Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italy, Mexico, Switzerland, Turkey, Poland, East

Galicia, Lithuania, Belorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Persia, Korea, America, Dutch [East] Indies, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Armenia, Belgium, Azerbaijan, and Russia—thirty-seven countries in all.⁷

From several of these countries we had only a few representatives, but the delegations nonetheless represent everything there is in the world that is living, fighting, revolutionary.

Of immense significance is the fact that among us are not only representatives of the European and American proletariat, but also no small number of representatives of the workers and the poorest peasants of the East: Turkey, Persia, India, the British colonies, and so on. We see this as a pledge that the movement in the East is beginning. It is a guarantee that there is no force on earth the bourgeoisie can use to take this movement of the oppressed nations of the East in tow. No! The national movement in the East will unite with the movement in Europe and America to deal a final blow to capitalism.

Various shadings of the revolutionary workers' movement were represented at our congress. The workers' movement is still in a process of fermentation and crystallization. That is understandable. After the terrible crisis experienced by the world working class, after the monstrous collapse of the Second International, and after the dreadful bloodletting endured by the workers of the world, it is quite understandable that we cannot expect to find total political clarity among workers now. But if the working class were united, if it fully understood its basic tasks, we would have defeated the bourgeoisie long ago.

The curse of our class is this: in the course of many decades some of our brothers were deceived by our enemies and others were organized into parties and federations that objectively help the bourgeoisie. In several countries the working class now stands at a crossroads. After the terrible storm that all humanity endured during the imperialist war, the working class is looking for the right path. And here we have set ourselves the task of uniting all that is living, honest, and revolutionary in the working class under the banner of the Communist International in order to fight the bourgeoisie. We intentionally called upon organizations that are not fully consolidated to join the Communist International. The best representatives of the syndicalists and anarchists participated in our congress. Representatives

of the British Shop Stewards, of the Austrian factory committees, and of the Industrial Workers of the World were among us.

The mainstream of the world workers' movement flows in a communist channel. We see a powerful communist river before us, but next to that there are smaller rivers and streams that still must flow together into our Communist International. We see a large number of such proletarian movements, still in ferment, that have come to us only halfway. They are infected with many anarchist and syndicalist prejudices and do not entirely share our program. Nevertheless, they fight together with us in a common front against the bourgeoisie, and we thus see them as brothers.

We break with the hated traditions of the Second International, which snubbed with haughty disdain all the revolutionary-minded workers who dared to raise criticisms. A small handful of respectable "Socialist" grandfathers ran the Second International with a heavy hand, slamming the door against every group of workers that attempted to criticize their politics. We open our doors wide to all honest proletarian revolutionary organizations that are not yet fully communist today but will be tomorrow, since they are already prepared today, rifles in hand, to fight together with us against world capital. (*Applause*)

A group took part in our congress that some call a "left opposition," but which is actually nothing of the kind, since for communism there cannot be any opposition from the left. The "leftism" of this group in fact denoted only a certain backwardness. Alongside the "left" group, there was a rightist current at the congress, a group of repentant sinners. I mean the representatives of the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, and the American Socialist Party. All these parties represent large workers' organizations that stand with one foot in the old camp, while trying with the other foot to head out on a new path. It seems to me that the presence of these groups gave our congress even more importance. These representatives of the old parties have appeared before the bar of the congress for judgment. What it all boiled down to was that some of them pleaded for amnesty. So the Communist International declared: Guilty with extenuating circumstances. (*Applause*)

However, as for the leaders who are responsible for the imperialist war, we were absolutely irreconcilable. Our answer to the

representatives of the French Socialist Party is in our letter, which has already been published.⁸ In it we gave a detailed description of the French Socialist Party, as personified by the leaders, their central committee, and their activists in Yellow parliamentarism. We have given them what the Germans call a *steckbrief*, that is, a letter with a description by which every honest worker can immediately recognize the malefactor who is now standing in the way of the world proletariat. Such a worker will say, "Look, workers, such a person should not be a leader of the working class."

Comrades, a significant number of workers are found in the ranks of the French party. The central organ comes out in runs of 250,000 copies. The Independent party in Germany has about a million members. Some eleven thousand members of the party, mostly workers, languish in the prisons of the German "republic." Obviously we are filled with the greatest respect for them, and we are ready to take our hats off to them. Of course we speak to them as comrades; we try to explain their mistakes to them and we try to unite with them.

In this connection our congress worked out a series of conditions—twenty-one of them—for admission into the Communist International. I believe that every Communist worker, on becoming acquainted with these conditions, will agree with us that just as it is not easy for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, so too, I hope, those who remain the supporters of the Center will not easily slip through these twenty-one conditions set by the Third International. (*Applause*)

We have set out these conditions so that the workers in the ranks of the French party and in the ranks of the German Independents can know what the international staff of the proletarian revolution demands, so that they can confront their leaders, shove them up against the wall, and demand a *straight answer* to all the questions raised in these conditions. And, comrades, we hope that these conditions will achieve their purpose.

A year and a half ago we were told that the danger threatening the Communist International was one of too few members. But now we face a different danger: the Communist International is becoming fashionable for some gentlemen. The Brussels International, now meeting in Geneva, has, they say, passed a resolution calling for a general strike.⁹ Apparently the Second

International is attempting to follow in Moscow's footsteps. We do not know yet exactly how many living shadows are meeting there, but it is clear to everyone that the Second International is now a total wreck. And among the old leaders, among these, so to speak, official Socialists, there are many who always want to be in the majority and who will lean for support on any force that is available. What international force like this is there today? The Communist International. They want to lean on us for support and make *verbal* concessions to us, reserving for themselves enough "autonomy" to continue their old ways. We hope that our Second Congress of the Communist International has bolted the door strongly enough against these gentlemen. The resolutions we passed will be sufficient to pry open the old parties. Whoever honestly wants to fight for communism should join our ranks. Everything rotten will blow away like dust and will never again obstruct the forward march of the working class.

Of the many questions before the congress, the most important was that of the role of the Communist Party. In this hall where, as I can safely say, a tremendous majority of those assembled are members of a Communist party, it is ridiculous to prove the necessity for a Communist party. But at an international congress where people from the most varied countries with different histories and different traditions were present, it was necessary to clarify thoroughly the role and significance of a Communist party.

The old parties are bankrupt, and this has clearly caused a whole number of workers to believe in the collapse not only of the Second International but also of socialist politics, of the idea of a party in general. It was essential to clarify the role and significance of the party in the proletarian revolution. I hope you realize that it was the greatest victory for us when the best representatives of revolutionary syndicalism voted for our resolutions, as did the best representatives of the other workers' organizations that are not fully communist.

Now we must say to the syndicalist workers, the anarchists, and other forces that did not believe in the significance of the party: You did not believe that there could be a party different from the Scheidemann type, that there could be a true workers' party that leads the working class into battle against capital. Look and

see for yourselves: Here is the Communist Party of Russia, here is what the Russian worker has accomplished. Here is the Hungarian Communist Party. Here is the German party of the Spartacists—look what it has done to educate the working class of Germany! Here are the workers' Communist parties of a whole number of countries. Look and learn! They are a model of what we want. They are the kind of parties you must create!

In addition, the national and colonial questions were discussed. It seems to me that the unanimous adoption of this resolution is also our greatest moral victory. You know that in the Second International they did not once consider the question of so-called colonial policy. The Second International regarded bourgeois colonial policy "tolerantly." In 1907 the Stuttgart majority took the position that Socialists could support a so-called cultural colonial policy—that is, in fact, the piratical colonial policy of imperialism.¹⁰ The Second International caused the peoples with yellow and black skins to adopt an attitude of the greatest distrust. Here too, the Third International had to return to the traditions of the First International. It had to say and it did say that it did not want to be an International only of the working people with white skin, but also an International of the working people with black and yellow skin as well, an International of the working people of the whole world. (*Applause*)

I consider that the fraternal alliance we have concluded at the congress with the representatives of India, Korea, Turkey, and a whole number of other oppressed countries will strike straight at the heart of international capital. This is a very great conquest of the working class.

In addition, we discussed the question of the trade unions. You know that in Moscow we created the first international unit of Red trade unions. I contend that this also had a world-historic significance. Capitalism's final support is the Yellow Amsterdam international organization of trade unions. If we draw over to our side the best part of the workers, this will cause the Yellow Second International to be entirely abandoned by the masses; we will gather around us all that is living in the working class. We had to conduct a sharp polemic in the congress with a whole number of our British and American comrades, who have gone through a distinct history, fighting a monstrous betrayal by their

leaders. They do not have a strong Communist party, and they want nothing whatsoever to do with parliamentarism. The Second Congress of the Third International told all these parties that our first concern is that in Britain, in America, everywhere, Communists must always be with the working masses. That is the first lesson of the Russian revolution. Sometimes you will make mistakes together with them, but never quit the mass organizations of the working class, however reactionary they may be at the given moment.

We must *destroy* the bourgeois states, but we must *win* the workers' unions, reeducate them, and take them into our own hands. Without this the victory of communism is impossible. We have had to cross swords on this question more than once with some of our comrades, but what the Communist International has decided on this shall become law for us all, including the minority who defended a different point of view.

In America, Britain, and other countries there are now two Communist parties.¹¹ The Communist International sets itself the task of ensuring that there shall be only *one* Communist party in every country. All the really healthy revolutionary currents of the proletarian movement must flow into a single powerful river. The tremendous authority that the Communist International enjoys in the eyes of the working class around the world is committed to accomplishing this task readily and to achieving success in the struggle for unity.

Comrades, it is especially interesting to compare our congress with what is happening in bourgeois circles. Comrade Trotsky has clearly portrayed what is happening in the upper circles of the ruling bourgeoisie.¹² Really, is it not wonderful that during these brief weeks in Moscow we came to essential agreement on a large number of the most important questions with workers who came from America and Australia and all the countries of Europe, despite the differences in culture, history, and tradition. Our fraternal alliance became stronger by the hour. Is it not truly instructive that at the very same time, in the governing bourgeois circles, one group is tripping up the other. The British bourgeoisie comes out against us and hopes to outfox its French rival. There is mutual backbiting. The bourgeoisie cannot put anything solid together.

The Second International, attempting in 1919 to come back

to life, tied its fate to the League of Nations and decided that no beast was mightier than the league.¹³ It had to cuddle up to the league, which it felt sure would lord it over the world for a few decades. A little more than a year has gone by, and now we see the League of Nations disintegrating before our eyes, turning into a fiction. All the “Allies” plot against each other and cheat each other. The Second International tied its fate to the League of Nations, and together they will crash and perish.

But at the same time the real international brotherhood of the workers of the world is growing. I am deeply convinced that the Second World Congress is the precursor of another world congress—the world congress of soviet republics. (*Applause*)

Most remarkable of all, the only resolution that was adopted by the congress unanimously, by all the representatives, and without the slightest debate was the resolution on the soviets.¹⁴ The idea of a soviet state, as a form of the proletarian dictatorship, has penetrated into the broadest masses of workers, reaching the workers’ deepest layers and winning the minds of millions and tens of millions of the working class. As a result, not only was this question not disputed at the world congress of the Communist International, but it was not even discussed. This idea was considered to be our basic acquisition. It is a simple idea. It is the firm, iron foundation on which our Communist International stands.

Our work is coming to an end. We have exchanged experiences with representatives from a large number of countries. We have weighed a whole number of disputed questions. We have projected a course for long months of struggle. We do not know what turns of fate await this or that sister party, what kind of blow may fall. But one thing we know for certain: we have built an organization that at any given moment will be able to offer the workers of the world the greatest possible support.

We adopted the Statutes of the Communist International. That is no mere formality. It is confirmation of the fact that we are creating a *single, unified international party of Communists whose units in each country are no more than branches*. (*Applause*) In these statutes we recall the words from the statutes of the First International, founded by Marx, “If until now the working class has been enslaved and unfree, it is because there was no unity in the working class, there was not enough solidarity among the

workers of different countries.”¹⁵ It is a simple truth, a simple thought. Still, several decades were needed for the working class around the world to absorb this idea. And in the Statutes of the Communist International we have added, “The first words that the Communist International addresses to the workers of the whole world are: ‘Remember the imperialist war, the war that cost us tens of millions of victims—if you leave capitalism whole and inviolable, you will get just such wars again!’”¹⁶ Our international brotherhood was born after hard trials with fire and iron. And when you make responsible decisions, start from this: the imperialist war that destroyed the workers’ organizations cost the working class tens of millions of lives. And remember, such a war can flare up again at any minute if we do not wipe capitalism off the face of the earth.”

Adopting the statutes means that we have finally closed ranks, that we now have an International Workers Association,¹⁷ with an organization welded together in blood and centralized on an international scale. We told our comrades how in the course of the civil war we in Russia had to create a centralized organization of iron, cast from a single pour, with military discipline that is sometimes extraordinarily hard on every one of us, on the individual member of the party, and demands the greatest effort and sacrifice. In the same way, we must now create on an international scale an International that is cast from a single pour with the same iron discipline and the same centralization, in which we have unconditional confidence in each other and the same selfless readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the common cause of the victory of the proletarian revolution. (*Applause*)

Comrades will depart from here for a great many countries, where awaiting them are the state of siege, prison, torture, and betrayals by western European Social Democrats and other capitalist hirelings. We wish our comrades courage in this struggle. And we ask them to remember in difficult moments that the Soviet republic is ready to share everything it has with them. The Communist Party of Russia considers its most sacred duty to be to come to the assistance of all sister parties with all means at its disposal. We wish more strength, courage, and confidence to our brothers who set out now to carry out the highest historic mission and the greatest tasks that have ever faced the fighting proletariat.

Long live the Third International!

Long live our comrades, who set out for the bourgeois countries to advance the propaganda for communism throughout the world! (*Thunderous applause, cries of "Hurray!"*)

Comrades! I declare the Second Congress of the Communist International to be closed.

Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International¹

1. International relations after Versailles

The bourgeoisie around the world looks back sorrowfully on days gone by. All the foundations of foreign and domestic political relations have been overthrown or unhinged. Tomorrow looms like a dark threat over the exploiters' world. The imperialist war destroyed forever the old system of alliances and mutual assurances that underlay the international balance of power and the armed peace. The Versailles peace created no new equilibrium to replace it.

First Russia, then Austria-Hungary and Germany lost their roles as actors on the world stage. Mighty countries that held top rank in the system that divided up the world are now themselves the booty of thieves and robbers. For victorious Entente imperialism, a new, immeasurable field of colonial exploitation opened up, beginning just across the Rhine, including all of central and eastern Europe, and stretching beyond to the Pacific Ocean. Can the Congo or Syria, Egypt or Mexico really compare with Russia's steppes, forests, and mountains or Germany's skilled labor force? The victors' new colonial program follows automatically: overthrow the workers' republic in Russia; steal Russia's raw materials; force the German workers to process them using German coal; set up armed German entrepreneurs as overseers—while the victors seize the finished products and thereby rake in the profits. The program of organizing "Europe," advanced by German imperialism at the moment of its greatest military successes, was inherited by its successors, the victorious Entente. The defeated bandits of the German Empire, put in the prisoners' dock by the rulers of the Entente, are thus truly facing a court of their peers in crime.

But even in the victors' camp there are vanquished. Intoxicated by its chauvinism and the victories it won for others, the French bourgeoisie felt that it was Europe's master. Actually, never since the beginning of its existence has France found itself in such a slavish dependence on stronger countries—Britain

and North America. France dictates a specific economic and military program to Belgium, transforming its weaker ally into a subjugated province. But with respect to Britain, France itself plays the role of Belgium, only on a somewhat larger scale.

From time to time the British imperialists permit the French profiteers to command and rule within the areas of the continent assigned them, thus diverting the sharpest outrage of Europe's, and even of Britain's, toilers from themselves onto France. With France bled white and ravaged, its power has a deceptive, almost absurd character, which sooner or later will penetrate the brains of even the French social patriots.

Italy's world importance fell even more. Without coal, without bread, without raw materials, yanked completely out of its inner equilibrium by the war, Italy's bourgeoisie is incapable, though not from any lack of malice, of fully exercising its rights to robbery and rape, even in the colonial nooks and crannies assigned to it by Britain.

Japan, torn within its feudal shell by capitalist contradictions, stands on the verge of the deepest revolutionary crisis, which even now, despite advantageous international conditions, blocks its imperialist takeoff.

Thus there remain only two true world powers: Great Britain and the United States.

British imperialism freed itself from the Asiatic rivalry of tsarism and from the threatening competition of Germany. Great Britain's sea power reached its zenith. Britain encircles the continents with a chain of its subject peoples. Having seized Finland, Estonia, and Lithuania, it deprives Sweden and Norway of the last vestiges of their independence and transforms the Baltic Sea into a British lake. In the North Sea Britain faces no opposition. With the Cape Colony [South Africa], Egypt, India, Persia, and Afghanistan, it is transforming the Indian Ocean into a British sea. Because Britain rules the waves, it controls the mainland. Its commanding world role is limited only by the American dollar republic and the Russian Soviet Republic.

The World War finally dislodged the United States from its continental conservatism. The program of national capitalism as it unfolded its wings—"America for the Americans" (the Monroe Doctrine)—has been replaced with the program of

imperialism: "The whole world for the Americans." After exploiting the war commercially, industrially, and through the stock market, after neutral profiteering at the expense of European blood, America went on to intervene in the war, played a decisive role in smashing Germany, and stuck its fingers into all questions of European and world politics.

Under the banner of the "League of Nations," the United States tried to extend to the other side of the ocean its experience with the federated unification of great masses of peoples of different origins. It tried to yoke to its golden chariot the peoples of Europe and other parts of the earth, bringing them under Washington's rule. The League of Nations was really meant to be a world monopoly corporation: Yankee and Company.

The president of the United States, the great prophet of platitudes, descended from Mount Sinai, his Fourteen Points in hand, to conquer Europe. The bourgeois stockbrokers, cabinet members, and businessmen were not fooled for a moment about the meaning of this new revelation. But the European "Socialists" fell quivering, Kautsky-like, into a state of religious rapture and danced like King David around Wilson's holy Ark of the Covenant.

As attention turned to practical questions, it became clear to the American apostle that despite the dollar's advantageous exchange rate, first place on all the sea-lanes that unite and divide the peoples belongs, as before, to Britain, because it has a stronger fleet, more extensive transoceanic cables, and longer experience in world plunder. Furthermore, in his travels Wilson ran up against the Soviet republic and communism. The offended American messiah renounced the League of Nations, which Britain had transformed into its diplomatic chancellery, and turned his back on Europe.

Nevertheless, it would be childish to assume that American imperialism, whose first offensive was repulsed by Britain, will retreat into the shell of the Monroe Doctrine. No. Continuing ever more violently to subordinate the American continent and transforming the countries of Central and South America into its colonies, the United States intends, through both its ruling parties, the Democrats and Republicans, to create a league of its own as a counterweight to the British League of Nations, that is,

a league with North America as the center of the world system. To do the job properly, it intends to build up its war fleet more powerfully than the British over the next three to five years. Thus imperialist Britain is faced with the question: To be or not to be. Alongside these two giants' insane competition in ship-building goes the no less frantic struggle for the petroleum monopoly.

France, which had counted on playing the role of arbiter between Britain and the United States, sees itself drawn into Great Britain's orbit like a second-rate satellite. It discerns in the League of Nations an intolerable bridle, which it seeks to escape by inflaming the conflicts between Britain and North America.

Thus do powerful forces prepare a new world duel.

The program of liberating the small nations, posed during the war, led to the total destruction and enslavement of the Balkan peoples, victors and vanquished alike, and to the Balkanization of a large part of Europe. Imperialist interests pushed the victors to create small separate national states from the territory of the great powers that they destroyed. There is not even a semblance here of the so-called national principle. The essence of imperialism lies in surmounting the national framework, even among the great powers. The new bourgeois small states are merely by-products of imperialism. As temporary points of support for itself, imperialism created a series of smaller national states; some openly oppressed, others officially protected, but in reality vassals all: Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bohemia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, and so on. It rules them through banks, railroads, and coal monopolies and condemns them to unbearable economic and national hardships, endless conflicts, and bloody collisions.

What a monstrous irony of history it is that the restoration of Poland, which was part of the program of revolutionary democracy and initial activity of the international proletariat, was accomplished by imperialism to oppose the revolution; that "democratic Poland," whose pioneers died on the barricades throughout Europe, now plays the role of the most foul and bloody tool in the thievish hands of the Anglo-French gangsters against the first proletarian republic in the world.

Alongside Poland, "democratic" Czechoslovakia, which has

sold itself to French capital, supplies White Guard detachments for use against Soviet Russia and soviet Hungary.

The heroic attempt of the Hungarian proletariat to blaze a path out of the governmental and economic chaos of central Europe toward soviet federation—the only road to salvation—was strangled by the united capitalist reaction at a time when the proletariat of the strongest countries of Europe, deceived by its parties, proved to be still unable to fulfill its duty to socialist Hungary and to itself.

The soviet government in Budapest was overthrown with the help of the social traitors, who were pushed aside after three and a half days in power by the unbridled counterrevolutionary rabble, whose bloody crimes exceed even those of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and other agents of the Entente. But even though temporarily suppressed, soviet Hungary is like a beacon to the toilers of central Europe.

The Turkish people do not want to submit to the vile peace worked out by the despots in London. In order to enforce its terms, Britain has armed Greece and incited it against Turkey. The Balkan Peninsula and the Near East—Greece and Turkey alike—are thereby condemned to utter devastation and mutual destruction.

In the Entente's fight with Turkey, Armenia played the same role in the script as did Belgium in the fight with Germany, as Serbia in the fight with Austria-Hungary. After Armenia was created—without borders nor any possibility of survival—Wilson spurned the Armenian mandate offered him by the "League of Nations": Armenia's soil holds neither petroleum nor platinum. "Liberated" Armenia is now less protected than ever before.

Almost every newly created national state has its unredeemed areas, that is, its internal national ulcer.

At the same time, the tension of the national struggle within the possessions of the victorious countries has risen to a peak. The British bourgeoisie, which wants to be guardian over the peoples of the four corners of the earth, is incapable of resolving the Irish question right under its very nose.

Even more threatening is the national question in the colonies. Egypt, India, and Persia are convulsed by uprisings. The toilers of the colonies are taking over the slogan of soviet federation from the leading proletarians of Europe and America.

Official, governmental, national, civilized, and bourgeois Europe, as it has emerged from the war and the Versailles peace, resembles a madhouse. Artificially splintered little states, economically suffocating within their borders, snarl at each other and wage war over harbors, provinces, and insignificant towns. They seek the protection of larger states, whose antagonisms are again increasing daily. Italy, hostile toward France, would support Germany against France if Germany were able to raise its head. France is consumed with envy of Britain and, in order to preserve its dividends, is ready to ignite Europe anew at all four corners. Britain, with help from France, holds Europe in a state of chaotic impotence and thereby achieves a free hand for world operations, which are directed against America. The United States permits Japan to get bogged down in eastern Siberia in order meanwhile to secure for itself supremacy over the British fleet by the year 1925, provided that Britain does not decide to measure forces with it sooner.

Consistent with this picture of international relations, General Foch, the military oracle of the French bourgeoisie, predicts that the next war will begin technologically where the last one left off, that is, with airplanes and tanks, with automatic arms and machine guns instead of handguns, with grenades instead of bayonets.

Workers and peasants of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia: You have sacrificed ten million dead, twenty million wounded and crippled. Now at least you know what you achieved at this price!

2. The economic situation

Meanwhile, the devastation of humanity proceeds apace.

The war destroyed economic ties whose development was among the most important accomplishments of capitalism. England, France, and Italy have been cut off since 1914 from central Europe and the Near East, and since 1917, from Russia.

A few years of war destroyed what it took a succession of generations to create; human labor was reduced to the minimum; and labor was employed chiefly where available raw material supplies had to be converted to arms and means of destruction.

In the basic branches of the economy, where humanity is in direct struggle with nature's stinginess and tenacity, where fuel and raw materials are torn from the earth, work has more and more approached a standstill. The Entente's victories and the Versailles peace have halted neither the economic collapse nor the economic destruction, but only altered its paths and forms. The blockade of Soviet Russia and the artificial incitement of civil war in its fertile border areas have inflicted and inflict even today incalculable harm on the well-being of all of humanity. With a minimum of technical assistance, Russia, thanks to its soviet form of economy, could give Europe two or three times more foodstuffs and raw materials than tsarist Russia supplied—and the International attests to this before the entire world. Instead, Anglo-French imperialism compels the toilers' republic to devote all its strength to defense. To rob the Russian worker of fuel, Britain holds Baku in its claws, although it can carry away only a minuscule portion of the booty for its own use. The rich coal regions of the Don were periodically laid waste by the Entente's bands of White Guards. French advisers and sappers labored not a little in the destruction of Russian bridges and railroads. Japan presently robs and ravages eastern Siberia.

German technology and the high productivity of German labor, crucial factors in restoring the world economy, are even more paralyzed after the Versailles peace than they were during the war. The Entente faces an insoluble contradiction. To force payment, it has to make it possible to work. To make work possible, it has to make it possible to live. But allowing shattered, fragmented, exhausted Germany the possibility of living provides it with the possibility of resisting. Fear of Germany's revenge dictates Foch's policy of continuously tightening the military vice to prevent Germany's rebirth.

Everyone suffers shortages, everyone has needs. There is a marked deficit in the trade balances of not only Germany but also France and Britain. The French national debt has risen to 300 billion francs. A third of this sum can be traced to embezzlement, theft, and disorganization, as was attested by the reactionary French senator Gaudin de Villaine.

The projects that have been carried out in France to reconstruct regions destroyed by the war are drops in the ocean of

devastation. The lack of fuel, raw materials, and labor power constitute insurmountable obstacles.

France needs gold, France needs coal. Pointing to the countless graves in the military cemeteries, the French bourgeoisie demands its dividends. Germany must pay! After all, General Foch still has Blacks to occupy German cities. Russia must pay! To drum this idea into the heads of the Russian people, the French government squanders billions, which were collected for France's rebirth, to devastate Russia.

The international financial agreement, which was supposed to ease France's tax burden as a step toward more or less completely canceling the war debts, did not come about. The United States did not show the least interest in giving Europe ten billion pounds sterling.²

Paper money continues to be issued in ever greater quantities. In Soviet Russia the growth in paper money and its devaluation, taking place alongside the development of the socialized economy, the planned distribution of goods and the steadily increasing payment of wages in kind, is merely the result of the withering away of the commodity-money economy. In the capitalist states, on the other hand, the growth of the mass of printed paper money testifies to the deepening of the economic chaos and the inevitable crash.

The Entente's conferences travel from place to place, seeking inspiration in every European spa. All hands are outstretched, demanding interest proportional to the number killed in the war. This wandering stock exchange of death, which every two weeks decides anew whether France should receive 50 or 55 percent of the reparations—which Germany cannot pay—is the crowning glory of the promised reorganization of Europe.

During the war capitalism was transformed. The systematic extraction of surplus value *in the production process*—the basis of the profit economy—appears to be an insufficiently alluring pursuit for the bourgeois gentlemen, who have grown accustomed to increasing their capital two and ten times over in a couple of days through speculation and international robbery.

The bourgeois has shed certain prejudices that hampered him and acquired certain skills that he did not have. The war taught him the hunger blockade against entire countries, aerial bombardment and incineration of cities and villages, the

spreading where expedient of cholera bacteria, shipment of dynamite in diplomatic pouches, counterfeiting the enemy's bank notes, bribery, espionage, and smuggling on a scale never before seen. The usages of war continued after the conclusion of peace as the usages of commerce. Big-business operations are now one with the activity of the state, which makes its appearance as a world robber gang, armed with all the instruments of destruction.

The narrower the world's productive base becomes, the more savage and wasteful its methods of appropriation. Robbery! That is capitalist policy's final word, which has replaced free trade and protective tariffs. The attack by the Romanian thieves and murderers on Hungary, where they carried off locomotives and jewels, is the symbol of Lloyd George and Millerand's economic policy.

In its domestic economic policy the bourgeoisie reels desperately back and forth between the program of further nationalizations, regulations, and controls on the one hand, and protests against the state intervention that grew up during the war on the other. The French parliament is busy trying to square the circle, creating "unified command" of the republic's railways without hurting the private capitalist interests of the railroad companies. At the same time, France's capitalist press is carrying on a vicious campaign against the all-devouring state (*étatisme*), which restricts the spirit of private enterprise.

America's railroads, run down by the state during the war, fell into an even more wretched condition after state control was lifted. Meanwhile, the Republican Party campaign platform promises to free economic life from arbitrary state intervention. Samuel Gompers, capital's old watchdog and leader of the American trade unions, is leading the fight against nationalizing the railroads, which is demanded as the cure-all by the nincompoops and quacks of reformism in America, in France, and elsewhere. In fact, the sporadic, violent interventions by the state into the economy only vie with speculation in causing even greater chaos in the capitalist economy in its epoch of collapse. Transferring the most important branches of production and transport from the hands of individual trusts into the hands of the "nation," that is, the bourgeois state, the most powerful and predatory capitalist trust, does not get rid of the

evil, but only generalizes it.

The fall in prices and the improvement in the currency exchange rates are only superficial and passing phenomena against the background of continuing destruction. The price fluctuations do not eliminate the underlying facts: shortage of raw materials and decline in labor productivity. The working masses who survived the terrible strain of the war are unable to work at the previous speed and under the previous conditions. The destruction, carried out in a few hours, of so much value, which took years to create; the brazen dance of billions in the hands of the financial clique, which climbs ever higher on the bones and the ruins—this object lesson in history is poorly suited to holding the working class to the automatic discipline of wage labor.

Bourgeois economic theoreticians and journalists speak of a “wave of laziness” that is sweeping over Europe and undermining the economic future. Plant managers try to help by granting the skilled workers certain privileges. In vain! In order to reestablish and increase labor productivity, the working class will have to be certain that by every blow of its hammer it will raise its own well-being and educational level and not again expose itself to the danger of renewed mutual destruction. Only the social revolution can give it this assurance.

The rise in food prices is a powerful factor in all countries for revolutionary ferment. The bourgeoisie of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries is trying to alleviate with petty alms the hardship caused by inflation and ward off the increase in strikes. In order to subsidize a portion of the landowners’ production costs for labor power, the indebted state launches into desperate speculation: it steals from itself in order to postpone the moment of disintegration. Even if certain sectors of the working class are for the moment living better than they did before the war, that has no relationship with the real economic situation in the capitalist countries. This temporary result is achieved by recklessly borrowing against the future, which is moving toward us with all its catastrophic shortages and destitution.

And the United States? “America is the hope of humanity”—thus the French bourgeois, through the mouth of Millerand, repeat Turgot’s phrase in hopes of being excused from their

debts, although they themselves excuse no one. But the United States is incapable of leading Europe out of the economic dead end. It too has exhausted its raw material reserves over the last six years.

The adaptation of American capitalism to the demands of the World War narrowed its industrial base. Emigration from Europe came to a standstill. The return flow pulled many hundreds of thousands of Germans, Italians, Poles, Serbs, and Czechs out of American industry. Some were drafted, some attracted by the illusion of the newly constituted fatherland. Shortages of raw materials and labor power weigh on the transatlantic republic and produce a deep economic crisis, which presses the American proletariat into a new phase of revolutionary struggle. America is quickly becoming "Europeanized."

The neutral countries were also not spared the consequences of the last war and the blockade. Like liquid in connected vessels, the economies of the interconnected capitalist states, large and small, warring and neutral, victors and vanquished, are pushed down to one and the same level of misery, hunger, and death.

Switzerland lives from hand to mouth, and now every unforeseen occurrence threatens to throw it out of balance. In Scandinavia the abundant influx of gold does not solve the food supply problem. Hat in hand, coal must be begged from Britain in dribbles. Despite the hunger in Europe, the Norwegian fishing industry is experiencing an unprecedented crisis.

Spain, whence France drew people, horses, and food, cannot emerge from severe food shortages that have brought in their wake tumultuous strikes and street unrest by the hungry masses.

The bourgeoisie is relying heavily on the countryside. Their economic theoreticians assert that the well-being of the peasantry has improved immensely. That is an illusion. Certainly, the peasants who brought their products to market during the war prospered to varying degrees in all countries. They sold their products at high prices and used cheap money to pay off their debts, which they had acquired in times when money was dear. Therein lies their profit. But their farms declined and were devastated during the war. They need industrial products, whose prices rise in the same proportion as the value of money de-

clines. The demands of the state treasury become ever more outrageous and threaten to devour the peasant, together with his produce and his land. Thus, after a period of rising prosperity, the small peasantry has fallen into all the more unbearable difficulties. Their discontent with the results of the war will continue to grow, and as a standing army they have not a few unpleasant surprises in store for the bourgeoisie.

The economic restoration of Europe, which its ministers speak of, is a lie. Europe is going under, and with it the entire capitalist world.

There is no salvation under capitalism. Imperialism's policy does not lead to abolishing misery, but to sharpening it through plundering of available supplies.

The question of fuel and raw material supplies is international in scope and can be solved only on the basis of planned, collectivized, socialist production.

The state debts must be canceled, labor and its fruits freed from the enormous tribute to the world plutocracy, and the plutocracy overthrown. The borders between states, which fragment the world economy, must be abolished. The Supreme Economic Council of the Entente imperialists must make way for the Supreme Economic Council of the world proletariat, to achieve centralized use of all of humanity's economic resources.

Imperialism must be killed, so that humanity can live again.

3. The bourgeois order after the war

The propertied classes are concentrating all their energies on two questions: holding their own in the international struggle and not allowing the proletariat to become master of the house. The previous bourgeois political groupings have lost their strength in this effort. The previous programs, which divided the various layers of the bourgeoisie, have disappeared without a trace before the revolutionary assault of the proletariat. This is true not only in Russia, where in the decisive period of struggle the Cadet party banner became the banner of all propertied classes against the workers' and peasants' revolution, but also in the countries with an older and higher political culture.

Lloyd George comes forward to herald the unification of Conservatives, Unionists, and Liberals in common struggle against the emerging power of the working class. At the pinnacle, the old demagogue places the holy church, like a central power station that supplies equally all parties of the propertied classes.

In France the epoch of anticlericalism, until recently so lively, seems like an antediluvian apparition. Radicals, Royalists, and Catholics are now forming a bloc for national order against the rising proletariat. By extending its hand to all the forces of reaction, the French government supports the Black Hundred gangster Wrangel and renews diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Giolitti, the Germanophile and supporter of neutrality, has taken over the rudder of the Italian state as the joint leader of the interventionists, the neutralists, the clericals, and the Mazzinists. He is prepared to maneuver on subordinate questions of foreign and domestic politics, in order to deliver all the more ruthless a blow in city and country against the revolutionary proletariat's offensive. The Giolitti government rightly considers itself to be the last high card of the Italian bourgeoisie.

After the fall of the Hohenzollerns, the policy of all the German governments and governmental parties, together with the ruling classes of the Entente, has been to generate an atmosphere of hatred against Bolshevism, that is, against the proletarian revolution.

While the Anglo-French shylock throttles the German people ever more brutally, the German bourgeoisie asks the parties of its enemy, without distinction, to loosen the noose enough so that they can strangle the vanguard of the German proletariat with their own hands. This is what the periodic consultations and agreements on disarmament and the export of war matériel culminate in.

In America the differences between Republicans and Democrats have been totally obliterated. These powerful political organizations of exploiters, until now appropriate for the narrow circle of American conditions, exposed their complete lack of content when the American bourgeoisie entered the arena of world robbery.

Never before have the intrigues of individual leaders and

cliques, in the opposition as well as in government, stood out with such cynical openness as now. But at the same time all leaders, cliques, and bourgeois parties are building a common front against the revolutionary proletariat.

While the Social Democratic philistines continue to counterpose the path of democracy to the violent path of [soviet] dictatorship, the last vestiges of democracy are being trampled and destroyed in all countries of the world.

After the war, when the peoples' representatives played the role of an impotent but noisy patriotic facade for the ruling imperialist cliques, the parliaments fell into a state of total powerlessness. All important questions are decided outside of parliament. The superficial extension of parliamentary prerogatives, which the imperialist jugglers proclaimed so solemnly in Italy and elsewhere, changes nothing. The actual lords and masters of the destiny of nations—like Lord Rothschild and Lord Weir, Morgan and Rockefeller, Snyder and Lusher, Hugo Stinnes and Felix Deutsch, Rizello and Agnelli—the gold, coal, oil, and steel barons—are busy behind the scenes, sending low-level stand-ins into parliament to lead the parliamentary work. The French parliament, the most discredited because of its lying rhetoric and cynical venality, a body that amuses itself with the procedure of multiple readings of trivial bills, suddenly learns that four billion that had been earmarked for the devastated regions of France were spent by Clemenceau for wholly different purposes, mostly to further devastate Russia.

In the seemingly all-powerful British Parliament, the overwhelming majority of the deputies know as little about Lloyd George and Lord Curzon's real intentions toward Soviet Russia and even France as do the old Indian women in the villages of Bengal.

In the United States, Congress is the docile or disgruntled chorus for the president, who in turn is but the servant of the electoral machine, that is, of the political apparatus of the trusts—more so since the war than ever before.

Germany's belated parliamentarism, a miscarriage of the bourgeois revolution, which itself was a miscarriage of history, suffers already in its infant stage from all the ailments of a feeble old idiot. The Reichstag of Ebert's republic, the "most democratic" parliament in the world, is not only powerless before

Foch's marshal's baton, but also before the stock market manipulations of its own Stinneses and the military conspiracies of its officers' clique as well. German parliamentary democracy is a void between two dictatorships.

The very composition of the bourgeoisie underwent deep-going changes during the war. The general pauperization of the entire world allowed the concentration of capital to make a colossal leap forward in a single bound. Previously obscure companies came to the fore. Solidarity, stability, tendency toward reasonable compromise, observance of a certain decorum in the exploitation as well as the enjoyment of its fruits—all that has been washed away by the torrent of the imperialist flood.

New propertied classes pushed to the fore: war contractors, base speculators, parvenus, international adventurers, racketeers, crooks decked out in diamonds, licentious, luxury-seeking rabble all ready to commit the worst brutality against the proletarian revolution, which promises them nothing but the hangman's noose.

The existing system stands before the masses in all its nakedness as the rule of the rich. Luxury rose to perverse heights of ecstasy after the war in America, France, England. In the words of *Le Temps*, Paris, packed full with international patriotic parasites, resembles Babylon on the eve of destruction.

Politics, the courts, the press, art, and the church fall in step with this bourgeoisie. All restraints have fallen. Wilson, Clemenceau, Millerand, Lloyd George, and Churchill do not shirk from the most brazen fraud or the crudest lie, and when caught red-handed, they calmly go on to new criminal acts. Old Machiavelli's classic rules of political perfidy are the innocent aphorisms of a provincial simpleton compared to the principles that guide the present bourgeois governments.

The courts, previously decked out in democratic tinsel to hide their bourgeois character, now become open organs of class outrages and counterrevolutionary provocation. The judges of the Third Republic acquitted Jaurès's murderer without batting an eye. The courts of Germany, which was proclaimed as a "socialist republic," embolden to new exploits the murderers of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and other martyrs of the proletariat. The tribunals of bourgeois democracy transformed themselves into organs for solemnly legalizing all the

crimes of the White Terror.

The bourgeois press openly bears on its mastheads, like a trademark, the stamp of bribery. The leading newspapers of the world bourgeoisie are monstrous factories for lies, slanders, and spiritual poisoning.

The bourgeoisie's moods fluctuate just as nervously as the prices on its market. In the first months after the end of the war, the international bourgeoisie, especially the French, was feverish with fear of advancing communism. They measured the level of immediate danger by the scope of their bloody crimes. But they withstood the first assault. The Socialist parties and the trade unions of the Second International, bound to the bourgeoisie by chains of common guilt, rendered it the final service of absorbing the toilers' first, angry blow. The bourgeoisie won a reprieve at the cost of the total collapse of the Second International. Clemenceau's counterrevolutionary parliamentary elections, several months of unstable equilibrium, and the fiasco of the May strike were enough to instill in the bourgeoisie the belief that its regime is as solid as a rock. Its class arrogance reached the same heights as did its fears of yesterday.

Threats have become the bourgeoisie's only argument. They do not believe in words but demand deeds: arrests, the breakup of demonstrations, deportations, confiscations, firing squads. Trying to impress the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois ministers and members of parliament pose as men of steel. Lloyd George dryly advises the German ministers to follow the example of France in 1871 and simply gun down their Communists. Any third-rate functionary can count on stormy applause in the parliamentary chamber if his inane report ends with a threat against the workers.

At a time when the official state apparatus is transformed ever more openly into an organization for bloodily suppressing the toilers, various private counterrevolutionary organizations are meanwhile being formed under its auspices and at its disposal for violently breaking up strikes, for acts of provocation, for staging frame-up trials, for destroying revolutionary organizations, for seizing Communist facilities, for pogroms and arson, for killing revolutionary leaders, and for other such measures to protect private property and democracy.

The younger sons of the big landowners and the big bourgeois-

sie, petty bourgeois who have lost their bearings, and all declassed elements, first among them the bourgeois and noble refugees from Soviet Russia, constitute an inexhaustible reservoir for the volunteer units of the counterrevolution. At their head stands the officer corps that came through the school of the imperialist slaughter. Some twenty thousand career officers from the Hohenzollern army make up a solid counterrevolutionary core, which, especially after the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch, German democracy does not have the strength to disperse. It can be smashed only by the hammer of the proletarian dictatorship. This centralized organization of old-regime terrorists is supplemented by White Guard detachments on the Junker estates.

In the United States such groups as the National Security League³ or the Knights of Liberty constitute capitalism's shock troops. On their extended flanks, true gangs of thieves operate in the form of detective agencies.

In France the Civic League represents a distinguished organization of strikebreakers, at a time when the reformist General Confederation of Labor has been proscribed.⁴

The officer-mafia of White Hungary, which exists parallel to the British-supported government of counterrevolutionary hangmen, has given the proletariat of the entire world a view of the civilization and humaneness that Wilson and Lloyd George counterpose to soviet power and revolutionary force. The "democratic" governments of Finland, Georgia, Latvia, and Estonia exhaust themselves emulating the splendid Hungarian example. In Barcelona the police have a secret death squad at their disposal.

And so it goes, and so it is everywhere. Even in destroyed and devastated Bulgaria, unemployed officers are building secret units that are preparing for the first opportunity to prove their patriotism on the skulls of the Bulgarian workers.

In light of the bourgeois order that emerged from the World War, the program of smoothing over contradictions, class collaboration, parliamentary reforms, socialism by stages, and national unity looks like a grim joke.

The bourgeoisie resolutely renounced reconciliation with the proletariat through reforms. It corrupts the minuscule upper level with sops and forces obedience from the great mass with blood and iron.

There is not a single important question that could now be decided by the ballot. Democracy still exists only as a memory in the minds of the reformists. The state organization more and more returns to its primordial form, to groups of armed men. The bourgeoisie no longer counts votes; it only counts the number of rifles, machine guns, and cannon it will have at its disposal when the question of power and property hangs in the balance.

No longer is there room for collaboration or negotiations. Only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can bring salvation. But that can be achieved only by the uprising of the proletariat.

4. Soviet Russia

Amidst the unrestrained forces of chauvinism, greed, and destruction, only the principle of communism exhibits vitality and creative power. Although first consolidated in the most backward and ruined country in Europe, ringed by the massed armies of powerful enemies, soviet power has not only held out in struggle against enormous, unprecedented obstacles, but in fact has shown the great potential for development inherent in communism. The development and consolidation of soviet power in Russia is the most important historical fact since the founding of the Communist International.

Class society is accustomed to see the establishment of an army as the best test of its economic and governmental organization. It judges the strengths and weaknesses of the economy and the state by the strengths and weaknesses of its army.

Soviet power created a great armed force while under fire. The Red Army showed its unquestionable superiority fighting against old bourgeois and monarchist Russia, which imperialism tried to restore with help from the White armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel, and others, as well as fighting against the national armies of the "democracies" that world imperialism set up for its purposes (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland).

In the economic sphere the Soviet republic has performed a great miracle simply by surviving during the first three difficult and most trying years.⁵ It remains inviolate and continues to develop because it has taken the tools of exploitation from the

hands of the bourgeoisie and changed them into instruments of the planned economy. Amidst the clash of battle on endless fronts, soviet power did not let slip a single opportunity for economic and cultural development. In the interval between the destruction by Denikin and the rapacious attack by Poland, the Soviet government undertook to organize comprehensively the conscription of labor,⁶ to record more precisely and better utilize productive forces and resources, to draw portions of the army into economic work, and above all to reestablish the transportation system.

Only the socialist state monopoly in the principal foodstuffs together with a relentless struggle against speculation saved the Russian cities from starvation and made it possible to supply the Red Army. Only the state consolidation of individual businesses, factories, and privately owned railroads and ships made production and transportation possible.

Centralizing industry and transport in the hands of the state led to socializing technology itself by standardizing it. Only on the basis of socialism is it possible to set a minimum number of types of locomotives, freight cars, and ships to be manufactured and repaired as well as to periodically regulate machine parts for standardized mass production, which offers immeasurable advantages for productive relationships. Further economic progress, scientific organization of industry, and application of the methods of the Taylor system—without its capitalist, exploitative features—no longer face obstacles in Soviet Russia, except those imposed from without by imperialist force.⁷

At a time when national interests clash with imperialist usurpation, producing an unbroken stream of conflicts, uprisings, and wars around the world, socialist Russia proves that the workers' state is capable of smoothly combining national with economic needs by purging the former of chauvinism and freeing the latter from imperialism. Socialism wants to unite all regions, all areas, all nationalities in an integrated economic plan. Economic centralization is wholly consistent with true freedom of national development because it frees one class from exploitation by another, as well as one nation by another, and therefore is equally beneficial for all.

The peoples of central Europe, the southeast Balkans, the British possessions, all the oppressed nations and tribes—the

Egyptians and Turks, Indians and Persians, Irish and Bulgarians—are becoming convinced from the experience of Soviet Russia that comradely collaboration of all the national components of humanity can be accomplished only through the federation of soviet republics.

The revolution created in Russia the first proletarian power. In the three years of its existence, its borders have continuously changed. They retreated under the external military pressure of world imperialism; they advanced when the pressure eased.

The fight for Soviet Russia merges with the fight against world imperialism. The question of Soviet Russia has become the touchstone for all working-class organizations. The German Social Democrats' most vile betrayal, second to that of August 4, 1914, took place when, as head of the German state, they sought the protection of the imperialism of the West, rather than striving for an alliance with the revolution in the East. Soviet Germany in alliance with Soviet Russia would be stronger than all the capitalist states put together!

The Communist International has made the cause of Soviet Russia its own. The international proletariat will not lay down its sword until Soviet Russia is but a link in the world federation of soviet republics.

5. The proletarian revolution and the Communist International

Civil war is on the agenda around the world. Its banner is soviet power.

Capitalism has proletarianized huge masses of humanity. Imperialism throws these masses out of their equilibrium and sets them into revolutionary motion. The meaning of *masses* has itself changed in recent years. Those who were counted as masses in the period of parliamentarism and trade unionism are now converted into the upper layers. Millions upon millions who previously stood outside of political life are now transformed into a revolutionary mass. The war roused everyone, awakened the political attention of even the most backward layers, fired their illusions and hopes—and deceived them.

The social foundations of the old forms of the workers' movement—labor's division into closed crafts and the relatively stable standard of living among the proletariat's upper layers; the

impassive and apathetic hopelessness of the lower layers—belong irrevocably to the past. New millions have been drawn into the fight.

Women, who lost fathers and husbands whose labor must be replaced with their own, are pouring into the movement in broad torrents. The working youth, who grew up under the thunder and lightning of the World War, feel right at home in the revolution.

The struggle went through different stages in different countries. But this is the final struggle. The waves of the movement often flow into antiquated organizational forms, temporarily reviving them. Old catchwords and half-obliterated slogans bob up now and again on the surface of the torrent. Many mistakes, unclarities, prejudices, and illusions are still knocking about. But the movement as a whole has a deeply revolutionary character. It is all-embracing and unstoppable. It spreads, consolidates, and purifies itself, sweeping aside all the old rubbish. It will not stop until the world proletariat has come to power.

The basic form of this movement is the strike. Its most simple and powerful cause is the increase in prices of daily necessities. The strike often arises out of individual local conflicts. It breaks out as the masses' impatient response to the Socialists' parliamentary ruckus. It mixes economic and political demands. It is born out of a sense of solidarity with the oppressed at home and abroad. It often contains fragments of reformism together with slogans of the revolutionary social program. It recedes, dies out, is born again, disrupts production, strains the state apparatus, and rattles the bourgeoisie—all the more since it seizes every occasion to send greetings to Soviet Russia. The exploiters' premonitions are not unfounded, for this chaotic strike is in fact a revolutionary social signal and a mobilization of the international proletariat.

The great dependence of every country upon the others, which became so catastrophically evident during the war, gives special importance to those branches of industry that connect one country with another, putting the railroad workers, and transport workers in general, into front-row seats, as it were. The proletarians in transport had an opportunity to display some of their strength in the boycott of White Hungary and White Poland. The strike and the boycott, methods that have been

used by the working class since the dawn of its trade union struggles, that is, before it began using parliamentarism, now assume unprecedented scope and a new, threatening significance—like the artillery barrage that precedes the final assault.

All the growing helplessness of the individual before the onslaught of historic events drives into the ranks of unions new layers not only of working men and women but also of salaried personnel, civil servants, and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Before the course of the proletarian revolution compels the formation of soviets, which immediately stand out above all old workers' organizations, the toilers assemble in traditional trade unions, temporarily tolerating their old forms, official program, and top officials. But they carry into these organizations the growing revolutionary momentum of a colossal mass of millions.

The lowest of the low—the agricultural proletariat, the farm workers—are raising their heads. In Italy, Germany, and elsewhere we see a tremendous growth in the revolutionary movement of the agricultural workers and their fraternal convergence with the urban proletariat.

The poorest layers of the peasantry are changing their attitude toward socialism. If the parliamentary reformists' flirtation with the peasants' property-owning superstitions failed to bear fruit, the truly revolutionary movement of the proletariat and its implacable fight against the oppressor arouses a flicker of hope in the soul of the most backward, earthbound, ruined peasant.

The ocean of human misery and spiritual gloom is bottomless. Behind every rising layer stands another, already on the verge of rising up. But the vanguard cannot await a mass following before it enters into struggle. The working class will be able to accomplish the work of awakening, elevating, and educating its most backward layers only *after* conquering power.

The toilers of the colonial and semicolonial countries have awakened. In the immense regions of India, Egypt, and Persia, across which lies sprawled the gigantic octopus of British imperialism, in this immeasurable human ocean, vast internal forces are constantly at work, tossing up high waves and causing the London bankers' stocks and hearts to tremble.

In the movement of the colonial peoples, the social element is

bound up with the national in very diverse forms, but both are directed against imperialism. The distance from the first baby steps to the mature forms of struggle in the colonies and the backward countries in general will be traversed at a forced march under the pressure of modern imperialism and under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

There is a promising convergence of the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples, who are everywhere welded together by the common chains of British and foreign domination. Their movement is purging itself internally, eliminating the influence of the clergy and of chauvinist reaction. Their struggles are waged not only against the foreign oppressor but simultaneously against their own landlords, feudalists, clerics, and usurers. All this is transforming the growing army of the colonial uprising into a powerful historic force, a mighty reserve of the world proletariat. The pariahs are rising up. They turn their awakened imagination warmly toward Soviet Russia, toward the fighters on the barricades in the streets of German cities, toward the raging strike battles in Great Britain, toward the Communist International.

The Socialist who directly or indirectly supports the privileged position of one nation at the cost of others, who has made his peace with colonial slavery, who makes a distinction between peoples of different races and skin colors, who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to preserve its domination over the colonies instead of helping the cause of the armed rebellion of the colonies, the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the rebellion in Ireland, Egypt, and India against the London plutocracy—such a Socialist deserves, if not the bullet, then certainly the mark of infamy, and no mandate or confidence from the proletariat.

Furthermore, the proletariat, in its international revolutionary actions, runs up less against the half-destroyed barbed wire entanglements from the war, still standing between the countries, than against the egoism, conservatism, pigheadedness, and treachery of the old party and trade union organizations it has been saddled with since the previous period.

The leaders of the old trade unions use all means to work against the revolutionary struggles of the working masses, hamper them, or, when nothing else works, take charge of them, all

the better to strangle them with dark machinations behind the scenes.

The historic betrayal by international Social Democracy has no parallel in the history of oppression and struggle. This was shown most clearly and terribly in Germany. The collapse of German imperialism took place at the same time as the collapse of the capitalist economic system. No class other than the proletariat could have laid claim to state power. The development of technology and the numerical strength and cultural level of the German working class were certain guarantees for the success of the socialist uprising. But German Social Democracy blocked the road to carrying out this task. Through refined maneuvers combining cunning and stupidity, the force of the working class was deflected from its natural and necessary goal: conquering power. Over the decades Social Democracy had won the confidence of the masses only in order, at the decisive moment when the fate of bourgeois society hung in the balance, to throw the weight of their authority to the side of the oppressors.

The treachery of liberalism and the collapse of bourgeois democracy proved to be insignificant episodes compared with the monstrous betrayal by the Socialist parties. Even the role of the church—the conservatives' power station, as Lloyd George puts it—is minor when compared to the antisocialist role of the Second International.

Social Democracy justified its betrayal during the war with the slogan of national defense. Since the conclusion of peace, they disguise their counterrevolutionary policies with the slogan of democracy. National defense and democracy are the triumphant slogans for the proletariat's capitulation before the will of the bourgeoisie.

But the plunge does not stop there. The Social Democrats' policies, which serve to defend the capitalist order, necessarily led them, as servants of the bourgeoisie, to openly trample on "national defense" and "democracy." Scheidemann and Ebert kiss the hand of French imperialism—seeking its support against a soviet revolution. Noske personifies the bourgeois counterrevolution's White Terror. Albert Thomas has become a paid agent of the League of Nations, that squalid imperialist agency. Vandervelde, that phrasemongering embodiment of superficiality of the Second International, which he headed, has

become a royal minister and underling of the clerical Delacroix, defender of Belgium's Catholic priests and lawyer for capitalist atrocities against the Congo's Blacks. Henderson apes the great men of the bourgeoisie and plays now royal minister, now His Majesty's most loyal Labour opposition. Tom Shaw demands strict proof from the Soviet government that there really are robbers, thieves, and liars in the London government. What are these gentlemen but outspoken enemies of the working class?

Renner and Seitz, Nemec and Tusar, Troelstra and Branting, Daszynski and Chkheidze, every one of them translates the disgraceful shipwreck of the Second International into the roguery of their petty governments. And Kautsky, the former Marxist and theoretician for the Second International, has become a babbling shyster for the Yellow press of the world.

Under pressure from the masses, the resourceful elements of the old Socialism change their appearance and their skin without changing their essence. They break with the Second International or prepare to do so, while shrinking from any real revolutionary and mass action and even from any serious preparation for action.

In order to both characterize and stigmatize this masquerade, it suffices to point out that the Polish Socialist Party, the party of petty-bourgeois cynicism and chauvinist fanaticism, whose leader is Daszynski and whose patron is Pilsudski, has also announced its withdrawal from the Second International.

The leading parliamentary clique of the French Socialist Party, which now votes against the budget and against the Versailles treaty, remains in essence one of the mainstays of the bourgeois republic. Their oppositional gestures go only so far as is necessary occasionally to halfway restore the confidence of the most conservative layers of the proletariat.

In the basic questions of the class struggle, French parliamentary Socialism continues as before to blunt the will of the working class by teaching it that this is not the moment for seizing power because France is totally exhausted, just as yesterday it was the wrong moment because of the war, and before the war the industrial upswing stood in the way, and before that the industrial crisis. The jabbering and lying syndicalism of Jouhaux and company stands on the same level as parliamen-



V.I. Lenin

EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED, DRAWINGS ARE BY ISAAC BRODSKY (1884-1939).

Inset: "2d Congress of the Communist International"—frontispiece of album from which these drawings are taken.

SERGEI CHEKHONIN (1878-1937)



Nikolai Bukharin



Karl Radek



Leon Trotsky
DAVID KING COLLECTION



Gregory Zinoviev



Amadeo Bordiga



Katarina Dahlström



Han En-hak



Khristo Kabakchiev



Raymond Lefebvre



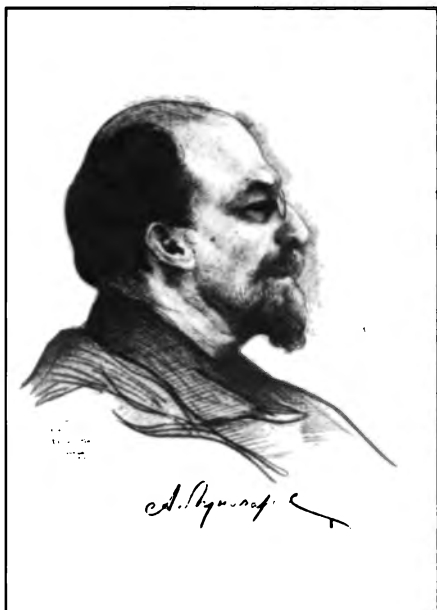
Lev Kamenev



Paul Levi



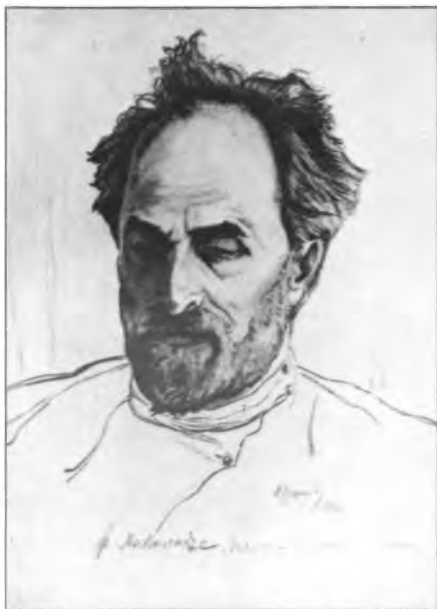
S.A. Lozovsky



Anatoly Lunacharsky



Kullervo Manner



Pilipe Makharadze
K. VESHCHILOV



Julian Marchlewski
CHEKHONIN



Ernst Meyer



Maring (Henk Sneevliet)



Willi Münzenberg



Marjory Newbold



Sylvia Pankhurst



Pak Chin-sun



Angel Pestaña



Marie Nielsen



John Reed



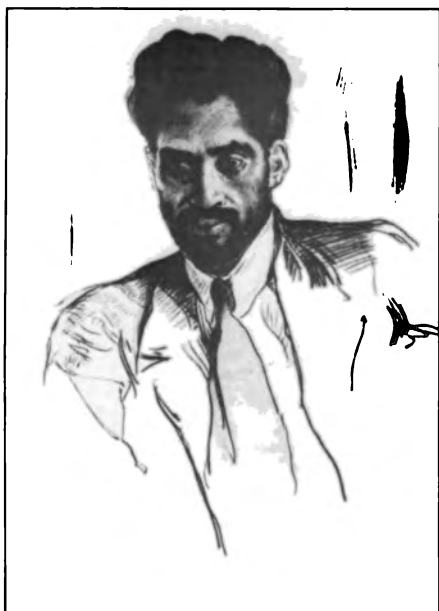
Christian Rakovsky



Alfred Rosmer



David Ryazanov



M.N. Roy



Giacinto Serrati



Nikolai Shablin



David Wijnkoop



Top: Standing, from left: a U.S. delegate, Newbold, Fraina, another U.S. delegate, Ramsay, Reed, Quelch; seated: Murphy, Gallacher, Tanner, Boris Reinstein (translator), McLaine, Pankhurst, J. Morgan.

CPGB ARCHIVES

Bottom: Artur Crispian, left, and Wilhelm Dittmann.

IISG





Top: First international communist women's congress, Moscow, August 1920. At table, from left: Dahlström (in striped blouse), Newbold, unidentified, Inessa Armand.

II SG

Bottom: Two views of the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, September 1920.

HUMBERT-DROZ ARCHIVES





Zinoviev addresses Baku congress. Radek seated at extreme left.

Facing page

Participants in Baku congress session.

HUMBERT-DROZ ARCHIVES



Overleaf

Closing session of Second Congress in Bolshoi Theater, Moscow, August 7, which issued congress manifesto to working people of the world.

Inset: On stage at closing session, from left: Serrati, Trotsky, Rosmer, Levi, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kalinin, Radek.



tary Socialism and not a whit higher.

The creation of a strong Communist party, forged in the spirit of unity and discipline, is a life-and-death question for the French proletariat.

A new breed of German worker is being trained and steeled in strikes and uprisings. This experience is gained at a price: a toll of victims that can only grow, as long as the Independent Socialist party of Germany remains under the influence of the stick-in-the-mud Social Democratic saviors of the government, who always look back to the Social Democracy of Bebel's time, do not understand the character of the present revolutionary epoch, flinch at civil war and revolutionary terror, and dodder along behind events, hoping for a miracle to save them from bankruptcy. In the heat of battle the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht is teaching the German workers to find the right road.

The stagnation at the top of the British workers' movement is so great that they do not even notice the need for new weapons. The leaders of the British Labour Party are stubbornly bent on remaining in the ranks of the Second International. At a time when the course of recent events has shattered the rigidity of economic life even in conservative Britain, making the masses most receptive to a revolutionary program, the official machinery of the bourgeois nation—the royalty, the House of Lords, the Commons, the church, the trade unions, the Labour Party, George V, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henderson—all this remains intact, a powerful automatic brake on any progress. The proletarian masses can counterpose to this officialdom only a Communist party, free of routinism and sectarianism and closely linked to the mass organizations.

In Italy, where even the bourgeoisie openly recognizes that the key to the country's future destiny is held by the Socialist Party, the policies of the right wing, led by Turati, are to entice the powerfully evolving proletarian revolution into the bed of parliamentary reformism. This internal sabotage poses the greatest present danger.

Proletarians of Italy, think of Hungary, whose example belongs to history, as a terrible warning that in the fight for power and after its seizure, the proletariat must stand firmly on its own feet by weeding out all outlived and wavering elements and

relentlessly condemning all attempts at betrayal.

In the United States, as in other countries on the American continent, the convulsions of the war and the severe economic crisis resulting from it open a new chapter for the labor movement. The end of Wilsonian bombast and lies is at the same time the end of American Socialism, that mixture of pacifist illusions with the bustle of county fair barkers that amicably supplements Mr. Gompers's trade unionism from the left. The revolutionary proletarian parties and organizations of the American continent, from the Alaskan peninsula to Cape Horn, must be welded tightly together into an intimately linked American section of the Communist International opposing the powerful enemy—U.S. imperialism. This is a task that must and will be fulfilled in the struggle against all the forces that the dollar mobilizes in its defense.

Governmental and quasi-governmental Socialists of different countries use many pretexts to condemn the Communists, saying that our intransigent tactics provoke the counterrevolution and thereby help it to close ranks. This political accusation is nothing more than a belated parody of the lamentations of liberalism. According to liberalism, the independent struggle of the proletariat drives the propertied classes into the camp of reaction. That is undoubtedly true. If the working class attempted no assault on the foundations of capitalist rule, the bourgeoisie would need no reprisals. The very concept of counterrevolution would not exist if history had never known revolution. The uprisings of the proletariat inevitably entail bourgeois consolidation in self-defense and counterattack. But that only proves that the revolution is the struggle between two implacable classes that can end only in the definitive victory of one or the other.

Communism scornfully rejects this policy, which amounts to holding the masses in check by intimidating them with the whip of counterrevolution. The Communist International responds to the collapse and chaos of the capitalist world, whose death agony threatens to eradicate human culture, with the united struggle of the international proletariat, the abolition of all private property in the means of production, and the reorganization of the national and world economy on the basis of an integrated economic plan, which will be drawn up and carried out in common solidarity by the associated producers.

Uniting millions of toilers from the four corners of the earth under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet system, the Communist International cleanses, broadens, and assembles its own ranks in the heat of battle. The Communist International is the party of the revolutionary uprising of the international proletariat. It excludes all groups and organizations that overtly or covertly lull, demoralize, or weaken the proletariat. It urges the proletariat on, not to bow down before the false gods of legality, democracy, national defense, and the like, which conceal the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Nor can the Communist International take into its ranks those organizations that, while recognizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in their program, nevertheless carry out policies that rely on a peaceful resolution of the historic crisis. The mere recognition of the soviet system solves nothing. The soviet form of organization possesses no miraculous powers. Revolutionary power lies in the proletariat itself, which has to rise up in insurrection and fight its way to power. Only then can soviet organization manifest its merits as an incomparable weapon in the hands of the proletariat.

The Communist International demands the expulsion of all those leaders of the workers' movement who are connected with the bourgeoisie through direct or indirect collaboration. We need leaders who have no other attitude toward bourgeois society than that of mortal hatred, who call and guide the proletariat to tireless struggle, who are ready to lead an army of insurgents into battle, who will not stop halfway, and who, come what may, will not refrain from pitilessly punishing those who use force in the attempt to hold them back.

The Communist International is the international party of proletarian uprising and of proletarian dictatorship. It has no goals or tasks separate from those of the working class as a whole. The pretensions of the little sects, each of which tries to save the working class according to its own model, are alien to the spirit of the Communist International and are hostile to its views. It offers no universal recipes nor incantations but is grounded in the past and present international experience of the working class. It purges this experience of all mistakes and deviations, generalizes the results, and recognizes and adopts only those slogans that are slogans for mass action.

Trade unions, economic and political strikes, boycotts, parliamentary and local elections, the parliamentary rostrum, legal and illegal agitation, secret points of support in the army, work in consumer cooperatives, barricades—the Communist International does not reject a single one of the forms of organization or struggle created in the development of the workers' movement, nor does it consider any single form to be a panacea.

The soviet system is no abstract principle that Communists counterpose to the principle of parliamentarism. The soviet system is a class instrument that must defeat and replace parliamentarism in struggle and through struggle. While leading a merciless fight against reformism in the unions and against parliamentary idiocy and careerism in parliaments, the Communist International condemns the sectarian calls to quit the many-millioned ranks of the unions, or to turn our backs on parliamentary and municipal institutions. The Communists do not separate themselves in any way from the masses, who are deceived and betrayed by the reformists and the patriots. Rather they engage the reformists in an implacable struggle within the mass organizations and institutions created by bourgeois society in order to thereby overthrow it all the more quickly and certainly.

When, under the aegis of the Second International, the methods of class organization and struggle were almost exclusively legal, they fell ultimately under the control and leadership of the bourgeoisie, which reined in the revolutionary class through its reformist agents. The Communist International tears the reins from the bourgeoisie's hands, masters all the methods of the working class and wins all its organizations, unites them under revolutionary leadership, and through them sets a single goal for the proletariat: to fight its way to power in order to destroy the bourgeois state and found the communist society.

In all work, as leader of revolutionary insurrections, as organizer of underground groups, as secretary of trade unions, as agitator at mass meetings or as parliamentary deputy, as member of a cooperative or as barricade fighter, the Communist remains himself, the disciplined member of the Communist Party, ruthless fighter and mortal enemy of capitalist society—its economic foundations, its state forms, its democratic lies, its religion, its morality. He is the most self-sacrificing soldier of

the proletarian revolution and the tireless herald of the new society.

Working men and women! On this earth there is but one banner worth fighting and dying for: this is the banner of the *Communist International*.

Moscow, August 1920

Second Congress of the Communist International⁸

RUSSIA: *V.I. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, N. Bukharin, L. Trotsky*

GERMANY: *P. Levi, E. Meyer, J. Walcher, R. Wolfstein*

AUSTRIA: *K. Steinhardt, K. Tomann, Ströhmer*

FRANCE: *A. Rosmer, J. Sadoul, H. Guilbeaux*

ENGLAND: *T. Quelch, W. Gallacher, S. Pankhurst, W. McLaine*

AMERICA: *Flynn, L. Fraina, A. Bilan,⁹ John Reed*

ITALY: *G.M. Serrati, N. Bombacci, Graziadei, A. Bordiga*

NORWAY: *Friis, Scheflo, A. Madsen*

SWEDEN: *K. Dahlström, Samuelson, Winberg*

DENMARK: *Å. Jørgensen, M. Nielsen*

NETHERLANDS: *Wijnkoop, Jansen, Van Leuven*

BELGIUM: *Van Overstraeten*

SPAIN: *Pestaña*

SWITZERLAND: *Herzog, J. Humbert-Droz*

HUNGARY: *Rákosi, E. Rudnyánszky, Varga*

GALICIA: *Lewicky*

POLAND: *J. Marchlewski*

LATVIA: *Stuchka, Krastins*

LITHUANIA-BELORUSSIA: *Mitskevich-Kapsukas*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: *Vanek, Hula, Zápotocky*

ESTONIA: *R. Vakmann, H. Pöögelmann*

FINLAND: *J. Rahja, Letonmäki, K. Manner*

BULGARIA: *Kabakchiev, Maksimov, Shablin*

YUGOSLAVIA: *Milkic*

GEORGIA: *M. Tskhakaya*

ARMENIA: *Nazaretian*

TURKEY: *Nueret*

PERSIA: *Sultanzadeh*

INDIA: *Acharya, Shafiq, Roy*

DUTCH EAST INDIES: *Maring*

CHINA: *Liu Shaozhou*

KOREA: *Pak Chin-sun, Kim Tu-lin¹⁰*

Organizing the congress

1a. Minutes of the Credentials Commission

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE JULY 17, 1920, MEETING
OF THE PROVISIONAL CREDENTIALS COMMISSION¹

Resolved:

To leave open the question of the mandate of the following comrades:

Britain: [Marjory] Newbold (National Young Labour League). We delegated Comrade Shatskin to clarify the question of Comrade Newbold's mandate with Quelch and McLaine.

France: (1) Delinières (Third International Committee on Economic Questions). In view of Comrade Rosmer's objections, we leave the question open until the other comrades who are on their way from France arrive and can give their view. (2) Goldenberg (communist opposition in the French youth league).

Cuba: Jesús Ramírez (Communist Party of Cuba). To be left open until credentials are delivered.²

Italy: D'Aragona (General Confederation of Labor). To be left open pending clarification of this organization's relations with the Third International.

We leave open, pending presentation of credentials:

Switzerland: Humbert-Droz.

Latvia: Paul Blank-Berzins, Jan Berzins-Andersons, and David Beika (bureau abroad).

We refuse:

Kohn (Poale Zion). The Poale Zion organization has not yet overcome its nationalist prejudices. Its delegation cannot therefore be included among participants in the congress, nor can

the organization be accepted into the Third International, for reasons of principle. The Credentials Commission of the Executive Committee cannot give the delegation either a decisive or a consultative vote. In the hope that the Poale Zion organization will eventually come over to the positions of the Communist International, the Credentials Commission considers it permissible and desirable to admit two delegates from Poale Zion to the congress as guests.

No decision was reached on:

Germany: Rühle and Merges (Communist Workers Party of Germany). These comrades declared that because they disagree with the theses submitted to the congress by the Executive Committee, they have requested instructions from the Central Committee of their party. Until they receive these, they feel they cannot take part in the congress.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMISSION, JULY 28, 1920

Present: Comrades Radek, Meyer, Bombacci, Shablin, Rudnyánszky, Sultanzadeh, Rosmer.

The Credentials Commission elected by the Communist International congress has considered the list of those participating in the congress with full and consultative voting rights that was drawn up by the Provisional Credentials Commission appointed by the Executive Committee. The commission resolves to approve this list, with the following changes and additions:

We grant Ireland, represented by Comrades Gell and Johnson, a full instead of consultative vote.

We withdraw the status of delegate with consultative vote granted to Comrades Vacirca, Colombino, Paverani, and D'Aragona from Italy.

We withdraw the status of delegate with consultative vote granted to Comrade Leutner of Hungary.

We recognize Comrades Avanesov and Katanian as delegates with consultative vote for Armenia.

We grant a consultative vote to the Socialist Party of Palestine,

represented by Comrade Kohn, and we remove this comrade from the Austrian delegation.³

We refuse the Young Bukharans' request for voting rights at the congress.

We transfer the Netherlands from the second to the third group on the list of distribution of votes, giving it 4 votes instead of 7.

1b. Preliminary list of delegates

[*Editor's note:* A list of delegates appears in the German, Russian, and English editions of the Second Congress proceedings printed in 1920 and 1921. A comparison of congress records shows that this list is a preliminary enumeration of delegates drawn up prior to the July 17 session of the Credentials Commission. It does not reflect the commission's changes and does not include some late arrivals.

[The list as printed here is based on one that appears in the German edition of the proceedings. A few corrections have been made, based on versions in the two Russian editions, the English edition, and the 1920 Vienna edition, as well as the list of Russian CP delegates published during the congress in *Pravda*, and other research. Names of organizations are given as they appear in the original text.

[The notes to this appendix record available information on congress delegates and guests whose presence is not indicated in the delegates list.

[The number of votes held by each country's delegation is taken from the Credentials Commission report in session 10 supplemented with data from a list in the 1920 Vienna edition.

[In addition to the delegations given here, the 1920 Vienna edition lists delegations from Argentina (1 delegate with 2 votes),⁴ Portugal (1 delegate with 2 votes), Romania (2 delegates with 5 votes), Scotland (3 delegates with 2 votes), and, inexplicably, Greenland (2 delegates with 5 votes). *Berichte zum zweiten Kongress*, the collection of national reports submitted to the congress, includes a contribution by Hendrik Ottósson of Iceland, who was a guest at the congress, and one by a delegate from Luxembourg, E. Reiland, who was not able to arrive at the congress until after it ended.]

Armenia⁵

Communist Party: Avis, Nazaretian

Australia

Communist League: *consultative*: Freeman

IWW: *consultative*: Suzenko

Austria (7 votes)

Communist Party: Reisler, Steinhardt, Ströhmer, Tomann
Poale Zion: *consultative*: Kohn⁶

Azerbaijan

Communist Party (trade union majority): Sapunov

Belgium (2 votes)

Walloon Communist Federation: Van Overstraeten

Britain (10 votes)⁷

British Socialist Party: McLaine, Quelch
Shop Stewards: Murphy, Ramsay, Tanner
Industrial Workers of the World: Beech
National Young Labour League:
consultative: [M.] Newbold

Bukhara

Communist Party: *consultative*: Muhamadiev

Bulgaria (4 votes)

Communist Party: Kabakchiev, Maksimov, Shablin

China (2 votes)

Chinese Socialist Workers Party (Central Bureau):
consultative: Han En-hak, Liu Shaozhou

Czechoslovakia (3 votes)

Communist Party: Olbracht
Social Democratic Party (left wing): Hula,
Zápotocky
Communist Group: *consultative*: Malírová,
Sonnenstein

Denmark (3 votes)

Communist Teachers Club: Nielsen
Left Socialist Party: Jørgensen

Dutch East Indies (2 votes)

Communist Association: Maring, (unknown)

East Galicia (2 votes)

Communist Party of Galicia and Bukovina: Baral,
Lewicky, Mitra

Estonia (4 votes)

Communist Party: Põögelmann, Vakmann
Independent Socialist Workers Party: *consultative*:
Joonas

Finland (7 votes)

Communist Party: Kohonen, Kuusinen, Letonmäki,

Lumivuokko, Manner, Rahja
 Socialist Workers Party: *consultative*: Gylling, Rovio,
 Tammenoksa

France (10 votes)⁸

Committee for the Third International: Vanini,
 Lefebvre, Rosmer

Communist Group: Sadoul

Communist Federation of Soviets: Guilbeaux

Communist Party: *consultative*: Abramovich

Socialist Party: *consultative*: Cachin, Frossard

Socialist Youth Federation: Goldenberg⁹

Georgia (3 votes)

Communist Party: Makharadze, Mikadze, Todria,
 Tskhakaya, Vashakidze

Youth League: Vardanian

Germany (10 votes)¹⁰

Communist Party (Spartacus League): Budich, Levi,
 Meyer, Walcher, Wolfstein

Free Socialist Youth: Leinhardt

Independent Social Democratic Party: *consultative*:

Crispien, Däumig, Dittmann, Schiller,¹¹ Stoecker

Syndicalists: *consultative*: Souchy, Sturm

Hungary (7 votes)

Communist Party: Rákosi, Rudnyánszky

India (2 votes)¹²

Indian Revolutionary Association: *consultative*:

Acharya

(unaffiliated): *consultative*: Mukherji

Ireland (2 votes)

Labour Party: Quinlan

Industrial Workers of the World: Connolly

Communist Party: *consultative*: Gell, Johnson,
 MacAlpine¹³

Italy (10 votes)

Socialist Party: Bombacci, Graziadei, Serrati;

consultative: Bordiga, Colombino, D'Aragona,

Paverani, Vacirca¹⁴

Socialist Youth Federation: Polano

Korea

Communist Party: Pak Chin-sun

Latvia

Communist Party: Blank-Berzins, Krastins, Stuchka;
consultative: Beika, Berzins-Andersons

Lithuania-Belorussia (3 votes)

Communist Party: Mitskevich-Kapsukas, Rasikas

Mexico (2 votes)

Communist Party: Roy, Seaman;
consultative: [H.] Allan

Netherlands (4 votes)¹⁵

Communist Party: Van Leuven, Wijnkoop

Norway (3 votes)

Labor Party: Åsen, Friis, Kristensen, Krogh,
Langseth, Madsen, Scheflo, Syvertsen
Social Democratic Youth League: Gerhardsen,
Medby

Persia (2 votes)

Communist Party: Sultanzadeh; *consultative*:
Hassanzadeh, Orudshev

Poland (7 votes)

Communist Workers Party: Marchlewski

Russia (10 votes)¹⁶

Communist Party (Russia): Akhundov, Aliyev,
Andreyev, Armand, Artem, Baytursunov, [I.]
Berzin, Blakytnyi, Bukharin, [M.] Chernov,
Dzerzhinsky, Firstov, Gopner, Ibrahimov, Ignat,
Joffe, Kalinin, Kollontai, Krasnoshchekov,
Krestinsky, Krupskaya, Lenin, Lozovsky,
Lunacharsky, Manuil'sky, Merezhin, Moyrova,
Ol'minsky, Osinsky, Pavlovich, Pestkowski,
Pokrovsky, Preobrazhensky, Radek, Rakovsky,
Ramonov, Rudzutak, Ryazanov, Rykov, Sadovskaya,
Serebryakov, Shlyapnikov, Skrypnik, Smidovich,
Sokolnikov, Steklov, Taratuta, Tomsy, Trotsky,
Tsyperovich, Vatin, Voronova, Yanson,¹⁷

Yaroslavsky, Yenukidze, Zinoviev, Zorin
Youth League: Dunayevsky, Ryvkin, Tsetlin

Communist Party (Crimea): Idrisov

Communist Party (South Ossetia): Kodzayev

Communist Party (Ukraine) (7 votes): Kon

Communist Party (Tatar): Safarov, Said Galiev,

Sultan Galiev

Communist Bund: *consultative*: Litvakov, Vaynshteyn

Party of Revolutionary Communism: *consultative*:

Sapozhnikov, Ustinov

Spain (2 votes)

National Federation of Labor: Pestaña

Sweden (3 votes)

Left Social Democratic Party: Dahlström, Linderot

Switzerland (3 votes)

Communist Party: Bäcker, Herzog

Social Democratic Party (left wing): Bringolf,

Humbert-Droz

Socialist Youth Organization: Bamatter

Turkey (3 votes)

Bureau of Communist Organizations: Hakki,

Slavutski

Constantinople Communist Group: Nihat Nueret

United States (10 votes)¹⁸

Communist Labor Party: Bilan, Jurgis, Reed

Communist Party of America: Fraina, Stoklitsky

Independent Young People's Socialist League:

Chabrow; *consultative*: Gildei

Yugoslavia (5 votes)

Communist Party: Milkic

Communist Youth International: Münzenberg,

Shatskin; *consultative*: Leutner¹⁹

Executive Committee of the Communist

International: *consultative*: Balabanoff,

Karakhan, Klinger, Men'shoy

National and colonial questions

2a. The editing of M.N. Roy's draft theses on the national and colonial questions¹

[*Editor's note:* M.N. Roy substantially revised his draft theses on the colonial and national questions in the course of discussions with Lenin and other delegates. The changes are indicated in this appendix. Roy's original draft is printed in the left-hand column. Struck-through passages were deleted from the version he submitted to the congress. Italicized passages were substantially rewritten; the final substitutions are given in the right-hand column. Locations where Roy added new passages are marked by a gap in the left-hand column; the addition is printed in the right-hand column opposite the gap.]

Original draft theses by M.N. Roy

New and rewritten passages

1. To determine the relation of the Communist International to the revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism

, for instance, China and India,

is one of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International. The history of the world revolution has come to a period when a proper understanding of this relation is indispensable; the great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of the non-European subject-ed countries are inseparably

connected with the proletarian movement in Europe, as a consequence of the centralized world capitalism

2. *The fountainhead from which European capitalism draws its main strength is no longer to be found in the industrial countries of Europe but in the colonial possessions and dependencies.*

Without the control of the extensive markets and vast fields of exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction since more than a century ago. But for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for selling her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalist structure of England would have crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism succeeded so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Superprofit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of

(for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battle fronts during the war, and so on).

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies.

rope with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movements in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism imposed on the Eastern peoples prevented them from developing socially and economically side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialistic policy of preventing industrial development of the colonies, a proletarian class in the strict sense of the term could not come into existence until recently. The indigenous craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries; consequently a big majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food grains and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land, *the proprietary right of which was vested in the state,*

in the hands of the big land-owners, financial capitalists, and the state,

thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt

latent in every subject people found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

The foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces—therefore its overthrow is the first step towards the revolution in the colonies. So, to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie but to open up the way to the smothered proletariat there.

7. ~~The revolutionary movements in the colonies are essentially an economic struggle. The bourgeois-democratic nationalist movements are limited to the small middle class which does not reflect the aspirations of the masses. Without the active support of the masses, the national freedom of the colonies will never be attained. But in many countries, especially in India, the masses are not with the bourgeois-nationalist leaders—they are moving towards revolution independently of the bourgeois-nationalist movement. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow further and further apart from each other. One is the bourgeois-democratic na-~~

tionalist movement, *with a program of political independence and the other is the mass action of the ignorant and poor peasants and workers.*

The former endeavor to control the latter and often succeed to a certain extent. *But it would be a mistake to assume that the bourgeois-nationalist movement expresses the sentiments and aspirations of the general population.*

For the overthrow of foreign imperialism, the first step towards revolution in the colonies, the cooperation of the bourgeois-nationalist elements *may be useful. But the Communist International must not find in them the media through which the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be helped. The mass movements in the colonies are growing independently of the nationalist movements. The masses distrust the political leaders who always lead them astray and prevent them from revolutionary action.*

8. The real strength of the liberation movement in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois-democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized

with a program of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the ignorant and poor peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation.

But the Communist International and its affiliated parties must struggle against this and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies.

capitalism

is useful. But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist parties that will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses of the backward countries may reach communism not through capitalist development but led by the class-conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

Socialist or Communist parties, in close relation to the mass movement.

The relation of the Communist International with the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be through the medium of these parties or groups, because they are the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries. They may not be very big today, but they reflect the desire of the masses and the masses will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies and through them give all the moral and material support to the revolutionary movements in general.

9. ~~The supposition that, owing to the economic and industrial backwardness, the peoples in the colonies are bound to go through the stage of bourgeois democracy is wrong. The events and conditions in many of the colonies do not corroborate such a supposition.~~ It is true that the revolution in the colonies is not going to be a communist revolution in its first stages. But if from the beginning, the lead of the revolution is in the hands of a Communist van-

revolutionary parties that strive to be in close connection with the working masses.

guard, the revolutionary masses would not be led astray but would go straight ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, it would be *very difficult*

in many of the oriental countries to solve the agrarian problem along pure communist principles. In its first stages, the revolution in the colonies must be carried on with a program in which will be included many petty-bourgeois reform clauses—for instance, division of land, etc. But from this it does not *necessarily* follow that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats.

extremely erroneous to try

at all

10. ~~The bourgeois national democrats in the colonies strive for the establishment of a free national state, whereas the masses of workers and poor peasants are revolting, even though in many cases unconsciously, against the system which permits such brutal exploitation. Consequently, in the colonies, we have two contradictory forces; they cannot develop together. To support the colonial bourgeois democratic movements would amount to helping the growth of the national spirit which will surely obstruct the awak-~~

~~ening of class consciousness in the masses; whereas to encourage and support the revolutionary mass action through the medium of a Communist party of the proletarians will bring the real revolutionary forces to action which will not only overthrow the foreign imperialism, but lead progressively to the development of soviet power, thus preventing the rise of a native capitalism in place of the vanquished foreign capitalism, to further oppress and exploit the people.~~

~~11. To initiate at as early a stage as possible the class struggle in the colonies means to awaken the people to the danger of a transplanted European capitalism which, overthrown in Europe, may seek refuge in Asia, and to defeat such an eventuality before its beginning.~~

M.N. Roy
India

2b. Theses by Ahmed Sultanzadeh²

1. Commercial capital in the colonial and semicolonial countries of the East began to flourish as far back as the 1870s. Together with it, banking capital commenced its sway. Things have changed little since. The colonial policy of the great powers blocks the development of home industry in those countries and has converted them into markets for their manufactured products and into inexhaustible sources of supply of raw material for the industrial centers of Europe. The import of cheap factory products in great quantities has altogether ruined the handicraftsmen and small producers, who, having lost all their property in an unequal competitive struggle, are speedily swelling the ranks of the urban paupers.

In the European countries this painful period of original accumulation did not last very long. In those countries the vigorous growth of factories and mills constantly absorbed these elements and, in the maelstrom of new economic formations, has converted them into actual proletarians with a clearly defined class ideology. In the East, on the other hand, that period has given rise to a continual emigration. Over ten million starving paupers emigrate yearly into the industrial centers of Europe and America, and there is no power that could stop this stream of emigration even for a moment.

2. At the same time there are in these colonial and semicolonial countries masses of peasants living in extremely oppressive conditions. The clang of the feudal chains of slavery is still heard everywhere in the East. Government taxation and levies fall as a crushing burden mainly upon these unfortunate victims of the landlords' rule. The peasants here are almost the sole producing class. They must feed not only themselves and their families, not only the insatiable landlords, numerous traders, and merchants, but they must also satisfy the excessive appetites of the government officials, who swoop down upon them at harvest time like hungry ravens.

3. Owing to the economic and political backwardness of the East, the oppressed and enslaved masses have not yet succeeded in creating a firmly organized revolutionary party, in spite of the great potential revolutionary energy latent in them. On the

other hand an extreme antagonism of interest prevails among the ruling classes. The big landowners are interested in continuing the colonial policy of the great powers, whereas the urban bourgeoisie opposes foreign interference with all its might. The clergy protest against the import of goods from the infidel lands of the *ghayer* [foreigner], while the merchants and traders fiercely oppose this stand. There can be no unanimity among the ruling classes in countries where for some the possibility of exploiting the toilers depends on the markets of the metropolis, while others cherish the illusion of independence.

4. All this creates the greatest possibility for a revolution, which though national in character will inevitably become social, owing to the weakness of the bourgeoisie. The proximity of Russia, that great reservoir of revolutionary energy, will have an almost decisive influence in the movement of liberation of all the oppressed and exploited classes of the Near and Far East. Now when the epoch of world revolution has set in, the victorious war cry of the toilers of Asia should be to organize Communist parties. Stormed from the East and the West, the capitalist stronghold will inevitably come down under the spontaneous onslaught of the revolutionary and united proletariat of the world.

5. The working people of the East, having conquered political power and solved the agrarian question in the spirit of the communist program, must immediately begin to unite the small producers of the towns. The first step in the economic program on the morrow of the social revolution is to bring about cooperation between craftsmen and small producers. At the same time, in order to utilize all the productive forces of the country, the proletarian government will have to start immediately to organize large factories and mills, exploit the natural resources, lay out railroads, and so on, in order to speedily end the painful period of primitive accumulation caused by the colonial policy of the great powers.

Ruined by the preceding four years of war and revolution, communist Europe will at first not be able to provide Asia with any large amounts of machinery and manufactured products. But the heroic proletariat of the West, supported by the revolutionary nations of the East, will speedily overcome the economic disintegration inherited from capitalism. Only by means

of mutual aid, only through firm proletarian solidarity, will the world be saved from ruin and the banner of the world social revolution be firmly planted upon the ruins of decayed capitalism.

2c. Article and theses by Pak Chin-sun

THE REVOLUTIONARY EAST AND THE NEXT TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL³

The First and Second Internationals were associations that actually included the masses only of Europe and America. They paid very little attention to the "Eastern question" and, in general, to the "question of the colonial peoples." The majority of the official leaders of the Second International strove to keep the "colonial question" in the background and to fence off the western European workers' movement from the revolutionary struggle of the enslaved colonial nationalities. They were afraid to address this question openly and clearly.

Whenever they took up the "Eastern question," the official leaders of the Second International trembled just as much as did the bourgeois politicians, with their constant sham devotion to "democracy," civilization, and culture. The complex questions of the revolutionary struggles of the enslaved colonial peoples, who make up the majority of struggling humanity, were quite alien to the ideologues of parliamentarism. Even at the founding of the Communist International, Asia was weakly represented, which necessarily had an effect on the work in the East.

But consciousness of the necessity of a common revolutionary struggle by the working masses of the East and West grew ever stronger. The great, victorious October revolution in Russia was the first bridge between the proletarian West and the revolutionary East, and Soviet Russia became a connecting link between two hitherto separate worlds. The necessity of a common proletarian struggle in the East and West was never as sharply felt as at the present time, when the ruling classes have transformed flourishing fields into barren desert and laid peaceful towns and villages to ruin, when the working class has decided to raise the banner of an implacable revolutionary struggle for the power of the toiling masses, for a new, free life for all humanity.

Today the specter of social revolution haunts the whole worl¹⁻²

rope with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movements in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism imposed on the Eastern peoples prevented them from developing socially and economically side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialistic policy of preventing industrial development of the colonies, a proletarian class in the strict sense of the term could not come into existence until recently. The indigenous craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries; consequently a big majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food grains and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land, *the proprietary right of which was vested in the state,*

in the hands of the big land-owners, financial capitalists, and the state,

thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt

latent in every subject people found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

The foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces—therefore its overthrow is the first step towards the revolution in the colonies. So, to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie but to open up the way to the smothered proletariat there.

7. ~~The revolutionary movements in the colonies are essentially an economic struggle. The bourgeois-democratic nationalist movements are limited to the small middle class which does not reflect the aspirations of the masses. Without the active support of the masses, the national freedom of the colonies will never be attained. But in many countries, especially in India, the masses are not with the bourgeois-nationalist leaders—they are moving towards revolution independently of the bourgeois-nationalist movement.~~ There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow further and further apart from each other. One is the bourgeois-democratic na-

The bourgeoisie is straining every nerve to briefly delay the hour of its downfall. The Second World Congress of the Communist International should thus direct serious attention to the East, where the fate of the world revolution may be decided; for whoever understands the need to go to the enslaved nations of the East and win them as allies will emerge as victor in this last war between labor and capital.

The acute economic crisis in Asia, which is inevitable at the moment of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the imperialist great powers' barbaric policy in the colonies have created favorable conditions for revolution there. This policy has aroused strong nationalist tendencies in the East. Granted, the first stage of the revolution in the East will be the victory of the liberal bourgeoisie and the nationalist intellectuals. Nevertheless, we must begin now to prepare our forces for the second stage by drawing from the depths of the peasant masses, enslaved by the feudal regime, organized forces to carry out an agrarian socialist revolution in Asia as soon as possible. The industrial proletariat in Asia, excluding Japan, is too weak for us to entertain any serious hopes of an early communist revolution, but the victory of the agrarian revolution is certain if we are able to master the immediate tasks of the great and bloody struggle.

Russia's proletariat, standing at the outpost of the world social revolution, was able to withstand the desperate three-years onslaught of the world bourgeoisie only because it knew how to win the poorer and middle peasantry to its side. The vanguard of the European and American proletariat, uniting around the Communist International, must fight hand in hand with the many-millioned masses of the revolutionary East if it desires a speedy and successful victory over the capitalist class. The impossibility of such a victory without the collaboration of the "colonial" peoples is so evident that further proof is superfluous. The history of the inglorious downfall of the Second International showed clearly that so long as the world bourgeoisie has a reserve of strength in the colonies in general and in Asia in particular, it will be able to repulse the most desperate attacks of the insurgent proletariat.

By directing the awakening East on the right path of revolution, the Communist International will destroy the very roots of

opportunism and irresolution in the proletariat of the Western countries. Action, however, must be coordinated in such a way that the European proletariat delivers a blow to capitalism's head just at the moment when the revolutionary East is dealing it a mortal wound in the heart. The victorious rising of the colonial peoples will sign the death warrant of any "Bernsteinism" and petty-bourgeois trade unionism. The prompt execution of this task will accelerate the triumph of the Communist International on a world scale.

The question now is, what forces are propelling the revolution in the East? The majority of the former nobility, the liberal bourgeoisie, and the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, which represent the intellectual forces of the revolution in Asia, have learned from the long years of struggle against foreign subjugation and from a process of agonizing mental struggle. They have understood that the rebirth of the East is not possible except through the rule of the broad toiling masses.

The bankruptcy of the Second International promoted the rapid development of revolutionary ideas in the East and deprived these forces of any hope that their people could enjoy a free existence without the triumph of the social revolution in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere. Two opposite roads lie open to Asia's nationalists: the one leading to personal prosperity, based on the perpetual suffering and gradual degeneration of the great masses of the people; the other leading to the social revolution, which will deprive them of material privileges to a certain degree but will bring liberation to their people.

To our great joy, the majority of the idealistic nationalists took the side of the revolution.

Certainly, even in the revolutionary milieu there are also elements that unite with us, internationalists, only to attain national political liberation, but we shall use their revolutionary zeal for the struggle against world capitalism and for the triumph of the social revolution in the whole world. But should the revolution one day require it, we will know how to turn our arms against our "allies" of yesterday. Victory will undoubtedly be ours, because the masses of the East, just liberated from foreign political and economic slavery, will hardly resign themselves to the violence of new masters.

Such a policy of supporting the nationalist movements in the

colonies is impossible for those so-called Socialist governments that are afraid of “outraged patriotic feelings” in the unenlightened toiling masses of the countries whose ruling classes are carrying on a barbaric colonial policy.

But the Communist International has no reason to fear such “outrage,” because the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat, whose ranks are growing every hour, will judge its actions at their worth, and give its farseeing tactics complete approval. Thus although we are struggling together with the nationalist elements, we cannot look upon them as our comrades, with whom we may go on to the end without fear.

Without the slightest hesitation we must make clear to the working masses of the East that national political liberation alone will not give them what they are fighting for, and that only social liberation will guarantee them complete freedom.

The victory of the first stage of the revolution in Asia will coincide with that of the socialist revolution in the West. Proletarian Europe, groaning under the yoke of bourgeois democracy, cannot remain impassive before the sufferings of the broad toiling masses of the East. The European proletariat, imbued with a sense of international solidarity, will come to their aid. Of course, we can predict with certainty that a dreadful howl will be raised in the bourgeois camp. But our Western comrades (we can be certain) will meet with a hearty and fraternal reception from the proletariat and working peasantry of Asia. The East always opposed only *that* form of foreign intervention that brought with it chains and slavery, but the intervention of the socialist proletariat of the West will be a great and even needed help to the toiling masses of Asia in their struggle against every kind of exploitation. The proletariat of the East yearns for such “intervention.”

The Second Congress, which must give the revolutionary proletariat a plan of action for a successful struggle against world imperialism, will most certainly not forget the great role of the revolutionary East in the international workers’ movement.

And the toiling masses of the East, with the help of their European and American comrades, after having vanquished the foreign and native oppressors, will transform Asia—the land of religious achievements—into a Communist oasis of revolutionary achievements.

THESES ON THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE EAST¹

1. At the very moment when the two opposed forces of labor and capital are locked in fierce combat, the liberation movement of the so-called colonial peoples has taken the form of gigantic uprisings, lending great aid to the fighting proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

2. As the gulf between labor and capital grows wider and deeper, the necessity for the closest unity and firmest solidarity between the communist West and the revolutionary East impresses itself more and more.

3. The European proletariat has long years of experience in a revolutionary struggle that will end with the liberation of all of suffering humanity. This experience, together with the bloody example of the liberation war waged for long years by the colonial peoples, imposes the need for coordinated revolutionary campaigns on the continent [of Asia] as well as in the imperialist centers in order to achieve a rapid victory over the exploiters.

4. The highest leading body of this gigantic struggle cannot be the rapacious "League of Nations" and its ally, the Second, "Yellow" International. It can be only the International of labor, of revolutionary struggles, and of the Communist proletariat—the Third, Communist International.

5. The Communist International is duty-bound to expose all the double-dealing of the agents of world capital. These agents, operating under the trademark "League of Nations," are preparing a campaign against those who fight for the happiness and free existence of the hitherto oppressed working masses of the world. Furthermore, the Communist International is duty-bound to tirelessly expose the unviability, the revolutionary destitution, and consequently the absolute uselessness of the "Yellow" Second International in the great liberation struggle of the peoples of the East.

6. Under the pretext of "civilization" and "culture," the Second International openly upholds the predatory and barbaric policy of the bourgeois governments. In contrast to this, the Communist International directly leads the struggle of the subjugated colonial peoples against imperialist plunder.

7. The Communist International wages an implacable strug-

gle against petty-bourgeois trade unionism, opportunism, and revisionism, which hamper the revolutionary momentum of the proletariat in the advanced countries. The Communist International is arousing the mighty East, just awakening to a new life, and will destroy the very roots of irresolution, this poisonous cancer in the healthy body of the revolutionary movement of international socialism.

8. The peculiar features of the economic and cultural conditions of the West and the East set their special stamp on each of these two armies of toiling humanity. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is undoubtedly the more developed and more conscious section of the international working masses. But the task of the Communist International does not, of course, lie in separating into a special caste the industrial workers of the more industrially developed countries, who make up only a minority of toiling humanity. On the contrary, it lies in organizing, with the help of the most staunch and conscious Western industrial workers, the whole working mass of the awakening East and leading its great forces into the broad current of the revolutionary struggle between labor and capital.

9. Tireless struggle is needed against bourgeois pacifism, which dams up the fighting energies of the revolutionary East, and against Pan-Mongolism and Pan-Islamism, enemies of the international solidarity of the toiling masses and of their collaboration in the struggle for freedom and the fraternity of peoples.

10. The agrarian revolution must be tirelessly advocated among the peoples of the colonies, especially in Asia, in order to give their liberation movement not only political but also economic content. The class consciousness of the masses must be raised to draw them into the social movement and to transform it from an intellectual into a mass movement. The historic mission of the proletariat, which is ready for power, must be explained to them.

11. In expectation of this socialist agrarian revolution in the East, the Communist International must immediately work out a revolutionary method to organize the new society—the communist society. It must create an economic plan for the most painless transition possible from the agrarian to the socialist order, avoiding the cruel period of the development of private capitalism in the East.

2d. Excerpt from the discussion at the July 25, 1920, meeting of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions⁵

Sneevliet: Socialist propaganda has been carried on [in the Dutch East Indies] for five years. "Imported" capitalism prevents the development of a native bourgeoisie. But imported capitalism's development has gone a long way, and the native population is being deprived of both its land and its small industry. Out of 30 million Muslims in Java, 24 million are peasants and 3 million, proletarians. Of the 40,000 railwaymen—the most revolutionary element—10,000 are organized. The revolutionary socialist party [Communist Association in the Indies] numbers 1,500, of whom 100 are Europeans.

Sultanzadeh: The destruction of peasant ownership and of domestic industries [in Persia] is being hastened by the import of cheap manufactured goods from abroad. The peasants are ruled by the shah's clique and the feudal aristocracy, who control estates equal in size to Belgium and the Netherlands together. There is, however, no unity among the ruling classes, of whom the landed section favors a foreign "protectorate," while a section of the mercantile class desires independence. These quarrels, which began with the Russian invasion of 1912, and the acute agrarian question, must inevitably lead to a gigantic social upheaval.

Roy: The nationalist movement in India began to take on more or less definite forms from the 1880s, finding expression in the [Indian] National Congress.

As it developed, this movement attracted broad layers of students and of the middle classes, especially in south India, but the nationalists' call to fight for India's independence found no response in the masses.

The masses of India are not infected by a nationalist spirit. Only questions of a socioeconomic character are of interest to them. India's population lives in the most difficult conditions.

From the moment British capitalism was firmly established in India, 80 percent of the country's agricultural population lost their land and became farm laborers, dependent upon the six or seven hundred princes who rule nearly the whole country.

These millions of people are destitute. Even as they work the land, they go hungry, since everything their labor produces is exported. These tens of millions of people are absolutely not interested in bourgeois-nationalist slogans. Only one slogan can interest them: "Land to the tillers."

Compared to the rural proletariat, the industrial proletariat is not numerous. In India as a whole there are five million workers. The union movement is expanding rapidly among these workers. Recently a powerful strike movement has been spreading among India's working class. The first significant strike, which took place in 1906, involved railroad workers and took on the character of a genuine uprising.

Forces are present in India that can establish a strong Communist party. But insofar as we are considering the broad masses of the people, the revolutionary movement in India has nothing in common with a national liberation movement.

On the basis of this analysis, in point 11 of the theses on the national question, the paragraph taking up the necessity for all Communist parties to aid the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in the Eastern countries must be deleted. The assistance of the Communist International should be directed solely toward establishing and developing the Communist movement in India, while the Communist Party of India must concern itself exclusively with the organizations of the broad masses in the fight for their own class interests.

The fate of the revolutionary movement in Europe depends entirely on the course of the revolution in the East. Without the triumph of revolution in the Eastern countries the Communist movement in the West could be reduced to nothing. World capitalism draws most of its raw materials and profits from the colonies, especially those in Asia. As a last resort European capitalism can give back to workers all the surplus value and thus win them over, killing their revolutionary aspirations. But these very capitalists will continue their exploitation of Asia with the help of the proletariat. Such a result would be very advantageous for the capitalists. It is therefore necessary to channel energy toward developing the revolutionary movement in the East, toward its ascent, and to adopt as our basic thesis that the fate of world communism depends on the triumph of communism in the East.

Quelch: We are obligated to help any kind of movement against imperialism. It may be that the national liberation movement in India has not yet won the sympathy of the broad masses of the people, but this does not mean it will not do so in the very near future. The British government today will have no trouble at all in dealing with purely communist propaganda in the colonies and in crushing the Communist movement there. It will find it much harder to defeat the national liberation movement there.

For a thorough study of all these questions I propose that a bureau be organized within the Comintern to deal with Eastern questions, with departments to take up each point.

Lenin: In Russia we supported the liberal liberation movement at the time of the actions against tsarism. Hindu communists are obligated to support a bourgeois-nationalist movement, without, however, merging with it. Comrade Roy goes too far when he claims that the fate of the West depends solely on the degree to which the revolutionary movement in the Eastern countries has developed and gained strength. In spite of the fact that there are five million proletarians and thirty-seven million landless peasants in India, Hindu communists have so far not succeeded in launching a Communist party in that country. This fact alone shows that Comrade Roy's views are to a considerable extent without foundation.

Liu Shaozhou: Revolutionary nationalism, led by the students, who help the workers and even shopkeepers organize strikes, is making rapid strides in China. The industrial district of Shanghai is the center of the revolutionary movement, and carries on a struggle against both the northern and southern governments. Sun Yat-sen, at first a member of the southern regime, left it on finding himself surrounded by mere military adventurers. A Socialist party, standing for union with Soviet Russia and publishing a daily organ, exists in Shanghai.

The main problem in China, apart from the existence of the ruling class of governors and generals who are selling the country piecemeal to foreign powers, is land hunger, owing to the immense population. There are no large estates, however, and Sun Yat-sen advocates as a remedy the colonization of the border territories.

Pak Chin-sun: Until 1914 the nationalist movement [in Korea]

existed only among the nobility and propertied classes, but it has assumed mass proportions during the last eighteen months. Japanese rule means the development of only commercial capitalism. The north is a country of small holdings, but in the south the majority of the population is of a semilaborer, semirenter type, the latter giving up 70 percent of his produce.

Reed: The Negroes are only one of three groups of oppressed nationalities in the marvelous "democracy" of the United States, the others being the immigrants and the subject nations, like the Filipinos. In spite of the constitution, the ten million Negroes are practically devoid of political rights. In South Carolina, for example, \$35 per student per year is spent in the schools on white children and only \$1 per student on Black. Many trade unions, until quite recently, refused to accept Negroes.

The first impulse—to return to Africa—has not had much success, as the Negroes feel themselves bound up with America. Their competition on the labor market, particularly after the return of four million soldiers from Europe, has provoked many conflicts. But the Negroes are now no longer what they were. About half a million served in the army, and they acquire revolutionary ideas with facility. The IWW has begun work among them.

Rudnyánszky: The experience of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary has produced striking results among the working classes, who previously labored under purely nationalist illusions. In the trans-Danube area, in the mining district at Pecs, 40,000 to 50,000 purely Hungarian workers have, in a series of gigantic meetings, refused to accept the Versailles treaty, which hands them back to White Hungary. They call for admission into Yugoslavia, which stands, from a social point of view, much higher than the Hungary of Admiral Horthy. Similarly, in the agricultural districts of the northwestern Carpathians, a mixed population of Romanian, Slovak, Hungarian, Ruthenian, and Jewish peasants are demanding admission into Czechoslovakia rather than remain under the White Terror. This is entirely the result of the [Hungarian] soviet dictatorship.

Kabakchiev: Bulgarian Communists cannot fight for national self-determination, despite the grip of foreign powers on their country and separation of over one million Bulgarians in Macedonia, Dobruja, and Thrace. It was just this nationalism that led

the Bulgarian people, through two terrible disasters in 1912 and 1918, into its present condition.⁶ The same applies to Serbia and Greece, and the only way out is a Balkan socialist revolution.

In Turkey the situation is different. There a bourgeoisie does not exist, and the country is practically nothing but a colony of the great ruling powers. The dominant classes can therefore genuinely enlist the support of the widest masses of the people against European capitalism, and the international proletariat can and should support the Turkish nationalist movement.

2e. Comments by Lenin on Sultanzadeh's report⁷

1. Disintegration of the propertied exploiting classes;
2. A large part of the population are *peasants* under *medieval exploitation*;
3. *Small* artisans—in industry;
4. Deduction: *adjust* both Soviet institutions and the Communist Party (its membership, special tasks) to the level of the *peasant* countries of the colonial East.

This is the crux of the matter. It is necessary to think about this and to *seek* concrete answers.

2f. Note by Lenin on a proposal by Levi⁸

1. This is formulated in too general terms, as if it applied to *all* peoples. What about Persia today?

I'm sorry, but it is *you* who are falling into "National Bolshevism" by regarding Germany as the *only* nation in the world.⁹

2. And what if *the bourgeoisie* (in Bulgaria, in Germany, in other countries) *initiates* war against Britain, France, or other countries?

What should the workers do?

Boycott?¹⁰ That would be completely wrong. Participate, but defend their independence and utilize the *joint struggle in such a way* as to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

ΣΣ = Either write *only* against *German* National Bolshevism, or write nothing at all.

2g. Revolutionary Ireland and communism¹¹

by Thomas Darragh [Roderic Connolly]

Ireland is of importance to international communism primarily for the following two reasons: (1) its strategic position with regard to England, the seat of British imperialism; (2) the influence of Ireland's political development on the broad masses of its nationals scattered throughout the British Empire and the United States of America.

For the purpose of this report it is necessary to give a brief survey of the Irish labor and socialist movements and the personalities who played and are playing a part in their development. The recent history of the Irish labor movement may be said to start from the coming of Jim Larkin to Ireland in 1907. Up to this time very few of the Irish workers were organized in trade unions, and of these about 75 percent were in Irish branches of English unions. They were mere dues-paying members who exercised little or no effect upon the policy of these unions, whose executive offices were in England.

Larkin, who was identified with the Independent Labour Party of England from its inception, came over as organizer of the English dockers' union, and within a short time of his arrival the first big strike in Ireland took place in Belfast. This strike is noteworthy inasmuch as, along with the dock and transport workers of the city, the police came out on strike. It was marked by much rioting and military activity. Within a few months of the settlement of the Belfast dispute the dockers in Cork went on strike. As a result of the treatment meted out to the Belfast strikers by the executive of the union in England and a continuation of the same policy with regard to the Cork workers, Larkin broke away from the English dockers' union and organized the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union [ITGWU] on the lines of industrial unionism. After a series of fiercely fought strikes the transport workers' union got a permanent foothold in the bigger ports and industrial centers.

[James] Connolly returned from America in 1910 and immediately went to see Larkin, who was in Mountjoy Prison in Dublin. As a result of this meeting Connolly took over the

management of the union during Larkin's imprisonment, and on his release they joined forces. From this time onward they worked together until Larkin went to America to raise funds for the union treasury, which had been completely exhausted by the great Dublin strike of 1913-14.

Connolly had spent his early life in the Social Democratic movement in Britain, particularly in Scotland. He was one of the few intrepid young Marxists who in the early days of the Social Democratic Federation split from the first manifestations of Hyndman's social patriotism and reformism to form the Socialist Labour Party, of which he was the first chairman and organizer. Up to the last he was in constant touch with it and his influence is still felt in this organization, which is one of the few fighting socialist bodies in Britain. In 1896 he returned to Ireland, where he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, the first socialist party in Ireland. He was editor of its official organ, the *Workers' Republic*, by means of which the revolutionary doctrines of the party began to make themselves felt on the Irish working masses. It is noteworthy to record that alone of all other parties, no matter how extreme in nationalism, the Irish Socialist Republican Party was the first to openly advocate the establishment of an Irish republic. The party was small, though active, and contested some few municipal elections, without success.

In 1902 Connolly went to America to raise funds for the party by a lecture tour. The tour completed, he stayed on and was identified with the foundation of the IWW and was for a time an organizer of the American Socialist Labor Party.¹² In 1908 he founded the Irish Socialist Federation in America and was editor of its official organ the *Harp*, which was later transferred to Ireland. In 1910, on his return to Ireland, he published *Labour in Irish History*, the only Marxian interpretation of the history of the development of the Irish proletariat and peasantry.

From 1910 Larkin and Connolly dominated the Irish labor and socialist situation. Their work consisted in organizing the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, educating the masses in the use of the mass strike and the sympathy strike, and transforming the Irish Trades Union Congress into an Irish labor party. So powerful did the transport union become, with

its revolutionary cry for the abolition of the wage system, that in 1913 the Irish bourgeoisie and English capitalist interests in Ireland combined to crush it. This resulted in the Dublin strike and lockout, which lasted for over ten months and was the first great proletarian upheaval in Ireland. The radical section of the British workers rallied to the aid of their Irish comrades, sending money and food into Dublin. But the British labor leaders, true to their position as henchmen of the capitalist class and saboteurs of every revolutionary act of the workers, killed the demand for sympathy actions in Britain, and the Irish workers were forced back to the shops. This proved a Pyrrhic victory for the bourgeoisie, the transport union emerging from the struggle depleted in membership and in funds, but still with its organization intact, and with a bitterness in the minds of the workers that flared into action in 1916.

The outbreak of the World War found the transport union sufficiently recovered to make vigorous protest against the social traitors of British laborism, who, rallying to the defense of the British imperial state, assisted in the doubly brutal coercion of Ireland as a small nationality and the Irish workers as a class. Larkin and Connolly held meetings throughout the country, baring the capitalist-imperialist nature of the conflict, urging the workers to utilize the crisis by every means in their power, and ruthlessly criticizing British laborism. They revealed the essentially bourgeois-imperialist content of the Irish Parliamentary Party, which had hitherto masqueraded as the party of democratic opposition to British imperialism and now supported the war, and the equally bourgeois reactionary tendencies of Sinn Féin, which declared Ireland to be neutral.

Realizing that the difficulties of British imperialism must necessarily be the opportunity of the Irish proletariat, they set about the development of the Irish Citizen Army, extending its scope, arming its members, and intensifying the military nature of its organization. In order to raise funds, Larkin went to America. He was exiled as soon as the British government found he was out of the country. Connolly took full charge of both the union and the Citizen Army and carried on the work alone. From now until Easter 1916, the Irish Citizen Army dominated Irish labor politics.

The Irish Citizen Army

The Irish Citizen Army was founded in Cork in 1908. Its purpose was to protect the strikers from the brutality of the police. Beyond this it was little heard of and of no particular importance until the latter end of 1913, when it figured in several riots arising out of the Dublin strike. With the outbreak of the World War, serious attention was paid to its organization, military instructors were obtained, and the systematic arming of its members was begun. The first military instructor was Captain White, son of British Field Marshal Sir George White. Captain White was identified with the Dublin strike and subsequently, in 1916, was arrested in South Wales for attempting to bring the miners out on strike to prevent Connolly's execution.

As commandant, Connolly surrounded himself with a socialist staff, the chief of whom was Michael Mallin, a silk weaver executed by the British in 1916. National-revolutionary ferment developing rapidly all over the country was met by British military suppression, which resulted in the establishment of military staff cooperation between the Irish Volunteers (the nationalist republican armed forces) and the Irish Citizen Army. This was on the initiative of the Citizen Army, which dominated the alliance until the 1916 rebellion. British activity in suppressing all revolutionary papers resulted in Connolly's paper, the *Workers' Republic*, being published under an armed guard of the Citizen Army, which also provided a guard for Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the transport union. This condition of affairs lasted for about three months, the last number of the *Workers' Republic* being issued two days before the rebellion.

The army was designed along proletarian lines. The commandant, staff officers, and ordinary officers were elected by the soldiers. There was also a governing committee consisting of equal representatives of the officers and the men. Its activities were confined to the neighborhood of Dublin city. It was of first-rate efficiency, outmatching in many competitions the rival Irish Volunteers, holding on several occasions demonstrations of actual street fighting. Its well-trained officers, especially the commandant, lectured and instructed the Irish Volunteers, particularly in street fighting. The Irish Citizen Army, being drawn from the proletariat, had within its ranks many men who

through economic necessity had served in the British army.

It was the Citizen Army that set the pace in the months preceding the rebellion. Despite the usual wavering of the middle-class leaders of the Irish Volunteers, when faced with the actual crisis, the iron determination of the Citizen Army and its leader forced the participation of the Volunteers in the uprising. The immediate cause of the failure of the revolutionary forces was that at the eleventh hour the timid, right-wing bourgeois leaders countermanded the order to mobilize Irish republican troops throughout the country. These leaders had always opposed Connolly and the cooperation of the Irish Volunteers with the Citizen Army. Nevertheless, 1,000 raw republican troops defended the captured capital against 47,000 disciplined and modernly equipped British soldiers. A victorious onslaught on Dublin from the north took place, and there were several attempts at uprisings in the west of Ireland.

In the rising, the Citizen Army, as a unit of the republican forces, attacked and seized Dublin Castle, the executive headquarters of the British government in Ireland, as well as holding several strategic positions throughout the city. Connolly was commander in chief of all the fighting forces of the republic during the rising. After the surrender, Connolly, who had been severely wounded during the fighting, and Michael Mallin, chief of staff of the Citizen Army, were executed along with several of the left-wing nationalist leaders, while the majority of the remainder of the prominent proletarian leaders were killed during or after the fighting. An overwhelmingly greater percentage of the Citizen Army than of the Irish Volunteers participated in the fighting. As a result, during the arrests that followed, the Irish Citizen Army was practically destroyed as an organization, while the Irish Volunteers was able to preserve its organization intact throughout the greater portion of the country, where no fighting had occurred.¹³

On its reorganization after the release of all prisoners in December 1917, the Irish Citizen Army retained its proletarian basis. But the situation was now dominated by the Irish Volunteers. All the leaders of the Citizen Army had been killed. The Citizen Army therefore weakened steadily and is not now an effective influence on Irish political life. It must be remembered that the Citizen Army is not a communist organization,

though it is hostile to the present Social Democratic tendencies of the Socialist Party of Ireland. The Citizen Army cooperated with it only once, when, despite the military, it forced the holding of a meeting in favor of the Russian Bolshevik revolution.

The Irish Citizen Army's program is the establishment by force of arms of a workers' republic in Ireland, though the form and structure of such a republic are not consciously understood by the majority of its members.

Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers

In order properly to understand Sinn Féin it is necessary to deal with its political predecessor, the Irish Parliamentary Party. This party dominated Irish national politics for well over forty years. Its aim was to secure home rule for Ireland within the British Empire by constitutional means. Out of a total of 104 Irish members in the British Parliament, the Irish Parliamentary Party numbered about 80, the remainder being mostly Unionists returned from the Protestant constituencies of northeast Ulster, who stand on the anti-home rule platform and are a wing of the English Tory Party.

Under the leadership of Parnell, the Irish Parliamentary Party pursued a policy of obstruction in the British Parliament. It maintained its independence by refusing to ally itself with any British party, throwing its weight now to this side and now to that. This policy led to its gradually compromising, until finally it became the tail of the English Liberal Party. Though still protesting its independence in Ireland, this attachment to the Liberal Party caused it to become identified with English imperial politics, thus relinquishing its so-called democratic opposition to English imperialism. The final expression of this position was its opposition to the Boer War of 1899-1902.

While this party was losing its hold on the national-revolutionary mind of the people a new national policy, in the form of Sinn Féin, made its first appearance. A pamphlet called *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland* began to attract attention. In this work Arthur Griffith, an independent bourgeois journalist, traced Hungary's fight for political independence against Austria, and advocated the adoption in Ireland of the tactics employed by the Hungarian nationalists. He

sketched a program, subsequently amplified as his party's power increased after 1916. Its most salient points were (a) the election of members through the English electoral system pledged to abstention from the British Parliament; (b) the actual setting up of an Irish parliament or general council; (c) refusal to pay taxes to the English imperial exchequer; (d) establishment of a policy of protection, especially against England; (e) the encouragement of Irish industries; (f) the building up of an Irish consular service; and (g) the general encouragement of all Irish national movements, such as the Gaelic League, the organization of the Irish-language revival movement, the Gaelic Athletic Association for the revival of old Irish sports and games, the Irish literary and dramatic renaissance, and the Irish Boy Scouts (Fianna), organized in opposition to the English military Baden-Powell Boy Scouts.

Sinn Féin was a party designed to use political and extraparlimentary action, but it did not advocate the use of arms for the accomplishment of its object, nor did it aim at the establishment of an Irish republic. It remained true to the Hungarian parallel and urged the establishment of an Irish parliament that should be united to the British Parliament only in the person of the British monarch, who would also be king of Ireland, thus ratifying the decrees of both parliaments. In fact in the first decade of the twentieth century no party except the Irish Socialist Republican Party openly advocated an Irish republic.

For many years, even up to the rebellion, despite the waning popularity and political bankruptcy of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sinn Féin made little headway, existing rather as a critic of the Irish Parliamentary Party than as a definite political party. In its economic doctrine it followed the obsolete bourgeois economist Friedrich List, and its pronouncements on economic questions were reactionary in the extreme. In 1913 it assumed an attitude of hostility to the Dublin strike.

From the outbreak of the war to the rebellion, Sinn Féin assumed a more revolutionary role, being largely influenced by the Irish Volunteers movement, which, rather than Sinn Féin itself, was the dominant national force in Irish politics. Though Sinn Féin played no actual active part in the struggle, after the rebellion it shed the more reactionary portions of its doctrines

and harmonized its program with the now-popular demand for an Irish republic, assuming the position of the political leader of the Irish people. It leaped from success to success until, in the 1918 parliamentary elections, it swept the country. Following this it set up its own parliament, *Dáil Éireann*, and attempted to form ministries and assume the government of the country. It was immediately declared illegal. Since then it functions whenever possible, though most of its members and prominent officials are being continually imprisoned in English jails from which they escape by hunger-striking, jail deliveries [escapes], and other means.

With the increasing oppression of English militarism, *Sinn Féin* is coming more and more under the dominance of the Irish Volunteers, so that now it is actually the Volunteers that implement *Sinn Féin*'s political and economic principles using armed force. They raid and destroy British revenue offices and police stations, set up justice committees to try criminals and settle land ownership disputes, and so forth. In the recent elections *Sinn Féin* captured the majority of the municipalities and rural councils, its nearest competitor being the Irish Labour Party, which cooperates with it in the local government of the country. The whole policy of *Sinn Féin* is to make British governance impossible in Ireland, and at the same time to establish as many of its own institutions as possible, so that it may step in and function as the government of the country.

In its outward form, the Irish Volunteers is a purely military organization with a general staff and officers elected by the rank and file. Many of its officials are members of the *Sinn Féin* parliament and form the link between the two organizations. Through these officials the Irish Volunteers guides *Sinn Féin*'s activities as well. Its program originally consisted in the establishment of an Irish republic by force of arms. Now the idea of a republic has crystallized and is well maintained by the united efforts of the Volunteers and *Sinn Féin*. Its membership consists mostly of proletarians and the peasantry, though on the average mostly officered by the younger members of the petty bourgeoisie and farmers. The majority of the rank and file look upon the establishment of the Irish republic as of the first importance and are inclined to subordinate the solution of social problems to the successful accomplishment of this aim. The allegiance of

the rural members to this ideology is being somewhat undermined by their being now mostly organized in the ITGWU. The consequent spark of class consciousness derived from this and the increasing economic difficulties force them into opposition to the farmer-class members of the Irish Volunteers. On the whole there are but few socialists within their ranks, but many sympathizers and admirers of Connolly and the idea of a workers' republic.

Owing to the constant national-revolutionary ferment that dominates the activity of all classes of the population and the almost universal opposition to England, which throws otherwise antagonistic classes into spasmodic cooperation, it is difficult to actually determine of what classes the various organizations are the political expression. Roughly speaking, Sinn Féin is controlled in the rural districts by the small farmers and petty peasantry or tenant farmers, in the towns by the small shopkeepers and middlemen, and in the cities by the smaller manufacturers, merchants, and bourgeois intellectuals. There are practically no big landowners or even moderately big capitalists in this movement, this class in Ireland being economically dependent upon English capitalism and having as its political expression the English Tory and Liberal parties.

The conglomeration of classes comprising Sinn Féin necessarily causes antagonism to develop within the party. As long as the cooperation of these classes and the working masses continues—and such cooperation is unavoidable if political independence is really to be achieved—the Sinn Féin movement will be unable to formulate any definite socioeconomic program. Its aim being political independence, it finds it necessary to draw all classes of the population to it to accomplish this object. To preserve the cooperation of the classes, it dare not issue any *definite* political and economic program. Instead it has issued a so-called democratic program, breathing all the false glittering generalities of bourgeois democracy—the will of the sovereign people, the ownership of the land and resources of the country by and in the interests of the whole people, the equality of all citizens, and so forth. But it reveals its essential class content by promising international regulation of the conditions under which the *working class* will live. The ideology of the two allied movements, Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers, is similar to that

of any small nationality. Finally the hope of Sinn Féin is the development of the already existing antagonism between America and England, and the tendency is to rely more and more on American capitalism and to become subservient to its interests.

The Irish labor movement

The Irish labor movement is composed of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, local or national craft unions, and branches of the big English trade unions, such as the National Union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. It functions nationally through the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, and locally through trades councils composed of representatives of the various unions in the district. By far the most powerful body is the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which now numbers 120,000 members. It was originally organized on the lines of industrial unionism, and though small in numbers and restricted to the larger towns, it wielded with tremendous efficiency and success the weapons of the mass and the sympathy strikes, at the same time carrying on an almost incessant revolutionary propaganda campaign.

Since the rebellion, with the loss to the union of its two leading figures and the indiscriminate increase of its membership, its revolutionary outlook has deteriorated, until now it has become a federation of unskilled workers with a large sprinkling of craft unions and with bureaucratic and strong centralization tendencies. It is not a craft union, but neither has it kept abreast of the later developments of industrial unionism, consequently tending to become an unwieldy and ineffective weapon for the proletariat either against alien imperialism or native capitalism.

The larger portion of its membership at the present time consists of the poorer peasantry and agricultural laborers, who are not in close sympathy and whose activities are not in coordination with those of the industrial proletariat. It should not be forgotten, however, that the organization of the rural proletariat has been a tremendous accomplishment, and has imbued them with a certain amount of class consciousness. On account of the form of the organization and the failure of the ITGWU to sufficiently educate these rural workers as to their class position,

it has been demonstrated that this is not the organization to bridge the gulf between the agricultural and industrial proletariat.

The general condition of Irish life being nationalistically revolutionary, the ITGWU, in common with the craft unions, has a much stronger fighting spirit than its English prototypes. In alliance with the nationalists, the Irish labor movement defeated conscription in 1918; on May 1, 1919, it stopped industry throughout the greater portion of the country; and only recently, again in alliance with the nationalists, by a two-day general strike it forced the British government to release more than one hundred political prisoners who were on hunger strike. In the majority of these cases, however, the general sentiment of the people practically forces the labor movement to take action, and the strike is carried out by unionists and nonunionists alike.

It is only comparatively recently that the ITGWU has entered the political arena as a dominant force, and its successes in the late municipal elections have only strengthened its tendency toward reaction. The Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, acting through its local trades councils, emerged from the municipal elections as the second party in numerical strength, and of the labor members elected, the ITGWU secured an overwhelming majority. This solidifies the domination of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress by the ITGWU, which gave them their present form and program. Despite the insistence of the Labour Party that this program was constructed by Connolly and must therefore be revolutionary, it refuses to understand that such a program was designed for use by the proletariat in a pre-world revolutionary period.

The attempt of the ITGWU, under the slogan of One Big Union, to absorb the craft unions has led to the development of antagonisms within the Labour Party. The craft unions object to such absorption primarily because of their craft ideology. They also claim that the transport union does not represent industrial unionism, but the growth of a federation that is tending to bring the whole labor movement under a bureaucracy. The craft unions in Ireland are small and constantly dwindling. They are of little political importance with the exception of one or two big branches of English unions, the tendency of which is to break away from the parent bodies and form national unions. A

large section of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has already done so recently.

The transport union publishes the only labor paper in Ireland, the *Watchword of Labour*, a weekly with a circulation of about ten thousand. It shares the common fate of all nationalist and rebel papers in Ireland—continual suppression by the government. This paper, while claiming to be the successor of Connolly's revolutionary *Workers' Republic*, in fact constantly emasculates his application of revolutionary Marxism to Ireland in much the same manner as Kautsky emasculates the general principles of Marxism. It voices or represents the views of the dominant section of the ITGWU, the Irish Labour Party, and the Socialist Party of Ireland.

Internationally the Irish labor movement is affiliated to the Yellow International, the delegates from Ireland being Cathal O'Shannon, the editor of the *Watchword of Labour*, executive member of the Irish Labour Party, and at present president of the Socialist Party of Ireland; Thomas Johnston, treasurer of the Irish Labour Party; William O'Brien, secretary of the Irish Labour Party, treasurer of the ITGWU, and one of the biggest forces in the Irish labor movement; and another Irish Labour Party executive member; together with [James J.] Hughes, assistant secretary of the ITGWU, who represented the Socialist Party of Ireland. O'Shannon and Johnson, who were equipped with supplementary mandates from the Irish Socialist Party, were the only two to reach Bern. They signed the Adler-Longuet resolution and generally adopted the policy of that wing of the conference.¹⁴

The Socialist Party of Ireland, which was founded in 1896, underwent many changes of program and name, until now it is a very small and ineffective party with no bearing upon national politics. The same personalities who dominate the Irish Labour Party and the ITGWU influence and direct its policy and tactics. For one brief spell it was captured by the left wing, which during its brief term of power, against the violent opposition of the rest of the party, succeeded in introducing a few revolutionary conceptions into its long-established program, ordered the revocation of the affiliation to Bern and secured a majority vote in favor of the Third International, and held a meeting in Dublin on the last anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Before it had

time to consolidate its forces it lost power; consequently its orders regarding the Internationals were never put into force. It is now a party numbering scarcely 150 members in Dublin, about 30 of whom may be considered effective members, and a few hundred members throughout the country, badly organized and having no direct connection with each other or the Dublin headquarters. It is very inactive, has no paper and but a few pamphlets by its own members, none of which deal with the problems facing the Irish proletariat.

A force that will undoubtedly play an important part in the revolutionary development of Ireland is the cooperative movement, led by George Russell. There are several well-organized branches of this movement, which now form a considerable part of the economy of the country and may readily be utilized by the proletarian state for the solution of such immediate problems as that of food distribution during the first period of the proletarian dictatorship. Communists will be chiefly interested in cooperative production on the land by the poor peasantry. This movement, which tends even now to destroy the ideology of small private property ownership among the land-hungry poorer peasantry, is of paramount importance to Communists. For it actively tends to the solution of one of the most important and difficult problems of the proletarian state by initiating the organization of the poorer peasantry on the basis of large-scale cooperative production, thus mentally harmonizing the two sections of the working class and making certain the unity of the industrial proletariat and peasantry under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Ulster, or more properly the northeast corner of Ireland, is the big manufacturing and industrial center. Industrially it bears a greater resemblance than any other part of the country to the highly industrialized portions of England and Scotland. It is dominated by the only big capitalists in the country, who are closely allied with the British bourgeoisie. Economically the workers are organized in branches of English trade unions, and politically the vast majority adhere to the Unionist Party, the party of extreme opposition to Sinn Féin and any form of Irish nationalism. One of the main factors, though steadily declining of late years, is its religious antagonism to the rest of the country.

In many respects the problems of the Communists are much

easier here, it being possible to rally the proletariat to their banner on the straight issue of the capitalist state versus the proletarian state. The lack of any nationalist republican feeling on the part of the majority of the proletariat renders them hostile to the establishment of an Irish bourgeois republic. With the exception of the antinationalist feeling, which is partly the outcome of religious bigotry, Ulster presents a problem similar to that presented by any large industrial center, and for this reason may become one of the chief centers of the proletarian struggle against an Irish bourgeois state.

We have attempted here to show the major factors and tendencies in modern Ireland that must be grasped to form an opinion on Ireland's general situation. We make no claim to have delivered a complete report. The present events in Ireland have the character of an uninterrupted guerrilla war between the imperialists and nationalists, the latter enjoying the support of the Irish labor movement.

Conditions for admission

3a. Minutes and notes of commission meetings¹

MINUTES OF THE SESSION OF JULY 25, 1920

Sunday, July 25

Convened: 5:00 p.m.

Chairman: Meyer (Germany)

Members of the commission: Maksimov (Bulgaria), Steinhardt (Austria), Sadoul (France), Humbert-Droz (Switzerland), Wijnkoop (Netherlands), Rákosi (Hungary), Zinoviev, Sokolnikov (Russia), Fraina (U.S.), Connolly (Ireland).

Invited with consultative vote: Cachin and Frossard (France), Crispien, Däumig, Stoecker, and Dittmann (Germany, USPD).

General discussion is opened on the theses put forward by the Executive Committee.

Crispien: I am in basic agreement with the proposed theses on admission. Only a few specific points, like the question of the party name, need to be taken up in the discussion of the different theses.

Dittmann: I am likewise in overall agreement with the proposed theses. At its last congress in Leipzig the Independent party took a clear stand in favor of the theses and general principles of the Third International. We would like to direct the discussion to one point, however. If these theses are adopted in their present form, our party will lose its legal character, and we believe we must avail ourselves in our activity of all legal means in order to draw in and educate the masses. We know that in practice legal means are not enough. We have seen that the general strike will not suffice to take power, that an armed uprising is necessary. But if we openly affirm this in the theses, our party will cease to be a legal party.

Zinoviev: Dittmann is wrong to think that the theses will alter

the character of the USPD. In Finland too an Independent Social Democratic party was founded, which had a legal existence up to the moment it declared its adherence to the Third International.² At that moment the police moved in and broke up the congress. The mere fact of joining the Third International is enough to call forth repressive measures from the capitalist governments. In the eyes of capitalist governments it is enough for the Independents to call for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet form of government.

Radek: I do not believe that the Central Committee of the USPD can deal directly with illegal work and propaganda in the army. This work must be assigned to illegal organizations responsible to the party. In Germany the political situation is such that the leaders of the Independents can be executed at any moment without trial. The discussion must go deeper. We have to examine the party's policies.

Dittmann: Radek is in error to hold that the leaders of the Independents can be executed at any time without trial. The parties of the right, Helfferich especially, have labored in vain to have us declared outside the law,³ so as to legalize all manner of persecution. We maintain that we must exercise our legality to the utmost. We have more than fifty daily papers. This press is a means of propaganda and revolutionary action that we must hold on to and that will be lost to us in illegality. Our press has already been repressed once, and we know how hard that makes our work.⁴ The Communists know from experience how difficult propaganda is for a party when it is illegal. Thus it seems to us necessary to use all possible legal means.

Another question is centralization. I personally have favored strong centralization for a long time, even in the old Social Democracy. But the experience of bureaucratic Social Democracy is precisely what has repelled a large body of revolutionary workers from centralization. This is an understandable reaction against the centralist bureaucratization of the old Social Democracy. So we come up against a tendency that is hostile to the centralization of the party. The [1917] Gotha congress, for example, opposed the central leadership having control over the press. It will take a certain period of time before this attitude can be overcome.

The leaders of the Independents are happy to find support in

the Third International for their efforts to carry through centralization.

Crispien: My remarks at the beginning of the debate require some elaboration. Four points in the theses seem to me to be important:

1. The organization of the International. We agree with the statement that the International cannot be a federation of autonomous national sections, as the Second International was. We too want a strongly centralized organization that supervises the sections and guides the general line of the International. An international assessment for every member should be initiated alongside the national dues.

2. Centralization. Our party is basing itself more and more on centralization and will definitely fulfill this condition.

3. The party program as well is already an accomplished fact for us. The decisions at Leipzig have aligned us with the basic principles, and now we have only to bring our program into line with the theses proposed to the congress.

4. Means. We live in the period of the struggle for power. Our movement must hold on to its legal character; the masses would not understand an illegal party. We cannot take a public stand for the arming of the proletariat. This must happen, but alongside the legal organization. Russia also has a legal movement, the soviets, that deal with governments in an official capacity, and an illegal movement, the Communist Party. A purely illegal organization is out of the question for us.⁵ We want to make use of all means of struggle, but we cannot declare it openly and publicly.

Meyer: It is important to go deeper beneath the surface. The theses call for the expulsion of centrist elements. I am very skeptical about the USPD leaders' assurances that their party's conduct is already in accord with the theses. The attitude the USPD has adopted in the past toward Soviet Russia and the Third International is not a satisfactory assurance for the future. How the USPD intends to work closely with the Third International must also be determined. Until now the only thing mentioned has been an international [financial] assessment. For the USPD leaders, party unity appears to be the most important question, and they fear that the theses will threaten their unity. The break with the spirit of the Second International is not

complete. You see this in the fear expressed of government persecution. The USPD has little experience in illegal work.

Ströbel, Kautsky, Hilferding—all anticommunists—are still in the USPD. It is quite true that many workers in the USPD took part in revolutionary battles. But the leaders have not gotten there yet. The relations between the USPD and the KPD must also be discussed.

Zinoviev: It is certainly important for a revolutionary party to have fifty newspapers. But the number of papers is not the most important thing. The experience of the Bolsheviks proves this. They were not afraid of their paper being suppressed. This happened frequently but it always rose anew and emerged victorious and stronger from the battle. What is important in the revolutionary period is not maintaining the press but spreading the ideas. Often the banning of a newspaper can do more to spread ideas than the newspaper itself, especially if it is a paper like *Freiheit*. The right wing of the USPD has not acted in the spirit of the proposed theses.

It is true that we are entering a new era in which we can set aside the past. We are revolutionaries and not bureaucrats. With this Second Congress a new period is opening. We have to break with Hilferding as long as he is what he is. Under his direction *Freiheit* is not a revolutionary publication. If the questions posed do not allow us to open up a new period now we will wait a month. We would rather wait than leave these questions undecided. We do not want to draw up a list of all those who should be expelled; we want a new orientation, a new policy, new tactics. If that is not possible we will wait. In Italy we demand the expulsion of Turati and company. We say the same to the Swedish and Yugoslav parties. We have to cut ourselves loose from the deadweight of the right wing in these parties. We want a centralized International ready for revolutionary action. If the congress proves to us that this is impossible now, the alternative will be an International of propaganda.

Humbert-Droz: Up to now we have debated only the special case of the USPD. This case can be handled most easily of all, because the USPD adopted a program in Leipzig that accepts the general principles of the Third International. But there are other parties that have left the Second International and want to join the Third International: the French party, the English Inde-

pendent Labour Party, the Swiss party, the American party, and others. To meet the danger of being overrun by centrist elements, the true continuators of the spirit of the Second International, the conditions for admission have to be made sharper and the theses more decisive.

The main point for me is to demand of the parties that want to join that they completely abandon any idea of restoring the [old] International to encompass the Third International or exist side by side with it. The USPD and the French party, on the other hand, who are talking here about joining, have still not given up their negotiations with the thoroughly centrist parties, for example with the leadership of the Swiss party. While Cachin and Frossard were here, Paul Faure, Böhm from the USPD, and the Swiss party leadership were in Bern discussing the restoration of the International, with or without the Third International.⁶ At the National Council meeting of the French party that discussed the participation of Cachin and Frossard at the Moscow conference, Mayéras stated quite openly that the party ought not to orient itself to Moscow, but that the Third International should be allowed to restore the International. His resolution was adopted by a large majority.⁷ A rejection of this quest for restoration seems to me to be the first condition for negotiations on affiliation.

Many centrist elements, such as the American Socialist Party and the right wing of the Swiss Socialist party, want to join the Communist International in order to transform it from within and corrupt it. We have to be more vigilant than ever before, testing the sincerity of this affiliation and preventing these opportunist elements from getting in.

Crispien: The USPD has conducted itself in such a fashion that it can stand shoulder to shoulder with the other revolutionary parties. Our party has developed more and more to the left. It has unloaded its right-wingers: Bernstein has left; Kautsky has no influence and no longer plays a role in the party. It cannot be said that Kautsky and Ströbel constitute a right wing. They stand alone and isolated. The party must apply revolutionary principles, and those who cannot agree may leave.

Our party has always guided and led revolutionary struggles. During the Kapp putsch we conducted ourselves no differently than the KPD. At the start of the struggle the KPD hesitated

more than we did, and we had the truly revolutionary policy. The KPD Central Bureau conducted negotiations with the government together with us. We worked together and we agreed on numerous points. We could not replace the unions in this struggle; we could not do without them—but we fought everywhere. We always supported the Russian Soviet Republic.

Hilferding cannot be placed in the same category as Kautsky. Already before the war his writings acknowledged the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are ready to put out illegal leaflets when our press is banned. *Freiheit* is not the central organ of the party but the paper of the Berlin district.

We wanted to discuss the conditions for admission before joining. We never wanted to form a fourth International. When we wanted to speak with the other parties it was only about going to Moscow, and we pushed them forward along this road. But we have been ill-used by the Third International, and before our entry we wanted to negotiate so that we would be respected. We did not want to do as the Italians have done. They entered the Third International but today they have to purge their party. We want to negotiate before joining.

Scheflo: There is also a Norwegian question. Our party numbers 110,000 members in a population of 2.5 million, but these 110,000 are not communists. Our party is composed of unions, youth organizations, and various clubs. It has fifteen dailies, all completely under the control of communists. The party's great majority is communist, but about 10 percent is antisocialist and Social Christian. We cannot expel them, however, because they are organized in the unions. The youth and the political clubs are the real political strength of the party. Sweden has to get rid of Lindhagen so we can clean house in Norway.

Radek: Listening to Crispian gave me an odd feeling. Behind him you can make out Hilferding, Ströbel, and others. Is Däumig in agreement with the policies of the congress? At the Leipzig congress Ledebour made statements on Soviet Russia and the civil war that are unacceptable.

No party can overcome its past without recognizing its errors. And the Independent party has made many errors. A political line that favors the Americans and the British, the coquetry with Wilson that was in vogue for a while, the entire international

political line right up to the Spa conference⁸—these are not communist. In the unions Dissmann pursues a purely reformist line, yet he belongs to your left wing. True, the political line of a party is determined by the masses, but the party apparatus can, for a time, corrupt the best politics of the best masses. Such is the apparatus of the USPD. Sixty percent of your parliamentary fraction is actually hostile to revolutionary struggle. Quite often Hilferding writes in *Freiheit* in Kautsky's spirit. Granted, the worker base of the party is revolutionary, but the party tops are a layer of members that carry out a counterrevolutionary line. What measures will be taken against the minority when it rejects the conditions of the Third International at the next congress? You cannot retain a minority that rejects the Third International. The question is very important. Every party has its right wing, but yours is especially strong and influential. What are you going to do about it?

Meyer: The right in the USPD is not so uninfluential as Crispien says. We have to know how the USPD is going to handle this right wing. In practice the left wing has less influence. Its attitude is characterized by silence, a silence observed by its representatives here in the commission, Däumig and Stoecker, who certainly do not agree with the remarks of Crispien and Dittmann.

Cachin: I want first to address the questions raised by Humbert-Droz on the restoration of the International. Paul Faure, with his trip to Switzerland, was only carrying out the decision of the Strasbourg party congress. We are delegated to come here to ascertain the conditions for admission. In the event that the Third International should decline the proposal that will subsequently be made by the French party, we have to know what attitude we should take. We have to take a look at the other parties that have left the Second International. Paul Faure did no more than this when he traveled to Switzerland. We do not contemplate a reconstruction. The very concept and word are absurd. We do not want to reconstruct anything outside of the Third International. So much for the principled aspect of the question.

We have received and examined the theses and conditions. We understand that we are being subjected to a critique that is fully justified. We were guided above all by the idea of party

unity. You will agree that in a party such as ours, with a left, a center, and a right, its policies cannot be as rigid as those of other parties. We were bound to party unity by the [1904] Amsterdam resolution and the memory of Comrade Jaurès, who embodied party unity in France. During our stay here we have read and seen a great deal. Driven forward by ever more serious circumstances, we sense and understand that we must of necessity make a radical break with our present policies. We have to start fresh and elucidate the principles of socialism in an understandable form for all to see. On our return to France we will propose such a radical break and the beginning of a new policy. That much is clear.

We have had our errors and weaknesses. We feel that we have to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and that we have to prepare for ever more serious battles leading up to the social revolution. We were delegated to make an informational trip; on our return we will step down as editor of the paper and party secretary, in order to work toward this new plan. We will distribute the documents of the Communist International widely. We will demand the speedy convocation of an extraordinary party congress. At the congress we will defend the theses of the Third International openly, for all to see.

As to the theses themselves we can say that we have no reservations about the four theses of Comrade Lenin. An article of Trotsky's posed four questions to which we will now respond:⁹

1. Defense of the fatherland. French militarism is so imperialistic and hateful that it must be the party's duty to reject war credits in peace as in war. We cannot possibly vote for any kind of war credits under any circumstances whatsoever. We will always place class interests above national interests.

2. Can we keep members in our ranks who work for the League of Nations?¹⁰ We think these comrades have to choose. The new statutes must contain a ban on editing a nonsocialist paper, and the parliamentary fraction must be brought under control.

3. Are we ready to support the efforts of the colonies to liberate themselves? We did not wait for this call. A special envoy of the party is right now on the scene in North Africa, working together with the natives for their liberation.¹¹

4. The opposition within the French unions will be very hard

for us to overcome.¹² An enormous gulf divides the unions from the party. Prejudices have to be overcome. The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) was founded by anarchists, and the anti-Marxist currents within it are still strong. If political party activists want to join the fight against opportunism they will encounter big difficulties.

Frossard (interrupting): The minority in the unions is not united. It includes in its ranks oppositionists of my tendency, communists like Monatte and Rosmer, and anarchists as well. Collaboration with the anarchists will be impossible. We can collaborate with the communist syndicalists if they sincerely accept the Moscow theses on the necessity of the Communist Party and make an effort to understand them. We are ready to lead the fight against reformism together with the syndicalist minority in the political as well as the union arena.

Cachin: As for Zinoviev's theses,¹³ we accept them as a whole. One point that appears difficult to us is propaganda in the army. This entails major practical difficulties. The army is not in France but on the Rhine and in the hands of the officers.¹⁴ Propaganda can be carried out through the youth, in the press, and from parliament. Immediately on our return to France we will set up illegal organizations to conduct propaganda in the army. We admit that propaganda for an armed uprising has not been carried out so far, and we consider it urgent to do so. You will see what we do. We ask you not to take our word but to wait and judge us by our deeds. We will work with all our strength for the party's affiliation to the Third International. We personally have already taken our decision and made our choice.

Zinoviev: I do not have much to say on the statements of the French comrades. They say they want to break with the old line. Now we will wait to see the success and fruit of their propaganda. As for the USPD, its errors are greater than those of the Communist Party because it holds influence over the mass of workers and wields more power. Despite the USPD's wide influence, especially in Berlin, Legien was nevertheless able to negotiate in the name of the workers.¹⁵ The USPD dawdled, it did not act, although Berlin, where they are dominant, was the center of the struggle. We demand a break with this old system. Disssmann likewise carries out a counterrevolutionary policy among the metalworkers.

In Norway we cannot accept a situation where 10 percent of the party is antisocialist. In Sweden, also, something has to be done about the situation. In Yugoslavia and Switzerland the left wing is likewise made up not just of communists. We have to part company with all these people. Today the Communist International is in vogue. The Bulgarians (*unintelligible*), but it is necessary to separate ourselves from the right wing in every party.

Dittmann: The French delegates have told us what they intend to do. They are in a better situation than we are because they were able to speak with the Executive Committee before the congress. We can speak on the questions posed to us only insofar as they relate to our minority. If a German makes a promise he keeps his word, and we do not want to make any promise we cannot keep. The theses pose the question of the illegality of our party, and they will be discussed. The experience of the KPD is no encouragement to us along this road, but we do not want to get into all the small matters separating us from the KPD in daily struggle.

It is a comfort to me to hear that all parties have their faults even though they joined the International. Until now, however, those of the Communist Party of Russia have not been mentioned. The Bolsheviks also made compromises forced on them by the struggle. We understand that. But they must understand our compromises. Trotsky is wasting his time in literary assaults against Kautsky, whose influence is nil and whose book is unread.¹⁶ Our party did its revolutionary duty in the Kapp putsch. In the Rhineland, in Westphalia, in Saxony, it came to the point of an armed uprising. If you want to expel Dissmann, the working class will not follow you. The difficulties of our affiliation would grow larger and you would have to bear the responsibility. We truly wish for the German proletariat to be in closer contact with the Russian proletariat.

(*Crispien makes some personal remarks to prove his revolutionary past.*)

Däumig: The next USPD party congress has to determine precisely what it understands by the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must also prepare the proletariat for revolutionary action. (*He gives a historical retrospective of the Social Democracy and the USPD, which since January 1918, he affirms, has been the instrument*

of the German revolution.)¹⁷ The centralized bureaucracy still holds sway in the unions. When we affirm that the unions must be revolutionized, we understand it is more than just a change of personnel. Legien still has the whole union army behind him. In Berlin the Independents who are union functionaries can neither leave the union bureaucracy nor destroy it. There are definitely several tendencies in our party, but nothing is so harmful to the German and to the world revolution, in my opinion, as the splintering and division of the German working class.

We will place the theses adopted by the congress before our party for discussion as quickly as possible, with the goal that the party in its entirety join the Third International. We want revolutionary centralization. We believe it is impossible to get good results by posting an expulsion list. We do not want to say that so-and-so is excluded or expelled. We want to make life in our party impossible for them through our principled decisions and our action.

Trotsky: I am not satisfied with the response Cachin gave to my first question, on defense of the fatherland. This question is key and it must be answered so there is no misunderstanding. Putting class above nation is not enough. *Le Temps*, the paper of the French financial bourgeoisie, endlessly repeats that patriotism is the only rampart that can be erected against Bolshevism—patriotism of the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Finns, and above all the French. In France no progress can be made on the road to revolution unless an open and unambiguous fight is waged against patriotism and defense of the fatherland. Patriotism and defense of the fatherland must be denounced before the working class as lies. We have to fearlessly proclaim in all our propaganda that we combat patriotism, we sabotage the defense of the fatherland. Longuet is a hard-bitten patriot despite the affected phraseology he substitutes for nation and fatherland. This conception of nation must also be combated. In recent strikes the French union federation raised the slogan of nationalization, a thoroughly obscure slogan. They speak of nationalization in order to keep quiet about the social revolution. The socialists have to have the courage to counterpose the social revolution to nationalization and therefore must fight against defense of the fatherland and patriotism.

Cachin: I agree.

Trotsky: Dittmann's speech is very pretty rhetoric, but in reality a gulf stands between us. Dittmann charges us with getting literary and writing against Kautsky. I remind him, by the way, that, aside from our literary activity, we had something more urgent to do. The proof that the polemic against Kautsky was not useless is that Dittmann himself, while claiming not to have read Kautsky (Kautsky is losing influence), puts forward all the arguments of this same Kautsky who also accuses us of opportunism. It would be interesting to have a thorough discussion of this. If you are serious about the theses proposed to you here, then we do not need to propose an expulsion list. You would find for yourselves those you have to drive away. The KPD is no doubt a small party, but it is an advance that there is a center around which revolutionary forces in Germany can be assembled. The same was true of the Bolsheviks in Russia. In Germany the bureaucracy is the greatest counterrevolutionary force.

When Dittmann says a German keeps his word, I do not follow him. You are comrades here, not Germans. You are forgetting, by the way, that Bethmann-Hollweg was also a German.¹⁸ How many pledges did the German Social Democracy make in Basel in 1912? How can you say, after the bankruptcy of the Social Democracy, after its betrayal, that Germans keep their word? The Independents, at the beginning of the revolution, turned down peace with Soviet Russia. Haase, Kautsky, and Dittmann, who took part in the previous government, rejected an alliance with Russia.

Dittmann: That is a lie!

Radek: We will present the evidence for examination.¹⁹

Trotsky: Now Scheidemann is in the opposition and is orienting to the left. The convergence between him and the right wing of the USPD is public.²⁰ To this must correspond another convergence: between the left wing of the USPD and the KPD. Given this, if the USPD wants to join the Third International, it must make energetic decisions and part company with its right wing.

NOTES BY MEYER ON THE SESSION OF JULY 26, 1920

Since it was impossible to take stenographic minutes in German, the following notes were taken by Comrade Meyer. [Footnote in Rote Fahne]

Thesis 1: Party propaganda and agitation²¹

Crispien: It has been raised here that the press has to be directed by Communists. I would simply like to inquire whether this is to be interpreted strictly to the letter or just in a general sense. There are parties that want to enter the Third International and still have a different name, so it takes them a while before they meet the preconditions. So I would like to know if the demand is that Communists be placed on the newspapers.

Zinoviev: It would be better if tomorrow *Freiheit* could already be full of Communists. But the thesis is to be taken in the general rather than the formal sense.

Thesis 3: Legal and illegal work

Dittmann: This is what we were discussing yesterday. The question for us is merely whether we want to broadcast this all over the world.

Zinoviev: We have to look at this from an international point of view. A widespread prejudice prevails in west European countries against illegal work. People think you do not need it. I do not believe there is any principled difference here; we can come to an understanding. But while we take into account the German comrades' considerations, we have to stick to an international point of view. When we conclude this, we will set up an editing commission. We can confidently leave this question to the editing commission, instructing it to meet the concerns of the German comrades, and to some extent the French comrades as well.

Crispien: Before the editing commission completes its final draft, we would like to have the opportunity to look it over.

Meyer: As regards the USPD's misgivings, let me say that we stress that illegal work exists to be used in times of a state of

siege, when the conditions of legality are broken by the bourgeoisie and the government.

Thesis 4: Agitation in the army

Dittmann: Here the same misgivings arise to the same degree. When a large legal party officially declares it is going to undertake agitation for communist ideas in the army in order to sweep away those presently in power, such a party runs the risk that the state's authority will be brought to bear against it, and it will be suppressed. As for the basic notion, we have stressed our agreement with it.

Meyer: I would like to say that no juridical considerations stand in the way of our setting the task of agitational activity in the army. There are no clauses of the constitution that forbid carrying out propaganda in the army. Given the nature of our activity, it is certainly possible for them to take measures against us in any area. When a strike call is considered treason, no statutory provision is going to help; you are going to go to prison. And when civil war proceeds to a still sharper stage, no formulation is going to be of any help. Then they will move against us still more sharply.

Working in the army for the ideas of communism is not forbidden. And to leave this passage out completely is excluded, unless we are going to establish secret conditions for admission. That is simply not going to work. We can perhaps formulate this passage a little differently, but we cannot and should not leave out the fact that we are required to carry out propaganda in the army.

Thesis 5: Agitation in the countryside

Meyer: In the subcommission I will propose some changes here, specifically concerning conditions in our country. The sentence saying that a part of the rural workers must support us can go because the entire rural working class, organized in unions, supports the revolutionary parties, the Communists and the USPD.

Dittmann: That is inaccurate.

Meyer: We can take that up in the subcommission.

Thesis 2 (in the French edition): Removal of reformists and centrists from leading posts²²

Meyer: “Every organization wishing to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically remove reformists and centrists from all positions of any responsibility in the workers’ movement (party organizations, editorial staffs, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, cooperative societies, local governments) and replace them with reliable Communists without being deterred by the prospect that, especially at first, ordinary workers from the masses will replace ‘experienced’ opportunists.”

Zinoviev: What is at stake here is that we must accept the duty to disseminate our ideas through all posts of responsibility, through all wings of the party organization, through editorial boards, parliament, trade unions, cooperatives, and so forth. We must quite systematically replace wavering leaders on the right with Communists, without being afraid of the fact that often we are replacing an experienced politician with a new face or a simple worker.²³

Dittmann: I consider that totally superfluous.

Meyer: It relates to thesis 1. Not only must agitation be carried out along Communist lines, but posts must also be held by reliable comrades.

Zinoviev: Comrades sometimes come to us, inspired by our example—the Czech comrades, for example—and say, “We are Communists, we want a firm grip on everything, but we don’t have the strength.” All we can say to them is: Don’t do it all at once; be circumspect but very systematic. That has practical significance.

Crispien: Comrade Zinoviev’s reasoning defies response. When the movement reaches a certain age, a veritable inquisition is to be set up. The question is, aren’t we acting too much like a church? And doesn’t that lead to the danger of persecution and inquisition?

Dittmann: People are appealing to texts and using sophistry.

Zinoviev: In my opinion this is very important for the simple worker. You should not be afraid of replacing a lawyer with a simple worker.

Meyer: It applies to the first stage, that of joining the Third International.

Dittmann: There is one thing we must not forget. Even in revolutionary parties there are elements strongly motivated by ambition. There are circumstances where this provision can be an excuse for ambitious elements to drive people out of their positions and take these posts for themselves. There is the danger that adopting such detailed provisions will favor trouble-makers.

As the largest party, we suffer from a lack of organizers and editors. We have to make do with forces who, we are convinced, are not yet up to snuff. We hope that later the situation will be different. The Communists will be in the same position. Theses formulated in such detail will carry weight and give the whole movement a servile character.

Crispien: Maybe you could say “replace” instead of “remove.”

Thesis 7: The break with the reformists

Dittmann: In Germany we have carried out the break with the reformists.

Zinoviev: We have to recognize that the movement in Germany has recovered more easily than that in other countries. We do not condemn you for having carried out a split; the problem is that part of the Scheidemanns are still in your ranks.

Dittmann: A new paragraph 2 has been introduced—we do not have it yet but the sense has been expressed—specifying just which people should hold the leading posts. Given that, it is quite sufficient to refer here to the reformists without naming any names. It is really not tactically smart to complicate the question by naming names. You kindle arguments against specific people. We believe naming names holds up the process of transforming parties. A lot of workers see it as an inquisition, and it prevents merging the parties into a single current.

Crispien: I agree, and I will show why this will not work. In each country you want to pick out a name and expel that person, excommunicate them. First you have to give them the opportunity to defend themselves. (*Interjection:* “Kautsky has done enough of that.”) I would consider that a dubious procedure, and I do not see why it is necessary. The general foundation already

provides sufficient grounds to do what is required.

I can speak only for my party. Based on our statutes, we cannot expel someone without giving them the opportunity to vindicate themselves. It cannot be done this way. Some of them are known, others are not. But maybe these people will quit on their own.

Zinoviev: There has been talk of inquisitions. To say, “We ought to listen to them first”—that is childish. Should we listen to Kautsky after he has written twenty pamphlets and stabbed us in the back? He belongs with the bourgeoisie and we are revolutionaries. Kautsky does not want in any way to belong to the Third International. According to Huysmans, Kautsky told him at the Belgian party congress that if the USPD decides to enter the Third International, Kautsky’s choice is clear: he will stay with the Second International, not the USPD. We have to lay it out as the workers understand it to the marrow of their bones. We do not want to insult Turati. We know he is an honorable man. But he is a bourgeois democrat. If they become something different tomorrow, so much the better.

Stoecker: I am astonished by the proposal to say “opportunists” instead of “reformists.”²⁴ Kautsky is worse than that, he is a reformist. We want to combat those who base themselves on bourgeois democracy but are in a party that bases itself on the dictatorship [of the proletariat].

Thesis 9: The trade unions and producers’ and consumers’ cooperatives

Dittmann: In the trade unions in Germany, especially in the metalworkers’ union, fractions have been built, instigated by the right-wing Socialists. There have been extended discussions over this in the unions. This dispute has been ironed out inasmuch as the right-wing Socialists have given up their fractions. If our own people come now and build fractions, they are giving the right-wing Socialists cause to do likewise at a time when our people are increasingly gaining control of the organization. In addition, the question arises whether establishing as a condition that certain bodies must carry out agitation may not just make the work of the unions all the more difficult. In Germany it is not necessary to speak of setting up special bodies. We have

influence over the members we have inside.

Zinoviev: I followed this dispute in the press, and it seems to me that you have a point. We cannot hold it against the social pacifists and social reformists when they organize their members in the unions. How can you argue that these are organizations where politics have no place? Ten years ago Kautsky said it very well: there is no neutrality—in such fights you are either on the bourgeoisie's side or on our side.

You are allowing yourself to be guided by the fact that in Berlin you have the majority. In this dispute such a course would be opportunistic and unprincipled, given that in Germany Legien is still managing the affairs of millions of members and in America nine-tenths of the entire union movement is in the hands of our enemies (*Garbled*). If we want to win there, we must organize inside the movement and systematically and persistently fight for our ideas.

Crispien: If we build bodies inside unions where we are the minority, we run the danger of being kicked out of them. Then all we have is a splintered organization and we accomplish nothing. In Germany it has happened that by-laws were brought to bear and the comrades were driven out. Therefore we should say, work *in* the unions.

Däumig: I do not share Dittmann and Crispien's reservations. I think that a fight will ensue in the unions between reactionary and revolutionary forces. Since the factory councils have remained nothing but an eloquent scrap of paper, we must give more unity to our forces in the unions. Two days after our departure from Berlin, the SPD metalworkers' fraction called its people together. They see no problem in that, and we have no reason not to unite our forces as well.

Dittmann: We all are striving for the same thing. It is only a question of achieving our goals as easily as possible and accomplishing the most with the least possible exertion. We do not want to expose ourselves to unnecessary resistance. In general, with regard to what we want to accomplish, we are advancing along the same course.

But we must take into account not only what happened in the metalworkers' union, but also what happened in the miners' union, and not only in the Ruhr Valley. This time it was possible for the miners, who had gone over to the syndicalist union, to

make their way back. In Germany the danger exists that whenever there is a split, the syndicalists come out on top. Even you do not want people to be unnecessarily driven into the arms of the syndicalists.

I prefer the word *cell* to *fraction*, a word that in this context has a political flavor.

I only wish that these reservations were not correct.

Thesis 11: Parliamentarism

Dittmann: I draw to your attention that our party first arose out of the SPD as the Working Group, formed because as Reichstag deputies we put party discipline above fraction discipline. Eventually the party was built from this. We have no doubts about this clause, since for us too party discipline still stands above fraction discipline.

Thesis 12: The party press and publishing houses²⁵

Dittmann: I do not think it necessary to repeat what we said on the press in the general debate. I want only to remind you of it, so that it cannot be said that we let this point pass without comment. Because our Social Democracy was robbed of its newspapers,²⁶ we did not want to continue granting the party Executive Committee significant proprietary rights. This gives us a better guarantee that the newspapers will be run more in the spirit of the party. To the extent that we can have an influence on this spirit, it will become more uniform. But more we cannot do.

Zinoviev: Soon you will do more.

Thesis 17: Name of the party

Dittmann: For us in Germany the situation is different. There already is a Communist Party there, and if we were to join the International, there would be a second Communist Party, so long as the two parties did not merge. In general it is better for the parties to have different names. Besides, when the party was founded in Gotha, the name Communist Workers Party was proposed. That was rejected because communism has a somewhat archaic sound to it—

Radek: Primitive communism!

Dittmann: —and the name Independent Socialist party was chosen because of the particular situation the party was in. With that name, we wanted to make the statement that the party pursues a political line that is independent of the government, independent of the right-wing Socialist party, and independent of the bourgeois parties. That is how the name came to be. It has existed for some time now and has come to mean something. Many members are of the opinion that this thesis need not be an obstacle to our joining, that at some point the name will disappear, giving way to “Communist Party.” If affiliation is decided upon, the logical consequence is to merge with the Communist Party, and the name Communist Party can then be adopted.

Zinoviev: For twenty-five to thirty years we called ourselves Social Democrats and for fifteen years Bolsheviks. We got used to that name, we became well known with it.

We can find no other expression [except Communist]. It comes from the good old days and was put on a scientific foundation by Marx. Obviously, if the USPD really belongs to the International, then the name will become United Communist Party of Germany.

Radek: Independent of the United Communist Party of Germany!

Zinoviev: Now we are discussing the conditions. The question of the name comes later.

Lenin's amendment²⁷

Regarding Lenin's proposal that before a party can be accepted into the Communist International two-thirds of the members of its leadership body must be made up of those who supported communism before the Third International met in congress:

Dittmann: Our party leadership is reelected at every congress. If the congress decides to join the Third International, that can happen only at a special party congress that we call. If the congress decides to join, it will elect to the leadership people in whom it has confidence. Of course it will elect people in whom it has confidence to carry out the decisions.

Crispien: This passage reduces us to the level of parties that are

just now starting to carry out revolutionary policies. The workers will not be able to understand this. They will take this as a blow. I would like to ask that this be stricken.

Meyer: If Dittmann thinks that the masses will not understand this, after the policies the USPD has been pursuing, then I disagree. Nevertheless, I do not support Lenin's proposal. You could not come up with very many people in the USPD who have carried out entirely communist policies. If we charge the Executive Committee, or better yet the Communist International, with checking on this, we will find that all the conditions have been fulfilled.

The USPD commission itself declared that it will give a report when it returns to Germany. Cachin and Frossard said the same. There they will say that such and such are the conditions for our party to be accepted. Only the party as a whole can make a decision.

By the time the application of the party as a whole gets to the Third International, a certain time will have passed, and it will also take a certain time for joining the International to be carried out in practice. That time will be sufficient for the Communist International to make a decision on whether the practice corresponds to what the Communist International demands. In this commission, where we are establishing the general conditions, we do not need to get too technical.

Dittmann: I have the impression that we are weaving a web of technicalities. We are here to negotiate affiliation. Our task is to make known the basis for joining and to see to it that the masses understand what this means. Once this takes place, a party congress will be called that will deal almost exclusively with this question. If the majority decides in favor of joining, then of course a leadership will be elected that adheres to the conditions. Obviously the statutes will be published, and from the outset the International will be able to judge these things. I want to very strongly request that these formalistic conditions be dropped.

Lenin's proposal is adopted by a vote of 5 to 3.

3b. Letter to the French Socialist Party from the Presiding Committee²⁸

July 29, 1920

To all members of the French Socialist Party;
To all class-conscious proletarians of France:

The last congress of the French Socialist Party decided by an overwhelming majority to withdraw from the Second International, which all class-conscious workers of the world now consider a traitorous organization. But the same congress rejected immediately joining the Communist International by a two-thirds majority, confining itself to an equivocal resolution that it would enter into only certain relations with the Third International and would undertake to organize the intermediate parties situated between the Second and Third Internationals.

Two delegates of the congress majority, Marcel Cachin and Frossard, arrived in Russia to conduct negotiations with us regarding the congress resolution. An expanded Executive Committee of the Communist International (with the participation of delegates from Italy, Britain, America, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, and other countries) devoted two full sessions to studying the matters related to the arrival of Cachin and Frossard. In addition, the Executive Committee had a number of smaller meetings with the two delegates of the French Socialist Party. We received from them three written reports, which have been printed in the official press of the Communist International in all languages.²⁹ We invited Cachin and Frossard to the Second World Congress of the Communist International with consultative voice. We heard Cachin and Frossard at length in the congress commission. It goes without saying that the Executive Committee of the Communist International takes as its duty giving the closest attention to every delegation of a party or group that wishes to break with the Second International and join the ranks of the Communist International.

We are grateful that the French Socialist Party, by sending its delegates, gave us the opportunity to discuss with you frankly and openly, as is proper for revolutionaries. From what follows you will learn how we regard the state of affairs in France. Our

answer, we are confident, will be printed promptly in France and read and discussed attentively by all class-conscious French workers.

Our assessment of the French Socialist Party's situation is based on two primary factors: (1) the role the French bourgeoisie is now playing in the world; and (2) the internal situation of the French Socialist Party itself.

For a number of reasons the French bourgeoisie today plays without a doubt the most reactionary role possible around the world. It has become the bulwark of world reaction. Before the eyes of the whole world, French imperialist capitalism has assumed the role of international gendarme. The French bourgeoisie did more than any other to strangle the proletarian soviet republic in Hungary. The French bourgeoisie has always played and is still playing the star role in organizing the criminal campaign against Soviet Russia. The French bourgeoisie has assumed the part of the most foul hangman in the Balkans.³⁰ And finally, the same French bourgeoisie took on the main duties for stifling the developing proletarian revolution in Germany. To it went the key role in working out the predatory Versailles peace. It sent Black troops to occupy German cities. Indeed it entered into an alliance with the German bourgeoisie against the German working class. There is no monstrous crime that the government of the French bourgeoisie would not commit. There is no worse enemy of the developing world revolution than the government of the French capitalists.

This places an especially important internationalist duty on the French workers and their party. You, French proletarians, are assigned by history a highly responsible, difficult, but rewarding mission to deliver a counterblow to the most violent, the most unrestrainedly reactionary detachment of the international bourgeoisie.

But regretfully, the Executive Committee of the Communist International is compelled to note—and here we pass to the second factor mentioned above—that the internal situation of the French Socialist Party is not at all conducive to your being able to fulfill the historic mission assigned to you by the course of events.

The advanced workers of France will agree with us in saying that apart from Germany, nowhere during the four-year imperi-

alist war was there such a base betrayal of socialism as that committed in your very country by the former majority of your party. The actions of the former majority's leaders (Renaudel, Thomas, Sembat, and others) after August 4, 1914, was not a bit better than the vicious, traitorous conduct of Scheidemann and Noske in Germany. Your party's leaders not only voted for war credits but also placed the whole party press, the entire party apparatus at the service of the murderous imperialist bourgeoisie. These leaders poisoned the spirit of the rank-and-file soldier and worker. They helped the imperialist bourgeoisie summon up across the whole country a murky wave of unheard-of and monstrous chauvinism. They helped the bourgeoisie institute a despotic regime in the factories and abolish even the most moderate labor legislation.

They assumed complete responsibility for the imperialist carnage. They sat in the French bourgeoisie's government. They carried out the most repulsive tasks for the ringleaders of the Entente. When the February revolution of 1917 began in Russia, Albert Thomas arrived in Russia on the instruction of the French imperialists to persuade the Russian workers and soldiers, in the name of his party, to continue the imperialist bloodletting. The French social patriots helped the French capitalists organize the campaign of the Russian White Guards, who had declared war on the working class and peasantry of Russia.

As for the former minority of your party, it never carried out a principled, strong, and clearly defined struggle against its loathsome majority, a struggle it was duty-bound to conduct. Once it became the majority, it went on as before and even today carries out an equivocal policy, showing neither the proper determination nor the appropriate energy, and continuing the former sorry opportunist line.

Even now, Albert Thomas, Renaudel, Jouhaux, and others continue to play a most reactionary role as servants of the bourgeoisie. In the ranks of your party are not only notorious social patriots but many prominent representatives of the Center as well (Longuet and others). They still insist that for France the predatory imperialist war of 1914-18 was defense of the fatherland (*défense nationale*). Your party, in the person of its centrist majority, has yet to say clearly to the workers of France that for the French as well as the German bourgeoisie the last

World War was a predatory war, a war of oppressors, a war of robbers. Speeches by Longuet, Faure, Pressemanne, and others of your leaders about "defense of the fatherland," given as recently as the Strasbourg congress, are close to social patriotism.

We must tell you frankly, comrades, that the internal situation of the French Socialist Party is worse even than that of the German Independents. You have lagged behind even the German pace of development. You still have not split with your open social patriots. You still have not done even what the German Independents did as far back as 1916.³¹ Turncoats like Albert Thomas, who did not shrink from occupying a responsible post in the piratical League of Nations, have remained in your party as before. It still includes such personages as Pierre Renaudel, a most zealous lackey of the bourgeoisie. You still tolerate betrayers of the workers' cause like Jouhaux and his cothinkers, who are now reviving the Yellow International of trade unions. In your ranks you tolerate people who, at the bidding of the Entente capitalists, staged the farce of founding the International Labour Office. Deputies of your party who shamelessly abstained from voting when the disgraceful, blood-soaked, criminal Versailles treaty was ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies remain members with full rights.

You will agree, comrades, that such a situation in the party in no way equips you to fulfill the mission history has entrusted you with.

Given such a state of affairs, comrades, it is not surprising that the present official majority of the French Socialist Party, which considers itself internationalist and revolutionary, is in practice carrying out a policy of vacillation, equivocation, and half-baked compromise.

Let us look at your most important daily tasks in this order: (1) your parliamentary work, (2) your press, (3) your propaganda in the countryside and the army, (4) your relations with the trade unions, (5) your position on the French government's most recent acts of violence, (6) your relations with the communist left wing of your own party, (7) your relations with the International.

1. The *parliamentary work* of your Socialist fraction in the Chamber of Deputies continues as before: neither revolutionary, proletarian, nor socialist. Each Socialist deputy does what

he wishes. The parliamentary fraction as a whole does not subordinate itself to the work of the party. It carries out only those majority party decisions that suit its fancy. It does not speak for the French proletarian masses, who are burning with indignation at the base acts of the French bourgeoisie. It does not report back to the working masses. It does not expose the crimes of the French government. It does not conduct revolutionary agitation among the millions of war veterans. It does not take on the task of fully depicting the criminal character of the recent imperialist war to the toiling masses. It does not call on the workers to arm themselves.

In a word, your parliamentary fraction not only fails to prepare for the proletarian revolution but, on the contrary, does all in its power to sabotage the revolution. Many of your parliamentary deputies remain, as before, not fighters for the working class but petty intriguers. The overall conduct of your deputies evokes feelings of disgust among the French working masses and this adds grist to the anarchists' mill. The opportunism of your parliamentary fraction only feeds into and enhances the mistakes and prejudices of syndicalism. Your deputies' conduct only increases the masses' contempt for parliamentary schemers and for those who call themselves Socialists but in practice hobnob with the worst enemies of the working class.

2. Your *daily press*, mainly *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*, are not revolutionary publications. We do not see these newspapers propagandizing and agitating in a daily, systematic way for the idea of proletarian revolution. At best the newspapers use dry and uninspired words to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat—but these words do not take on flesh and blood in all your daily written agitation. Often your newspapers are as indistinguishable from those of the bourgeoisie as two drops of water. You too allocate most of the space to parliamentary trifles and petty “events” in bourgeois “circles.” Your newspapers neither attempt nor succeed in being the true voice of the rising revolutionary anger of the proletarian masses. Your newspapers do not describe the disasters French working people are experiencing as a result of the war. Your newspapers are limited to dry, formal, pedantic, and passionless protests. You handed over editorship of your party paper among the peasants to Compère-Morel, a notorious social patriot.

You must repudiate the intolerable policy of proportional representation, which opens up the pages of the party press to the poisonous writings of Renaudel and company.

3. The same can be said about *your agitational work in the countryside and among soldiers*. Either it does not exist at all, or it has a clearly reformist character. Where and when has your party explained to the French soldiers their revolutionary proletarian duty? As far as we know—*nowhere and never*. If the relationship of forces today in France is such that Socialists cannot do this legally, *the duty of every honest proletarian consists in supplementing legal with illegal work*. This is essential to fulfilling your responsibility to the working class of your own country as well as to the proletarians around the world.

4. Your *attitude to the trade unions* is completely ambiguous. Not only do you fail to conduct a systematic ideological struggle against the social-patriotic leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, but you are covering up for them. When Jouhaux and company helped the bourgeoisie restore the Amsterdam trade union International, when the same group together with Albert Thomas went to the imperialist-organized international labor conference, when leaders of the General Confederation of Labor most treacherously sabotaged the July 21, 1919, strike, you did not campaign against them. You did not pillory them before the entire French working class. You did not expose them as the basest traitors to the workers' cause. No, you continued to "collaborate" with them. At best you give them a good-natured warning; you do not fight them. You failed to set as your task winning the French unions away from the pernicious influences of the agents of capital.

At the time of the last big strikes in May, when the government threw you in jail and the companies fired you, one of your comrades, Paul-Boncour, accused the government in parliament of only one thing. He said they had forgotten the patriotism exhibited by Jouhaux on August 2, 1914, and his great service during and after the war.

5. The French bourgeoisie has recently committed *unspeakable acts of violence* directed specifically against the left wing of the French workers' movement. They have thrown into prison Loriot, Monatte, Souvarine, and a number of other comrades. What have you done to repulse this campaign by the French

capitalists? Why have you not sounded the alarm? Why have you not organized a nationwide campaign? Why do you limit yourselves to merely philanthropic agitational work?

6. Your relation to the *communist left wing* of your own party leaves much to be desired. You do not seek closer contact among French communists. On the contrary, you are organizing a struggle against them. You place on your agenda joining the Communist International, but at the same time you do nothing, or almost nothing, to establish sincere and comradely rapprochement with the communists of your own country.

7. Finally, on your attitude toward the *International*. You stayed in the ranks of the treacherous, Yellow Second International until the German Independents left it and the French workers forced the current leaders of the French Socialist Center to break with it. You sent delegates to the infamous Bern conference. True, some of them defended the Russian revolution there, but there were also attempts to save the dying Second International. You tried to create a new intermediate current, the so-called reconstructors. Even now you have not made a direct statement of your intention to join the Communist International. You announced your departure from the Second International, but at the time you also stated your solidarity with the Belgian "Socialists," that is, with the social traitor Vandervelde, leader of the Second International. You declared your desire to join the Third International, but meanwhile, during the Kapp insurrection, your official representative, Mistral, signed a joint statement with the bureau of the Second International calling on the German proletariat to defend the republic along with Noske and Scheidemann. Either you are silent concerning the existence of the Third International or you conduct a semiopen campaign against it.

In his report to us in Moscow, your representative, Frossard, continues even now to explain that the reason you have not yet entered the Communist International is that the largest parties in western Europe have not yet joined. But you must not forget: if by the largest parties in western Europe you mean those infected with social patriotism, we do not need those parties and we will never accept them into membership in the Communist International. All the truly revolutionary parties of Europe and America are in our ranks.

The Communist International has become such a powerful force that for some Socialists it has become *fashionable*. Some supporters of the Center have begun to call themselves Communists and think that they can join the Third International while continuing with their former semireformist politics. The Communist International cannot tolerate this. We will not allow our organizations to be diluted. The Communist International must remain the international *combat* association of Communist workers.

Now we turn to the questions that your representative Frossard put to us directly in his first written report. Among other things, this report asked about our relations with the *French trade unions*. This question is of the utmost importance and must be taken up.

From our theses and other official documents of the Communist International you know that we are firmly opposed to the suggestion of a handful of "left" Communists that we leave the ranks of the reactionary trade unions. They suggest we wash our hands of these unions and counterpose some new amorphous "General Workers Union." Our view applies not only to the free Yellow Social Democratic unions of Legien and company but to the French trade unions under the leadership of Jouhaux and company. *We are against* revolutionaries and Communists leaving the mass trade unions, even in cases where the unions have the misfortune of being led by Legien and Jouhaux. Revolutionaries and Communists must be where the masses are. Russian communists, as well, were a minority in the unions for a long time. Russian communists learned how to fight for their ideas within the most backward and openly reactionary workers' organizations.

We demand that our supporters in France under no circumstances *abandon* the trade unions. On the contrary, if they wish to fulfill their duty to the Communist International, they must strengthen their work in the unions.

The unions today are the last refuge for the social patriots. As a political organization, the Second International has collapsed like a house of cards. The new Amsterdam International of Yellow trade unions, however, is still a significant base for the social traitors. The Yellow Amsterdam International is now more harmful and dangerous to the world revolution than the League

of Nations. Through Legien, Gompers, and Jouhaux the bourgeoisie is trying to make the Amsterdam trade union International into a tool in their drive for plunder, just as they did with the Social Democratic parties around the world during the imperialist war.

This means that we Communists must pay ten times more attention to the union movement. We must at all costs wrench these unions from the hands of the capitalists and social traitors. To do this we must be *inside* these unions. We must therefore send our best forces there.

Our supporters will stay in the trade unions, but they will not act in an uncoordinated way, like human dust. *In every union, in every branch of the union, we must organize a Communist group, a Communist cell.* Within the unions we must expose the tricks of the big and small Jouhauxes through daily struggle. We must open the eyes of the rank-and-file union members. We must drive the social traitors out of the unions. Through systematic and persistent struggle we must wrench one union after another from the influence of the social traitors and Yellow unionists such as Jouhaux. Only after long years of work did the Russian Bolsheviks succeed in accomplishing this task. Even on the eve of the October revolution, the Russian communists were a minority in the unions. After taking power into their hands and giving new means of propaganda to the class-conscious workers, the Russian Bolsheviks managed in a short time *after the revolution* to win over the great majority of the trade union movement. Communists and revolutionaries around the world must follow this path.

In his written report in Moscow, Frossard said, "The General Confederation of Labor will not make a revolution without us (the party); we will not make a revolution without them (the unions)."³² This formulation, to say the least, is not sufficiently clear. The revolution cannot be made with those who do not want to make it. The proletarian revolution will not be made with gentlemen like Jouhaux, who exert all their intellect, all their strength to block the proletarian revolution. You will make the proletarian revolution only *in spite of* Jouhaux and *against him*, and in spite of Albert Thomas and Pierre Renaudel. If you cleanse the party of opportunism, if your deputies in parliament begin to carry out communist propaganda, if you drive out the

Yellow traitors from the ranks of your own party, in a word if you become Communists, then rank-and-file workers, trade union members, will follow you in opposing Jouhaux. The sooner you overcome your syndicalist prejudices, the sooner you will shed your opportunism.

Red trade unions have begun to organize on an international level. On the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the left-wing trade unions of Italy, Russia, and Britain have formed a tripartite alliance, which will call an international congress of Red trade unions in August or September.³³ This congress will be an alternative to the Amsterdam International of Yellow trade unions. Support this initiative in France. Persuade your unions to join with the Red International of trade unions and break once and for all with the Yellow International. That is the task of real revolutionaries in France.

In his report Frossard handed us a semireprimand when he asked whether we still insisted on the expulsion of certain figures from your party.

This question, of course, is quite important, but it alone does not determine our relationship with you. We say to you quite frankly that you are lagging behind in comparison even to the German Independents. Although the German Independents have finally faced up to the question of expelling Kautsky (which means the Kautskyites),³⁴ Albert Thomas and Renaudel—that is, the French Noske and Scheidemann—are still in your party, enjoying full rights. We must declare quite emphatically that despite the struggle that Longuet leads on behalf of the Russian revolution and despite his verbal acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Longuet's ideological positions and general activity in the press and parliament are as identical to Kautsky's propaganda in Germany as two peas in a pod. You will have to abandon a whole number of right-wing leaders who are infected with reformism to the marrow of their bones.

But the main question we put to you is not that of expelling individuals but that of breaking with a definite reformist tradition. The Communist International does not demand that you "make" a soviet revolution forthwith. Anyone who presents the Communist International's demand to you in this light is distorting our position. We require only this: in your day-to-day work, in the press, in the unions, in parliament, and at meetings,

you must systematically and unswervingly conduct honest, unequivocal propaganda for the ideas of [proletarian] dictatorship and communism. You must do this to clear the road for the proletarian revolution and fight conscientiously against bourgeois-reformist ideas.

That is the main thing that we wanted to say to you, comrades.

On the eve of their departure, your delegates Cachin and Frossard declared to us officially that they agree to the conditions proposed by the Second World Congress of the Communist International. They declare that upon returning to France they will propose that the French Socialist Party break radically with the old reformist policies and switch over to communist rails.

Needless to say we will be very glad if the French workers' movement at last actually turns out to have found the right path. We will follow the further course of events in the French Socialist Party very closely. And the congress is giving the Executive Committee the authority to admit your party to the ranks of the Communist International if you accept and truly implement the conditions the congress has established.

In conclusion we shall state several particular points that seem to us to be central. We will expect you to reply to them quite clearly and definitely.

We reaffirm entirely our reply to the German Independents, which was also printed in the Paris communist press. Almost in its entirety, this answer was also addressed to you, the majority of the French Socialist Party.

We make the following ten points with reference to the situation in France:

1. The press of the French Socialist Party must radically change the character of its day-to-day propaganda and agitation along the lines we have indicated.

2. In countries where the bourgeoisie holds dominion over the colonial peoples, it is especially necessary for parties to have a precise and clear line on the question of colonies. The French party must mercilessly expose the tricks of the French imperialists in the colonies, support every liberation movement in the colonies not just in word but in deed, popularize the slogan "Imperialists out of the colonies," cultivate among the workers of France a truly fraternal attitude to the laboring population of

the colonies, and conduct systematic agitation among the French troops against colonial oppression.

3. The French party must expose the falsity and hypocrisy of social pacifism, systematically demonstrating to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no arms reduction negotiations can save humanity from new imperialist wars.

4. The French Socialist Party must begin to organize the revolutionary communist forces inside the General Confederation of Labor for a struggle against the social traitors leading the federation.

5. The French Socialist Party must obtain, not only in words but also in deeds, the strictest subordination of the parliamentary fraction to the party as a whole. It must accept into the party fraction only those delegates who conscientiously fulfill party decisions and who change all their day-to-day parliamentary activity in the spirit described above.

6. The present majority of the French Socialist Party must radically change its relationship with the communist left wing of the French workers' movement. The party must grant representatives of the communists access to the pages of all its publications. The present majority must search out a sincere rapprochement with the communist forces in France.³⁵

7. The French party must radically break with reformism and systematically cleanse its ranks of elements that do not want to enter on a new, revolutionary road.

8. The French party must also change its name and appear before the world as the Communist Party of France.

9. The French comrades must recognize the necessity of combining legal and illegal work in an epoch when the bourgeoisie is creating a state of siege for the workers and their leaders.

10. The French party, like all parties that want to take part in the Third International, must recognize that all decisions of the Communist International are unconditionally binding. The Communist International is fully aware of all the diverse conditions in which the workers in different countries have to struggle. Congresses of the Communist International will always consider these conditions and will make decisions binding on everyone only on questions where such decisions are possible.

We ask you to acquaint all the French workers with this reply.

Comrades, we have quite frankly told you our opinion on a whole number of major questions. We know that at present only a small number of your leaders will subscribe to what we have said. But we are confident that the vast majority of conscious worker-socialists and the honest revolutionary syndicalists of France are one with us. However our mutual relations may develop in the immediate future, we are unshakably confident that the French proletariat will forge a mighty Communist party, occupying a foremost place in the international family of the militant proletariat. We cannot accept that the revolutionary working class of France with its wonderful revolutionary traditions, with its culture, with its readiness for self-sacrifice, and with its excellent militant temperament, would be unable to create a powerful Communist party in this epoch when the bourgeois system has clearly begun to breathe its last.

Comrades, in the coming year the international proletariat will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune—the great workers' uprising, which found its continuation in the proletarian revolution in Russia. From the bottom of our hearts we wish that this fiftieth anniversary of the great Paris Commune finds you organized into a powerful proletarian Communist party, continuing the best traditions of the Paris Communards and ready to storm the strongholds of capitalism.

Long live the working class of France!

Long live a united and mighty French Communist party!

With communist greetings,
The Presiding Committee of
the Second Congress of the
Communist International³⁶

Trade unions and factory committees

4a. Appeal to the IWW¹

Comrades and fellow workers:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in session at Moscow, the heart of the Russian revolution, greets the revolutionary American proletariat in the person of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Capitalism, ruined by the World War, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created, is breaking down.

The hour of the working class has struck. The social revolution has begun, and here, on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought.

History does not ask whether we want revolution or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it and the world will belong to the workers; leave it—there may not be another for generations.

Now is no time to talk of “building the new society within the shell of the old.” *The old society is cracking its shell. The workers must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, which alone can build the new society.*

An article in *One Big Union Monthly*, your official organ, asks, “Why should we follow the Bolsheviks?” According to the writer, all that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia has done is “to give the Russian people the vote.”

This is, of course, untrue. The Bolshevik revolution has taken the factories, mills, mines, land, and financial institutions out of the hands of the capitalists, and transferred them to the *whole working class*.

We understand, and share with you, your disgust for the principles and tactics of the Yellow Socialist politicians, who all over the world have discredited the very name of socialism. Our aim is the same as yours—a commonwealth without state, without government, without classes, in which the workers shall admin-

ister the means of production and distribution for the common benefit of all.

We address this letter to you, fellow workers of the IWW, in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war, of which you have always borne the brunt in your own country, so that you may clearly understand our communist principles and program.

We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the world social revolution.

We call you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red army fighting under the banner of communism.

Communism and the IWW

The American capitalist class is revealing its true colors.

The constantly rising cost of living, the growing unemployment, the savage repression of all efforts of the workers to better their condition, the deportation and imprisonment of “Bolsheviks,” the series of antistrike laws, “criminal syndicalist” laws, laws “against red flags,” and laws against propaganda advocating the “forcible overthrow of government and the unlawful destruction of property”—all these measures can have but one meaning for every intelligent worker.

Industrial slavery is as old as capitalism, and other forms of slavery existed before it. *But now the capitalists of the world—the American capitalists as well as those of France, Italy, England, Germany, and so on—are planning to reduce the workers once and for all to absolute and hopeless serfdom.*

Either this, or the dictatorship of the working class—there is no other alternative. And the workers must choose *now*.

Capitalism is making desperate efforts to reconstruct its shattered world. The workers must forcibly take state power and reconstruct society in their own interests.

The coming slave state . . .

Before the American Civil War, the Negro slaves of the South were bound to the land. The industrial capitalists of the North,

who needed a floating population to operate their factories, declared slavery to be an outrage and abolished it by force. Now the industrial capitalists are attempting to bind the workers to the factories.

In every country during the World War, it was practically forbidden for the workers to strike, or, in general, to quit their jobs. You will remember the “work or fight” laws in your own country.

And now that the war is over, what has happened? The cost of living has gone up and up, while the capitalists have actually tried to reduce wages. And when the workers, faced by starvation, are forced to strike, the whole power of the state is mobilized to drive them back to the machines. When the railway shopmen walked out, the U.S. marshal of California threatened to bring in federal troops to force them to work. When the railroad brotherhoods demanded higher wages or the nationalization of the railways, the president of the United States menaced them with the full armed power of the government. When the United Mine Workers laid down their tools, thousands of soldiers occupied the mines, and the federal court issued the most sweeping injunction in history, forbidding the union leaders from sending out the strike order or in any way assisting in conducting the strike and forcibly preventing the payment of strike benefits. And finally, the attorney general of the United States declared officially that the government would not permit strikes in “industries necessary to the community.”

Judge Gary, head of the steel trust, can refuse the demand of the president of the United States to meet a committee of his workers. But when the steelworkers dare to go on strike for a living wage and the elementary right to join a union, they are called Bolsheviks and shot down in the streets by the Pennsylvania cossacks.²

And you, fellow workers of the IWW, with your bitter memories of Everett, of Tulsa, of Wheatland, of Centralia, in which your comrades were butchered;³ with your thousands in prison—you who nevertheless must do the “dirty work” in the harvest fields, on the docks, in the forests—you must see plainly the process by which the capitalists, by means of their weapon, the state, are trying to inaugurate the slave society.

Everywhere the capitalists cry, “More production! More

production!" In other words, the workers must do more work for less wages, so that their blood and sweat may be turned into gold, to pay the war debts of the ruined capitalist world.

In order to accomplish this the workers must no longer have the right to leave their jobs; they must be forbidden to organize to wring concessions from the bosses or take advantage of capitalist competition. At all costs the labor movement must be halted and broken.

To save the old system of exploitation, the capitalists must unite and chain the workers to the machines of industry.

. . . or the social revolution

Will the capitalists be able to do this?

They will unless the workers declare war on the whole capitalist system, overthrow the capitalist governments, and set up a government of the working class, which shall destroy the institution of capitalist private property and make all wealth the property of all the workers in common.

This is what the Russian workers have done, and this is the *only way* for the workers of other countries to free themselves from industrial slavery and to make over the world so that the worker shall get *all he produces*, and nobody shall be able to make money out of the labor of other men.

But unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists, the Russian revolution cannot last. The capitalists of the entire world, realizing the danger of the example of Soviet Russia, have united to crush it. The Allies have quickly forgotten their hatred for Germany, and have invited the German capitalists to join them in the common cause.

And the workers of other countries are beginning to understand that in Italy, Germany, France, and England, the tide of revolution is rising. In America, too, even the conservative members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) are realizing that strikes for higher wages and better conditions don't mean anything, because the cost of living is always climbing higher and higher. They have proposed all sorts of remedies, reforms, such as the Plumb Plan,⁴ nationalization of mines, and so on. They have founded a so-called "Labor Party,"⁵ which

works for municipal and government ownership of industry, more democratic electoral machinery, and so forth.

But these reforms wouldn't solve the problem, even if they could be achieved. *So long as the capitalist system exists, the same men will be making money out of the labor of others. All reforms of the present system of society simply fool the worker into believing that he isn't being robbed as much as he was before.*

The social revolution has begun, and the first battle is on in Russia. It will not wait for the workers to experiment with reforms. The capitalists have already destroyed the Hungarian soviet republic. If they can dominate and break the labor movement in the other countries, then will follow an industrial slave state.

Before it is too late, the class-conscious workers of the world must prepare to meet the shock of the capitalist assault, to attack and destroy capitalism, and root it out of the world.

The capitalist state

The war and its aftermath have revealed with startling clearness the real function of the capitalist state, with its legislatures, courts of justice, police, armies, and bureaucrats.

The state is *used* to defend and strengthen the power of the capitalists and to oppress the workers. This is particularly true in the United States, whose Constitution was framed by the great merchants, speculators, and landowners with the deliberate purpose of protecting their class interests against the majority of the people.

At the present time the government of the United States is openly acting as the weapon of the capitalists against the workers.

The IWW should realize this more clearly than any other body of workers, for it has been savagely persecuted by the government—its leaders imprisoned, its papers suppressed, its members deported, jailed on false charges, refused bail, tortured, its headquarters closed, and its propaganda declared illegal in many states.

Any worker can see this fact with his own eyes. All the people vote for governors, mayors, judges, and sheriffs; but in time of strike the governor calls in the militia to protect the scabs, the mayor orders the police to beat up and arrest the pickets, the

judge imprisons the workers for “rioting,” “disturbing the peace,” and the sheriff hires thugs as deputies to break the strike.

Capitalist society all together presents a solid front against the worker. The priest tells the worker to be contented, the press curses him as a “Bolshevik,” the policeman arrests him, the court sentences him to jail, the sheriff seizes his furniture for debt, and the poorhouse takes his wife and children.

In order to destroy capitalism, the workers must first wrest the state power out of the hands of the capitalist class. They must not only *seize* this power, but *abolish the old capitalist apparatus entirely*.

For the experience of revolutions has shown that the workers cannot take hold of the state machine and use it for their own purposes—as the Yellow Socialist politicians propose to do. The capitalist state is built to serve capitalism, and that is all it can do, no matter who is running it.

And in place of the capitalist state the workers must build their own *workers' state*, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat

Many members of the IWW do not agree with this. They are against the “state in general.” They propose to overthrow the capitalist state and to establish in its place immediately the industrial commonwealth.

The Communists are also opposed to the “state.” They also wish to abolish it—to substitute for the government of men, the administration of things.

But unfortunately this cannot be done immediately. The destruction of the capitalist state does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them. They are still supported by hordes of loyal bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen, and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry—and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class. They still have army officers who can betray the revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil

behavior, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and Yellow Socialists and labor fakers who prefer capitalist “democracy” to the revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

To break down the capitalist state, to crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the *whole working class in common*—for all these tasks a government is necessary; a state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the workers, through their soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand.

This is exactly what exists in Soviet Russia today.

But this dictatorship of the proletariat is only temporary.

We, Communists, also want to abolish the state. The state can only exist as long as there is class struggle. The function of the proletarian dictatorship is to abolish the capitalist class as a class; in fact, do away with all class divisions of every kind. And when this condition is reached, then the *proletarian dictatorship, the state, automatically disappears*—to make way for an industrial administrative body which will be something like the General Executive Board of the IWW.

In a recent leaflet, Mary Marcy argues that although the IWW does not theoretically recognize the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will be forced to do so *in fact* at the time of the revolution, in order to suppress the capitalist counterrevolution.

This is true. But unless the IWW acknowledges beforehand the necessity of the workers’ state and prepares for it, there will be confusion and weakness at a time when firmness and swift action are imperative.

The workers’ state

What will be the form of the workers’ state?

We have before us the example of the Russian Soviet Republic, whose structure, in view of the conflicting reports printed in other countries, it may be useful to describe briefly here.

The unit of government is the local soviet, or council, of workers’, Red Army, and peasants’ deputies.

The city workers’ soviet is made up as follows: each factory elects one delegate for a certain number of workers, and each

local union also elects delegates. These delegates are elected from lists submitted by political parties—or, if the workers wish it, from among candidates standing as individuals.

The Red Army delegates are chosen by military units.

For the peasants, each village has its local soviet, which sends delegates to the township soviet, which in turn elects to the county soviet, and from this to the provincial soviet.

Nobody who employs labor for profit can vote.

Every six months the city and provincial soviets elect delegates to the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which is the supreme government body of the country. This congress decides upon the policies which are to govern the country for six months and then elects a Central Executive Committee of two hundred, which is to carry out these policies. The congress also elects the cabinet—the Council of People’s Commissars, who are heads of government departments—or people’s commissariats.

The people’s commissars can be recalled at any time by the Central Executive Committee. The members of all soviets can be recalled very easily, and at any time, by their constituents.

These soviets are not only *legislative* bodies, but also *executive* organs. Unlike your Congress, they do not make laws and leave them to the president to carry out. Rather the members carry out the laws themselves, and there is no Supreme Court to say whether or not these laws are “constitutional.”

Between the all-Russia soviet congresses the Central Executive Committee is the *supreme power* in Russia. It meets at least every two months, and in the meanwhile, the Council of People’s Commissars directs the country, while the members of the Central Executive Committee go to work in the various government departments.

The organization of production and distribution

In Russia the workers are organized in industrial unions, all the workers in each industry belonging to one union. For example, in a factory making metal products, even the carpenters and painters are members of the metalworkers’ union. Each factory is a local union, and the shop committee elected by the workers is its executive committee.

The All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the federated unions is elected by the annual trade union convention. A wage-scale committee elected by the convention fixes the wages of all categories of workers.

With very few exceptions, all important factories in Russia have been nationalized and are now the property of all the workers in common. The business of the unions is therefore no longer to fight the capitalists but to *run industry*.

Hand in hand with the unions works the department of labor of the Soviet government, whose chief is the people's commissar of labor, elected by the soviet congress with the approval of the unions.

In charge of the economic life of the country is the elected Supreme Council of National Economy, divided into departments, such as the metal department, chemical department, and so on, each one headed by experts and workers, appointed, with the approval of unions, by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

In each factory, production is supervised by a committee of three, made up of the head of the factory committee and of representatives of the trade union central executive committee and the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Democratic centralization

The unions are thus a *branch of the government*—and this government is the *most highly centralized government that exists*.

It is also the most democratic government in history. For all the organs of government are in constant touch with the working masses and are constantly sensitive to their will. Moreover, the local soviets all over Russia have complete autonomy to manage their own local affairs, provided they carry out the national policies laid down by the soviet congress. Also, the Soviet government represents *only the workers* and cannot help but act in the workers' interest.

Many members of the IWW are opposed to centralization, because they do not think it can be democratic. But where there are great masses of people, it is impossible to register the will of individuals; only the will of majorities can be registered, and in Soviet Russia the government is administered only for

the common good of the working class.

The private property of the capitalist class, in order to become the *social* property of the worker, cannot be turned over to individuals or groups of individuals. It must become the property of *all in common*, and a centralized authority is necessary to accomplish this change.

The industries, too, which supply the needs of all the people, are not the concern only of the workers in each industry, but of *all in common*, and must be administered for the benefit of all. Moreover, modern industry is so complicated and interdependent that in order to operate most economically and with the greatest production, it must be subject to one general scheme and one central management.

The revolution must be defended against the formidable assaults of the combined forces of capitalism. Vast armies must be raised, drilled, equipped, and directed. This means centralization. Soviet Russia has for two years almost alone fought off the massed attacks of the capitalist world. How could the Red Army, more than two million strong, have been formed without central directing authority?

The capitalist class has a strongly centralized organization, which permits its full strength to be hurled against the scattered and divided sections of the working class. The class war is war. To overthrow capitalism, the workers must have a military force, with its general staff—elected and controlled, of course, by the workers.

In time of strike every worker knows that there must be a strike committee—a centralized organ to conduct the strike, whose orders must be obeyed—although this committee is elected and controlled by the rank and file. *Soviet Russia is on strike against the whole capitalist world. The social revolution is a general strike against the whole capitalist system. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the strike committee of the social revolution.*

Probably the coming proletarian revolutions in America and other countries will develop new forms of organization. The Bolsheviks do not pretend that they have said the final word in the social revolution. But the experience of two years of workers' government in Russia is naturally of the greatest importance and should be closely studied by the workers of other countries.

Politics

The word *politics* is to many members of the IWW like a red flag to a bull—or a capitalist. Politics, to them, means simply politicians—usually Yellow Socialist candidates trying to catch votes to elect themselves to some comfortable office, where they can comfortably forget all about the workers.

These “antipolitical” fellow workers oppose the Communists for calling themselves a “political party” and sometimes taking part in election campaigns.

This is using the word *politics* in too narrow a sense. One of the principles upon which the IWW was founded is expressed in the saying of Karl Marx, “*Every class struggle is a political struggle.*”⁶ That is to say, every struggle of the workers against the capitalists is a struggle of the workers for the *political* power—the state power.

This is the sense in which we Communists also use the word *politics*.

The Yellow Socialists believe that they can gradually gain this political power by using the political machinery of the capitalist state to win reforms, and when they have elected a majority of the members of Congress and the legislatures and the president, governors, mayors, and sheriffs, they can proceed to use the state power to legislate capitalism peacefully out, and the industrial commonwealth in.

This leads the Yellow Socialists to preach all sorts of reforms of the capitalist system, draws to their ranks small capitalists and political adventurers of all kinds, and finally causes them to make deals and compromises with the capitalist class.

The IWW does not believe in this and *neither do the Communists*.

We Communists do not think that it is possible to capture the state power by using political machinery of the capitalist state. The state being the particular weapon of the capitalist class, its machinery is naturally constructed so as to defend and strengthen the power of capitalism. Capitalist control of all agencies molding public opinion—press, schools, churches, and labor fakers—capitalist control of the workers’ political conduct through control of their means of living, make it extremely improbable that the workers under the present capital-

ist “democracy” could ever legally elect a government devoted to their interests.

And at this time when the capitalist class the world over is launching a desperate campaign of repression against all conscious working-class organizations, it is unthinkable.

But even if it were possible for the workers to win the state power by means of the political machinery, the capitalist state could never be used to introduce the industrial commonwealth. The real source of capitalist power lies in *capitalist ownership and control of the means of production*. The capitalist state exists for the purpose of protecting and extending this ownership and control—it cannot therefore be used to destroy it.

So far the Communists and the IWW are in accord. The capitalist state must be taken by storm, by an uprising—it must be attacked by *direct action*. This, in the correct meaning of the word, is also *political action*, for it has a *political aim*—the seizure of state power.

The IWW proposes to attain this end by the general strike. The Communists go further. History indicates clearly that the general strike is not enough. The capitalists have arms—and the experience with White Guards in Russia, Finland, and Germany proves that they have sufficient organization and training to use these arms against the workers. Moreover, the capitalists possess stores of food, which enable them to hold out longer than the workers, always on the verge of actual want.

The Communists also advocate the general strike, but they add that it must turn into *armed insurrection*. Both the general strike and the insurrection are forms of *political action*.

Revolutionary parliamentarism

If this is so, if the Communists do not believe in capturing the state power by means of the ballot box, why do the Communist parties participate in elections and nominate candidates for office?

The question of whether or not Communists should participate in elections is of secondary importance. Some Communist organizations do, others do not. But those who *do* act on the political field, do so only for *propaganda*. Political campaigns give an opportunity for revolutionists to speak to the working

class, pointing out the class character of the state and *their* class interests as workers. They enable them to show the futility of reforms, to demonstrate the real interests that dominate the capitalist—and Yellow Socialist—political parties, and to point out why the entire capitalist system must be overthrown.

Communists elected to Congress or the legislatures have as their function to make propaganda, to ceaselessly expose the real nature of the capitalist state, to obstruct the operation of capitalist government and show its class character, to explain the futility of all capitalist reform measures, and so forth. In the halls of the legislative assembly, against the sounding board of the nation, the Communist can show up capitalist brutality and call the workers to revolt.

Karl Liebknecht showed what a Communist in parliament can do. His words, spoken to the German Reichstag, were heard around the world.

Others in Russia, in Sweden (Höglund), and in other countries have done the same thing.

The most common objection to electing candidates to capitalist legislatures is that no matter how good revolutionists they are, they will invariably be corrupted by their environment and will betray the workers.

This belief is born of long experience, chiefly with Socialist politicians and labor fakers. But we Communists say that a *really revolutionary party will elect real revolutionists and will know how to keep them under its control.*

Many members of the IWW are bitterly opposed to making *any* use of legislatures and other government institutions for purposes of propaganda. But the IWW as an organization has often used them. In the Lawrence strike of 1912 the IWW made good use *even of Victor Berger, the Socialist congressman*, who advertised the strikes and the IWW on the floor of the House of Representatives. William D. Haywood, Vincent St. John, and many other IWW leaders voluntarily testified before the Industrial Relations Commission of the United States government, using this method to make propaganda for their organization. But the most striking example of using the political machinery of the state for purposes of propaganda occurred in 1918, when the federal court in Chicago was turned into a three-month-long IWW agitational meeting—extremely valuable for us—by one

hundred IWW leaders on trial there.

These are all cases of using the political machinery of the capitalist state to make revolutionary propaganda among the masses. This method of propaganda should be used as circumstances dictate—as should parliamentary action. *No weapon should be totally condemned.*

The special and particular business of the IWW is to train workers for the seizure and management of industry. The special function of the Communist political party is to train the workers for the capture of political power and the administration of the proletarian dictatorship. All workers should at the same time be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry and of the political party that advocates communism.

The social revolution and the future society

The aim of the IWW is “to build the new society within the shell of the old.” This means to organize the workers so thoroughly that at a given time the capitalist system will burst asunder and the industrial commonwealth, fully developed, will take its place.

Such an act requires the organization and discipline of the great majority of the workers. Before the war there was reason to believe that this might have been feasible—although in the fourteen years of its history the IWW has been able to organize comparatively only a small fraction of the American workers.

But at the present time such a plan is utopian. Capitalism is breaking down, the social revolution is upon us and *history will not wait until the majority of the workers are organized 100 percent according to the plan of the IWW or any other organization.* There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The war has hurled the peoples of the world into the great cataclysm, and they must plan for *immediate action*—not for the working out of schemes that would take years to accomplish.

The new society is not to be built, as we thought, within the shell of the capitalist system. We cannot wait for that. *The social revolution is here.* And when the workers have overthrown capitalism and have crushed all attempts to reestablish it, then, at their

leisure, through their soviet state, they can build the new society in freedom.

In the face of the social revolution, what is the immediate important work of the Industrial Workers of the World?

They, as the most important organization based on revolutionary unionism in America, should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for the uniting in one organization of all unions that have a class-conscious revolutionary character, of all workers who accept the class struggle—such as the Workers International Industrial Union, the One Big Union, and certain insurgent unions in the AFL. This is no time to quibble about a name or minor questions of organization. The essential task is to draw together all workers capable of revolutionary mass action in time of crisis.

They, as revolutionists, should not repel the attempts of the American Communists to come to an agreement with them for common revolutionary action. The political party and the economic organization must go forward shoulder to shoulder toward the common goal—the abolition of capitalism by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the formation of soviets, and the disappearance of classes and the state.

The Communist International holds out to the IWW the hand of brotherhood.

Gregory Zinoviev

Chairman of the Executive

Committee of the Communist
International

January 1920

4b. Formation of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions⁷

July 15, 1920

Whereas the conditions of proletarians in all countries resulting from the imperialist war demand with every day a clearer and more energetic class struggle to put a definitive end to capitalist exploitation and to establish a communist system;

Whereas such a struggle must be conducted on an international scale through the very closest unity of all workers, united not by individual craft but by industry;

Whereas so-called social reforms—for example, reduction of the working day, an increase in wages, regulating the conditions of labor and so on—may under certain circumstances alleviate the class struggle but are in themselves unable to resolve the social question;

Whereas during the dark years of the war, in most countries that took part in it, most of the unions that had supported neutralism (nonpolitical unions) became servants of imperialist capitalism,⁸ playing a fateful role in delaying the final liberation of the working people;

Whereas the primary responsibility of the working class is to gather all organized union forces into a powerful revolutionary class association, which, working side by side with the political organization of the international Communist proletariat and in close connection with it, would be able to develop all its forces for the final victory of the socialist revolution, for the establishment of the world republic of soviets;

Whereas the ruling classes use all their forces and take every measure to suffocate the liberation movement of the exploited;

Whereas to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie it is necessary to counterpose the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a decisive transitional instrument that alone is capable of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and ensuring and consolidating the achievements of proletarian power;

Whereas the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions is incapable in its program and its tactics of achieving the triumph of these principles and ensuring the victory of the

proletarian masses in all countries;

The undersigned representatives of trade unions of Russia, Italy, Spain, France, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Georgia, convened by the Executive Committee of the Third International, resolve:

1. To condemn the policy of withdrawing the advanced revolutionary forces from the existing unions. These forces must, on the contrary, take every measure to expel the opportunists from the unions. The opportunists have collaborated and are collaborating even now with the bourgeoisie by accepting the imperialist war. They continue to serve the interests of capitalist imperialism by participating in the deceitful activity of the League of Nations;

2. To conduct methodical communist propaganda inside these unions around the world, creating in every organization Communist and revolutionary cells for propaganda work and to affirm our program;

3. To organize a militant international committee for the rebuilding of the trade union movement along these lines.

This committee functions as an *International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions*, working in accord with the Executive Committee of the Third International under conditions to be determined by congresses. All trade and industrial workers' organizations that join the council must be represented in it. One representative of the International Council of Trade Unions must be included on the Executive Committee of the Third International, and vice versa.

S. Lozovsky, All-Russia Central Trade Union Council

L. D'Aragona, Italian General Confederation of Labor

A. Pestaña, National Federation of Labor of Spain

Shablin, General Workers Union of Bulgaria

A. Rosmer, Revolutionary-Syndicalist Minority of the General Confederation of Labor of France

Mikadze, Communist Minority of the Trade Unions of Georgia

Milicic, General Federation of Labor of Yugoslavia (Serbia and others)

4c. Provisional statutes of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions⁹

I. Name

The body, formed by representatives of trade unions of each country, shall be known as the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

II. Aims and objectives

1. To carry on incessant and continuous propaganda and agitation in broad layers of the proletariat for the ideas of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and mass revolutionary action aimed at destroying the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

2. To fight against the disease of class collaboration, which weakens the labor movement, and against the widespread hope for a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

3. To unite all revolutionary forces in the world trade union movement and conduct a determined struggle against the International Labour Office of the League of Nations and against the program and tactics of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

4. To take the initiative in organizing international campaigns at especially critical moments in powerful class struggles, as well as organizing the collection of funds to support strikers in great social conflicts.

5. To collect background, statistics, and documents on the international labor movement and keep all organizations affiliated to the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions informed about the movement in other countries.

6. To publish books, leaflets, and pamphlets on all questions concerning the international trade union movement.

III. Composition

The council is composed of one representative each from the union councils of Russia, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia, and one delegate from each national trade

union federation or individual union belonging to the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. The council also includes a representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The council elects an executive bureau of three persons, including a general secretary and a delegate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IV. Bulletin

The council shall publish its own organ in four languages, entitled *Bulletin of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions*.

V. Conferences

Only those trade unions or trade union minorities that conduct a revolutionary struggle in their country and accept the dictatorship of the proletariat are entitled to representation at international conferences.

National trade union federations, individual unions, and international federations may be represented on the following basis: Those national trade union federations, individual unions, and union minorities with a membership of less than 500,000 have the right to send two delegates; organizations having a membership greater than 500,000 may send an additional delegate for every 500,000 members. International federations such as textile workers or metalworkers may send a delegate with a consultative vote. Individual national unions are allowed representation on the condition that their national federation is not taking part in the conference.¹⁰

With regard to those trade unions such as the IWW that have not yet clearly expressed themselves on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the council instructs the Executive Committee to issue an appeal asking them to submit this question to their local organizations and inviting them to take part in the international conference.

VI. Headquarters

Until the meeting of the international conference, scheduled to

take place on January 1, 1921, the headquarters of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions will be Moscow.

4d. To the trade unions of all countries¹¹

by the Executive Committee

Workers, trade union members of all countries:

The most backward worker and the most backward workers' organization must now recognize that the bourgeois world is crumbling. The old social relations have been upset; the stability of the bourgeois order has turned out to be illusory. The bourgeoisie cannot restore the war-ravaged economy. A bloody civil war is giving birth to a new, free world of labor and true brotherhood.

All humanity has now been divided into two parts. One part—excellently organized, possessing all the technical means of the modern state, permeated by a high degree of class consciousness—is the *bourgeoisie*. The other—less conscious than the bourgeoisie, more poorly organized than its class enemy, and, most important, insufficiently welded together on an international scale—is the *proletariat*.

The last several years have brilliantly demonstrated the bourgeoisie's high degree of class consciousness. Despite the sharp rivalry of national imperialisms, despite acute economic competition, despite even the war, from the first days of the October revolution in Russia the ruling classes of all countries created a united, international antiworker, antirevolutionary front. The rout of the bourgeoisie in one country is perceived by the ruling classes of another country—and of course correctly so—as their own defeat.

Soviet Russia and soviet Hungary have felt the lash of this class solidarity of the exploiters of all countries. There is no corner of the globe, from Japan to Canada, from Brazil to Norway, including the great powers, where the bourgeoisie and its dependent press does not rant and rave against the "barbarism" of the Russian revolution, against the "monstrous pretensions" of the proletariat and its "criminal attempts" on the "sacred" foundations of private property. Moreover, the countries that yesterday were waging war among themselves quickly find a common language whenever the question of proletarian revolution comes up. This was shown at the last conference at Spa, where

Lloyd George, the British minister, and Simons, the representative of the German bourgeois republic, both approached the question of disarmament from the angle of the "Bolshevik peril."

The international bourgeoisie presents a united bloc as soon as matters touch on "sacred profit." Both the British and the French bourgeoisie willingly help the German bourgeoisie to crush the revolutionary workers' movement, and the German bourgeoisie and its military butchers are prepared to drown in blood the socialist movement in France or England.

This high degree of consciousness, an acute class sense of common interests, and excellent organization are the basic strengths of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class. But this alone cannot explain the victory of the bourgeoisie along the whole international front except for Russia. The international bourgeoisie is strong not only in its high degree of organization and its excellently functioning apparatus, but above all because of the workers' backwardness and insufficient consciousness and because *in its struggle against the revolution the bourgeoisie relies on some of the workers' organizations*. This is monstrous, but it is an unquestionable historic fact. It is enough to examine the main countries of Europe and America to be convinced that the strength of the bourgeoisie and its victory are based on the trade unions of these countries.

Indeed, during the long years of war, the unions of almost every country were the support and foundation of the military policy of their own governments. Who raised and promoted the idea of class truce? The "neutral" trade unions. Who preached to the workers during the war for abstention from any revolutionary actions whatsoever and even from economic strikes? The free Social Democratic trade unions. Who was the advocate of extending the working day, intensifying exploitation of female and child labor, abolishing rights that had been won? Who sharpened the nationalist and chauvinist feelings that gripped wide masses of the population? Who led a brutal and merciless struggle against those still loyal to the precepts of international solidarity who were conducting agitation against the imperialist war? The "Socialist" and "syndicalist" unions.

The war dragged on endlessly. On the fields of Europe tens of millions of people perished. Humanity was brought to an ex-

treme degree of exhaustion. The bourgeoisie managed during this war to subordinate to itself hundreds of millions of people, while drawing unheard-of profits from the mutual slaughter of the peoples. And for all this, an immense part of the guilt falls on the leaders of the union movement, who had forgotten the elementary principles of international class solidarity and who had placed the stamp of approval of the workers' organizations on the bloody predatory war.

And when the war ended, these very same union leaders who had promised the workers miracles when their governments won, these very same leaders who had said that the "sacred union" and class collaboration were temporary phenomena called forth by the nation's peril, and that after the war the class struggle would be restored—when the war ended these very same leaders failed to call for the workers to struggle. Even worse, they moved from agreement with the bourgeoisie on a national scale to class collaboration internationally.

As soon as the war ended, the leaders of national trade union movements—the Legiens, Oudegeests, Jouhauzes, Appletons, Gomperses, and others—moved to establish international unity in order to consolidate internationally what earlier they had practiced in each country, during the truce between proletariat and bourgeoisie. To this end, these proven traitors to the working class set up two institutions: one is called the "League of Nations Labour Office" and the other the "International Federation of Trade Unions."

Consisting of six representatives from unions, six from employers' organizations, and twelve from "neutral" governments, the "League of Nations Labour Office" serves as a safety valve to counter the revolutionary movement of each country. Headed by such a specialist in betrayal of the workers as Albert Thomas, the Labour Office is to enable the international bourgeoisie to fend off the social demands of the broad working masses, bribing them with little handouts. Here, before "neutral" representatives of bourgeois governments, the representatives of labor and capital *are to come to an understanding and find a common language. It goes without saying that the basis of negotiations and agreements is the inviolability of private property, the stability of the rule of capital.*

The representatives of the employers' organizations are all

the more willing to *talk* about social reforms, since all this talk does not obligate them to anything. They only obligate these workers' "representatives" to preach a peaceful solution to the social question in their own countries and to sow the illusion that the predatory "League of Nations" and its organs can help the working class get out of the dead end into which the long years of imperialist war have driven it. And that is precisely what the international bourgeoisie needs.

Simultaneously with the creation in Bern of the Labour Office, the "International Federation of Trade Unions" was founded in Amsterdam, at the head of which stand those very same lackeys who are the errand boys for the imperialist League of Nations. What is the program of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions? What is this federation's view on the events that we have lived through? How does it hope to solve the problems before the working class? How does it regard all the forces aggravating the civil war? What does it think about social revolution? What has it done in order to help the proletarians in struggle in different countries? Even the Amsterdam federation of trade unions would be hard put to answer these questions. But from all its actions, as well as its composition, it is clear that it holds entirely to the standpoint of the League of Nations Labour Office, that is, to the standpoint of the utterly bourgeois League of Nations.

This is obvious, first, because the chief leaders of the Amsterdam federation of trade unions are at one and the same time representatives in the League of Nations Labour Office, and, second, because the May declaration of the Amsterdam international federation concluded with the slogan "Implement the resolutions of the Washington Conference."¹²

In this way, the social-patriotic and renegade elements' hold on the trade unions of the largest countries has led to the creation of two *Yellow* organizations, whose very existence lends the bourgeoisie the best possible support in its struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. It could not have been otherwise, since the Second International, composed of traitors to the working class of every country, cannot represent anything other than a union of traitors. Thus the betrayal of the workers' interests has now been consolidated on an international scale. The working class has in its own ranks *an organized agency of the*

bourgeoisie. The Amsterdam association is an agency of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class. And the working class must therefore know that the class struggle consists now not only of a fight against the ruling classes, but first and foremost of a fierce, merciless struggle against the “lieutenants of capital” in its own midst.¹⁵

The struggle against the legacy of the imperialist war and the bourgeoisie’s organized agency in the workers’ organizations is easier because today the working masses are streaming into the trade unions. Where unions’ members were previously counted in hundreds or thousands, now they are counted in tens and hundreds of thousands. The worker looks to the unions for an answer to all the obstinate questions posed by the imperialist war. Old ties were destroyed, old relations were broken. The most backward workers, bound to bourgeois culture, absorbing the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois prejudices of a whole epoch—even these workers, torn from their habitual conditions, enter the unions in search of a better life, looking for solid support for their extremely shaky economic position. The workers join the unions in order to solve collectively the problems before each proletarian, since the individual worker is even more powerless than he was on the eve of the war.

The working masses are filling the trade unions. Around the world unions encompass more than thirty million members. This is a colossal army, and the fate of humanity depends on how it directs its activity. Such an army, if permeated with a spirit of revolutionary class struggle, could overturn the world. Nevertheless, this colossal army, including tens of millions of undoubtedly revolutionary-minded proletarians, is still under the ideological influence and organizational leadership of the old leaders who have gone over to the bourgeoisie.

What forms the basis of all Lloyd George’s bourgeois demagoguery? What sustains with its strength Britain’s entire colonial system? The old British trade unions.

During the whole revolutionary period in Germany, who sent battalions against the social revolution? At the time of most acute crisis, during the reactionary Kapp uprising, who came out as a savior of the unnatural alliance of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? Who is the bearer of the ideology of social peace and of solving the social question in Germany gradually?

The so-called free trade unions of Germany that follow the Legiens.

In France today, who hampers the road of revolutionary struggle? Who wrecks the revolutionary movement in this country? The famous General Confederation of Labor, an organization that for many long years preached social revolution. And when social revolution was placed on the agenda, the leaders of this federation with all their baggage went over to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

This is what we observe in America, Austria, Belgium, Hungary, and other countries. It results in the following monstrous phenomenon: the revolutionizing working masses flow in a broad stream into the unions, which meanwhile continue their old policy of “class collaboration and social peace”—a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

What explains the backwardness of the unions? Why do the unions in most countries still act as a barrier against social revolution? It is because the unions, despite their enormous influx of new members, despite their manyfold expansion, have preserved their old apparatus, their old organizational forms, their old habits, and the old bourgeoisified leaders. The workers join unions in order to tackle collectively the question of liberating labor from the yoke of capital. But once in the unions, the workers encounter the bureaucrats—the very people who compromised during the war, the very leaders who sold the workers of their countries down the river. And at just the moment when social hatred is growing in the working masses, when class energy is accumulating, when all the growing destitution and capitalist barbarism are impelling the working masses to rebellion—at just this moment the unions, which should reflect the revolutionary energy of the masses and convert it to action, act instead as a conservative force, holding back the workers. *The working masses are for revolution, while the old trade union organizations are against it.*

What must each revolutionary worker do in face of such treachery by the trade union movement? What must revolutionaries do when they run up against the social sabotage of the leadership? Get out of the unions, abandon these mass organizations, and create their own little unions? Walk away from millions of workers inspired by class hatred, leaving them under the

ideological leadership of the old leaders, tearing out of the union the most revolutionary and active elements? This would be a suicidal policy! This is hara-kiri!

The Second Congress of the Communist International knows perfectly well the value of the Yellow leaders and the measure of their treachery. It nonetheless speaks sharply and categorically *against* withdrawing from the mass workers' organizations. Communists must be where the working masses are. Every worker must know and understand that in western Europe and America social revolution without the million-membered army of trade unions is impossible. That is why it is necessary to win the unions that put a brake on the revolutionary movement. That is why it is necessary to throw out of the ranks of the working class and its organizations the elements who, when the battle between labor and capital reaches its peak, act as strike-breakers against their own class. *Not by passively leaving the unions, but by struggling actively within them and by expelling from them the traitors, the Yellow leaders.* That is the slogan to be implemented with all revolutionary determination and with all necessary energy.

This struggle against the treacherous policy of the heads of the union movement must be conducted through *factory committees*. To win the factory committees, to subordinate them to the influence of the Communist and revolutionary parties, to make them a tool for converting the craft unions into industrial organizations, into a powerful battering ram to smash the economic order of capitalism—that is the task of the day. The Communist Party, carrying with it all those who are aware of the great social catastrophe happening before our eyes, can and must carry out this task in every country.

This is all the easier since the new layers of workers filling the old unions are not reconciled to the union leadership's tradition of treachery. This last year was rich with facts testifying to a shift in this respect. In Britain, Germany, and even America two extremely important phenomena can be seen. Union after union is emerging from the influence of the old sellout leadership, and is shifting, be it slowly, to the left. In addition, tremendous strikes are taking place despite the decisions of the union bureaucracy—bypassing it and opposing it. These facts prove best of all that the union bureaucracy, even the most reaction-

ary, may find itself in an iron grip—it is necessary only to know how to win the working masses.

Drive the traitors out of the union movement and make the unions a powerful instrument of social revolution on an international scale—that is the only way to resolve the problem. But the socialist revolution is international. The tug of war between labor and capital, beginning separately in each country, will be resolved and this solution consolidated only when our international organization is permeated with the revolutionary energy and communist consciousness indispensable to overthrow international capital. That is why, simultaneous with the task of winning the union movement in each country, the union members of all countries face the task of *creating an international center for the union movement*. This center, together with the Communist International, would represent a single whole, a single steel block.

This task will be realized when the unions turn away from the Labour Office created by the traitors of the union movement of different countries under the imperialist League of Nations and break away from the international federation of Yellow trade unions in Amsterdam, which is spiritually and materially connected to the capitalist world.

On July 15, in Moscow, an *International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions* was created by the unions of Russia, Britain, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia. The Communist International calls on all workers who stand for social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to conduct a decisive struggle for their unions to join this council, and for the trade unions of all countries to withdraw from the brothel bearing the name of the League of Nations Labour Office and from the Amsterdam federation of Yellow trade unions connected with it.

The program of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions is the program of the Communist International, that is, the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the installation of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It strives for a worldwide republic of soviets and a close, indestructible alliance between the Communist parties and the unions. From this it is clear that the Amsterdam trade union center, a refuge for political invalids from the bankrupt Second International and the

final bulwark of international capital, must be destroyed. All revolutionary class-struggle unions must, through their own International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, become an indissoluble part of the Third, Communist International.

Rank-and-file members of the trade unions, Communists, revolutionaries:

The Second World Congress of the Communist International summons you to an active struggle for the unions. Win the factory committees, reshape the narrow shop and craft unions into industrial unions! Take these powerful organizations into your own hands. Do not shrink from the most decisive struggle against those who convert the workers' organizations into tools of bourgeois policy. You are often threatened with split and expulsion. But this will frighten only weak-willed and passive people. The Communist International does not want a split of the unions and does not strive for one, but neither does it fear one. The same will be said by every revolutionary worker, by every fair-minded socialist.

Like any workers' organization, a trade union is not an end in itself but a means to an end. That is why neither split nor unity is an absolute. The union movement does not need a split, but it does need to expel from the unions those treacherous groups of leaders who make the workers' organizations into playthings of imperialism. Such is the task that stands before the Communists of all countries, before all conscious, honest, and revolutionary-minded proletarians.

Drive the Yellow traitors in leadership out of the trade unions!

Long live the revolutionary proletarian trade unions, fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live an indestructible alliance between the Communist parties and the trade unions of all countries!

Long live the Communist International!

The agrarian question

5a. The agrarian question and the world revolution¹

by Julian Marchlewski

It is no accident that the Second International never placed the agrarian question on its agenda, while the Communist International feels itself called upon to take up this question right away. So long as the Socialist parties talked a lot about revolution but were never confronted with its reality, their connection to the countryside amounted at best to agitation among farm workers and small peasants. Now and then, in their parliamentary work, they dealt with limited agrarian reforms. Since conditions of agriculture in individual countries appeared infinitely varied, however, it did indeed make little sense to take up this topic in an international framework.

Now that revolutionary action is at hand, things are different. Here we run up against the banal but quite fundamental fact that the social division of labor in capitalist society, which has led to a deep gulf between the city and the countryside, must be of decisive importance for the revolutionary movement. The makers of the revolution, the proletarians of the cities and industrial districts, must be fed. Their power is paralyzed if the countryside is counterrevolutionary and denies them food. This is especially so in the present situation, where the mass slaughter has led to an unheard-of shortage of food throughout Europe. Every revolutionary action poses the question of the attitude of the rural population, which is tightly bound up with that of the nourishment of the cities. This is an exceptionally important matter.

The Russian revolution has provided uncommonly rich material in this regard. But while these experiences must not be disregarded, we must also note that the situation that arose in Russia cannot be repeated in any other country. First of all, the Russian peasantry found itself in an objectively revolutionary

situation, although the masses lacked the corresponding subjective consciousness. This revolutionary situation is explained by historical facts. Serfdom in Russia was eliminated only a half century ago, and capitalist relations in agriculture had not yet been consolidated. Russia remained until 1917 a land of enormous latifundia, but in Great Russia there were scarcely any large-scale capitalist operations on these latifundia.² The landlords did not cultivate their property, but rented the land to peasants, almost always on a short-term basis, because the wretched peasants, in contrast to the American or English farmers, could offer no guarantee of organized, intensive cultivation.

Thus arose a most backward form of agriculture with a dispersal of operations the likes of which is hardly to be found in the capitalist world. Hence also the unbelievably low yields. Even in good soil the peasants harvested crops only half the size of those from less fertile soil in central and western Europe. Russia nevertheless exported great quantities of grain. But it was not the surplus after its own needs had been met that the tsarist empire offered on the world market. The government's economic policies forced the peasants to sell even though they were starving and literally dying from hunger.

Thus everything pressed toward a revolutionary solution. The peasant became an ally of the proletariat, which guaranteed him possession of the land and use of the products of his labor. But this peasant, quite radical in dealing with the ownership rights of the large landlords, was not at all revolutionary in the subjective sense and was far removed from consciously collaborating in the construction of a proletarian state. Were the will of the peasantry to prevail, an economic order would take shape in the countryside with unlimited private ownership by the peasants of their individual plots of land. Because of this, we see a large part of the peasantry in the counterrevolutionary camp. Only the hard fact that the leading elements of the counterrevolution—the large landlords, the bourgeoisie, and the tsarist officials—are not willing to condone the “theft of landed property” by the peasants brings the peasantry to its senses. Furthermore, the animalistic egoism of the peasantry led inevitably to holding back food from the cities, even when the peasants had a surplus. The proletarian government, if it was not to abandon the large cities to famine, had to use force against this animalistic egoism.

All the more since the ruin caused by war and the chaos of the civil war meant that industry was not in a position to provide products for a rational exchange of goods between city and countryside.

The thinly populated character of the countryside, the relatively small urban population, and finally the fact that in Russia a very large part of the working class has not yet fully broken its ties to the village, but remains in close touch through family connections—all this made it possible to gain time in order to solve the conflict between city and countryside in an organic manner. Despite the terrible destruction of means of transportation, the cities were supplied with a modest amount of provisions, and a large part of the working class fled the starving cities for the villages.

In western Europe and America the situation is different. The revolutionary proletariat, in a time of struggle, will meet with even greater difficulties with regard to feeding the cities, and the relationship between city and countryside demands solutions different from those possible in Russia. That alone makes it necessary to clarify the agrarian question in its totality, above all from the standpoint of the revolutionary transformation.

These lines cannot assume the task of presenting a program of the Communist International on the agrarian question, especially since, given the variation of conditions in different countries, a single program is not at all possible. It is rather a matter of noting the questions as they arise and posing them for discussion.

The structure of rural property and production relations in the countries of Europe

In order to make possible an overview, we would like to propose examining the agrarian conditions in the countries of Europe in two groups: (a) countries in which large-scale agriculture plays a predominant role, and (b) countries in which peasant land ownership and cultivation is decisive.

This ought to make it possible to come to agreement on the general lines of a revolutionary agrarian policy. Of course a certain schematism must be allowed for, but it is of no consequence, insofar as we are concerned only with the most general

features of a program that will need adjustment in every individual country.

The first group, then, comprises "central Europe," not in its usual meaning, but a region with a peculiar agrarian formation in which large-scale agriculture plays a predominant role. This zone stretches roughly from the Dnieper on the east past the Elbe on the west and from the Baltic to the mountains of the Balkans. Outside of this region, in the west, south, and north of Europe, we face a different type of agrarian system.

This central European zone, of course, is by no means homogeneous in its agrarian system, but in all the countries within it—Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Bohemia, eastern Germany, and a part of Austria—we observe the preponderant role of large-scale agriculture. The historical reason is everywhere the same: the relatively late abolition of serfdom. Thus we can recognize everywhere more or less clear vestiges of the agrarian system based on the peasants' lack of freedom. In this connection, of course, the conditions in individual countries are quite varied. Yet the point is that in this zone the large estates are what matter, since they comprise 30 to 50 percent or more of the land area in the individual countries, and on these estates the economy is organized on capitalist principles—large-scale agriculture dominates.

It follows that in these countries we are dealing with a relatively sizable layer of propertyless farm workers, that is, true proletarians. Moreover, in almost all these countries a second layer is strongly represented: owners of small plots, who are not "peasants" proper, since they possess too little land to eke out an existence from the yields of their own farms. They support themselves mainly through wage labor on the large-scale agricultural estates and are thus "semiproletarians."

The peasantry in these countries comprises a very substantial part of the population, but not in every case the absolute majority, if the semiproletarians are separated out. However much Schäffle's reference to the "anticollectivist peasant skull" may apply to the peasants of our "central Europe," they still do constitute a revolutionary element to some degree, insofar as the contradiction between peasants and the estate owners ("barons" in Latvia; "*szlachta*" in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine; "magnates" in Hungary; "Junkers" in eastern Germany) is a

substantial force in the political and social life of these countries. As capitalist entrepreneurs, the estate owners still have extensive prerogatives over the peasants, which result in numerous conflicts that lead the peasantry to be, in a certain sense, revolutionary.

In the countries of this "central European" zone, therefore, we are dealing in the countryside with proletarian and semi-proletarian elements, landless farm workers and owners of small plots, who can certainly be won to the revolution, as well as with a peasantry that is revolutionary to the extent that it has a compelling interest, come what may, in overthrowing the political supremacy of the owners of large estates. Only the large peasants, who are but few in number in almost all these countries, can be regarded as a counterrevolutionary force, ready to make common cause with the Junkers.

It is easy to arrive at the idea of winning the proletarian, semiproletarian, and peasant elements through a program that simply decrees the partition of the large estates among the rural population. Such a measure would, however, signify a step backward with regard to the relations of production. Despite all the talk of "democratic" and "revisionist" theoreticians,³ it is precisely in this zone—for climatic reasons a zone of grain cultivation—that the superiority of large-scale over small-scale agriculture is beyond any doubt. Destruction of the large enterprises, which are administered more or less rationally throughout the area, would mean an absolute reduction in yields.

Finally, the way things stand today, dividing up the large estates can offer no real benefits to the peasantry, since there is not enough land to give out. The first to be considered would have to be the farm workers and the owners of small plots, who would lose their livelihood with the liquidation of the large estates. Yet this land would hardly suffice to provide these two categories even minimally with land, and so nothing would remain for the working peasants. Moreover it is false to say that the farm workers are obsessed with becoming property owners no matter what. They know quite well that the lot of a more or less well-paid farm worker is superior to that of an indebted small peasant, who works his fingers to the bone on his few hectares and is still never free of worry and want.

As noted, the working peasant population in the countries of

this zone is favorable to the revolution insofar as it finds itself in sharp political conflict with the large estate owners, but it is certainly not going to be won to a communist economic system. There is, however, no necessity for a revolutionary assault on peasant property relations. Without renouncing its communist goal, the proletariat can leave the development of social relations in this field to the passage of time. Only experience can persuade the peasantry of the advantages of large-scale communist agricultural enterprises. But the proletarian revolution can immediately offer the working peasants quite substantial advantages. *These peasants undergo crushing debt slavery to finance capital.* When the proletariat, after establishing its dictatorship, in one stroke declares the debts of these peasants null and void, it makes them a gift that is tantamount to a significant increase in wealth. Besides, the peasantry can only gain by this transformation since, based on the council system, it will achieve true self-administration, which can advance its interests, its commercial relations, and its cooperative affairs. This means not winning the peasantry to the communist program but neutralizing it for now in the decisive battle between the proletariat and capital, a compromise that secures advantages to both sides.

This, then, is the agrarian program for Communist parties in this zone:

- For political as well as economic reasons the large estate owners are the main enemy and must be brought down at all costs.
- Their landholdings, together with attached equipment and livestock, will be expropriated without compensation.
- The agricultural enterprises will be declared nationalized property and will be administered, under state supervision, by estate councils made up of the farm workers, both those without land and the semiproletarian owners of small plots.
- The surplus product of these operations, after meeting the needs of the farm workers, will serve the needs of the urban population.
- The farm workers will be state employees at steady, decent wages who will supply the cities with food and will in turn be provided by the cities with all necessary industrial products.
- The property and operations of the working peasant will not be touched. The debt burden of the peasants will be can-

celed, and they will enjoy all the advantages of effective self-administration based on the council system.

It is well known that there are numerous "issues" regarding peasant property, all of which amount to reforming relations within the capitalist economic system. These include the use of entailment to limit the partition of peasant holdings through inheritance, getting rid of "common lands" through their becoming municipal property, the question of credit, and others. It is unnecessary for a revolutionary program to go into these detailed questions. That will be up to the peasantry to work out, with the proletarian state having its say, of course. Moreover, these are things that can be left to the near future; given a fundamentally new political order they will take on quite a different form than they have had up to now. Thus we can put these questions off for now.

One question, however, which was resolved in Russia in a revolutionary fashion, may be of particular interest. There all wage labor for the benefit of a private landowner was absolutely forbidden, in order to head off the formation of new, large-scale private land ownership. This specific measure appears to be aimed against the large peasants, who cannot operate without wage labor. Nevertheless it seems questionable whether such a radical intervention will be necessary in the countries of our zone. Such a law would antagonize the peasantry no end, since, given the very complex conditions of production, even the working peasant cannot get by without any wage labor at all.

On the other hand, given the general "labor shortage" in agriculture in most of the countries under consideration, such a ban could impose itself naturally. For when the large enterprises go over to intensive cultivation and offer the workers favorable conditions, the large peasants will be hard put to find workers. They would probably soon be forced to reduce their property to a size on which they could till the soil, while the remaining land would become the property of working peasants who have no land. Such peasant holdings are poorly suited to nationalization, since once a portion has been set aside for the previous owner, the remaining land will as a rule be too small for any rational exploitation.

At any rate this question would have to be weighed carefully in each of the countries concerned.

Countries with small peasant property

To the west of our "central European" zone begins the region where the large landed estate plays a minimal role and agrarian conditions are characterized by a thoroughly petty-bourgeois breadth and scope. This includes western Germany, part of Austria, France, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, the south of Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

The situation in Italy is exceptional inasmuch as a particular form of latifundium has survived here, and the peasantry has long been in revolutionary ferment. Small in size, these latifundia are hardly worthy of the name by eastern European standards. Only seldom are they worked as large-scale operations. Mostly the land is rented out to peasants, who cultivate it in uncommonly intensive small-scale operations bordering on garden farming. The conditions of rent are extremely harsh for the peasantry, who, driven nearly to desperation, are constantly rising up in revolt. A quick transition to rational, large-scale operations appears hardly possible under present conditions. We are dealing here not with grain farming, but with the cultivation of rice, vegetables, wine, garden produce, and, in several areas, very intensive cattle raising. So here we have scarcely any choice but to divide up the latifundia, bowing to the will of the oppressed small peasant and leaving the land in the hands of the peasantry.

Here, therefore, the revolutionary proletariat has in the peasantry a firm ally. The only way to open the road to communism is through the systematic development of cooperatives.

To a certain degree things are similar in Spain and Portugal.

The prospects for revolution are less favorable in western Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, where petty-bourgeois property is firmly rooted and the peasantry is extremely conservative if not outright reactionary in every respect. Any hope of winning the broad masses of the peasantry to revolutionary action might seem futile. Nevertheless, the way things stand in Belgium, in various regions of western Germany such as Baden, the Rhineland, and Westphalia, and in the industrial regions of France, the working class makes up the solid majority of the population. At any rate, the revolutionary proletariat has potential comrades-in-arms in the countryside: the

agricultural workers, not so numerous in these "peasant countries" as in countries with many large landed estates, but a significant layer nevertheless.

Therefore it would be illusory to attempt to win this peasantry through agitation for the ideas of the proletarian revolution. The task must consist in neutralizing them by means of compromise.

The peasantry of these countries is much deeper in debt than in central Europe and emancipation from the debt slavery of finance capital has enormous significance for them. Dividing up the large estates is another concern here. In general there is no strong reason to maintain the large-scale operations. Here and there, of course, there are large operations of general economic importance such as stud farms and farms producing seed grain. With these exceptions, however, large enterprises play no decisive role. Thus it is in no way an economic step backward to divide up the large estates in these countries in order to provide the suffering, land-hungry small peasants with the means to sustain themselves. The difficulty lies in what attitude to take toward the property of the large peasantry. This question seems eminently political. In countries where the reactionary large peasantry is numerous and, because of its numbers, plays a prominent role, a revolutionary struggle must necessarily be waged against it. This might be the case in parts of Bavaria and Württemberg as well as parts of Scandinavia. And here the movement will be such that the small peasants and farm workers, relatively numerous in such regions, will unite with the urban proletariat in carrying out a thoroughgoing agrarian reform.

In any event, for all these regions with overwhelmingly peasant property it should be firmly grasped and emphasized that expropriation of working peasants who do not exploit outside labor power is absolutely foreign to the program of the revolutionary Communist proletariat. With respect to industry we are dealing with a social revolution, with expropriating the expropriators. But the countryside, in these countries with overwhelmingly peasant property, will be directly affected only by the political reverberations of this social revolution. The council system, as already mentioned, leads by its very nature to the authentic realization of *self-management*. It can offer the working

peasantry nothing but advantages, and no disadvantages. We can safely assume that with moderately skillful agitation these advantages can become clear to even the most backward peasants. Here the main opponent may well be the counterrevolutionary clergy—which is counterrevolutionary as a matter of principle. Since what is involved here are overwhelmingly Catholic regions, the opponent is not to be underestimated, and must be fought relentlessly with all means.

Britain is a special case due to its quite special agrarian conditions: on the one hand, large estates laden with feudal privileges; on the other, purely capitalist operations based on the rental system. Without a doubt the parasitic layer of landlords must be overthrown; the dictatorship of the proletariat is unthinkable so long as the landlords hold sway over the ground the British proletariat lives on.

To what extent is the tenant farmer a partisan of the landlord and to what extent his social opponent? One part of these tenants consists of working peasants. For them the expropriation of the landlords is an immediate gain. With the nationalization of land in Britain, the British proletariat, as master of this land, can guarantee the working peasants formidable advantages. It will cede them this land for cultivation under favorable conditions, which may include the total suppression of the rents formerly gouged from them by the landlords.

Another section of tenants is quite thoroughly different in character. These are capitalist entrepreneurs, who conduct extremely intensive operations on rented land with hired wage labor. Clearly, these capitalists would gladly rid themselves of the burden of paying rent to the landlord. But just as clearly they see that in the social revolution their capitalist property cannot retain a “do not disturb” status. Therefore they will prefer to defend the status quo.

Thus both the capitalist renters and the landlords must be combated, while the working peasants, farmers, and landless workers appear as allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

We would like to forgo judgment here on the extent to which large operations in Britain, organized until now on a capitalist basis, should be retained, and on the desirability of dividing up the land among the farm workers and working peasants. It is the task of the British communists to carefully decide on and answer

these questions, which will urgently demand categorical solutions with the outbreak of the revolution.

As noted, we consider it the main task of these lines to point to the urgent necessity of a clear program regarding agricultural conditions. Unfortunately, in this respect there are still huge gaps, for in most countries the Communist parties have of necessity sorely neglected precisely these questions. This should in no way be taken as a reproach. Certainly there have been urgent tasks that absorbed all available energy. But time is pressing. In no country of Europe can we be sure that "tomorrow" the Communist Party will not face a situation where it must take power, whether it wants to or not. It will not do for these parties to confront the problems of agrarian conditions in helpless confusion. The example of Russia should teach us how difficult these problems are and how important a thought-out position on them is for the success of the social revolution, for the triumph of our communist idea.

Let us hope that the international congress will advance the urgent resolution of these problems.

5b. Preliminary draft theses on the agrarian question⁴

by V.I. Lenin

In his article Comrade Marchlewski gave an excellent explanation of the reasons why the Second International, which has now become the Yellow International, failed not only to define the revolutionary proletariat's tactics on the agrarian question but even to pose that question properly. Comrade Marchlewski then went on to set forth the theoretical fundamentals of the Third International's communist agrarian program.

These fundamentals can (and, I think, should) serve as the basis of the general resolution on the agrarian question for the Communist International congress, which will meet on July 15, 1920.

The following is a preliminary draft of that resolution:

1. Only the urban and industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can liberate the working masses of the countryside from the yoke of capital and landed proprietorship, from ruin and the imperialist wars that will inevitably break out again and again if the capitalist system remains. There is no salvation for the working masses of the countryside except in alliance with the Communist proletariat, and unless they give the latter devoted support in its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landowners (the large landed proprietors) and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers cannot accomplish their epoch-making mission of emancipating mankind from the yoke of capital and from wars if they confine themselves to their narrow craft or trade interests and smugly restrict themselves to attaining an improvement in their own conditions, which may sometimes be tolerable in the petty-bourgeois sense. This is exactly what happens to the "labor aristocracy" of many advanced countries, who constitute the core of the so-called Socialist parties of the Second International. They are actually the bitter enemies and betrayers of socialism—petty-bourgeois chauvinists and agents of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement.

The proletariat is a really revolutionary class and acts in a

really socialist manner only when it comes out and acts as the vanguard of all the working and exploited people, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters; this, however, cannot be achieved unless the class struggle is carried into the countryside, unless the rural working masses are united about the Communist Party of the urban proletariat, and unless they are trained by the proletariat.

2. The working and exploited people of the countryside, whom the urban proletariat must lead into the struggle or, at all events, win over, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following classes:

First, the agricultural proletariat, wage laborers (by the year, season, or day) who obtain their livelihood by working for hire at capitalist agricultural enterprises. The organization of this class (political, military, trade union, cooperative, cultural, educational, and so on) independently and separately from other groups of the rural population, the conduct of intensive propaganda and agitation among this class, and the winning of its support for the soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the *fundamental* tasks of the Communist parties in all countries.

Second, the semiproletarians or peasants who till tiny plots of land, that is, those who obtain their livelihood partly as wage laborers at agricultural and industrial capitalist enterprises and partly by working their own or rented plots of land, which provide their families only with part of their means of subsistence. This group of the rural working population is very numerous in all capitalist countries. Its existence and special position are played down by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and by the Yellow "Socialists" belonging to the Second International, partly by deliberately deceiving the workers and partly by blindly submitting to the routine of petty-bourgeois views and lumping together this group with the mass of the "peasantry."

This bourgeois method of duping the workers is to be seen mostly in Germany and in France, but also in America and other countries. If the work of the Communist Party is properly organized, this group will become its assured supporter, for the lot of these semiproletarians is a very hard one and they stand to gain enormously and immediately from soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third, the small peasantry, that is, the small-scale tillers who, either as owners or as tenants, hold small plots of land that enable them to satisfy the needs of their families and their farms and who do not hire outside labor. This stratum, as such, undoubtedly stands to gain by the victory of the proletariat, which will fully and immediately bring it (a) deliverance from the necessity of paying the large landowners rent or a share of the crop (for example the *métayers* in France, also in Italy and other countries); (b) deliverance from mortgages; (c) deliverance from the numerous forms of oppression by and dependence on the large landowners (forest lands and their use, etc.); (d) immediate aid for their farms from the proletarian state (the use of the agricultural implements and part of the buildings on the large capitalist farms confiscated by the proletariat and the immediate conversion, by the proletarian state, of the rural cooperative societies and agricultural associations from organizations that under capitalism served above all the rich and middle peasants into organizations that will primarily assist the poor, that is, proletarians, semiproletarians, small peasants, etc.), and many other things.

At the same time the Communist Party must clearly realize that during the transitional period from capitalism to communism, that is, during the dictatorship of the proletariat, this stratum, or at all events part of it, will inevitably vacillate toward unrestricted freedom of trade and the free enjoyment of the rights of private property. That is because this stratum, which, if only in a small way, is a seller of articles of consumption, has been corrupted by profiteering and by proprietary habits. However, if a firm proletarian policy is pursued, and if the victorious proletariat deals very resolutely with the large landowners and the large peasants, this stratum's vacillation cannot be considerable and cannot alter the fact that, on the whole, it will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. Taken together, the three groups enumerated above constitute the majority of the rural population in all capitalist countries. That is why the success of the proletarian revolution is fully assured, not only in the cities but in the countryside as well. The reverse view is widespread. However, it persists only, first, because of the deception systematically practiced by bourgeois science and statistics, which do everything to gloss over both the

gulf that separates the above-mentioned classes in the countryside from the exploiters—the landowners and capitalists—and that which separates the semiproletarians and small peasants from the large peasants.

Second, it persists because of the inability and unwillingness of the heroes of the Yellow Second International and of the “labor aristocracy” in the advanced countries, which has been corrupted by imperialist privileges, to conduct genuinely proletarian revolutionary work of propaganda, agitation, and organization among the rural poor. The attention of the opportunists has always been and still is wholly concentrated on inventing theoretical and practical compromises with the bourgeoisie, including the large and middle peasants (who are dealt with below), and not on the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.

It persists, third, because of the obstinate refusal to understand—so obstinate as to be equivalent to a prejudice (connected with all the other bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices)—a truth that has been fully proved by Marxist theory and fully corroborated by the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia, namely, that although the three enumerated categories of the rural population—who are incredibly downtrodden, disunited, crushed, and doomed to semibarbarous conditions of existence in all countries, even the most advanced—are economically, socially, and culturally interested in the victory of socialism, they are capable of giving resolute support to the revolutionary proletariat only *after* the latter has won political power, only *after* it has resolutely dealt with the large landowners and capitalists, and only *after* these downtrodden people see in *practice* that they have an organized leader and champion, strong and firm enough to assist and lead them and to show them the right path.

4. In the economic sense, one should understand by “middle peasants” those small farmers who (a) either as owners or tenants, hold plots of land that are also small but, under capitalism, are sufficient not only to provide, as a general rule, a meager subsistence for the family and the bare minimum needed to maintain the farm, but also produce a certain surplus that may, in good years at least, be converted into capital; (b) quite frequently (for example, one farm out of two or three) resort to

the employment of hired labor.

A concrete example of the middle peasants in an advanced capitalist country is provided by the group of farms of five to ten hectares [twelve to twenty-five acres] in Germany, in which, according to the census of 1907, the number of farms employing hired laborers is about one-third of the total number of farms in this group.* In France, where the cultivation of special crops is more developed—for example, grape growing, which requires a very large amount of labor—this group probably employs outside hired labor to a somewhat greater extent.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot set itself the task—at least not in the immediate future or in the initial period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—of winning over this stratum, but must confine itself to the task of neutralizing it, that is, rendering it neutral in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This stratum inevitably vacillates between these two forces. In the beginning of the new epoch and in the developed capitalist countries, it will, in the main, incline toward the bourgeoisie. That is because the world outlook and the sentiments of the property owners are prevalent among this stratum, which has a direct interest in profiteering, in “freedom” of trade and in property, and stands in direct antagonism to the wageworkers.

By abolishing rent and mortgages, the victorious proletariat will immediately improve the position of this stratum. In most capitalist countries, however, the proletarian state should not at once completely abolish private property. At all events, it guarantees both the small and the middle peasantry not only the preservation of their plots of land but also their enlargement to cover the total area they usually rented (the abolition of rent).

A combination of such measures with a ruthless struggle

* Here are the exact figures: the number of farms of five to ten hectares—652,798 (out of a total of 5,736,082); these employed 487,704 hired laborers of various kinds while members of the farmers' families (*Familienangehörige*) working on the farms numbered 2,003,633. In Austria, according to the census of 1902, this group comprised 383,331 farms, of which 126,136 employed hired labor; the hired laborers working on these farms numbered 146,044 and the working members of the farmers' families 1,265,969. The total number of farms in Austria was 2,856,349. [Note by Lenin.]

against the bourgeoisie fully guarantees the success of the policy of neutralization. The proletarian state must effect the transition to collective farming with extreme caution and only very gradually, by the force of example, without any coercion of the middle peasant.

5. The large peasants (*Grossbauern*) are capitalist entrepreneurs in agriculture, who as a rule employ several hired laborers and are connected with the "peasantry" only in their low cultural level, habits of life, and the manual labor they themselves perform on their farms. These constitute the biggest of the bourgeois strata, who are open and determined enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. In all their work in the countryside, the Communist parties must concentrate their attention mainly on the struggle against this stratum, on liberating the toiling and exploited majority of the rural population from the ideological and political influence of these exploiters, etc.

Following the victory of the proletariat in the cities, all sorts of manifestations of resistance and sabotage, as well as direct armed action of a counterrevolutionary character on the part of this stratum, are absolutely inevitable. The revolutionary proletariat must therefore immediately begin the ideological and organizational preparation of the forces necessary to completely disarm this stratum and, simultaneously with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, to deal this stratum a most determined, ruthless, and smashing blow at the very first signs of resistance. For this purpose, the rural proletariat must be armed and village soviets organized, in which the exploiters must have no place, and in which proletarians and semi-proletarians must be ensured predominance.

However, the expropriation even of the large peasants can in no way be made an immediate task of the victorious proletariat, because the material and especially the technical conditions, as well as the social conditions, for the socialization of such farms are still lacking. In individual and probably exceptional cases, those parts of their land that they rent out in small plots or that are particularly needed by the surrounding small-peasant population will be confiscated. The small peasants should also be guaranteed, on certain terms, the free use of part of the agricultural machinery belonging to the large peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the proletarian state must allow the large

peasants to retain their land, confiscating it only if they resist the power of the working and exploited people.

The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, in which the struggle against the large peasantry was complicated and protracted by a number of special conditions, showed nevertheless that, when taught a severe lesson for the slightest attempt at resistance, this stratum is capable of loyally fulfilling the tasks set by the proletarian state, and even begins to be imbued, although very slowly, with respect for the government that protects all who work and is ruthless toward the idle rich.

The special conditions that, in Russia, complicated and retarded the struggle of the proletariat against the large peasants after it had defeated the bourgeoisie were, in the main, the following: after November 7, 1917 [October 25, old style], the Russian revolution passed through the stage of the “general democratic”—that is, basically the bourgeois-democratic—struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners; the cultural and numerical weakness of the urban proletariat; and, lastly, the enormous distances and extremely poor means of communication.

Inasmuch as these retarding conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat of Europe and America should prepare far more energetically and achieve far more rapidly, resolutely, and successfully complete victory over the resistance of the large peasantry, completely depriving it of the slightest possibility of offering resistance. This is imperative because, until such a complete and absolute victory is achieved, the masses of the rural proletarians, semiproletarians, and small peasants cannot be brought to accept the proletarian state as a fully stable one.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must immediately and unreservedly confiscate all landed estates, those of the large landowners, who, in capitalist countries—directly or through their tenant farmers—systematically exploit wage labor and the neighboring small (and, not infrequently, part of the middle) peasantry, do not themselves engage in manual labor, and are in the main descended from the feudal lords (the nobles in Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs in France, the lords in Britain, and the former slave owners in America), or are rich financial magnates, or else a mixture of both these catego-

ries of exploiters and parasites.

Under no circumstances is it permissible for Communist parties to advocate or practice compensating the large landowners for the confiscated lands, for under present-day conditions in Europe and America this would be tantamount to a betrayal of socialism and the imposition of new tribute upon the masses of working and exploited people, to whom the war has meant the greatest hardships, while it has increased the number of millionaires and enriched them.

As to the mode of cultivation of the land that the victorious proletariat confiscates from the large landowners, the distribution of that land among the peasantry for their use has been predominant in Russia, owing to her economic backwardness; it is only in relatively rare and exceptional cases that state farms have been organized on the former estates that the proletarian state runs at its own expense, converting the former wage laborers into workers for the state and members of the soviets, which administer the state. The Communist International is of the opinion that in the case of the advanced capitalist countries it would be correct to keep *most* of the large agricultural enterprises intact and to conduct them on the lines of the "state farms" in Russia.

It would, however, be grossly erroneous to exaggerate or to stereotype this rule and never to permit the free grant of *part* of the land that belonged to the expropriated expropriators to the neighboring small and sometimes middle peasants.

First, the objection usually raised to this, namely, that large-scale farming is technically superior, often amounts to an indisputable theoretical truth being replaced by the worst kind of opportunism and betrayal of the revolution. To achieve the success of this revolution, the proletariat should not shrink from a temporary decline in production, any more than the bourgeois opponents of slavery in North America shrank from a temporary decline in cotton production as a consequence of the Civil War of 1863-65.

What is most important to the bourgeois is production for the sake of production; what is most important to the working and exploited population is the overthrow of the exploiters and the creation of conditions that will permit the working people to work for themselves and not for the capitalists. It is the primary

and fundamental task of the proletariat to ensure the proletarian victory and its stability. There can, however, be no stable proletarian government unless the middle peasantry is neutralized and the support is secured of a very considerable section of the small peasantry, if not all of them.

Second, not merely an increase but even the preservation of large-scale production in agriculture presupposes the existence of a fully developed and consciously revolutionary rural proletariat with considerable experience of trade union and political organization behind it. Where this condition does not yet exist, or where this work cannot expediently be entrusted to class-conscious and competent industrial workers, hasty attempts to set up large state-conducted farms can only discredit the proletarian government. Under such conditions, the utmost caution must be exercised and the most thorough preparations made when state farms are set up.

Third, in all capitalist countries, even the most advanced, there still exist survivals of medieval, semifeudal exploitation of the neighboring small peasants by the large landowners, as in the case of the *Instleute* [tenant farmers] in Germany, the *métayers* in France, and the sharecroppers in the United States (not only Negroes, who, in the southern states, are mostly exploited in this way, but sometimes whites too). In such cases it is incumbent on the proletarian state to grant the small peasants free use of the lands they formerly rented, since no other economic or technical basis exists and it cannot be created at one stroke.

The implements and stock of the large farms must be confiscated without fail and converted into state property, with the absolute condition that *after* the requirements of the large state farms have been met, the neighboring small peasants may have the use of these implements gratis, in compliance with conditions drawn up by the proletarian state.

In the period immediately following the proletarian revolution, it is absolutely necessary not only to confiscate the estates of the large landowners at once but also to deport or to intern them all as leaders of counterrevolution and ruthless oppressors of the entire rural population. However, with the consolidation of the proletarian power in the countryside as well as in the cities, systematic efforts should be made to employ (under the

special control of highly reliable Communist workers) those forces within this class that possess valuable experience, know-how, and organizing skill, to build large-scale socialist agriculture.

7. The victory of socialism over capitalism and the consolidation of socialism may be regarded as ensured only when the proletarian state power, having completely suppressed all resistance by the exploiters and assured itself complete subordination and stability, has reorganized the whole of industry on the lines of large-scale collective production and on a modern technical basis (founded on the electrification of the entire economy). This alone will enable the cities to render such radical assistance, technical and social, to the backward and scattered rural population as will create the material basis necessary to boost the productivity of agricultural and of farm labor in general, thereby encouraging the small farmers by the force of example and in their own interests to adopt large-scale, collective, and mechanized agriculture.

Although nominally recognized by all socialists, this indisputable theoretical truth is in fact distorted by the opportunism prevalent in the Yellow Second International and among the leaders of the German and the British "Independents," the French Longuetists, etc. This distortion consists in attention being directed toward the relatively remote, beautiful, and rosy future; attention is deflected from the immediate tasks of the difficult practical transition and approach to that future. In practice, it consists in preaching a compromise with the bourgeoisie and a "class truce," that is, complete betrayal of the proletariat, which is now waging a struggle amid the unprecedented ruin and impoverishment created everywhere by the war, and amid the unprecedented enrichment and arrogance of a handful of millionaires resulting from that war.

It is in the countryside that a genuine possibility of a successful struggle for socialism demands, first, that all Communist parties should inculcate in the industrial proletariat a realization of the need to make sacrifices, and be prepared to make sacrifices so as to overthrow the bourgeoisie and consolidate proletarian power—since the dictatorship of the proletariat implies both the ability of the proletariat to organize and lead all the working and exploited people, and the vanguard's ability to

make the utmost sacrifices and to display the utmost heroism to that end.

Second, success demands that, as a result of the workers' victory, the laboring and most exploited masses in the countryside achieve an immediate and considerable improvement in their conditions at the expense of the exploiters—for without that the industrial proletariat cannot get the support of the rural areas and, in particular, will be unable to ensure the supply of food for the cities.

8. The enormous difficulty of organizing and training for the revolutionary struggle the masses of rural working people, whom capitalism has reduced to a state of great wretchedness, disunity, and frequently semimediæval dependence, makes it necessary for the Communist parties to devote special attention to the strike struggle in the rural districts, give greater support to mass strikes by the agricultural proletarians and semi-proletarians, and help develop the strike movement in every way.

The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and of 1917, now confirmed and extended by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that the growing mass strike struggle (into which, under certain conditions, the small peasants can and should also be drawn) alone is capable of rousing the countryside from its lethargy, awakening the class consciousness of the exploited masses in the countryside, making them realize the need for class organization, and revealing to them in a vivid and practical manner the importance of their alliance with the urban workers.

This congress of the Communist International brands as traitors and renegades those Socialists—to be found, unfortunately, not only in the Yellow Second International but also in the three very important European parties that have withdrawn from that International—who are capable not only of remaining indifferent to the strike struggle in the countryside, but even (like Karl Kautsky) of opposing it on the grounds that it threatens to reduce the output of articles of consumption.

Neither programs nor the most solemn declarations are of any value whatever unless it is proved in practice, in deed, that the Communists and workers' leaders are able to place above everything else in the world the development and the victory of

the proletarian revolution, and to make the greatest sacrifices for it, for otherwise there is no way out, no salvation from starvation, ruin, and new imperialist wars.

In particular, it should be pointed out that the leaders of the old Socialist movement and representatives of the "labor aristocracy"—who now often make verbal concessions to communism and even nominally side with it in order to preserve their prestige among the worker masses, who are rapidly becoming revolutionary—should be tested for their loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and their suitability for responsible positions in those spheres of work where the development of revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary struggle is most marked, the resistance of the landowners and the bourgeoisie (the large peasants, the kulaks) most fierce, and the difference between the Socialist compromiser and the Communist revolutionary most striking.

9. The Communist parties must exert every effort to begin, as speedily as possible, to set up soviets of deputies in the countryside, and in the first place soviets of hired laborers and semiproletarians. Only if they are linked up with the mass strike struggle and with the most oppressed class can the soviets perform their functions and become consolidated enough to influence (and later to incorporate) the small peasants.

If, however, the strike struggle has not yet developed, and the agricultural proletariat is as yet incapable of strong organization owing both to the severe oppression by the landowners and the large peasants and to lack of support from the industrial workers and their unions, then the formation of soviets of deputies in the rural areas will require lengthy preparation by means of the organization of Communist cells, even if only small ones, intensified agitation—in which the demands of communism are enunciated in the simplest manner and illustrated by the most glaring examples of exploitation and oppression—and the arrangement of systematic visits of industrial workers to the rural districts, and so on.

Communist Women's Movement

6a. To the working women of the world¹

Women in your millions! You, the millions of women working in the factories, in the mills, in offices, on the railways; you, domestic servants and you who are enslaved by capital in all countries of the world; you whose husbands, brothers, and children are maimed and murdered on the battlefields by that same, insatiable capital for the sake of its own gain; you whose children, not yet grown to strength, are persecuted in the street and driven to prostitution and crime—it is to you, the half of toiling humanity subjected to grave oppression, that this appeal goes out from the first International Conference of Communist Women, called by the Third International.

Women who are workers, farm laborers, peasants! The Communist International, this great fellowship, this brotherhood of the workers of the whole world, has set as its goal the total liberation of workers from the triple slavery in which the majority of humanity is still bound. The Communist International, which already numbers in its ranks millions of the most advanced working men and women around the world, calls on all of you to swell its ranks in the struggle for that liberation. Only you yourselves, through your participation in organization and in struggle, can ensure the victory of labor over capital.

You have just lived through all the horrors of imperialist slaughter. Millions of your brothers, husbands, fathers, and sons were thrown by the capitalists into the jaws of death on the battlefield. For four years death reaped a rich harvest, and millions of people will never return; millions have been left crippled, and hundreds of thousands fill the lunatic asylums; and you, their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, stand, wretched, faced with the inevitability of ever more sacrifices, ever more world wars, which will be yet more terrible and bloody.

Woe to the workers of countries defeated in this war! The

women of Russia, Germany, Austria, and other countries have experienced not only the suffering brought by the loss of their loved ones, but also the unparalleled torment of hunger, cold, and other forms of deprivation. But are not the women of the “victorious” countries suffering in the same way? The women workers of Britain, France, Italy, America, Japan, and the other “victorious” countries—are not they too seeing their need become fiercer, harsher each day, each day feeling the yoke of capital becoming more intolerable?

There is only one path that can lead us out of this oppression, these sufferings, these inevitable new world wars, and that is the path of social revolution, of armed struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International is the commander, the general staff that organizes and leads the forces of social revolution. We, the working women of the whole world, are a great force that can hasten and smooth the way for the downfall of the capitalist world if we realize, if we come to understand that our place is there in the struggle for the liberation of the toilers, in the ranks of the Communist International.

The Communist International is a great army liberating the oppressed around the world.

It is the duty of each one of us to join the ranks of that army. In each separate country, in each town, each village, in the darkest, most remote corner, workers must come to realize that their liberation can come about only through the victory of this international brotherhood. And when the workers of any country rise in struggle, the knowledge that they are supported by the workers of all countries will make them invincible. That is what our union, the Communist International, must represent; that is what we must make it.

Fearing revolution, fearing insurrection, dreading their downfall, the capitalists, the bourgeois democrats, and all their multifarious lackeys sometimes resign themselves to concessions—they throw us a miserable sop, a meager bone, such as voting rights for women.² But even now more than half the women in the world do not enjoy equal political rights. Women will never have equal rights under capitalism. Only the victory of the Communist International will make them equal—comrades instead of slaves. Do not yield to these traps set so hastily by the bourgeoisie; do not satisfy yourselves with the sop of

voting rights. Use your right to vote to organize, to unite, to gather your strength—the strength of working women—in pursuit of the common goal.

Our common and immediate goal, a goal clear to all, is the creation of a soviet republic. In this commune of labor the relics of political, economic, and spiritual slavery are being swept away. Do not rest until you have created a soviet republic in your country. Do not rest even when your soviet republic has been formed, for it will be a living, liberating force only when women take an equal part in the work of its soviets.

We are suffering from poor living conditions, from poverty; the victory of the Communist International, the victory of the social revolution will enable us to distribute all the riches of the world so that all poverty is abolished. It will enable us to increase the productivity of labor many times over, since we will know that we are working not for parasites and exploiters but for ourselves.

We are suffering because we are burdened by the cares of housework, cooking, and child rearing. The victory of communism will enable us to organize public child care, liberating us in reality, not in empty words. It will give women equality and free them from ignorance and backwardness.

Working women of Russia, peasant women of Russia! You have achieved the greatest revolution; step by step, you are truly laying the foundations for new ways of living. Over the short period of the revolution, you have done more for the liberation of humanity than was achieved over centuries of existence in slavery. During this short time you have created in our soviet republic thousands of crèches, nurseries, children's homes, children's canteens, and kindergartens. You are active in the party, in the soviets, in trade unions, in agricultural communes and cooperatives. You have gained access to the organization of all areas of society; all the despicable laws that still restrict the rights of women in other countries are a thing of the past for you. And if you are suffering, it is because in other countries the yoke of the bourgeoisie, of the bankers and large landowners has not yet been thrown off, and this holds back you too from concluding your struggle for the complete rebuilding of society on communist principles.

The Communist International and toilers the world over will

never forget how on that international day of working women, the Russian woman took to the streets under the Red banner and began the greatest of revolutions, sealing it with her blood.³

You, the women of Europe, America, and Australia, women of the capitalist states, you whom capital is increasingly turning into a simple tool for its own enrichment, you hundreds of thousands thrown hungry onto the streets of the cities, into the arms of prostitution—you are doomed to untold suffering if you stand aside from the great movement of social revolution.

War with all its disasters condemns you to an ever more painful existence. As the growth of capital in the hands of a few billionaires becomes more and more irrepressible, so your deprivation and poverty will grow ever faster.

The capitalist system does not and cannot bring peace to all. The predatory “League of Nations” did not stop the criminal war that bourgeois Poland waged against the proletarian Russian Soviet Republic. It is the guilty party behind the White Terror in Hungary and Bavaria, the oppression of Ireland, the plunder of the East, and the endless wars in so many countries.

You fear the unavoidable sacrifices for revolution. Of course revolutionary struggle demands sacrifices and heroism, it entails suffering; but it also gives the supreme joy of the struggle, the supreme joy of liberation. When they call on you to be content, when they frighten you with the horrors of revolution and civil war, remember how many perished in the imperialist war and how many more will die in wars like it, remember the horrors you lived through in this war. Cry out, “If we had listened in 1914 to the appeals of the Communists, of Lenin, Liebknecht, and the others, if our brothers and we ourselves had turned our arms against the true instigators of the war—the world’s bourgeoisie—there would be none of these sacrifices and horrors now, and we would now be living as free human beings in the bright realm of communism, no longer in dread of new wars.”

The Communist International strives for the overthrow of capitalist oppression the world over. It knows that more than any others the peoples of the East have suffered the harshest forms of colonial exploitation at the hands of the imperialists of the West, robbers of the whole world, as well as Japan, the imperial power of the East. The overthrow of capitalist rule is the only way to liberate the toiling masses of the East.

If the nations of the East are more backward, that is precisely because of this merciless exploitation that has held back their natural free development, and their economic, social, political, and intellectual emancipation.

The Communist International calls on the peoples of the East to struggle both against the landlords and capitalists of their own countries and against the imperialist yoke. If you, working women, want to see yourselves and your children free, if you want to end the enslavement of the colonies and the enslavement of the East, your place is in the ranks of our union, the Communist International. For it is only side by side with your more liberated brothers and sisters in the other countries of Europe and America that you will liberate yourselves.

Working women the world over! Come out of your basements, your hovels, and your garrets, come out of your workshops, factories, and mills, your offices and shops, to join the struggle for total liberation. Become Communists! Join the Communist Party in your country. Follow the examples from the great revolutionary past and the even greater present of the proletarian movement and learn to build up your mighty strength, hand in hand with working men.

And know this: there is no force in the world that can hold out against the Communist International if we join its ranks—we, the workers of the world, working men and working women, peasant men and peasant women.

Long live the Third, Communist International!

First International Working
Women's Conference

6b. Theses for the Communist Women's Movement⁴

edited by Clara Zetkin

1. The Second Congress of the Third International reaffirms the decision of the First Congress on the need to rouse the broadest masses of proletarian women to class consciousness.⁵ They must be armed with communist ideas and rallied as fighters and fellow workers, clear in their aims, determined in their actions, and prepared for any sacrifice. It is imperative that proletarian women play a powerful role in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and realization of communism. The goal is to secure for all women complete and unrestricted social rights, so that in their education and employment and as mothers they can develop every aspect of their full human personality, linked by bonds of solidarity with society as a whole. The proletariat must attain greater unity and strength so that, in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois order as in the revolutionary construction of the new order, it may create the social preconditions for achieving this goal for women.⁶

2. Past and present history teach that private property is the ultimate and fundamental cause of the superior and privileged position of men over women. Only with the arrival and establishment of private property could the wife and child, like the slave, become the property of the man. Only then was it possible, on the basis of the domination of one human being over others, for class divisions to arise between rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. So too arose the dependency of the woman as wife and mother on the man, her subordination to him, her pariah status in the family and in public life. Even today these conditions still prevail in the practices and prejudices of the so-called civilized nations; in the denial of rights or at least in the second-class status of the female sex before the law; in its disadvantaged position in family, state, and society; in its patronized and backward intellectual condition; in the inadequate appreciation of the social importance of maternal activity. Among the peoples of Europe this state of affairs was consolidated and deepened by the development of the guilds, which

drove women out of social production and strictly limited their field of activity to housework and the family proper.

For women to achieve full social equality with men in truth and fact and not just on the passive pages of dead law books, for women as well as men to win the possibility of unrestricted achievement and free development of their full human personality, two primary conditions must be met. First, private property must be uprooted and replaced by social property. Second, the activity of women must be integrated into the social production of a new order free of exploitation and subjugation. Only the realization of these two conditions will prevent women from becoming economically dependent on men as wives and mothers in the family, or, as a result of the class conflict between exploiter and exploited, falling under the economic subjugation and exploitation of the capitalist as proletarian women working a job. Only this will prevent one-sided, excessive demands—whether of household duties and motherhood or of work on the job—from squandering valuable talents and gifts and making impossible a harmonious integration of both spheres of duty. Only the realization of both these conditions guarantees that women will participate as workers and producers, with fully developed abilities and powers, with equal duties and equal rights, in a community of similarly charged workers and producers, and that work and motherhood will form an unbroken circle for a full life.

3. The demands of the bourgeois women's movement have proved incapable of securing full rights and humanity for the whole of womenkind. Carrying through these demands, of course, entails a fundamental change—and one not to be underestimated—namely, that bourgeois society and its state officially abandon the old prejudice about inferiority of the female sex and recognize women's social equality with equal rights. In practice, however, realizing feminist demands results primarily in reforming the capitalist order for the benefit of wives and daughters of the possessing classes. Meanwhile the huge majority of proletarian women, the women of the toiling people, still unfree and exploited, are abandoned, their humanity stunted, and their rights and interests neglected.

As long as capitalism survives, a woman's right to dispose freely of her property and her person signifies the final stage of

the emancipation of property and a broadening of the scope for capitalists to exploit proletarian women. Women's right to education and employment equal to that of men leads to opening up the so-called higher professions to the women of the possessing class, bringing to bear in this realm too the fundamental law of unlimited capitalist competition, and sharpening economic as well as social conflict between the sexes.⁷ Even the most important and far-reaching of feminist demands—that of full political equality of the sexes, especially recognition of women's right to vote and to be elected—is thoroughly insufficient to guarantee women of little or no property their full rights and freedom.

Under capitalism the right to vote serves only to realize purely formal, political, bourgeois democracy; in no way does it signify real, economic, proletarian democracy. The general, equal, secret, and direct right of all adults to vote and to be elected signifies nothing more than the highest stage of development of bourgeois democracy and becomes a foundation and cover for the most perfected form of the class rule of owners and exploiters. In this period of imperialism, of revolutionary social development, class rule intensifies into the most violent, brutal dictatorship against the propertyless and exploited, despite the democratic right to vote. The right to vote does not get rid of private ownership of the means of production or class conflict between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In addition, therefore, it does not remove the cause of economic dependence and exploitation of the vast majority of women and men by the minority—propertied women and men. It simply covers up this dependence and exploitation with the treacherous smoke screen of political equality.

Thus for proletarian women, even full political equality can in no wise be the goal of their movement and struggle. For them the right to vote and run for office is only one means among many to organize and train themselves to work and struggle for the construction of a social order cleansed of the domination of private property over human beings and thus, after the elimination of class conflict between exploiters and exploited, a social order of free producers with equal rights and responsibilities.

4. Communism is the only social order that meets these conditions and, in so doing, guarantees full freedom and rights for

the whole of the female sex. The foundation of communism is the social ownership of the large, economically dominant means of production, distribution, and commerce. In doing away with private ownership in this realm, communism eliminates the cause of the subjugation and exploitation of man by man, the social conflict between rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed. In so doing it also eliminates the economic and social conflict between men and women. In a social sense, women are fellow owners, fellow administrators, fellow users of the means of production and distribution, and fellow recipients of the material and cultural results of their application and use. In this capacity, women are dependent, in their development and activity, solely and exclusively on their bond of solidarity with society as a whole. No longer are they, because of their sex, dependent on an individual man, or even on the small moral unit of the family, and even less so on a profit-hungry capitalist and an exploitative ruling class.

The highest law of a communist economy is meeting the material and cultural needs of all members of society, gauged according to the highest, most advanced productive and cultural possibilities available at the time. This goal can be reached only by instituting general obligatory labor for all normal, healthy adults, without regard to sex. It can be reached only in a social organization that recognizes the equal worth of all socially necessary and useful labor, that also values the toil and trouble of motherhood as a social task, that bases the conditions of development of its members from birth on free social labor and the greatest conscious effort.

5. Communism, however, the great emancipator of the female sex, cannot, now or ever, be the result of the united struggle of women of all classes for reform of the bourgeois order along the lines of the demands of the feminist movement, that is, demands against the privileged social position of the male sex. It can be realized only through the common class struggle of women and men of the exploited proletariat against the privileges and power of men and women of the possessing and exploiting classes. The goal of this class struggle is to overturn bourgeois society, to overturn capitalism. The proletariat can be victorious in this struggle only by breaking the power of the

exploiting bourgeoisie and its class domination in the economy and the state through revolutionary mass action. It must conquer political power and construct its own class dictatorship based on the soviet system. Not bourgeois democracy but proletarian class rule and the proletarian state, which follows on the defeat of this democracy—that is the unavoidable first step toward the communist society of free workers, equal in rights and responsibilities.

In the struggle for state power the exploiting and dominating classes throw the most brutal means of violence of their class dictatorship against the advancing proletariat. The revolutionary mass actions of the exploited and oppressed culminate finally in civil war. The victory of the proletariat through revolutionary mass actions and in civil war is impossible without the participation of the women of the toiling people—confident of their goal and of the road forward, prepared to sacrifice, determined to struggle. For they constitute half (among the most advanced peoples even more than half) of the working people, and their role in social economy as well as in the family is very often decisive for the outcome of class struggles between exploiters and exploited, as well as for the conduct of individual proletarians in these struggles. The proletarian conquest of power must also be the work of convinced, communist, proletarian women.

The same holds true, after the establishment of the proletarian class dictatorship, for the construction of the soviet system, for the realization of communism. Without the active and conscious participation of the broadest masses of communist-minded women, this deep-going, massive transformation of society, of its economic base, of all its institutions, is an impossibility. The participation of the masses of women signifies not merely a greater quantity of work for the realization of communism but also qualitatively different accomplishments, richer and of greater dimension. This participation is a precondition for the necessary increase in the material wealth of society and for advancing, refining, and deepening its culture.

Just as the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat in each country combines internationally and reaches its high point in the world revolution, so the revolutionary struggle of women against capitalism—*against its highest stage, imperialism*—and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction

of the proletarian class dictatorship and the soviet system, must be unified on an international scale.

6. The imperialist World War—a diabolical crime by the great capitalist states—and the conditions this war created, have enormously aggravated the social ills and contradictions faced by the overwhelming majority of women. These ills are the inevitable consequences of capitalism and will disappear only with its overthrow. This holds true not only in the belligerent countries but in the so-called neutral ones as well, since all of them were, to a greater or lesser extent, sucked into the bloody maelstrom of the World War; they all suffered its consequences.

The monstrous, growing tension between extortionate prices for the necessities of life and the income, the means of support, of untold millions of women inflicts intolerably greater worries, privations, suffering, and burdens on them as employees, housewives, and mothers. The housing shortage has become a fearful scourge. The health of women in particular is worsening at a rapidly increasing rate due to chronic undernourishment and the suffocating burden of work on the job and in the home.

Fewer and fewer mothers are able to give birth normally and bring healthy, strong babies into the world. Infant mortality rates are skyrocketing. Sickness and infirmity, the unavoidable consequences of inadequate nourishment and wretched living conditions in general, strike down hundreds of thousands, even millions of proletarian children, to the despair of their mothers.

A special phenomenon intensifies the torment of women in all the countries where capitalism still holds sway. During the war an extraordinary number of women gained employment. At that time the slogan in the belligerent countries was, “Women into the trenches of the economy, of administration, of all social activity.” Prejudice against the “weak, inferior, backward sex” was silenced by the bugle call of imperialist greed for world power and exploitation, the most powerful expression of world capitalism. Pressure to earn money and the lie about defense of the fatherland combined with the search for capitalist profit to drive women to take employment in industry and agriculture, in business and commerce. Women’s labor pressed forward impetuously and irresistibly into all branches of municipal and state administration, into so-called public service and learned professions.

Today, as a result of the World War, the capitalist economy is

breaking down and collapsing. Today capitalism, where it still reigns, is proving itself incapable of the economic development required to provide the physical and cultural needs of the broad layers of the toiling masses. Today the decay of the economy and its conscious sabotage by the capitalists have conjured up an unprecedented crisis of stagnating production and unemployment. In all this women are the first and most numerous victims of this crisis.

Individual capitalists, like the local and state capitalist administrations, have less fear of unemployed women, who are mostly unorganized and less politically conscious, than they do of unemployed men. And they calculate that these women, faced with destitution, can as a last resort put their body on the market and sell it. In every country where the proletariat has not taken power through revolutionary struggle, the slogan rings out loudly again today, "Women out of the jobs, women back to the home!" It finds its echo even in the trade unions, impeding and arresting the struggle to get equal pay for equal work by both sexes. It gives new life to the old petty-bourgeois, reactionary ideology of the "only true, natural calling" and the inferior worth of the female. Parallel to the increasing joblessness and growing want of untold numbers of women appears the increase in prostitution in the most varied forms, from marriage as a means of economic survival all the way to the naked sale of female bodies in sexual "commerce."

The increasing tendency toward forcing women out of the realm of social labor stands in glaring contrast to the growing need of the broadest masses of women for independent income and satisfactory occupations. The World War killed millions of men and made further millions into cripples needing total or partial care and support. The disintegration of the capitalist economy makes it impossible for millions of men to provide for their families through their labor as they used to do.

This tendency also stands in the sharpest opposition to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the members of society. Only when the strengths and talents of women, too, are made available to society in the most varied areas of activity will it be possible to make up for the war's colossal destruction of social and material goods and to bring about the necessary increase in wealth and culture.

The mounting tendency to displace women as co-workers in social production and culture is ultimately rooted in the greed of capitalist profiteers seeking to perpetuate their power to exploit. It shows the incompatibility of the capitalist economy, the bourgeois order, with the most important interests of the overwhelming majority of women and of members of society in general.

All the immediate and pressing hardships of women hinge on one key point: these hardships are unavoidable, essential expressions of capitalism, which exploits and enslaves. The war has intensified these hardships to the utmost and imposed them as the tragic fate of the great mass of women. They are not, however, passing phenomena that will disappear in time of peace—to say nothing of the fact that capitalism's continued existence threatens humanity with new imperialist predatory wars, which can be quite clearly seen taking shape in today's events.

It is the many millions of proletarian women, women of the toiling masses, who feel the oppression of today's social evils most sharply. For the combined effect of the exploited character of their class and the disadvantaged condition of their sex makes them victims to the highest degree of the capitalist order. All their want and suffering, however, is only a partial expression of the fate of the exploited and oppressed proletarian class as a whole in every country still under capitalist rule. These evils can thus never be reversed through reforming the bourgeois order for a "struggle against the poverty left over from the war." They will disappear once and for all only together with that order itself, through the revolutionary struggle of the exploited and disinherited women and men of all countries, through the revolutionary action of the world proletariat. Only world revolution and it alone, as history's Last Judgment, can put an end in each country to the World War's legacy of poverty, spiritual and moral decay, bloody mass suffering, and the complete bankruptcy of capitalism.

7. Given the social phenomena and interrelationships just described, the Second Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow, calls all *women of the working people*, who thirst for freedom and full humanity, to the ranks of the Communist Party of their country and to the ranks of the Communist International itself, in which these parties have united to act

with greater effectiveness and determination. Clear in its goals, sure of its path, and ready for action, the Communist International fights to defeat capitalism and establish communism through world revolution. It has also shown itself to be the most discerning and loyal champion of the rights of women.

The Communist International carries forward, on a higher historical plane and in the interests of women the work that the Second International began but was unable to carry out consistently. Given the growing influence on the workers' movement of opportunist reformism, the Second International failed to change from a community of belief to a community of the deed. Ultimately, in August 1914, it shamefully betrayed its historic task. It failed to rally proletarians of all countries to a common, international, revolutionary struggle against imperialism, against the capitalist order. On the contrary, it gave its blessing to the fraternization of exploiter and exploited in the national armies. Imperialism hurled these armies against each other in the interests of capitalist profits and the capitalist craving for world-power status. It drove the working class to mutual fratricide and to suicide. And by this act the Second International also abandoned the rights and interests of women.

When it was founded the Second International inscribed on its banners the struggle for full social liberation and full equal rights for the female sex. There is no question that by taking these demands propagandistically into the broadest circles it achieved much of value and lasting influence. Moreover, it explained that achieving these goals required the destruction of capitalism and the realization of socialism. It demonstrated the irreconcilable class contradiction between women of the exploiting minority and those of the exploited majority. It called for national and international solidarity of all capitalist wage slaves without distinction of sex. It obliged all trade unions and Socialist parties to rally women to their ranks as members with equal rights and responsibilities in the economic and political class struggles of the proletariat.

The Second International demanded laws to limit the scope of capitalist exploitation, to establish social services that could ease the burden of housewives and mothers, and to grant women full and equal political rights—measures aimed at increasing the capacity of proletarian women to resist and to fight

in the struggles of their class. The Second International demanded that the Socialist women's movement demarcate itself sharply from the bourgeois women's movement. Whether or not these obligations were realized, whether these demands became the focus of action, of struggle—all that was left by the Second International to be decided by the trade unions and the Social Democratic parties of each country. On the whole, where the interests and rights of women were concerned the International's decisions were carried out only to the degree that organized Socialist women were able to wrest this from the proletarian organizations in each country.

The gulf between theory and practice, between decision and deed was particularly flagrant with regard to the demand for women's right to vote. The Second International permitted its member organization in Britain to call for many years for women to receive a limited right to vote, whose introduction would have reinforced the political power of the propertied and thus the resistance against universal suffrage for all adults.⁸ The Second International permitted the Social Democratic party in Belgium and later the party in Austria to abstain during its major voting rights struggle from also demanding universal women's suffrage.

It is true that the Stuttgart congress of the Second International obliged Social Democratic parties of all countries to make the fight for universal women's suffrage an essential part of the overall struggle for proletarians' right to vote and for proletarian power.⁹ A sharp demarcation was to be maintained, it stated, against bourgeois-democratic strivings for women's rights, and no regard was to be taken of reformist opportunist politics. But in most countries this decision too remained no more than mere words. Specifically, it did not prevent the unified party of French Socialists from contenting itself with platonic parliamentary resolutions for the introduction of women's suffrage, while even today the proposals of the social-democratic Belgian Workers Party lag behind those of even the clericals.

Within the entire world workers' movement, it was the Socialist women of the warring and neutral countries that took the first tentative step to place the need for international solidarity of the exploited above the bellicose commands of the traitorous social patriots. These women called for international revolu-

tionary mass action to compel the imperialist regimes to make peace and to free up the historic terrain for the workers' international struggle to achieve political power and vanquish imperialism and capitalism. The Second International's response to this was feeble, shameful, and dishonorable. What is more, far from lending its support, the Second International gave tacit encouragement to its member parties in each country to fulminate against this initiative, to denounce it, and to obstruct it in every way. Setting the pace in all this was the "model party"—a model first in organizational strength and in its policies, and then in decay and bankruptcy—the German Social Democracy.¹⁰

Even today, the Second International strives to reinforce capitalism's power of exploitation and thus to obstruct the full liberation of the female sex. It does this by misleading the masses through democratic and parliamentary hocus-pocus, social patriotism, and social pacifism.

Moreover, the Second International never established a publication with the mission of working internationally to achieve the principles and demands adopted by the International in the interests of women. It was outside the framework of the International's structure that the first steps were taken, quite autonomously, to bring together women Socialists and women workers internationally for united action.¹¹ It is true that representatives of the Socialist Women's International were permitted to attend congresses of the Second International. But they had no formal right to take part in its proceedings. And in the International Socialist Bureau, the Socialist Women's International enjoyed no representation and no voice.

Women who are communists, revolutionary socialists, or revolutionary proletarians must therefore break their ties with the Second International and join the Communist International, which will fight for women's rights and women's liberation as it fights elsewhere—not as a resolution-writing machine but as an association for action. To repeat, the most complete and consistent way to become part of the Communist International is to join the national party affiliated to it. Women who belong to parties and organizations in which the struggle for affiliation to the Third International has not yet been decided must of course apply all their energy toward winning these organizations to

recognize the Communist International's basic principles, policies, and organizational guidelines. They must strive for these organizations to affiliate fully with the Communist International and to act with loyalty toward its character and its demands.

Communist women, consistent revolutionary socialist women, proletarian women must turn their backs on those organizations that persist in their basic opposition to the Communist International, that struggle against it and cripple the proletarian class struggle by infesting it with opportunist and reformist slogans. Forward into the Third International of the revolutionary deed! That must be the overriding and unambiguous rallying call of all women of the toiling people who wish to be rid of class and sexual slavery.

8. The Second Congress of the Communist International requires all its member parties to implement the preceding theses by reaching out to the broadest masses of women and awakening, assembling, and schooling them. These parties must raise to the utmost women's capacity to work and struggle for communism and prove to them through word and deed that only the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat and the achievement of its goals can ensure full rights, full freedom, and a fully harmonious humanity for the entire female sex. In accordance with these theses, the Communist parties should:

a) In countries such as Russia where the proletariat has already conquered power, establishing its rule in the form of the soviet system

(1) Mobilize women fully in all struggles and measures needed for the fight at the front and at home against domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries and for the defense and consolidation of the soviet system. Involve them in service in the women's militia and as Red nurses, in educational work in the Red Army, and so forth. The widespread, conscious collaboration of women is equally indispensable to completely overcome all the economic and social remnants of capitalism and, what is more, its egoistic morality.

(2) Vigorously and thoroughly educate women of the proletariat and small peasantry and all employed, working women. Explain to them that shortening the difficult transition period from capitalism, which is decaying but must still be torn down,

to the higher, communist form of society, lies in their hands too, in their growing understanding, in their unshakable will, and in their dedicated action. This difficult transition period, during which suffering, misery, and sacrifice are unavoidable, hits women and their children hardest.

(3) Explain to these women that the new, liberating social order of full communism, which will mature by struggling against the forces of the old, foundering bourgeois world and by wrestling with new problems, must also be in large part their own work, the fruit of each one of them being clear as to the goal, unbreakable in will, and always ready to sacrifice.

(4) Draw all employed women into full collaboration in the work of economic development through the soviet bodies, the trade unions, and the cooperatives and their various institutions.

(5) Achieve women's full collaboration in the soviets and their various supervisory, administrative, and development bodies as well as in every other area, including science.

(6) Establish working conditions for employed women that take into account the characteristics of the female organism and the physical as well as intellectual and moral needs of motherhood. These conditions must facilitate a harmonious combination of motherhood with employment. This combination must enable women, by fully applying their strengths and capacities, to develop fully their female humanity.

(7) Incorporate traditional family housekeeping—the most backward, deformed, and stultifying of the old guild handicrafts—into the general social economy. Transform the housewife from the slave of the small individual economy into the free toiler of the larger social economy.

(8) Create model social institutions that take over women's present economic tasks in the family as it has existed up to now and ease, round out, and improve the work mothers do.

(9) Create model social welfare institutions to protect maternity, children, and youth.

(10) Create similar institutions to assist the ill, the infirm, the old, and those unable to work. Take economic and pedagogic measures that will lead prostitutes—an inheritance from the bourgeois order—out of the lumpenproletariat and back into the community of working people.

(11) Establish a system for upbringing and instruction, based on coeducation and education rooted in labor, that guarantees the right to develop individuality, fulfills the duty of teaching solidarity, and thereby ensures the female sex the conditions for rounded human development.

(12) Achieve women's full collaboration in determining and implementing measures to establish, plan, and administer institutions designed to ease the workload of housewives and mothers and to promote social services, particularly those serving women, children, and youth.

b) In all countries where the proletariat is still fighting for political power

(1) Enlist women as members with equal rights and duties in the Communist Party and in the economic organizations of the proletariat for the class struggle. Ensure their collaboration with equal rights and duties in all bodies and at all levels of the party, trade unions, and cooperatives.

(2) Educate the broadest masses of women of the proletariat and the small peasantry about communism, about the nature, goal, methods, and means of revolutionary campaigns and struggles of the proletariat. Secure the participation of the broadest masses of women in all these campaigns and struggles, which provide an extremely effective, practical, and educational lesson. Use all means, measures, and institutions that serve to strengthen and clarify the class consciousness of proletarian women and increase their revolutionary energy and capacity to struggle.

(3) Achieve total equality of rights of both sexes before the law and in practice in all areas of private and public life.

(4) Utilize in a revolutionary and class-conscious way women's right to vote and to stand as candidates for local and national parliaments and for all public bodies. Strongly emphasize the limitations on the usefulness of the right to vote, parliamentarism, and bourgeois democracy for the proletariat, and the historically determined necessity for it to overcome parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy through the soviet system and the dictatorship of the working class.

(5) Achieve the active participation of women workers, salaried employees, civil servants, and all working women in the city and the countryside as voters, clear on their goals, in electing

revolutionary economic and political workers' councils. Secure the zealous participation of women workers and salaried employees as delegates in these workers' councils and their subordinate bodies. Reach out to housewives of the proletariat and of layers of the population with limited means as voters for the revolutionary workers' councils and secure their participation in them as delegates. Extend and implement the idea of councils among women of the small peasantry and socially related layers of the population of the countryside.

(6) Fight for the right of women to equal, unrestricted, and free general and occupational education; for women's inclusion as employees with equal rights and duties in the social division of labor and in all areas; and for the recognition and appreciation of maternal tasks as a social contribution.

(7) Fight for equal pay for equal work by men and women.

(8) Fight for the drastic reduction of capitalist exploitative power through effective legal protection of women workers, office employees, and civil servants—including so-called domestics—in all areas of the economy and with due consideration for measures required by young and pregnant women, women with newborns, and nursing mothers.

(9) Demand comprehensive labor inspection by a sufficiently large staff of independent officials, consisting of doctors, technicians, and workers with full powers, in which women must be represented in accordance with the extent of female labor.

(10) Demand social measures and institutions that ease the burdens working women bear as housewives and mothers, that transfer traditional domestic work out of the family economy and into the social economy, and that complement and fill out the raising of children in the home with a social upbringing, giving their education the necessary characteristic of an upbringing that instills solidarity.

(11) Establish the required institutions not only in the cities and industrial centers but also in the countryside for the benefit of women farm workers, peasant women, and so forth.

(12) Educate women on the backward character of old-style housekeeping; on the waste of time, energy, and materials that it entails; and on the use of the household by capitalism to keep men's wages low (since housewives' labor is unpaid) and to keep women intellectually and politically backward by blocking them

from participating in society.

(13) Demand a thorough reform of the housing system, a reform that does not respect the rights of bourgeois property—the right to luxury and superfluous dwellings. Women must participate in implementing this.

(14) Demand an extended and organic regulation of the public health system so as to provide, among other things, free medical clinics in the cities and countryside, in which woman doctors also serve, as well as trained pediatric, general, and home-care nurses.

(15) Demand economic and social measures to fight prostitution; hygienic measures against the spread of venereal diseases; an end to the housing of prostitutes in barracks, to their supervision by vice squads, and to social contempt for them. Do away with the sexual double standard for men and women.

(16) Demand the collaboration of women in all measures and institutions that significantly affect the right of women to education, work, protection against capitalist exploitation, and so forth.

c) In countries still at a precapitalist level of development

(1) Fight to overcome the prejudices, morals, practices, and religious and legal rules that reduce women to men's slaves at home, at work, and sexually. This effort will require educating not only women but also men.

(2) Strive for the full legal equality of women with men in education, in the family, and in public life.

(3) Struggle for thorough protection of poor and exploited women against exploitation and subjugation by the dominant, property-owning classes. This sometimes takes the form of cottage industry, whose worst effects can be moderated by cooperatives, among other ways.

(4) Demand measures and institutions that lead from precapitalist forms of economy and social life to communism, especially through efforts to prove by example, by object lessons, that individual housework enslaves women, whereas social labor frees them.

In agitational and organizational work among women in countries with a precapitalist level of development, special use should be made of the experiences acquired by the Russian

comrades since the Russian revolution in their work among women of the Eastern peoples.

9. To permit the Communist International's member parties to work for these goals as successfully as possible, the Second Congress adopts the following *organizational* measures:

a) National organization

(1) Within the Communist Party of each country, women are not to be organized in separate units but rather integrated into the local party branches as members with equal rights and obligations. They must be drawn into the work of all party bodies and all levels of the party structure.

Nonetheless, the Communist Party takes special measures and establishes special institutions in order to reach women with its agitation, keep them organizationally in its ranks, and educate them. In all this, it recognizes women's distinctive intellectual and moral characteristics, the backwardness imposed upon them by history, and the special position they still often assume as a result of their household activity.

(2) Every local party branch will have a women's agitation committee, to which male comrades may also belong. Its tasks are

(a) to agitate in a planned and consistent way among women still unsympathetic to the party through public meetings, factory-based discussions and meetings, meetings of housewives, delegated conferences of those outside the party, door-to-door agitation, and production and distribution of appropriate leaflets, newspapers, pamphlets, and literature of every kind;

(b) to lead the women reached by this agitation to join the party, the trade unions, the cooperatives, and other proletarian organizations of struggle and of economic development;

(c) to strive to prevent the female members of the party, the unions, the cooperatives, the workers' councils, and other bodies of the militant revolutionary proletariat from being carried along as dead and passive ballast; to inspire them with communist ideals so that they take part in the life and activity of these bodies with vigor and with full understanding;

(d) to ensure that female party members receive the necessary theoretical and practical education, whether it be through the party's general educational institutions, special evenings

where women read or discuss together, or other such events;

(e) to see to it that women with agitational and organizational ability receive a thorough education and can participate fully;

(f) to establish a women's page in every party newspaper, name a woman as editor of this section, and ensure that women from the proletarian ranks collaborate with her.

The local women's agitation committee consists of five to seven members, who are proposed by the women members and approved by the local party leadership. This committee works in close collaboration with the local leadership, whose approval is required for its measures and decisions. A woman comrade serves as the standing representative of this committee in the local leadership, taking part in all its meetings and activities with consultative vote in questions affecting the party as a whole and decisive vote in questions affecting the women's movement.

(3) Linked to the leadership of every party district organization is a district women's agitation committee. Its task is to stimulate local women's agitation committees throughout the district to carry out their tasks and to lend these committees effective support. To this end, its tasks are

(a) to maintain continual and regular contact with all local women's committees in the district and with the national women's agitation committee or the national women's secretariat;

(b) to assemble important factual material on the work of each local women's agitation committee and make this information available to all the committees;

(c) to supply agitational and educational literature to the district as a whole;

(d) to stimulate, prepare, and carry out broader agitational events of every kind for the entire district, assembling the agitational and organizational forces this requires;

(e) to undertake and carry through every measure that helps mobilize women of the working people in the district for all the party's major projects and campaigns, transforming women from passive observers into active participants;

(f) to organize district women's conferences, to which each local women's agitation committee must send one or two representatives. In addition, the women party members in each local-

ity will elect delegates—one delegate is to be chosen for each fifty women party members. The committee will call the district women's conferences as needed, but at least once every six months. The district women's committee also initiates and conducts other delegated conferences for women in the district who do not belong to any party.

The district women's committee consists of five to seven members, proposed by the women members of the district at their conference and approved by the district party leadership. The committee works in closest collaboration with the district party leadership, whose approval is required for its measures and decisions. Within the district party leadership, the committee is represented by one or several women comrades, who take part in all its sessions with consultative vote for questions affecting the party as a whole and decisive vote for questions affecting the women's movement.

(4) Linked to the national party leadership is a national women's agitation committee or national women's secretariat. Its tasks are

(a) to maintain continual and regular contact with the district and local women's agitation committees and to place them in close touch with the national party leadership;

(b) to assemble all factual material on the work of each district women's agitation committee and to provide for an exchange of this information, including of the lessons and proposals that flow from it, among these committees;

(c) to distribute agitational and educational literature to the district women's committees across the country as a whole;

(d) to give close attention to the employment, education, and legal status of women, to laws protecting women workers, and to developments and disputes affecting women's economic, political, and social interests; to encourage the district and local women's agitation committees to take up controversial questions;

(e) to publish regularly a magazine that serves to educate women comrades theoretically, deepen their understanding of communism, and give them an intimate feel for the intellectual essence of the party and its current revolutionary tasks. The national women's committee selects the woman who edits this publication and strives to provide her with contributions and

collaborators from among women workers;

(f) to promote and organize agitational events of every kind for the entire country and to provide the necessary agitational and organizational forces;

(g) to take up and drive through every appropriate measure to summon the broadest masses of working women across the country to join in the party's overall tasks and struggles and lead women to participate actively and with a readiness for sacrifice;

(h) to convene national women's conferences composed of one or two representatives of each district women's committee and elected delegates of the women party members in every locality. One delegate is to be chosen for every one hundred women party members. Where there are fewer than one hundred women members, one delegate is sent nonetheless. National women's conferences will be called when necessary, but at least once a year. The national women's agitation committee also convenes delegated conferences of women across the country who do not belong to any party.

(i) to select an international correspondent who maintains continual contact with the International Women's Secretariat.

The national women's agitation committee consists of seven to ten members proposed by the national women's conference and approved by the national Communist Party convention. The committee works in closest contact with the national party leadership, and the committee's decisions are subject to its approval. The committee's representatives take part in all meetings and activities of the party leadership, with decisive vote in all matters affecting women and consultative vote in all matters affecting the party as a whole.

b) International organization

An International Women's Secretariat will be established associated with the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It will consist of three to five comrades nominated by the conference of Communist women and confirmed by the congress of the Communist International, or by the Executive Committee as its representative. The women's secretariat works in close collaboration with the International's Executive Committee, whose approval is required for its decisions and measures. A woman comrade serves as representative of the secretar-

iat in all meetings and activities of the Executive Committee with consultative vote on overall questions and with decisive vote on questions particular to the women's movement.¹²

Its tasks are

(a) to establish and maintain active ties with national women's committees of each Communist Party, as well as active ties among these committees;

(b) to assemble and make available informational and agitational material produced by the work of each national women's committee;

(c) to assemble Communist women's and party literature produced in each country, such as "women's pages," periodicals, leaflets, and so forth, and to organize their exchange among different countries;

(d) to study and to assemble material on the development of women's employment, their political and civil rights and their public position, their occupational training and overall education, and on questions of the protection of female workers, public welfare services for mothers and children, housing conditions, and so forth. In short, all problems relating to women's life and activity must be studied, the relevant material collected, and the national women's committees made aware of questions and tasks of international significance and referred to the available study material;

(e) to urge the international correspondents of each national organization to submit reports, doing so rapidly on especially important events and phenomena but at least every three months;

(f) to produce a publication for international information that contains general, all-embracing reports as well as particularly important individual reports and that draws attention to current general problems, tasks, and campaigns;

(g) when the proletariat, led by the Communist International, conducts international campaigns, to immediately take all necessary steps to enroll the broadest toiling masses of women into the revolutionary ranks as intelligent, self-sacrificing, and courageous partners in struggle;

(h) to call together and lead international conferences of Communist women that will facilitate the exchange of knowledge won through experience, provide a new stimulus for ac-

tion, strengthen the ties between comrades, and unite the great masses of toiling women internationally in revolutionary work and struggle.

International women's conferences must appeal to the exploited and enslaved women of the entire world.

Proletarian women of all countries! Unite with the proletarian men of all countries under the banner of the Communist International, against capitalism and its deceitful democracy, in the struggle to conquer political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet system! Even more than of proletarian men, it can be said of you, proletarian women, that in this struggle you have only your chains to lose and a world to win.

Theses on the youth movement¹

1. The founding of proletarian youth organizations around the world results from several factors: the increased capitalist exploitation of young workers in all factories and workshops and in home industry, which can only lead to their spiritual and physical degeneration; militarism, whose burdens are born above all by working-class youth; the danger that their ranks will be permeated by bourgeois-nationalist ideology through the schools, the press, bourgeois youth organizations, and so on; and the special psychological characteristics of the younger generation.

2. Communist youth groups arose in every country as part of the development of the workers' movement as a whole during and after the imperialist war. This occurred in part through old Socialist youth organizations going over to the camp of the Communist International and in part through splits in these organizations.

3. The Communist youth organizations have the following tasks: the communist education of working-class youth, active participation in bringing down capitalism (the defense of the proletarian dictatorship and soviet construction after taking power), and the struggle to reorganize work and education on a new socialist basis. As much as possible, the Communist youth organizations promote the cultural development of young workers along the lines of the Marxist worldview as well as physical education, which currently must aim primarily at military preparation.

4. The most important element in the communist education of youth, aside from theoretical education, is their taking an active part in the daily political struggles of the working class. It is in this respect that the Communist youth organizations are different from the social-patriotic and centrist youth groups. Their political struggles, in addition to their educational significance, have great and real importance for the international Communist movement.

5. The entire history of the proletarian youth movement in

every country shows that only independent, that is, self-governing, youth organizations develop bold and determined revolutionary fighters and astute organizers of the proletarian revolution and soviet power. The independent action of working-class youth is the first prerequisite for their revolutionary communist development. By contrast, the social patriots' exercise of tutelage over the youth results in an opportunist, petty-bourgeois development. The communist development of young people requires special methods of work that reflect the special characteristics of their age group.

6. The relationship between the Communist parties and the Communist youth organizations will take different forms as a result of differences in objective conditions and in the state of the party in each country. In some countries, where the formation of Communist parties is still in flux and the youth organizations are just breaking away from the social-patriotic and centrist parties, our main slogan is that of the absolute political and organizational independence of the youth movement. Under such conditions this slogan is objectively revolutionary! The slogan of absolute independence is wrong, however, in countries where there are already strong Communist parties, and where this slogan is used by the social patriots and the centrists against the Communist youth and to mislead the youth. There the Communist youth organizations have based themselves on the program of the Communist Party.

7. In all countries where old and active Communist parties existed, a strong relationship between the Communist Party and the Communist youth organization was established. The form this took was that the Communist youth organization adopted the program of the Communist Party and functioned in the framework of its political positions. At the same time, in these cases, the youth (1) had their own centralized organization; (2) decided for themselves how to carry out their organizational, agitational, and propaganda activities; (3) decided the place and the forms of their participation in political struggle; and (4) discussed the main political questions. All youth organizations must arrive at this relationship with the Communist Party, not through compulsion by the party, but by being convinced and making their own free decision.

8. The Communist parties support the Communist youth

organizations intellectually and materially, without tying this support to petty interference in the activity of the youth organization or the exercise of tutelage over it. For their part the Communist youth organizations support the Communist parties in the full range of their organizational activity, legal and illegal, and their political work.

9. The Communist International hails the formation of the Communist Youth International, whose basic tasks are the centralized leadership of the Communist youth movement, support of the national Communist youth groups, the formation of Communist youth groups where none yet exist, and international agitation around the ideas of communism and the youth movement.

10. The Communist Youth International is part of the Communist International. As such it subordinates itself to the decisions of the congresses of the Communist International and the political directives of its Executive Committee. It carries out independently its work of leading, organizing, strengthening, and broadening the youth International.

11. The Communist Youth International and its groups take part in the congresses of the Communist International. The executive committees of the Communist International and the youth International exchange representatives with decisive vote.

12. The Communist International assigns to its Executive Committee and its member parties the task of spreading the idea of the Communist youth movement among party members and the broad working masses.

Session 11: Trade unions and factory committees, part 1

1. At the German Communist Party's founding congress, Luxemburg expressed the view that workers' councils were taking over the functions of trade unions. "The workers' councils," she said, "are the organizations at the factory level that lead and watch over the economic struggles. . . . As you can see, the [party] platform leads straight to completely assuming all the functions of the unions. We expropriate from the trade unions the functions entrusted to them by the workers, whom they betrayed." She cautioned, however, against the proposal that Communists quit the unions. "What will become of the enormous power those gentlemen control?" she asked. "I would not be in favor of a split that left even a part of the power in their hands." Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 190-91.

2. Schröder and Wendel, *Betriebsorganisationen*, p. 5.

3. J.H. Whitley (1866-1935) chaired the British government's Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed. Its main report, presented in 1917, proposed a permanent arbitration court, joint labor-management councils in factories and on a district and national basis, and other similar measures. Many such joint bodies, called "Whitley councils," were established in the next few years.

4. John Spargo (1876-1966), a former Socialist, a collaborator of Samuel Gompers, and an opponent of Soviet Russia, wrote *Russia as an American Problem*.

5. The value of the German mark was falling steadily during this period. In 1914 it was worth U.S. \$.24; by mid-1921 it was worth just over U.S. \$.01.

6. The translation of this sentence follows the French and English texts. The German text reads, "We must induce the Communists in America and Britain to consider the possibility and necessity of forming new trade unions in all large organizations in America." The Russian texts read, "We must agree with the general tendency of American Communists to form new trade unions."

7. The syndicalist unions are discussed in thesis 5 of the resolution on the role of the party (session 3, pp. 193-94) and in thesis 6 of the resolution on the trade unions (session 12, pp. 629-30). These passages, however, do not take up their admission to the International. All syndicalists groups were invited to the congress in the Executive Committee's congress call, found after the Prologue to this book.

8. The translation here follows the Russian and English texts. The

German and French texts read, "What the USPD accomplished by entering the trade unions . . ."

9. Radek is referring to trade union theses submitted by John Reed. The text of these theses is not available.

10. The union statement, issued July 15, 1920, is found in appendix 4b. In fact, no British unionists signed this statement. Purcell and Williams, the British unionists, had agreed to the calling of a congress to found a new trade union International but left Moscow before subsequent meetings that led to the July 15 statement.

11. Under the tsars the Central Asian province of Khorezm, then known as Khiva, was a khanate subject to a Russian protectorate. Early in 1920 the revolutionary nationalist Young Khivan Party, backed by units of the Red Army, drove out the khan. In June 1920 a democratic republic was established, organized along soviet lines. In 1925 Khorezm was incorporated into the Soviet Union as part of the Uzbek and Turkmen soviet socialist republics.

The placement here of the greetings from Khorezm follows that in the Russian edition of 1934. The German edition, however, puts these greetings at the beginning of session 12.

12. Fraina's report conveys the main points of the theses that he and Murphy submitted to the trade union commission. Their theses are found in the Communist Party of America's April 1921 issue of the *Communist*.

13. See point 1 of the July 15 declaration in appendix 4b.

14. This topic is taken up in the last sentence of article 5 of the trade union council's provisional statutes in appendix 4c.

15. See article 3 of the trade union council's statutes in appendix 4c.

16. Tanner is referring to the declaration in appendix 4b.

Session 12: Trade unions and factory committees, part 2

1. For Luxemburg's remarks on this question, see note 1 to session 11, p. 1003.

2. In a coup on October 4-5, 1910, the constitutional monarchy in Portugal was overthrown and a republic proclaimed.

3. Wolffheim and Rühle were prominent figures in the KAPD, which had organized a small, separate trade union federation under its leadership. See remarks by Zinoviev in session 15 (p. 724).

4. The term "civil peace" (*Burgfrieden*) was used by revolutionaries after 1914 to refer to the right-wing Social Democratic Party and trade union leadership's policy of support to the government in prosecuting the war effort and opposing workers' struggles to defend their interests.

5. In most European countries, including in factories where trade unions were strong and negotiated collective agreements on behalf of all the workers, joining the union remained a matter of individual choice, and many workers did not belong.

6. The translation of this sentence follows the Russian and French texts.

7. Following the congress, Fraina wrote in his party's newspaper that he and Stoklitsky did not join Reed and other U.S. delegates in abstaining. See *Communist* (Communist Party of America), vol. 3, no. 1, April 1921.

8. According to the 1920 Vienna edition, this vote was 57 to 8, with one abstention.

9. The trade union theses were drafted by Radek. In the German edition of the congress proceedings, these theses appear as an appendix.

10. In place of "sharpening class antagonisms," the draft resolution reads, "They [the masses] . . ."

11. The words "in the interests of the bourgeoisie" are not found in the draft resolution.

12. This sentence is not found in the draft.

13. This sentence is not found in the draft.

14. The rest of this sentence is not found in the draft.

15. This sentence is not found in the draft.

16. The rest of this sentence is not found in the draft.

17. The rest of this sentence is not found in the draft.

18. This sentence is not found in the draft.

19. The words "and factory committees" are not found in the draft.

20. In place of the rest of this sentence and the sentence that follows, the draft resolution reads, "must be most energetically supported by the Communist parties."

21. At this point the draft contains the following passage, absent from the final version: "After the proletariat gains power, the factory committees will be the first organs of management of industry until the establishment of overall state economic organs, through which the working class can administer the factories and lead, in the interests of society as a whole, the country's entire economic life, utilizing to that end the scientific resources bequeathed by capitalism."

22. In place of this sentence, the draft reads, "Only after the taking of power can the factory committees become factory units of the trade unions, which together with the local and central organs of workers' power will create special economic organs."

23. Point 14 is not found in the draft.

Session 13: The agrarian question

1. Julian Marchlewski had left the congress to head the provisional Polish revolutionary government just established in the Polish city of Bialystok.

2. For a discussion of the German Social Democracy's agrarian policy, which was typical of that of most parties affiliated to the Second International, see Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 216-24.

3. See Kautsky, *Agrarian Question*, and Lenin's review of the book in *CW*, vol. 4, pp. 94-99.

4. The Settlement Laws of 1919 aimed to strengthen the German government's claim to eastern regions inhabited by many Poles through providing marginal or defaulted-upon land there to army veterans and peasants who needed land.

5. In July 1919 the German Communist Party began publication of *Der Pflug* (The plow), a weekly newspaper for small peasants.

6. In fact, the draft theses refer here not to the total population on these farms but to the number of farms of this size. See Lenin's footnote in appendix 5a on p. 964.

7. See "Agrarprogramm der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands (Spartakusbund)," *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 9 [April 1920], pp. 129-35.

8. This formulation is not found in the final text of the resolution.

9. Beginning in the spring of 1919 and continuing through 1921, agrarian revolts were widespread among Italian small peasants and farm workers, especially in the south. Many land occupations and local insurrections took place. Farm workers' organizations grew rapidly and won improved wages and working conditions, and in some areas landowners were forced to recognize the closed shop. Growing support from rural toilers enabled the Socialist Party to win sweeping electoral victories in important agricultural regions.

10. Graziadei misread this passage in the draft theses, which states that small peasants and rural workers made up the majority not of the population as a whole but of that in the countryside.

11. A decare, which is one-tenth of a hectare, equals about one quarter of an acre.

12. By "socialization" of the land, Shablin means convincing farm laborers and peasants to join together in cooperative or state farms for large-scale cultivation. This is not the same as nationalization of the land, which was carried out by the Soviet government in Russia in 1917. Nationalization abolished private property in land, thus putting an end to the renting, selling, or mortgaging of land. This freed the peasant from the capitalist rents and mortgages system under which many were

driven off the land by their incapacity to maintain rent and interest payments. Following nationalization of the land, the Soviet government guaranteed peasants full freedom to decide themselves whether to cultivate individually or collectively. The Bolsheviks saw this as the best road toward the voluntary expansion of cooperative and collective farming on a socialist basis. Lenin discusses these concepts in "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," in *CW*, vol. 28, pp. 305-15.

13. In 1920 the Communist Party of Bulgaria began publishing *Selski Vestnik* (Country herald), a newspaper aimed at peasants and farm workers.

14. Explaining why French peasants had supported the 1851 coup d'état of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (Napoléon III) against the bourgeois parliament, Karl Marx described their conditions as follows: "Their mode of production isolates them from one another instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. The isolation is increased by France's bad means of communication and by the poverty of the peasants. . . . Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient; it itself directly produces the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society." Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *MECW*, vol. 11, p. 187.

15. In France during and just after the war, trade in grain was put in the hands of a government monopoly, which purchased peasants' grain surpluses at fixed prices that were held below free-market levels. Although this policy met strong opposition from the better-off peasants, who sold grain on the market, it actually benefited most poorer peasants, who purchased some of the grain they needed on the market. The French government announced in the early summer of 1920 that, while maintaining the grain monopoly, it was increasing the price of grain. Price controls were abolished in 1921.

16. The Italian delegation was so divided that it could not agree on delegates to the programmatic commissions and participated in only two of them.

17. The initial draft of these theses was written by Lenin and is included as appendix 5a to this volume. Substantive differences between this draft and the final version are noted.

In the German edition of the congress proceedings, these theses appear as an appendix.

18. This paragraph is not found in Lenin's draft.

19. Lenin's draft includes a footnote giving precise data on this point. See appendix 5a, p. 964.

20. In Lenin's draft this paragraph ends as follows: "That is because

the world outlook and the sentiments of the property owners are prevalent among this stratum, which has a direct interest in profiteering, in 'freedom' of trade and in property, and stands in direct antagonism to the wageworkers. By abolishing rent and mortgages, the victorious proletariat will immediately improve the position of this stratum."

21. This sentence is not found in Lenin's draft.

22. In Lenin's draft this sentence is expressed as follows: "The proletarian state must effect the transition to collective farming with extreme caution and only very gradually, by the force of example, without any coercion of the middle peasant."

23. All of the remainder of thesis 6 in Lenin's draft, except for the last two paragraphs, is substantially reworked in this final version.

24. At this point three sentences in Lenin's draft are omitted from this final version.

25. Lenin's draft specifies only Germany here.

26. The final three sentences of this paragraph are not found in Lenin's draft.

27. Lenin's draft refers specifically to "three very important European parties" that left the Second International and names only Kautsky, not Scheidemann and the trade union bureaucracy.

28. At this point a sentence in Lenin's draft has been omitted from this final version.

29. This sentence is not found in Lenin's draft.

30. In Lenin's draft this sentence reads: "Only if they are linked up with the mass strike struggle and with the most oppressed class can the soviets perform their functions and become consolidated enough to influence (and later to incorporate) the small peasants."

Session 14: Statutes

1. The names of those nominated here as editors are not found in any of the 1921 editions of the proceedings. They appear, however, in the notes of the congress secretaries.

2. Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *MECW*, vol. 6, p. 519.

3. Levi is apparently referring here to the Executive Committee's decision to establish a regional bureau in Amsterdam. The bureau members appointed by the Executive Committee were Wijnkoop, Willem Van Ravesteyn, Henriette Roland-Holst, Anton Pannekoek, and Herman Gorter. Inclusion of the last two would have seemed an error even to the Dutch party leaders, with whom they were at odds. The Amsterdam bureau's activities and the decision to dissolve it are dis-

cussed in the Executive Committee's report found before session 1.

4. Gallacher's speech and the subsequent remarks of Reed have been translated from the German edition and edited after a comparison with the English and Russian editions.

5. In December 1919 the British Trades Union Congress authorized a delegation to visit Soviet Russia on a fact-finding tour. Representatives of the Labour Party and Independent Labour Party joined the group, which visited Russia in May and June 1920.

On May 26 the delegation met briefly with Lenin, who gave them his "Letter to the British Workers." See Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 139-43.

6. Zinoviev is apparently referring to the proposed changes he has just discussed.

7. The statutes were drafted by Zinoviev.

8. Marx and Engels, "General Rules," in *MECW*, vol. 23, pp. 3-4.

9. This sentence encompasses an amendment adopted in session 16, which raised the maximum number of parties represented in the Executive Committee to thirteen from ten.

10. The 1921 and 1934 Russian texts of this sentence read, "united internationally under the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International . . ."

11. The third Comintern congress, held in 1921, decided that structuring the association of revolutionary trade unions as a section of the Comintern, as proposed in this clause, would be premature. This was the "ideal solution," the congress trade union resolution stated. "Undoubtedly this is the organization of the future. However, in the present transitional period, given the diverse types of trade unions that actually exist, the essential need is for an independent international association of Red trade unions which supports the general outline of the platform of the Communist International, but sets less strict conditions for membership than the Communist International can allow." Adler, *Theses, Resolutions*, pp. 268-69.

Session 15: Forming workers' councils; Part 3 of trade unions and factory committees

1. The remarks of Edward Lindgren (Flynn) have been translated from the German text and edited after comparison with the English version.

2. Total membership in the U.S. Communist movement as a whole was then probably closer to eight thousand, divided more or less evenly between the United Communist Party and the Communist Party.

3. The German text of this paragraph reads, "It is quite wrong to say, as Flynn did here, that if the congress continues to support the two

comrades from the Communist Party it is sanctioning the split. On the contrary, if the congress excludes these two comrades, it will be exacerbating the differences. I maintain that I have the right to attend the congress as a delegate because my party can and must and will contribute much to the cause of the communist revolution in general."

4. See Kautsky, *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, pp. 70-74. Lenin's reply, together with another article by Kautsky on this theme, can be found in Riddell, *German Revolution*, pp. 94-105 and 345-50.

5. Kerensky was a minister in the bourgeois Provisional Government from its inception after the February 1917 revolution until its overthrow in October. He did not become prime minister in that regime, however, until early July.

6. Zinoviev is probably referring to the Communist Federation of Soviets.

7. The result of the vote is taken from the 1920 Vienna edition.

8. The theses on forming workers' councils were drafted by Zinoviev. A comparison of that draft with the final version found here shows that no significant changes were made in the course of the congress. In the German edition of the congress proceedings, these theses appear as an appendix.

9. The proceedings contain no record of the amendment by U.S. delegates.

10. The 1921 editions of the congress proceedings give only the opening and closing phrases of these passages from the United Communist Party program. The text of these quotations is taken from *Communist* (United Communist Party), vol. 1, no. 1, June 12, 1920.

11. This quotation is not found in any previous version of the congress proceedings. Radek was evidently referring to the Executive Committee letter, "The Communist International to the American Comrades," published in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2498-99. The passage from this letter that deals with the American Federation of Labor has been inserted in this edition of the proceedings.

12. A law passed in January 1920 established a system of worker-elected factory committees, authorized to negotiate with and advise the employers on many questions of plant management. The law's thrust was to convert the committees from an instrument of struggle built by the workers into a government-regulated institution of collaboration between workers and employers.

13. The Russian delegation's resolution submitted to the Second Congress trade union commission proposed that the July 15 union council declaration serve as a platform for the trade union Interna-

tional and that this International should form part of the Comintern. This latter point was not included in the trade union theses, although it is reflected in thesis 14 of the Comintern statutes in session 14, pp. 698-99.

14. The resolution that had been rejected was probably an August 1 statement adopted by a meeting of trade union delegates to the congress, which established a provisional structure for the revolutionary trade union council. This statement, included in the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings, was not widely publicized at the time. Much of its content was incorporated into the Executive Committee appeal to trade unions found in appendix 4d.

15. The translation of this sentence is based on the Russian text of 1921.

16. This heading, not found in any previous edition of the proceedings, is given in the notes of the congress secretaries.

17. The German text reads, "changing the old revolutionary spirit in the trade unions . . ."

18. The letter to the IWW is found in appendix 4a.

19. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George visited Glasgow in December 1915 to urge on union leaders the need for "dilution." This meant the introduction of unskilled labor, especially that of women, into skilled job classifications in a manner that drove down wage rates and undercut union rights. The Clyde Workers' Committee, a precursor of the Shop Stewards' movement, demanded to meet with him, but was refused. When Lloyd George toured the factories December 24, however, workers refused to talk to him and referred him to the Clyde Workers' Committee. Progovernment union officials had arranged an areawide meeting on Christmas Day at which specially invited workers would meet with Lloyd George. Gallacher persuaded the official local labor council to repudiate the meeting, while he simultaneously cornered the invitations, giving them to the Workers' Committee for distribution. The Christmas meeting thus turned into a tumultuous confrontation between the prime minister and several thousand militant metalworkers.

20. The text of Fraina's speech, taken from the English edition, has been expanded by adding a number of passages found only in the Russian edition of 1921. The final sentence is taken from the German edition.

21. These remarks by the chair and by Reed are taken from the English edition.

22. The result of the vote is taken from the 1920 Vienna edition.

23. The meaning of Reed's motion is unclear, given that the proceedings record earlier the taking of a vote on the theses.

24. The text here follows the Russian edition of 1921. No reference to Zinoviev's "additional proposal" is found in the French or English texts. According to the German edition, Zinoviev read out a motion at this point. The text of such a motion, however, is found neither in the German edition nor in any other available congress records.

25. This is a reference to the July 15 call to form an International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, in appendix 4b.

26. See "To the Trade Unions of All Countries," in appendix 4d.

27. Tanner's remarks, not found in any previous version of the proceedings, are taken from the notes of the congress secretaries.

28. The size of the revolutionary trade unions of Bulgaria was given by the Bulgarian Communist Party, in its written report to the congress, as just over 30,000 members.

29. Zinoviev's meaning is that the main enemy is not the Second International but the reformist-led trade union International. Brussels was the seat of the pre-war Second International and of the "Bern International" sponsored by procapitalist forces trying to reconstitute the Second International under their leadership. Meeting in Geneva simultaneously with the second Comintern congress, these forces shifted their center to London.

30. This is a reference to Zinoviev's motion that the Executive Committee issue an appeal on behalf of the newly formed trade union council.

Session 16: Tasks of the Comintern; Part 4 of conditions for admission, and other business

1. No text is available of Rosmer's report. There is no record of it in any edition of the proceedings. It is mentioned, however, in the notes of congress secretaries, in Rosmer's *Moscow under Lenin*, and in the congress supplement to *Pravda*, *Vestnik 2-go kongressa*, no. 7.

2. Thesis 16 of the draft resolution on tasks advocated that communists in Britain join the Labour Party. In the commission on this resolution, this proposal was strongly opposed by the British delegates present, as well as by Fraina, Rosmer, and Wijnkoop. Although a clear majority favored the thesis, Lenin requested a special plenary discussion on the topic, asking Rosmer to present the commission's report on this resolution.

3. In May 1917 a walkout of metalworkers near Manchester opened the biggest wartime strike in Britain, which embraced 200,000 workers. The strikers were protesting moves to extend "dilution" of skilled labor from government munitions factories to private firms, as well as to cut back the skilled machinists' exemption from conscription. Though the

strikes were broken, the government dropped plans to expand dilution. The strikes strengthened the Shop Stewards' movement and established it as a national force.

4. No record is available of such a statement by Serrati.

5. The resolution adopted at the Bologna congress is printed in *Communist International*, no. 6, October 1919, cols. 901-2. The Turin section's report can be found in no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 71-74.

6. The theses were drafted by Lenin. This translation, from Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 184-201, has been edited on the basis of comparison with the German and 1934 Russian editions of the proceedings. In the German edition of the congress proceedings, these theses appear as an appendix.

7. This sentence is not found in the draft resolution.

8. The Central Committee of the Swiss party had decided April 17 to propose to the party's 1920 congress that it join the Communist International. Prior to the congress, which was not held until December, the Central Committee reversed itself and advocated rejecting the Twenty-one Conditions. The congress majority adopted this latter position.

9. This sentence is not found in the draft.

10. Points (f) and (g) are not found in the draft.

11. This reference is to thesis 7 of the Twenty-one Conditions. This sentence is not found in the German text.

12. This sentence is not found in the draft.

13. Mention of the Bologna congress decision in this sentence is not found in the draft.

14. Rosmer later recounted that a proposal was placed before the commission that the resolution explicitly condemn the *Bulletin* published by the Amsterdam bureau. Rosmer spoke against this measure, arguing that the *Bulletin* was published on the authority of the Comintern leadership, which must accept responsibility for its actions. Insertion of the criticism was defended by Zinoviev and Levi. The commission vote was tied, and Lenin, who was chairing, then cast the deciding vote against this proposal. See Rosmer, *Moscow under Lenin*, p. 75.

15. Meyer is referring to point 15 of the "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International," which appear earlier in this session.

16. The published version of the theses on tasks does not refer to the Twenty-one Conditions.

17. An early, seventeen-point version of these theses was published in 1920 in German in Zinoviev's pamphlet *Brennende Tagesfragen*, pp. 99-107. A subsequent draft, with an eighteenth point (thesis 2 in the final version that appears here), appeared prior to the congress in the

French- and English-language editions of the Comintern magazine; for the English version, see *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2221-26. During the congress, Bordiga and Humbert-Droz drew up what became thesis 19; Bordiga proposed it in session 6. A draft including nineteen points was published in Russian listing Zinoviev as the author. See *Tezisy ko Vtoromu kongressy*, p. 83. This version can also be found in Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 206-11. After further discussion Lenin proposed what became thesis 20, and thesis 21 was suggested by Bordiga. In a 1924 address, Zinoviev said that the Twenty-one Conditions “were drafted by me, but, to the last detail, inspired by Lenin.” See “W.I. Lenin: Genie, Lehrer, Führer, und Mensch,” *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 31/32 [1924], p. 13.

In the 1921 German edition of the proceedings, these theses are placed in session 8 (July 30).

In the notes that follow, the comparison is between the final text and the nineteen-point draft published in Lenin’s *Collected Works*.

18. Norway and Yugoslavia are not mentioned in the draft resolution.

19. In place of “the so-called left Social Democrats,” the draft reads “the reformists.”

20. The words “and correspond . . . the Communist International” are not found in the draft.

21. In the draft this paragraph is thesis 12.

22. At this point the draft adds, “Communist cells must be formed in every military unit.”

23. In the Russian editions of 1921 and 1934, as in the draft, this sentence begins, “The working class cannot consolidate its victory unless it has the support of at least a part of the rural proletariat and poorest peasants.”

24. The words “of town and country” are not found in the draft.

25. In the draft only Turati and Modigliani are mentioned in this sentence.

26. The workers’ and factory committees are not mentioned at this point in the draft.

27. The Russian texts of 1921 and 1934, as well as the draft, read at this point, “governed by an iron, almost military discipline.”

28. This thesis is not found in the draft.

29. This thesis was introduced by Bordiga in session 6. In the nineteen-point draft, this thesis reads, “After the Second Congress of the Communist International has finished its work, all parties wishing to join it are required to call a special congress as soon as possible, in order, on behalf of the party as a whole, to approve the measures laid down above.”

30. Theses 20 and 21 are not found in the draft resolution.

31. The draft theses on work among women and on the youth movement were adopted and published by the Executive Committee (see appendixes 6b and 7).

32. Graziadei's proposal, presented in session 13, is reflected in the addition made to the end of the first paragraph of thesis 8 of the agrarian theses on p. 669.

33. The list given here is reconstructed from the notes of the congress secretaries. The English, French, and Russian texts do not contain any indication here of the proposed composition of the Executive Committee. The German text contains a list, giving names as well as countries, that differs markedly from the secretaries' notes and from the list published in *Pravda* on August 10, 1920.

In the German edition's list, Radek represents Poland not Russia; Java is represented by Maring; Latvia by Stuchka; Georgia by Tskhakaya; and Turkey by Shatskin. Lazar Shatskin was, in fact, a representative of the youth International, not of Turkey. No representatives are named for the Communist Party of Russia.

34. The secretaries' notes refer at this point to a speech by Sverre Krogh of Norway but give no indication of its contents. There is no mention of his speech in any edition of the congress proceedings.

35. Reports on Switzerland were printed in *Berichte zum zweiten Kongress*, pp. 77-111.

36. This list is not found in any previous edition of the proceedings; it is taken from the notes of congress secretaries.

37. The Executive Committee's August 26, 1920, letter to the KAPD appears in *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], pp. 154-56.

38. The manifesto appears immediately following session 17.

39. The membership of the new Executive Committee, according to *Pravda* of August 10, 1920, was as follows: "Germany, Levi (candidate member, Meyer); France, Rosmer; Britain, Quelch (for all British parties and groups including the Shop Stewards, but not including the Pankhurst group); America, John Reed; Italy, Serrati; Austria, Steinhardt; Scandinavia, Friis (Norway, Sweden, Denmark; it was subsequently decided to give Sweden separate representation); Bulgaria, Shablin; Yugoslavia, Milkic; Hungary, Rudnyánszky (candidate member, Varga); Middle East, Sultanzadeh; Far East, Pak; Finland, Manner; the Netherlands, Wijnkoop. As decided by the congress, the Russian Communist Party chose five delegates, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Tomsky, and Kobetsky, as well as the candidate members Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Berzin, Pavlovich, and Chicherin." The Communist Youth International elected Shatskin as its representative.

A bureau was elected to coordinate the Executive Committee's day-to-day business. Usually called the Narrow Bureau, it was initially composed of Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kobetsky, Meyer, and Rudnyánszky. By June 1921 its membership had been altered through the addition of Radek, Rosmer, Béla Kun, and Wilhelm Koenen.

Session 17: Closing rally

1. The closing rally was conducted in Russian. The Russian and French editions of 1921, however, omit any record of this rally, and the Russian edition of 1934 includes only Zinoviev's closing speech. Apart from this last speech, therefore, the translation of this session is taken from the German text.

2. The Finnish Social Democratic Party won a majority in the 1916 elections for a parliament that, under the tsar, had no real authority. Bourgeois parties regained the majority in the October 1917 elections.

3. Wilson was frustrated in several of his attempts to win gains for U.S. capitalist interests in trade and other issues at the Paris conference of Allied powers. He quit the conference in June 1919, leaving the impression that he considered the "humane" peace he had promised in his Fourteen Points to have been sabotaged by the European powers' greed.

4. The Russian soldiers brought to Odessa had been sent to France during World War I to fight on the western front. Following the outbreak of the Russian revolution, many of the forty thousand Russian troops in France refused to fight. They were imprisoned and put to forced labor by the French authorities.

Soldiers from Senegal and other French colonies made up more than half the armed forces sent by France to the Black Sea to intervene against Soviet Russia. In April 1919 troops on the French ships in the Black Sea port of Sebastopol mutinied, demanding an end to the French intervention.

5. The pood is a Russian unit of weight equal to about 36.1 pounds (16.4 kilograms).

6. The translation of Zinoviev's remarks, taken from the Russian edition of 1934, has been edited on the basis of a comparison with the German text.

7. For a fuller list of countries represented see appendix 1b.

8. See appendix 3b.

9. The published resolutions of the 1920 Geneva congress contain no call for a general strike.

10. In fact, the position Zinoviev refers to here was taken not by the Stuttgart congress as a whole but by its commission on colonialism.

The plenary session defeated the commission report by a narrow margin. See Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 5-15.

11. The larger of the two Communist parties in Britain was formed through the fusion of the British Socialist Party and a wing of the Socialist Labour Party at a convention held July 31–August 1, 1920. One month earlier, the Workers' Socialist Federation led by Sylvia Pankhurst had launched a rival Communist party. Other revolutionary currents stood aside from both groups. A united Communist Party was finally established at a January 1921 conference in Leeds.

12. This sentence, excised from the 1934 edition, is taken from the 1921 German edition.

13. This is a reference to the Russian proverb "For the mouse, no beast is mightier than the cat."

14. See "Theses on the Conditions under Which Workers' Councils May Be Formed," in session 15.

15. This is a paraphrase from the General Rules of the First International. See Marx and Engels, *MECW*, vol. 23, p. 3.

16. This is a paraphrase of a passage in the Communist International statutes found in session 14 on p. 695.

17. The First International, founded with the participation of Marx and Engels in 1864, took the name International Working Men's Association.

Manifesto

1. The manifesto was drafted by Trotsky.

2. The debt of the European Allied powers to the United States was ten billion dollars, not pounds sterling.

3. The National Security League was established in December 1914 by prominent representatives of U.S. capital to push for U.S. entry into World War I. After the war it participated in whipping up antilabor sentiment.

4. Civic League refers to the Civic Unions, gangs organized by the extreme right in France in the first half of 1920.

In May 1920 the rail workers' strike won the formal support of the French labor federation and spread to other industries. In its zeal to crush the strike, the French government obtained a court order dissolving the labor federation. This order was never enforced, however.

5. This sentence, taken from the Russian edition, is not found in the German text.

6. In January 1920, as a military measure to deal with the extreme economic hardship resulting from the civil war and imperialist intervention, the Soviet government decreed that all working people could

be conscripted to carry out various forms of essential labor services. In the first half of 1920 nearly six million people were rallied to chop wood and do other work in the timber industry. Many army units were put to work during this period to carry out urgently needed tasks. See Trotsky, "Problems of the Organization of Labor," in *Terrorism and Communism*, pp. 128-76. These measures were phased out in 1921 after the end of the civil war.

7. In early 1918 Lenin wrote: "The Taylor system . . . like all capitalist progress, is a combination of the refined brutality of bourgeois exploitation and a number of the greatest scientific achievements in the field of analysing mechanical motions during work, the elimination of superfluous and awkward motions, the elaboration of correct methods of work, the introduction of the best system of accounting and control, etc. The Soviet Republic must at all costs adopt all that is valuable in the achievements of science and technology in this field." Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in *CW*, vol. 27, p. 259.

8. The list of signatures that follows, not found in the proceedings, is taken from *Communist International*, no. 13 [September 1920], p. 22.

9. In the 1920 Vienna edition of the proceedings, "Williams" appears here instead of Bilan.

10. The 1920 Vienna edition of the proceedings includes "Mexico: R. Allan, F. Seaman."

Appendix 1: Organizing the congress

1. The Provisional Credentials Commission was established by the Executive Committee before the congress convened. Full minutes of its sessions are not available. The following extract is translated from the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings.

2. Jesús Ramírez was another pseudonym of Charles Phillips, who attended the congress as a delegate of the Mexican Communist Party under the name Frank Seaman. Phillips had passed through Cuba on the way to the congress, and it may have been proposed that he represent revolutionaries there at the congress. The Communist Party of Cuba was not formed until 1925.

3. See note 6 to this appendix.

4. This is probably a reference to Tom Barker of Britain, who had been active in the IWW in Argentina and Australia and attended the congress.

5. In addition, the Credentials Commission session of July 28 granted consultative votes to Avanesov and Ruben Katanian.

6. The Credentials Commission session of July 17 refused to grant

the Austrian Poale Zion voting rights, but admitted two observers as guests. The session of July 28 granted Kohn a consultative vote representing the Socialist Workers Party of Palestine, but in the Credentials Commission report to the congress during session 10 on August 2, Radek noted that a protest had been received that needed to be resolved.

7. In addition to the delegates listed, William Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst arrived at the congress after the opening session and actively participated in the debates. John Clarke of the Glasgow Shop Stewards' movement and Tom Barker of the IWW also attended. Helen Crawford, sent by the Independent Labour Party left wing, did not arrive until after the congress ended.

8. In addition, Marcel Vergeat and Lepetit (Bertho), syndicalists from the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), attended the congress as observers. Returning from the congress, they were lost at sea on a fishing boat along with Raymond Lefebvre. The anarchist Mauricius, from Péricat's Communist Party, also attended.

9. Also listed as a Socialist Youth Federation delegate is "Thal," apparently a pseudonym of Goldenberg.

10. Eduard Fuchs of the German Communist Party was also present at the congress.

11. This may be a pseudonym for Wilhelm Herzog, a left-wing member of the USPD, who also attended the congress.

12. Mohammad Shafiq also attended the congress as an observer.

13. The Credentials Commission session of July 28 granted Gell and Johnson full voting status.

14. When D'Aragona, representing the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL), refused to certify that this organization would break with the Amsterdam International, he, together with Vacirca, Colombino, and Paverani were refused credentials. D'Aragona, Vacirca, and Colombino then left Moscow on July 29.

15. Jan Proost (Jansen) from the Dutch Communist Party also attended the congress and served on two of its commissions.

16. The July 22, 1920, issue of *Pravda* contains a list of the members of the Russian delegation that includes, in addition to the names that follow, Moshe Rifes, who had led the left wing of the Bund into the Communist Party; Oleksandr Shums'ky, who had led the Ukrainian Borotbists into the CP; and Alekseyev. Names listed below that are not found on the *Pravda* list are Berzin, Blakytnyi, Skrypnyk, and Steklov. The 1921 English edition of the proceedings also lists Mariya Frumkina, who participated in the debates, as a consultative delegate from the Bund. Lev Kamenev, a member of the party's Political Bureau, served on one of the congress commissions.

In the list of Russian delegates, the indications of the national parties represented is clearly not complete.

17. Other sources identify this delegate as Karl Ernestovich Yanson, a representative of the United Communist Party of the United States.

18. During the congress Edward Lindgren (Flynn) arrived representing the newly formed United Communist Party and was seated as a delegate. Chabrow's credentials were not accepted. Owen Penney, an anarchist, and Jarokoshiharo of the U.S. IWW also attended the congress.

19. The Credentials Commission session of July 28 withdrew Leutner's credentials.

20. Commission membership is taken from the 1934 Russian edition of the congress proceedings, except for the commissions on organizational questions and on translating resolutions, whose memberships are given in the notes of congress secretaries (as recorded in *Komunisticka internacionala*, vol. 2, p. 478).

21. This is how the Credentials Commission's membership is recorded in the German and the 1921 and 1934 Russian editions of the congress proceedings. In the notes of the congress secretaries, however, Meyer's name is omitted from this list. The French and English editions of the congress proceedings give Serrati's name in place of Meyer. As reported in *Pravda*, the Credentials Commission had a somewhat different makeup, consisting of Rosmer, Bombacci, Bukharin, Radek, Rudnyánszky, Shablin, Marchlewski, and Ahmed Sultanzadeh. The first seven names were given in *Pravda*, July 25, 1920; the addition of Sultanzadeh to the body was reported in the congress supplement to *Pravda*, *Vestnik 2-go kongressa*, no. 1, July 27, 1920.

Appendix 2: National and colonial questions

1. The draft version is taken from Adhikari, *Documents of the CPI*, vol. 1, pp. 173-89. The revisions have been identified by comparing this text to the final version found in session 4.

2. The following theses, submitted by Sultanzadeh, formed part of the discussion in the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions. The text is taken from the *Communist* (Communist Party of Great Britain), September 2, 1920.

3. This article by Pak appeared in *Pravda* on July 27, 1920, as part of the Second Congress discussion of the national and colonial questions. It has been translated from *Pravda* and edited after comparison with the German- and English-language versions printed in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 12 [August 1920], cols. 2219-22, and in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2315-19.

4. Pak's theses have been translated from the German version printed in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 12 [August 1920], cols. 2222-24, and edited after comparison with the text in *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2319-20.

5. The following notes of a session of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions were taken by Safarov and Mikhail Pavlovich. A portion of the notes appear in the congress supplement to *Pravda, Vestnik 2-go kongressa*, no. 1, July 27, 1920. Another, more extensive version is found in the *Communist* (Communist Party of Great Britain), August 26, 1920. The text in this volume is based on both these sources.

6. Kabakchiev is referring to the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and World War I. In both cases Bulgaria was ultimately defeated.

7. Lenin wrote these comments on the typewritten copy of a report by Sultanzadeh apparently prepared for the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions. The text has been taken from Lenin, *CW*, vol. 42, p. 202.

8. The following note by Lenin, which does not appear in the English-language edition of his works, is translated from the original German text found in Lenin, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, vol. 41, p. 458. No record is available of the proposal by Levi to which Lenin is replying.

9. It appears that Levi had raised objections to the national and colonial draft theses' unconditional defense of oppressed nations against imperialist domination (regardless of the class character of the government or of the leadership of a national movement), comparing this stand to that of a German political current, the "National Bolsheviks." This current, led by Heinrich Laufenberg and Fritz Wolffheim, left the German CP in 1919 as part of the ultraleft split and was expelled from the KAPD in August 1920. The National Bolsheviks opposed "counterrevolutionary civil war" against Germany's capitalists and called instead for unity with the German capitalist class for a "revolutionary people's war" against the Allied powers and the harsh terms of the Versailles treaty.

10. By a "boycott," Lenin means an attempt by workers to refuse or evade compulsory military service.

11. A version of this report was read into the congress record by Connolly during session 5. The present text is taken from *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2281-94, and has been edited on the basis of a comparison with the text in the German edition of the magazine.

12. Although Connolly visited the United States briefly in 1902, he did not move there until the following year.

13. For contrasting assessments of the Easter Uprising by Lenin,

Radek, and Trotsky, see Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 372-79.

14. At the February 1919 Bern conference, Friedrich Adler and Jean Longuet headed a centrist minority that opposed open condemnation of the Bolsheviks as likely to obstruct the reconstruction of the Second International.

Appendix 3: Conditions for admission

1. The following condensed records of the July 25 and July 26, 1920, meetings of the Commission on Conditions for Admission to the Communist International are translated from the October 10, 1920, issue of *Rote Fahne*.

2. Zinoviev is referring to the Finnish Socialist Workers Party. See note 3 to the report of the Comintern Executive Committee on page 492.

3. Karl Helfferich gained notoriety in November 1919 through his charge that the USPD had financed the November 1918 German revolution with money obtained from the Soviet embassy.

4. Following the government attack on a January 13, 1920, demonstration in front of the National Assembly, a state of siege was declared in northern Germany, and at least thirty-five USPD newspapers were banned for varying periods of time.

5. An apparent misprint in the original text gives this sentence the opposite meaning.

6. At the Bern meeting, held June 8, Faure proposed the calling of an international conference of Socialist parties. The USPD representative, who was in fact Wilhelm Koenen, objected that this would seem an attempt to organize a rival to the Comintern. It was ultimately agreed by those present that the French and USPD delegates in Moscow would suggest to the Comintern Executive Committee that it call a conference of all parties to the left of the Second International.

7. At the July 4 National Council meeting, Barthélémy Mayéras and Paul Louis of the Socialist Party majority leadership presented a motion that Cachin and Frossard be authorized to participate in the second Comintern congress; the motion received 2,735 votes. The party's left wing, stressing that Cachin and Frossard did not speak for them, called for abstaining on this motion and was supported by 1,362 votes. Another 454 votes supported a motion by Renaudel that Cachin and Frossard attend the Second International gathering in Geneva.

8. At the July 5-16, 1920, international conference in Spa, Belgium, the Allied powers pressed their claims for German disarmament and war reparations, against vigorous protests by representatives of German capitalism.

9. The theses of Lenin referred to here are probably the five conditions for admission found in his draft of the theses on Comintern tasks. The final version, with two additional conditions, is found in thesis 15 of the resolution on tasks. See session 16, pp. 759-60. Trotsky's four questions were posed in his article, "To the Forthcoming Congress of the Communist International," *Communist International*, no. 11/12, June-July 1920, cols. 2207-8.

10. Trotsky's question cited Albert Thomas, head of the International Labour Office.

11. According to Frossard, Cachin informed the commission that "the Strasbourg congress has set up a standing propaganda committee in North Africa" to carry out "propaganda on behalf of the natives." Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, p. 24. Nonetheless the French Socialist Party in North Africa, which counted very few Arabs among the approximately one thousand members of the party there, failed to speak out against French colonial rule during this period.

12. Trotsky's question asked whether the French Socialists intended to work hand in hand with Rosmer and other revolutionary syndicalists to combat the right-wing majority in the syndicalist union federation.

13. The reference is to the "Theses on the Conditions for Admission," in session 16, pp. 765-71.

14. Cachin is referring to the French army then occupying the German Rhineland.

15. The reference is to events during the Kapp putsch in the spring of 1920.

16. Dittmann is referring to Trotsky's book *Terrorism and Communism*, written in reply to a book by Kautsky of the same name.

17. The reference here is to the prominent role of USPD members in the antiwar strikes by one million workers that swept across Germany in late January 1918.

18. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856-1921), German chancellor from 1909 to 1917, played a leading role in the secret diplomatic maneuvers that unleashed World War I and in the public explanations that the German government had carried out nothing more than unavoidable acts of self-defense.

19. See Radek's speech in session 6 on July 29 and Dittmann's reply in session 7.

20. Philipp Scheidemann was cochairman of the SPD, whose governmental coalition lost its majority in the June 6, 1920, elections. Alarmed at the USPD's major inroads among its former supporters, the SPD proposed that the two Social Democratic parties form a joint government. When the USPD rejected this offer, the SPD decided

against forming another coalition with the openly bourgeois parties, and went into opposition.

21. Subheads have been adapted from those found in *Rote Fahne*. The numbering of the theses has been changed to conform to that of the final text of the Twenty-one Conditions.

22. Thesis 2 was omitted from the German text published in *Brennende Tagesfragen*, which served as the basis for the commission's discussion. Meyer introduced this point by translating the missing thesis from the French text.

23. In *Rote Fahne*, this paragraph was placed in the discussion on thesis 3, following Dittmann's remarks.

24. In both the draft and final texts of thesis 7, Kautsky and other centrists are referred to as "notorious opportunists."

25. Thesis 12 in the draft resolution is incorporated into thesis 1 in the final text.

26. In October 1916 the SPD right-wing majority leadership arranged for the German government to seize *Vorwärts*, then controlled by centrists. The government turned the paper over to the party's Executive Committee, which soon reopened it under right-wing control. In subsequent months the majority leadership took over most of the remaining opposition SPD newspapers.

27. See thesis 20, in session 16, p. 771.

28. The circumstances in which this letter was written are discussed in the section of the Introduction on the Twenty-one Conditions. The text has been translated from the Russian edition of 1934, which reprints the Russian text originally published July 29, 1920. Three days before its publication, a French-language version of the letter, which differed in some respects, had been given to Cachin and Frossard; it can be found in Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, pp. 30-38. The present translation has been edited after comparison with the French text.

29. Cachin and Frossard's reports are printed in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 12 [August 1920], cols. 2131-42, and in Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, pp. 9-15, 18-20.

30. French troops participated in the Entente military thrust from Greece into Bulgarian-occupied Serbia in September 1918. After Bulgaria's surrender these Entente forces were used to crush incipient workers' and peasants' councils in Serbia. In 1920-21 the French government organized the "Little Entente," a military alliance between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania, to promote the interests of French capitalism in the area.

31. When eighteen deputies of the German SPD broke party discipline in March 1916 by voting against continued war credits, they set in motion a chain of events that led to a split in the SPD the following year

and the formation of a separate party, the USPD.

32. See Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, p. 14.

33. In fact, no such trade union conference was held until July 1921, when the congress convened that founded the Red International of Labor Unions.

34. No disciplinary action was taken against Kautsky or others of the USPD right wing, although after the Leipzig congress some of them resigned. Kautsky himself withdrew from the party in all but name until after its split later in 1920.

35. This paragraph is not found in the text of the letter in Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*.

36. After receiving the text of this letter, Frossard and Cachin wrote the Executive Committee as follows:

“Moscow
July 29, 1920

“We have read your appeal to the French Socialist Party. We will give your document all the publicity you ask—it will be submitted to all branches of the party. As for us, we must express our reservations on its form and on the ramifications of several of the judgments it contains. But we came to you here mandated to carry out only a mission of investigation. We will submit all the details to our party, which has the final say.

“We extend our cordial thanks to our comrades of the Third International for the fraternal welcome they gave us during the six weeks of our stay in Russia.

“L.-O. Frossard and M. Cachin”

Frossard, *Le Parti socialiste*, p. 29.

Appendix 4: Trade unions and factory committees

1. This statement was drafted by Zinoviev, probably in collaboration with John Reed, the one central leader of the U.S. Communists who was in the Soviet republic at the time. The text has been taken from the August 14, 1920, issue of the U.S. IWW paper *Solidarity* and has been checked against the Russian version in *Kommunisticheskiy internatsional*, no. 9 [April 1920], cols. 1369-82.

2. A massive campaign to organize steelworkers was undertaken in 1919 by a committee working within the AFL. At one stage in the drive, the committee prevailed upon President Wilson to ask Elbert H. Gary, head of U.S. Steel Corporation, to meet with the workers' representatives. Gary refused. The ensuing strike involved at its peak about 365,000 workers in several states. The workers were eventually de-

feated, in part by ferocious repression on the part of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, dubbed "cossacks" by the largely immigrant workers.

3. In November 1916 a vigilante gang organized by sawmill owners in Everett, Washington, fired on several hundred workers on their way to an IWW-organized free speech rally. The vigilantes killed at least five and wounded thirty-one, and seventy-four of the survivors were arrested.

On November 5, 1917, eleven IWW organizers working in an oil field near Tulsa, Oklahoma, were arrested and turned over to vigilantes, who whipped them, tarred and feathered them, and drove them out of town at gunpoint.

On August 3, 1913, police attacked a peaceful gathering of more than two thousand farm workers organized by the IWW in Wheatland, California. In the ensuing melee, four were killed, including two of the attackers. Two IWW organizers, Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, were framed up for murder and sentenced to life in prison.

On November 11, 1919 (Armistice Day), the Centralia, Washington, American Legion chapter attacked the local IWW headquarters. One IWW militant, Wesley Everest, was captured by the legionnaires, castrated, and lynched. Two others were framed up for trying to defend the hall, convicted, and sentenced to long prison terms.

4. In 1919 railroad union officials had an attorney, Glenn E. Plumb, draw up a plan for the federal government to buy the railroads from their private owners and to sponsor a corporation to run them. The 1920 AFL convention backed the plan, over Gompers's opposition. When the proposal was introduced into the U.S. Congress, it died in committee.

5. Numerous local and statewide political parties based on the trade unions were established during 1918-20. The most important were the Cook County Labor Party in Chicago and the American Labor Party in the New York City area. Formation of a national labor party was blocked, however, by the opposition of Gompers and other top leaders of the AFL. See Dobbs, *Revolutionary Continuity*, vol. 2, pp. 108-13.

6. This idea was expressed numerous times by Marx. See for example, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *MECW*, vol. 6, p. 493.

7. This statement was drafted by Serrati. The circumstances in which it was adopted are discussed in the section of the Introduction on the trade union debate.

8. The "nonpolitical" unions mentioned here are syndicalist associations, which traditionally rejected any alignment with political parties. The majority leadership of some of these unions, such as those in France, supported their national ruling class during World War I.

9. These statutes were adopted in conjunction with the launching on July 15, 1920, of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. The text has been taken from Lozovsky, *International Council*, pp. 53-55. It has been edited after comparison with the German version in Lozovsky, *Der Internationale Rat*, pp. 75-77, and compared with another version printed in an article by J.T. Murphy, in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 14 [1921], pp. 210-11.

10. This sentence is missing from the version reported by Murphy in *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 14 [1921]. Fraina had raised objections on this topic in his minority report on the trade unions during session 11.

11. This statement was written after the congress by Lozovsky and adopted by the Comintern Executive Committee. It incorporates the ideas contained in an August 1 statement by the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, which is found in the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings.

12. A conference, sponsored by the League of Nations International Labour Office, brought representatives of employers and governments together with right-wing union officials in Washington, D.C., from October 29 to November 29, 1919. Recommendations included the forty-eight-hour workweek (but not for China, India, Iran, Japan, Thailand, or Greece), unpaid pregnancy leave for women, and an end to child labor.

13. Up to this point the Presiding Committee statement closely follows the August 1 statement of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. Material from this point on, especially concerning growth of the unions and the importance of Communists' participation in them, is not found in the August 1 statement.

Appendix 5: The agrarian question

1. This article was published as part of the discussion preparatory to the Second Congress. The differences between the policy toward the small-scale and middle peasantry reflected in this document and that proposed by Lenin's draft theses on the agrarian question were the main focus of discussion in the congress commission on the agrarian question. The text of Marchlewski's article is translated from *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 12 [August 1920], cols. 2085-94.

2. The term *Great Russia* referred to the territory inhabited chiefly by Russian speakers, who made up less than half the population of the pre-1917 Russian Empire.

3. In the 1890s and subsequently, the revisionist wing of the German Social Democracy oriented toward winning the support of the

richer peasants and tended to glorify the virtues of small-scale farming.

4. The following is the draft resolution submitted by the Executive Committee to the Commission on the Agrarian Question of the Second Congress. The text is taken from Lenin, *CW*, vol. 31, pp. 152-64. The final, revised text of this resolution appears in session 13 on pp. 660-70.

Appendix 6: Communist Women's Movement

1. This appeal was adopted by the International Conference of Communist Women, which was held July 30–August 2, during the Second Congress. About two dozen delegates attended from close to twenty countries. The conference appeal was first published in *Pravda*, on August 6, 1920. The text here is translated from the 1934 Russian edition of the congress proceedings.

2. A number of capitalist countries granted women the right to vote in the years just preceding the congress, including the Netherlands (1917); Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Sweden (1918); Germany and Luxembourg (1919); and the United States (1920).

3. Demonstrations in Petrograd marking International Working Women's Day on March 8, 1917 (February 23, old style), initiated the revolutionary uprising that toppled the tsar.

4. An initial draft for this resolution was sent to Moscow by Clara Zetkin, who was then living in Germany. An expanded version was submitted by the Russian delegation to the July 30–August 2 International Conference of Communist Women. The draft was then referred to an editing commission headed by Zetkin, which made few substantive changes. The reworked resolution found here was adopted by the Executive Committee and published later in 1920. This translation is taken from *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 15 [1921], pp. 530-55, and has been edited after comparison with the draft found in the 1934 Russian edition of the congress proceedings.

5. For the First Congress resolution, see Riddell, *Founding the Communist International*, p. 250.

6. The previous two sentences are taken from the Russian draft. The German text reads: "The goal is to ensure all women can develop, in their education and employment and as mothers, every aspect of their full human personality linked by bonds of solidarity with society as a whole, so that they may achieve complete and unrestricted social rights. The goal is to create the social preconditions for achieving the new order, so that the proletariat may attain the unity and strength required for the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois system and the revolutionary construction of the new order."

7. The resolution is referring to the entry of women in large numbers into any highly paid profession, a process that tends to break down its character as a male job trust and reduce its privileges.

8. In 1911 a bill was introduced into the British Parliament, backed by Labour deputies among others, which proposed limited women's suffrage based on a property qualification that would have excluded working-class women from the vote.

9. See *Stuttgart 1907*, pp. 40-48 and 120-23, and Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart," in *CW*, vol. 13, pp. 89-91.

10. The only international Social Democratic body that took action against the betrayal by the Second International's leadership in August 1914 was the International Bureau of Socialist Women, headed by Clara Zetkin. It called an international conference, held March 26-28, 1915, where delegates from seven countries adopted the resolution summarized in this paragraph. The resolution is printed in Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 277-79. In May 1917 the SPD Executive Committee removed Clara Zetkin from editorship of the women's magazine, *Gleichheit* (Equality), which served to coordinate the international Socialist women's movement, because of the campaign against the World War she had carried out in its pages.

11. International Socialist women's conferences were held simultaneously with the 1907 and 1910 congresses of the Second International. In 1907 a coordinating center for the International Bureau of Socialist Women was set up within the *Gleichheit* editorial board. These structures were often called the Socialist Women's International.

12. An International Communist Women's Secretariat had been established by the Executive Committee in April 1920 as a section of the Comintern, with Clara Zetkin as its secretary. On August 8, 1920, Aleksandra Kollontai was appointed the secretariat's representative on the Executive Committee. Following the initial conference in 1920, further international conferences of Communist women were held in 1921 and 1924. In April 1921 the secretariat began publication of *Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* (Communist women's International), a monthly magazine edited by Zetkin and published in Germany. After 1923 the magazine appeared irregularly; in 1925 it ceased publication.

Appendix 7: Theses on the youth movement

1. These theses were drafted by Communist Youth International Executive Committee members Shatskin of Russia and Luigi Polano of Italy shortly before the second Comintern congress. The congress was not able to discuss the theses, but they were taken up by a conference

held August 7-10, 1920, of youth delegates who had attended the congress. The theses were adopted August 13, 1920, by the new Comintern Executive Committee at a joint meeting with youth representatives; they were published in 1921. The text is translated from *Kommunistische Internationale*, no. 14 [1921], pp. 311-13.

CHRONOLOGY

1917

November 7 Bolshevik-led insurrection establishes workers' and peasants' government in Russia.

1918

Summer Imperialist armies invade Russia on several fronts; Russian landlords and capitalists launch civil war against workers' and peasants' government.

November 9 German workers' and soldiers' uprising overthrows kaiser, opening revolution in Germany and central Europe.

December 30 Communist Party of Germany founded in Berlin.

1919

January 5 Uprising of Berlin workers begins against repressive actions of SPD government.

January 15 Luxemburg and Liebknecht murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps.

February 3-10 International conference of right-wing and centrist Social Democratic parties in Bern, Switzerland.

March 2-6 Founding congress of Communist International in Moscow.

March-April Broad strike movement in Egypt against British colonial domination.

Early 1919 Extended wave of strikes, land occupations, and other mass protests opens in Italy.

March 1–April Massive uprising in Korea against Japanese occupation.

March 19 Italian Socialist Party breaks with Second International and resolves to join the Comintern.

March 21 Hungarian Communist and Social Democratic parties fuse; workers' and soldiers' councils take power in Budapest.

March-April Rising wave of mass opposition to British domination in India met by massacre at Amritsar; hundreds killed by British troops.

April-May French and British intervention troops forced to withdraw from southern Russia.

April 13-27	German Communists lead workers' and soldiers' government in Bavaria.
May	First issue of <i>Communist International</i> magazine published in Moscow.
May 3	Beginning of Afghanistan war of independence from British domination.
May 4	Student demonstration in Beijing protesting Allied powers' violations of Chinese sovereignty launches broad revolutionary upsurge for national liberation.
June 7-10	Norwegian Labor Party congress votes to quit Second International and join Comintern.
June 16-July 7	Soviet republic established in Slovakia with support of Hungarian Red Army.
July 20-21	Solidarity strikes in several European countries opposing imperialist intervention against soviet Hungary and Russia.
June 28	Treaty of Versailles signed.
July 28-August 2	Amsterdam trade union International founded.
August 1	Hungarian soviet republic overthrown.
August 1-9	Right-wing and centrist Social Democrats meet in Lucerne, Switzerland.
September 1-2	Communist Party of America and Communist Labor Party founded in Chicago.
September 22-January 8	Strike of up to 365,000 steelworkers in U.S.
October 5-8	Italian SP holds congress in Bologna.
October 20-23	Split with ultralefts at German CP Heidelberg congress.
November 1-December 9	Up to 400,000 miners strike in U.S.
November 16	Italian SP wins 32 percent of vote in national parliamentary elections.
November 20-26	Communist Youth International founded in Berlin.
November 30-December 6	USPD holds congress in Leipzig.
1920	
Early 1920	British government introduces "Black and Tans," a special police force that terrorizes rising Irish independence struggle.

January 2	Thousands of supposed Communists arrested in U.S. in largest of raids organized by Attorney General Palmer; hundreds of immigrant workers subsequently deported.
January 13	German security police fire on demonstration in Berlin, killing 42.
February	71,000 Black miners strike in South Africa for higher wages and against color bar.
February 25-29	French SP holds congress in Strasbourg.
March 13	Kapp putsch in Berlin met by general strike of German workers.
March 17	General strike topples Kapp regime in Berlin.
April-May	Alvaro Obregón launches uprising that topples Carranza regime in Mexico.
April 5	Two-day general strike in Ireland wins release of 100 political prisoners.
April 13-24	500,000 workers participate in general strike in Turin, Italy.
April 22	Comintern Executive Committee decides to call Second Congress.
April 23	Rebel Turkish government established in Ankara to fight for national independence.
April 24	Polish government launches attack against the Ukraine.
May 1-28	General strike by rail workers in France, supported by other unions, ends in defeat.
May 5	Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti arrested, framed up in U.S.
May 7	Polish army occupies Kiev.
May 14	Red Army launches counteroffensive against Polish invasion.
May 1	British trade union delegation arrives in Moscow.
June 5	Soviet government established in Gilan, northern Iran.
June 6	USPD scores major gains in elections to German Reichstag. Italian SP and trade union delegation arrives in Petrograd; reaches Moscow June 15. White General Wrangel launches offensive against

	Soviet republic from Crimea.
June 12	Polish army forced to evacuate Kiev.
June 14	Comintern Executive Committee announces that Second Congress will convene July 15.
June 16	French SP delegation arrives in Moscow. Russian, British, and Italian trade unionists hold first of several discussions in Moscow on forming revolutionary trade union International.
June 22	Communist Party of Iran founded in Enzeli, Iran.
June 30	Mass uprising begins in Iraq against British domination.
July	Faisal I, leader of Arab revolt, driven from Damascus by French army.
July 3	Comintern Executive Committee issues call for Congress of Peoples of the East in Baku.
July 15	Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions formed in Moscow.
July 19	Second Comintern congress opens in Petrograd; moves to Moscow July 23.
July 21	Comintern Executive Committee meets with delegates from USPD two days after their arrival in Russia.
July 29	French SP delegation and Italian trade union leader D'Aragona leave Moscow.
July 30	Polish provisional revolutionary government established in Bialystok.
July 30–August 2	International Conference of Communist Women held in Moscow.
July 31–August 5	Right-wing Social Democrats meet in Geneva.
August 1	Beginning of noncooperation campaign in India against British rule.
August 7	Closing session of second Comintern congress in Moscow.
August 16	Red Army forced to retreat by counterattack of Polish government forces.
Late August–September	Mass strikes, factory and land occupations in Italy.
September 1-7	Comintern congress of Eastern peoples held in Baku.

- October 12-17** **USPD splits at Halle congress, majority votes to accept Twenty-one Conditions and join Comintern.**
- December 25-30** **French SP splits at Tours congress, majority changes name to CP.**
- 1921**
- January 15-21** **Italian SP splits at Livorno congress, minority forms CP.**

- Abramovich, Aleksandr Yemelyanovich** (b. 1888)—joined RSDLP 1908; Bolshevik; Comintern emissary to central and western Europe from 1919; French CP delegate to second Comintern congress; deported from France 1921; worked in Comintern staff until 1931, then in Russian CP staff; retired 1961.
- Acharya, M. Pratiwadi Bhayankar** (b. 1888)—joined Indian revolutionary group in Britain before World War I; leader of Indian Revolutionary Association in soviet Tashkent 1919, which he represented as consultative delegate at second Comintern congress; a founder and Central Committee member of Indian CP in Tashkent 1920; member of Indian CP bureau abroad in Berlin 1922; developed anarcho-syndicalist views and left Comintern 1920s.
- Adler, Friedrich** (1879-1960)—led opposition in Austrian SDP to collaboration with government war policy during World War I; assassinated Austro-Hungarian Prime Minister Stürgkh as protest against war 1916; played key role in limiting left-wing split in SDP; opposed foundation of Comintern; principal organizer and president of Two-and-a-Half International 1921-23; secretary of Socialist International 1923-39.
- Adler, Victor** (1852-1918)—a leader of Austrian SDP and of European Social Democracy from 1880s until his death; chauvinist during World War I; foreign minister of provisional government after collapse of monarchy October 1918.
- AFL**—see American Federation of Labor.
- Akhundov, Rukhulla** (1897-1938)—newspaper editor from Azerbaijan; joined Russian CP 1919; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; secretary of Azerbaijani CP 1924-30; shot during Stalin's frame-up purges.
- Aliyev, B.**—Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; leader of Azerbaijani CP; expelled during Stalin purges.
- Allan, Helen**—see Roy, Evelyn.
- Allan-Roy, Robert**—see Roy, Manabendra Nath.
- All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee**—supreme executive body of Russian soviets; first elected June 1917 with Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary majority until Bolsheviks won majority at second soviet congress November 7-9 (October 25-27), 1917; highest body of Soviet government after October revolution.
- American Federation of Labor (AFL)**—U.S. craft union federation formed 1881; largely restricted to organizations of skilled workers; membership grew from under 2 million to over 4 million

1915-20; split with rise of Congress of Industrial Organizations 1935-37; merged with latter 1955.

Amsterdam International—see International Federation of Trade Unions.

Andreyev, Andrey Andreyevich (1895-1971)—joined Bolsheviks 1914; member of CP Central Committee 1920-21 and from 1922; supporter of Stalin; CP Political Bureau from 1932; removed 1952.

Andrews, William H. (1870-1950)—a founder of International Socialist League of South Africa 1915 and of CP 1921; a leader of Rand strike 1922; expelled as “right opportunist” in early 1930s; later readmitted; remained leader of CP until death.

Anfu—militarist faction that controlled Peking government 1918-20 with support of Japan.

Appleton, William A. (1859-1940)—secretary of British General Federation of Trade Unions 1907-38; chair of Amsterdam international trade union federation 1919-20.

Arbejdet (Labor)—newspaper of Left SP of Denmark November 1919–May 1921.

Armand, Inessa (Elizabeth d’Herbenville) (1874-1920)—born in France; joined RSDLP in Moscow 1904; Bolshevik; in exile from 1909; returned to Russia 1917; headed women’s section of party; Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; organized International Conference of Communist Women 1920; died of cholera.

Artem—see Sergeyev, Fedor Andreyevich.

Åsen, Augusta (1878-1920)—secretary of Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League 1912-14; member of Norwegian Labor Party Oslo leadership 1914-20; Central Committee alternate; delegate to second Comintern congress; died in accident in Moscow.

Aubry, Albert Jules Marie (1892-1951)—French SP deputy 1919-24; active in SP until death; high officer in French Legion of Honor.

Avanesov, Varlaam Aleksandrovich (Suren Karpovich Martirosian) (1884-1930)—joined RSDLP 1903 and Bolsheviks 1914; member of Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee 1917; member of All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee 1917-27; Armenian CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; deputy commissar of Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection 1920-24.

Avanti! (Forward!)—central organ of Italian SP, founded 1896; banned 1926 and published abroad until 1944.

Avis—see Nurijanian, Avis.

Baars, Adolf (1892-1943)—member of Dutch SDP; moved to Indonesia 1915; leader of Indies Social Democratic Association and Communist Association in the Indies; worked as engineer in

Soviet Russia 1921-26 and in Soviet trade mission in Berlin from 1927.

Balabanoff, Angelica (1878-1965)—born in Russia; joined Italian SP 1900; secretary of Zimmerwald committee and editor of its *Bulletin* 1917; joined Bolshevik Party 1917; secretary of Comintern 1919-20; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; left Russia 1922; broke with communism and rejoined Italian SP.

Balkan Communist Federation—Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation founded July 1915 by Bulgarian (Tesnyaki), Greek, Romanian, and Serbian SDPs opposed to chauvinism and “civil peace”; favored founding new, revolutionary International; renamed Balkan Communist Federation 1920; Comintern coordinating body for Balkan parties until 1930s.

Bamatter, Siegfried (Sigi) (1892-1966)—Swiss SDP member; leader of international revolutionary socialist youth organization during World War I and of Communist Youth International from its founding 1919; Swiss SDP youth organization delegate to second Comintern congress; represented Communist Youth International in Europe and U.S. until 1924; subsequently in Comintern apparatus; appointed by Moscow to head Swiss CP during purge of “rightists” 1929; himself purged 1931; died in Moscow.

Baral, Arnold (Wladyslaw Sawko) (1890-1957)—anarchist from 1907; East Galician CP member 1919; represented it at second Comintern congress; Central Committee member of CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine 1920 and of Austrian CP from 1921; returned to Russia and worked with Red International of Labor Unions from 1925.

Barth, Emil (1879-1941)—German anarchist before 1910; later active in SPD and USPD; chair of Berlin-area Revolutionary Shop Stewards February-November 1918; member of SPD-USPD government November-December 1918; rejoined SPD 1921.

Barthélémy, Georges (1882-1933)—French SP parliamentary deputy 1919-24; signed statement opposing Comintern July 1920; went with SP after CP founded 1920.

Basler Vorwärts (Basel forward)—Swiss SDP daily newspaper established 1897; daily of SDP left wing, then of CP 1921.

Bauer, Otto (Heinrich Weber) (1881-1938)—a leader of Austrian SDP and theoretician of “Austro-Marxism”; foreign minister of German Austria 1918-19; opposed Comintern and helped found centrist Two-and-a-Half International; remained in SDP until death.

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—collaborator of Marx and Engels; founder

and central leader of German SPD; prominent in Second International; opposed revisionist current in SPD but eventually adopted centrist positions.

Beech, Dick (1892-1955)—delegate from British IWW to second Comintern congress; affiliated with Pankhurst's CP 1920-21; elected to provisional executive committee at CP Leeds unity conference January 1921; active in CP-led trade union Minority Movement mid-1920s; left CP, collaborated with but did not join Left Opposition in Britain; later Chemical Workers' Union president.

Beika, David Samuelevich (Bernard) (1885-1946)—joined RSDLP 1903; member of U.S. SP Latvian federation 1908-17; returned to Latvia 1917; official of Comintern Executive Committee 1920-22; Latvian CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; member of USSR Council of People's Commissars 1932-37; in Spain during civil war 1937-38; returned to Moscow and was arrested; died in prison camp.

Belgian Workers Party—founded 1879 as Socialist Party of Belgium; merged with trade unions and cooperative societies to form Workers Party 1885; took chauvinist position during World War I; 450,000 individual members and 650,000 affiliated through unions and cooperatives May 1920; left-wing currents within party broke away 1919 and 1921 to form two Communist groups that fused to form CP of Belgium September 1921.

Benisch, Josef (1881-1937)—Austrian rail worker; a leader of Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils, a left tendency in SDP; secretary of Austrian workers' councils' executive body; joined CP 1921.

Berger, Victor (1860-1929)—right-wing leader of U.S. SP; held chauvinist, anti-immigrant, and racist positions; opposed SP joining Comintern and argued for rejoining Second International.

Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung (Berlin daily news and commerce gazette)—liberal bourgeois paper founded 1871.

Berner Tagwacht (Bern daily herald)—official organ of Swiss SDP; founded 1893.

Bern International—see Second International.

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—German Social Democrat; Engels's literary executor; leading exponent of revisionism from 1890s; adopted pacifist stand during World War I; joined USPD 1917; rejoined SPD December 1918; reelected to Reichstag for SPD 1920-28.

Berzin, Ian Antonovich (1881-1938)—joined Latvian SDP 1902; Bolshevik; emigrated 1908; represented Latvian party at Zimmerwald where he supported Zimmerwald Left; Bolshevik Central

Committee member 1917-18; Comintern Executive Committee secretary 1919-20; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; subsequently active in Comintern and Soviet diplomatic service; arrested during Stalin purges 1937; died in prison.

Berzins-Andersons, Jan (1875-1934)—Latvian SDP Central Committee alternate member from 1914; Latvian CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress.

Bettelheim, Ernő (1889-1959)—member of first Hungarian CP Central Committee; claimed to be Comintern emissary and ordered Austrian CP to launch abortive uprising in support of Hungarian soviet republic June 1919; expelled from CP March 1922; lived in Russia until return to Hungary 1945; managed Hungarian CP publishing house until death.

Bilan, Alexander—leader of U.S. SP left wing in Ohio; founding member of Communist Labor Party and its delegate to second Comintern congress.

Bjarnason, Brynjólfur—see Brynjólfur Bjarnason.

Black Hundreds—monarchist gangs formed by tsarist police; murdered revolutionaries and organized pogroms against Jews.

Blakytnyi—see Ellansky, Vasyl.

Blum, Léon (1872-1950)—joined Jaurès's French SP 1902; backed chauvinist right wing of party 1914; parliamentary deputy 1919; opposed SP affiliation to Comintern 1920; prime minister of Popular Front government 1936-37; imprisoned during Nazi occupation; leader of SP after World War II.

Bolsheviks—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks).

Bombacci, Nicola (1879-1945)—Italian SP member before World War I; in SP Maximalist wing led by Serrati during war; represented SP at second Comintern congress; founding member of Italian CP and Central Committee member from 1921; expelled from CP for supporting fascism 1927; supported Mussolini and executed with him.

Bordiga, Amadeo (1889-1970)—joined Italian SP 1910; led left faction in SP during World War I; represented "Communist-Abstentionist" SP faction at second Comintern congress; became party head at Italian CP founding congress at Livorno 1921; member Comintern Executive Committee 1922-28; defended Trotsky 1928; expelled from CP 1930; led small ultraleft current until death.

Borghi, Armando (1882-1968)—secretary of Italian anarcho-syndicalist union federation (USI), which claimed 800,000 members summer 1920; arrived in Moscow just after second Comintern congress and pledged USI affiliation to Comintern, but remained hostile to Comintern after returning to Italy; emigrated

to United States 1926; resumed work in Italian anarcho-syndicalist movement 1945.

Borotbist party—see Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbist).

Brandsteder, Jacobus Andries (b. 1887)—leader of Dutch sailors' union; moved to Dutch East Indies 1913; a founder of Indies Social Democratic Association and associated with left wing from 1914; functionary in Dutch CP 1919-24; expelled from CP 1929; leader of transport workers' union 1929-45.

Branting, Hjalmar (1860-1925)—longtime leader of Swedish Social Democrats; leader of Second International; chauvinist during World War I; prominent in efforts to revive Second International after World War I; Swedish prime minister 1921-23.

Braun, M.I.—see Brónski, Mieczyslaw.

Breitscheid, Rudolf (1874-1944)—German Social Democrat; joined USPD 1917; Prussian interior minister 1918-19; rejoined SPD 1922; died in Nazi concentration camp.

Bringolf, Walther (1895-1981)—joined Swiss SDP 1919; represented Swiss SDP left wing at second Comintern congress; Swiss CP founding member 1921; broke with Swiss CP and Comintern 1930; worked with Left Opposition; rejoined SDP late 1930s; elected to high government posts early 1960s.

British Independents—see Independent Labour Party.

British Labour Party—founded as federation of trade unions and Socialist organizations and societies 1906; affiliated to Second International; more than 1.6 million members in 1914, predominantly through union affiliation; supported British imperialism in World War I; 3.5 million members late 1919; 4.25 million late 1920.

British Socialist Party—founded through fusion of Social Democratic Federation and other groups 1911; antichauvinist during World War I; right-wing pro-war minority split 1916; 10,000 members early 1919; joined Comintern 1919; majority fused with other groups in August 1920 to found CP of Great Britain.

Broido, G.I. (1885-1956)—Menshevik through 1917; chair of Turkestan soviet 1917-18; joined Russian CP 1918; deputy people's commissar of nationalities 1921-23; a founder of Communist University of the Toilers of the East and its rector until 1926; first secretary of Tadzhikistan CP until 1933; deputy people's commissar of education 1934-41.

Brónski, Mieczyslaw (M.I. Braun) (1882-1941)—joined Social Democracy of Poland 1902; emigrated to Switzerland 1907; active in Swiss SDP; represented Polish party at Kienthal conference and supported Zimmerwald Left; participated in Russian October

revolution 1917; part of Comintern West European Secretariat in Berlin 1919-21; held government posts in USSR after 1924; arrested 1937, died in prison.

Brynjólfur Bjarnason (1898-1989)—attracted to communism as Icelandic student in Europe 1918; observer at second Comintern congress; founding member of Icelandic CP 1930; leader of CP and its successor SP through 1960s; minister in Icelandic government 1944-47.

BSP—see British Socialist Party.

Budich, Willi (1890-1941)—joined German SPD before World War I and Spartacus group during war; founder and leader of Red Soldiers League; German CP delegate to second Comintern congress; officer in Red Army 1920; numerous posts in USSR and in German CP until 1933; arrested and tortured by Hitler's Gestapo 1933; fled to Russia; arrested there 1937; died in prison.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888-1938)—joined Bolsheviks 1906; in exile in western Europe and United States 1911-17; member of Bolshevik Central Committee from 1917; led Left Communist faction of Bolshevik Party 1918; editor of *Pravda* 1919-29; one of main Bolshevik leaders of Comintern 1919-29; headed Right Opposition to Stalin and was expelled from Soviet CP 1929; later recanted and was readmitted; executed on Stalin's orders after third Moscow frame-up trial.

Bund (General Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia)—founded in Vilna 1897; affiliated to RSDLP 1898-1903 and from 1906; advocated "national-cultural autonomy" within capitalist states for Jews from 1905; aligned with liquidators 1907-8 and Mensheviks from 1912; included chauvinist and centrist wings during World War I; Russian group supported Provisional Government after February 1917; opposed October revolution; split by March 1919 and left-wing majority took name Communist Bund; majority joined Bolsheviks 1920; minority soon ceased activity; Polish group split 1921; Communist wing eventually joined Polish CP; right wing continued functioning into World War II.

Bureau of Communist Organizations—see Central Bureau of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

Cachin, Marcel (1869-1958)—joined Guesde's French Workers Party 1891; French SP member from 1905; chauvinist during World War I; French SP delegate to second Comintern congress; managing editor of *L'Humanité* 1918-58; supported SP joining Comintern 1920; CP Political Bureau member 1923-58.

Cadets (Constitutional Democrats)—liberal bourgeois party in Russia

founded 1905; supported constitutional monarchy; participated in Russian Provisional Government 1917; worked for overthrow of Soviet government after October revolution.

The Call—published in London 1916-20; founded by left wing of British SP; later organ of party leadership; merged with the *Communist* August 1920.

Carranza, Venustiano (1859-1920)—president of Mexico during Mexican revolution 1914-20; opposed implementing land reform championed by Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata; ousted by uprising led by Alvaro Obregón.

Center Party (Zentrum)—German bourgeois party founded 1870, supported privileges for Catholic hierarchy.

Central Bureau of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East—coordinating body for groups of Communists working among Asian minority peoples in Soviet republics; affiliated to Russian CP; sent delegates to first and second Comintern congresses.

Ceton, Jan Cornelis (1875-1943)—secretary of Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party; editor of opposition *Tribune* newspaper from 1908; part of left-wing split that formed Social Democratic Party 1909; later joined CP.

Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) (1879-1942)—took part in Chinese bourgeois revolution of 1911; a central leader of May 4 Movement against terms of Versailles treaty 1919; CP founder 1920 and general secretary 1920-27; removed from leadership positions 1927; expelled from CP and a founding leader of Chinese Left Opposition group 1929; imprisoned by Kuomintang 1932-37; broke with communism 1941.

Chernov, Mikhail Aleksandrovich (1891-1938)—Menshevik from 1909, later associated with Martov; left Mensheviks; joined Russian CP early 1920; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Central Committee member 1934 until purged.

Chernov, Viktor Mikhailovich (1873-1952)—a founder and central leader of Russian Socialist Revolutionary (SR) Party; opposed October revolution; chair of Constituent Assembly 1918; active in SR-led antisoviet regime in Samara (Kuibyshev) 1918; emigrated 1920.

Chicherin, Georgiy Vasilevich (1872-1936)—tsarist diplomat until 1904; supported 1905 revolution and joined RSDLP in exile; Menshevik before 1914; antichauvinist during World War I; returned to Russia January 1918 and joined Bolsheviks; people's commissar of foreign affairs 1918-30; key organizer of first Comintern congress.

- Chinese Socialist Workers Party**—formed January 1919 by Chinese workers living in Russia who led the Union of Chinese Workers. See also Socialist Party (Shanghai).
- Chkheidze, Nikolai Semyonovich** (1864-1926)—Menshevik leader in Russia and Georgia; chairman of Petrograd soviet after February revolution 1917; chairman of Georgian Constituent Assembly 1918-21; emigrated 1921.
- Christian Socialist Party**—Hungarian party representing higher clergy, monarchy, and landowners; organized alternative labor unions to counter CP influence after fall of soviet republic.
- Churchill, Winston** (1874-1965)—British Conservative Party politician; key in prolonging British intervention against Soviet Russia 1919-20.
- Clemenceau, Georges** (1841-1929)—French prime minister, 1906-9, 1917-20; chief organizer of 1919 Paris conference and architect of Treaty of Versailles.
- Cohn, Oskar** (1869-1937)—German Social Democrat; joined USPD 1917; adviser to Soviet embassy in Berlin 1918; rejoined SPD 1922; lawyer for Trotsky's son Leon Sedov early 1930s; fled Nazis to Soviet Union 1933; arrested and disappeared during Moscow trials.
- Colombino, Emilio** (1884-1933)—joined Italian SP before 1905; part of Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL) delegation to Soviet Russia May-July 1920; SP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress but walked out during congress; critical of Soviet regime on his return; collaborated with fascist government from 1923.
- Committee for the Third International** (France)—established May 1919 from fusion of syndicalist and anarchist forces with Committee for the Resumption of International Relations, which had been formed January 1916 to support ideas of Zimmerwald in France; its members promoted Comintern from within existing parties and unions; dissolved mid-1921.
- Committee to Reconstruct the International** (France)—centrist current in French SP calling for unification of parties that had left Second International but had not joined Comintern, those of Comintern, and forces in Second International; organized by Longuet, Frossard, Faure, and others December 1919; opposed Twenty-one Conditions; split in two September 1920; when SP split December 1920, Frossard wing joined CP, Longuet wing joined SP.
- Comunismo**—Italian SP newspaper published twice monthly in Milan; edited by Serrati.

Communist Association in the Indies—Indies Social Democratic Association took this name May 1920; 1,300 members with dominant influence in trade unions 1922; changed name to Communist Party of Indonesia 1924.

Communist Bund—see Bund.

Communist Federation of Soviets (France)—see Communist Party (France).

The Communist International—official magazine of Comintern, published in German, Russian, French, and English 1919-39.

Communist Labor Party (U.S.)—founded September 1919 by former members of SP left wing led by Reed and Benjamin Gitlow with 10,000 members; joined Comintern; 3,000 members early 1920; fused with Ruthenberg group of CP of America to form United Communist Party with 4,000 members May 1920; fused with remainder of CP 1921.

Communist League (Australia)—formed late 1918 by fusion of members of Queensland Industrial Trade Union Council, Queensland Socialist League, One Big Union Propaganda League, and League of Russian Workers in Australia; took name CP in unsuccessful merger with SP late 1920; CP and SP participated in third Comintern congress; SP disintegrated and many members joined CP 1922.

Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine—originated out of first Ukraine Bolshevik structure established December 1917; held first congress as autonomous component of Russian CP with 4,000 members July 1918; 23,000 members March 1919; 75,000 1920.

Communist Party (France)—originated out of small group influenced by anarchism formed by Raymond Péricat June 1919; split into Communist Federation of Soviets and CP December 1919; both groups hostile to CP of France by 1921. See also Socialist Party of France.

Communist Party in the Netherlands—originated from Dutch SDP, formed by expelled left-wing *Tribune* group of Social Democratic Workers Party 1909; leaders aligned with Zimmerwald Left during World War I; became CP November 17, 1918; 1,000 members late 1918; joined Comintern April 1919; claimed 3,000-4,000 members 1920.

Communist Party of America—founded by former members of SP left wing representing language federations, Ruthenberg-Fraina group, and Michigan organization with more than 20,000 members September 1, 1919; Michigan group split away January 1920 and degenerated into sect; 5,000 members early 1920,

Ruthenberg minority split and fused with Communist Labor Party to form United Communist Party with 4,000 members May 1920; remainder of CP fused with United CP 1921; 12,000 members 1921.

Communist Party of Armenia—originated out of Caucasus regional committee of Russian CP 1918; Communists in Armenia worked in Armenian component of Russian CP with 400 members 1919; CP of Armenia founded 1920; 3,000 members summer 1920; headed Armenian soviet republic from December 1920.

Communist Party of Austria—initial nucleus founded November 3, 1918; strengthened in following months by fusions; 3,000 members at first congress February 1919; 40,000 members June 1919; 14,000 1921.

Communist Party of Azerbaijan—founded with 4,000 members at underground congress February 1920; first Marxist circles in Baku 1898; Bolsheviks active in Azerbaijan from 1903; led Baku soviet regime November 1917–July 1918; functioned underground until soviet power reestablished April 1920.

Communist Party of Bukhara—organized November 1918; Bukhara People's Soviet Republic proclaimed in city of Bukhara October 1920; civil war continued in eastern Bukhara until late 1922; led formation of Tadzhik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic October 1924.

Communist Party of Bulgaria—originated in Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria, which was founded 1891; it split into revolutionary Tesnyaki (Narrow) and opportunist Shiroki (Broad) wings 1903; Tesnyaki won mass support during World War I; joined Comintern and changed name to CP May 1919; 35,000 members 1920.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—founded in Russia among soldiers in Red Army from Czechoslovakia as section of Russian CP May 1918; headed by Alois Muna; most members returned to Czechoslovak SDP 1918 and became part of its Marxist Left faction, which founded CP 1921. See also Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovak Communist Group.

Communist Party of Denmark—revolutionary wing of Social Democratic Party of Denmark formed Socialist Workers Party of Denmark April 1918; Independent Social Democratic Party of Denmark also formed April 1918; these two groups fused with revolutionary SDP youth to form Left SP of Denmark November 1919; joined Comintern, took name CP of Denmark November 1920; 1,200 members 1921.

Communist Party of Estonia—originated from RSDLP Revel (Tallinn) committee formed 1904; Estonian component of Bolshevik Party

had 10,000 members late 1917; led Estonian soviet governments November 1917–February 1918 and November 1918–January 1919; 700 members represented at first congress November 1920; underground until Estonia's incorporation into USSR under Stalin-Hitler Pact 1940.

Communist Party of Finland—originated in left wing of Finnish SDP, which won majority early 1918 and led unsuccessful revolution; forced into exile by White Terror; CP founded in Moscow August 29, 1918; banned in Finland until after World War II; underground Communists in Finland participated in left-wing split from SDP that founded Socialist Workers Party of Finland May 1920.

Communist Party of France—see Communist Party (France).

Communist Party of Galicia and Bukovina—originated as Communist Party of East Galicia through fusion of several local Communist groups February 1919; admitted to Comintern August 1919; participated with CP of Ukraine—sponsored group in forming CP of Galicia, which headed Galician soviet republic July–August 1920; affiliated to CP of the Ukraine, then to Polish CP late 1920; split on Ukrainian national question 1921, reunited 1923; 1,500 members 1923; became CP of West Ukraine 1923; leadership expelled from Comintern 1928.

Communist Party of Georgia—originated from first Marxist Social Democratic organization, Mesame-dasi, established in Tiflis 1892; Tiflis committee of RSDLP established 1898; Bolsheviks driven underground by Menshevik regime February 1918; CP founded as component of Russian CP May 1920; 9,000 members early 1921; led formation of soviet regime February 1921; 16,000 members 1925.

Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League)—founded December 30, 1918, by Spartacus League with participation of International Communists of Germany; joined Comintern 1919; lost half its membership in 1919 split of ultraleft forces; 66,000 members July 1920; 350,000 members after fusion with USPD left wing December 1920.

Communist Party of Great Britain—founded July 31, 1920, by Socialist Labour Party and British Socialist Party; joined by several communist and radical groups around William Gallacher, Sylvia Pankhurst, and others January 1921; about 4,000 members 1921.

Communist Party of Hungary—founded November 1918; claimed 10,000 members January 1919; fused with SDP to form Socialist Party March 1919, which led Hungarian revolutionary government March–July 1919; SP disintegrated; CP severely repressed,

functioned in exile and isolated cells in Hungarian SDP 1919-25; 250 members in Hungary late 1921; reorganized September 1925.

Communist Party of India—founded in exile in Tashkent by M.N. Roy and six other émigré revolutionaries October 1920; Communist groups functioning in India by 1922; party reorganized within India December 1925.

Communist Party of Iran—founded in Baku as Adalet (Justice) Party 1916; changed name to CP at first congress in Enzeli with several thousand members and supporters June 1920; joined Comintern soon after; destroyed under intense repression by monarchy from 1925 and Stalin in 1930s.

Communist Party of Ireland—see Socialist Party of Ireland.

Communist Party of Korea—originated from first Korean Communist groups formed in Soviet Siberia 1918-19; rival factions in Irkutsk and Shanghai wracked by dispute for several years from 1919; first Communist groups established inside Korea 1921; first Korean CP organized in Seoul April 1925.

Communist Party of Latvia—originated in Social Democracy of the Latvian Territory, which affiliated to RSDLP 1904 and allied with Bolsheviks; 1,000 members February 1917; led Latvian soviet republic November 1917–February 1918 and again 1919; took name CP March 1919; soviet republic overthrown by German and Entente intervention May 1919; 7,500 members 1919.

Communist Party of Lithuania-Belorussia—originated in Lithuanian SDP founded 1896; fused with Polish SDP 1899; Lithuanian CP founded as component of Russian CP August 1918; first congress, representing 800 members, held underground October 1918; led Lithuanian soviet republic December 1918–April 1919; underground 1919-40; Belorussian CP founded as component of Russian CP December 1918; led Belorussian soviet republic from January 1919; 1,700 members November 1920; Lithuanian and Belorussian CPs functioned as united organization 1918-20.

Communist Party of Mexico—see Mexican Communist Party.

Communist Party of Poland—see Communist Workers Party of Poland.

Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)—originated from Russian Social Democratic Labor Party founded 1898; majority (Bolshevik) faction originated at second congress 1903; led 1917 October revolution and establishment of soviet government; changed name to CP March 1918; 611,000 members April 1920.

Communist Party of Spain—first Spanish CP founded April 1920 by Federation of Socialist Youth; 2,000 members 1921; Spanish So-

cialist Workers Party split up over Comintern's Twenty-one Conditions April 1921, minority left wing founded Communist Workers Party of Spain; the two CPs formed united CP of Spain November 1921; forced underground 1923-31.

Communist Party of Switzerland—originated from ultraleft wing in Swiss SDP and youth alliance, which founded *Forderung* newspaper late 1917; expelled and launched first CP in Zurich ("Old Communists") October 1918 and nationwide May 1919; 800 members 1921; joined with SDP left wing to form united CP with 6,000 members March 1921.

Communist Party of the Netherlands—see Communist Party in the Netherlands.

Communist Party of Yugoslavia—originated in Social Democratic Party of Serbia founded 1903; opposed war credits 1914; participated in Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation from 1915; called conference that united several Yugoslav Socialist parties to form Socialist Workers Party (Communist) April 1919, which joined Comintern; 40,000 members May 1920; changed name to CP of Yugoslavia June 1920.

Communist Teachers Club (Denmark)—small organization affiliated to United Trade Union Opposition (FS), left trade union opposition movement with syndicalist leanings.

Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD)—originated from ultraleft wing of German CP, including majority of Berlin and Ruhr regions; expelled from CP October 1919; decided after Kapp putsch to organize separate party, which had 38,000 members April 1920; admitted as sympathizing section of Comintern November 1920; declined rapidly and split 1921; many members joined German CP.

Communist Workers Party of Poland—founded December 16, 1918, through fusion of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania with Polish Socialist Party-Left; 6,000 members July 1919; dissolved 1938 and most leaders murdered during Stalin purges.

Communist Youth International—originated from Socialist Youth International, which was reconstituted with antichauvinist policy 1915; organized clandestine congress in Berlin where representatives of fourteen revolutionary youth organizations with 140,000 members formed Communist Youth International November 1919; transferred seat from Berlin to Moscow 1921; 800,000 members 1921; dissolved by Stalin together with Comintern as gesture to imperialist allies 1943.

Communist Youth League of Georgia—originated from small revolu-

tionary youth groups formed in the Caucasus 1917 and 1918; united youth organization of the Caucasus founded September 1919; Georgian Communist youth organized underground under Menshevik government; 2,000 members with Red Guard of 800 by April 1920; joined Communist Youth International June 1920; 12,000 members 1921.

Communist Youth League of Russia—founded October 1918 with 22,100 members from existing youth leagues in cities throughout old Russian empire; 75,000 of its members participated in Red Army 1918-20; affiliated to Communist Youth International; 482,000 members October 1920.

Compère-Morel, Adéodat (1872-1941)—French SP parliamentary deputy 1909-36; member of SP highest leadership body 1914-15, 1921-32; supported Committee to Reconstruct the International 1920; went with SP after Tours split congress 1920; part of right-wing split from SP with Renaudel 1933; left politics 1936.

Connolly, James (1868-1916)—Irish revolutionary; a founder of Marxist movement in Ireland; a founder of U.S. IWW while in U.S. 1903-10; a leader of Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; founder of Irish Labour Party 1912; internationalist during World War I; central leader of Easter Uprising against British rule April 1916; executed by British.

Connolly, Roderic (Thomas Darragh) (1901-1980)—son of James Connolly; fought in Irish Easter Uprising 1916; listed as Irish IWW delegate to second Comintern congress; active in SP; first president of Irish CP 1921; Irish Labour Party chair 1971-77.

Constantinople Communist Group—group of Turkish intellectuals around the journal *Kurtulus* (Liberation); founded by exiles in Berlin; functioned in Constantinople (Istanbul) from May 1919; founded what became Turkish CP.

Council of People's Commissars—government of Russian Soviet Republic established after October 1917 revolution.

CP—Communist Party.

Crispien, Artur (1875-1946)—German SPD newspaper editor 1894-1917; supported Spartacus current briefly 1915; leader of USPD from 1917 and its cochair from January 1919; USPD consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; opposed USPD joining Comintern at Halle split congress; participated in formation of Two-and-a-Half International 1921; rejoined SPD 1922; member of SPD leadership; fled Nazis 1933, died in Switzerland.

Critica Sociale (Social critique)—published 1891-1926 in Milan; edited by Turati.

Cunow, Heinrich (1862-1936)—leader of German SPD; close to Bebel

and Kautsky before World War I; chauvinist during World War I; replaced Kautsky as editor of *Neue Zeit* 1917-23; opposed Russian October revolution.

Curzon, George Nathaniel (1859-1925)—British politician and lord; secretary of state for foreign affairs 1919-24.

Czechoslovak Communist Group—Czechoslovak Communists resident in Russia; affiliated to Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP.

Dahlström, Katarina (Kata) (1858-1923)—joined Swedish SDP 1893; first woman elected to national committee 1900; leader of left wing from 1910; supported Zimmerwald during World War I; founding leader of Left SDP 1917 and of CP 1921; delegate to second Comintern congress; supported Twenty-one Conditions; supporter of Russian revolution until death.

Dan, Fyodor Ilyich (1871-1947)—a central leader of Russian Mensheviks; leading opponent of October revolution; deported 1922; edited émigré Menshevik journal.

Danish Left—see Communist Party of Denmark.

D'Aragona, Ludovico (1876-1961)—joined Italian SP 1892; Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL) secretary general 1918-25; SP deputy 1919-24; SP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress, where he participated in founding International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions 1920; walked out during congress; opposed founding CP 1921; joined United SP 1922.

Darragh, Thomas—see Connolly, Roderic.

Daszynski, Ignacy (1866-1939)—headed Galician SDP 1892-1919; leader of unified Polish SP (PPS) from 1919; selected by Polish military to head government during war with Soviet Russia August 1920; headed SP parliamentary fraction 1920s; supported Pilsudski's coup d'état 1926.

Däumig, Ernst (1866-1922)—an editor of *Vorwärts* 1911-16; dismissed for opposing German SPD war policy; leader of USPD and Revolutionary Shop Stewards 1918; became USPD cochair December 1919; USPD consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; joined CP with USPD majority 1920; German CP cochair 1920; left CP 1921; rejoined USPD.

David, Eduard (1863-1930)—leader of German SPD right wing and outspoken supporter of German imperialism; first president of National Assembly 1919; minister without portfolio 1919-20.

De Ambris, Alceste (1874-1934)—Italian SP founding member 1892; active in workers' movement in Brazil 1898-1903, 1908-11; revolutionary syndicalist at turn of century; advocated Italy's entry into World War I; sympathetic to fascism 1919; later opposed

fascists; stripped of Italian citizenship 1926.

Delacroix, Léon (1865-1929)—Belgian prime minister 1919-21.

Delinières, Lucien (1857-1937)—part of chauvinist majority in French SP during World War I; attended second Comintern congress; on Moscow Comintern staff 1920-25; later returned to France and left Communist movement.

Delory, Gustave Emile (1857-1925)—a founder of Socialist movement in northern France; follower of Guesde; mayor of Lille 1896-1904 and 1909-25; SP parliamentary deputy 1902-25; prisoner in Germany during World War I; went with SP after CP founded at Tours congress 1920.

Denikin, Anton Ivanovich (1872-1947)—tsarist general; White army commander in chief in southern Russia in civil war 1918-20; emigrated 1920 after defeat by Red Army.

Dimitrov, Stanke (1889-1944)—joined Bulgarian workers' movement 1904; early member of revolutionary wing of Bulgarian SDP; Bulgarian CP founding member 1919; elected to Central Committee 1920; CP organizational secretary 1923-25; emigrated to USSR 1925; again active in Bulgarian CP 1935-37 and in underground resistance to Bulgarian regime during World War II; killed in plane crash.

Directory—antisoviet government of Ukraine established after collapse of German-backed Skoropadsky government late 1918; led by Petlyura and Vinnichenko; supported by Entente powers; ousted by prosoviet forces early 1919.

Dissmann, Robert (1878-1926)—German Social Democrat; union official 1900-1908; joined USPD 1917; president of metalworkers' union from late 1919; opposed joining Comintern at Halle congress and remained in USPD after split 1920; member of Reichstag 1920-26; rejoined SPD 1922.

Dittmann, Wilhelm (1874-1954)—joined German SPD 1894; edited party newspapers from 1899; SPD Reichstag deputy from 1912; joined centrist opposition 1915; USPD party secretary 1917-22; member of Ebert cabinet November-December 1918; USPD delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; opposed Twenty-one Conditions and unification with German CP; returned to SPD 1922.

Domes, Franz (1863-1930)—founder of Austrian metalworkers' union, became its secretary 1898 and president 1918; SDP member of parliament from 1911; prominent figure in SDP government from 1918; founder and president of Austrian Chamber of Workers and Employers 1920.

Dugoni, Enrico (1874-1945)—Italian SP member from turn of century; member General Confederation of Labor National Council

from 1908; SP delegate to Kienthal conference 1916; in SP right wing after World War I; participated in labor and SP delegation to Soviet Russia spring 1920; stayed with SP after CP's formation 1920; arrested for antifascist activities 1930 and 1932.

Dunayevsky, Vladimir Abramovich (1902-1983)—leader of Bolshevik youth organization from 1917, which he represented at second Comintern congress.

Dutch Communist Party—see Communist Party in the Netherlands.

Dyer, Reginald Edward Harry (1864-1927)—British general; commanded troops at Amritsar massacre, where 379 unarmed Indian protesters murdered 1919.

Dzerzhinsky, Feliks (Józef) (1877-1926)—Polish revolutionary, a founder of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania; Bolshevik Party Central Committee member 1917-26; headed Cheka (Soviet security police) after revolution; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

Ebert, Friedrich (1871-1925)—German SPD leader; close collaborator of Bebel from 1906; cochair of SPD 1913-19; chauvinist during World War I; led Council of People's Representatives government 1918-19; worked with army high command to crush January uprising 1919; German president 1919-25.

ECCI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Ellansky, Vasyl (Blakytnyi) (1894-1925)—Ukrainian writer; spokesperson for Ukrainian Left SRs (Borotbist) and editor of their newspaper *Borotba*; joined CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine and elected to its Central Committee 1920; delegate to second Comintern congress; joined Red Army, fought against Polish invasion 1920; theoretician of "proletarian literature."

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—lifelong collaborator of Karl Marx and cofounder with him of modern communist workers' movement; coauthor of Communist Manifesto; a leader of revolutionary democratic forces in 1848 German revolution; lived in England 1841-44 and again from 1849 to his death; in last years the outstanding figure in Second International.

Estonian Independent Socialist Workers Party—formed by forces from SRs and SDP March 1920; left wing majority supported Comintern and split 1922; left wing, allied with underground CP, took name Estonian Working People's Party, which was banned 1924; right wing fused with Estonian SDP 1925.

Fabierkewicz, Zbigniew (1882-1919)—Polish revolutionary; contributor to and editor of many socialist and communist newspapers; returned from Russia to Poland to help lead CP work 1918; shot by Polish police.

- Fabri, Ernst** (1891-1966)—Austrian Social Democrat; led antiwar work among soldiers during World War I; an organizer of January 1918 mass strike; a leader of Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils, a left tendency in SDP, 1920; joined CP 1921; emigrated to Soviet Union 1932; Soviet secret police agent; died in Soviet Union.
- Faisal I** (1885-1933)—son of ruler of the Hejaz in Arabia; a leader of Arab revolt, aided by Britain, against Ottoman Empire 1916; led Arab forces that occupied Damascus 1918; declared king of Syria 1920; forced out by French 1920; installed as king of Iraq with British support 1921.
- Faure, Paul** (1878-1960)—leading figure in centrist opposition in French SP during World War I; opposition delegate to 1919 Bern conference; secretary of Committee to Reconstruct the International; opposed SP affiliation to Comintern 1920; general secretary of French SP 1920-39; sympathized with pro-Nazi Vichy government during World War II; expelled from SP 1944.
- Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian Communist Party**—formed May 1918 by Russian CP to organize among prisoners of war and immigrant workers in Russia; dissolved 1920.
- Ferri, Enrico** (1856-1929)—Italian criminologist; joined SP 1893; theorist of antiopportunism wing of Italian SP at turn of century; editor in chief of *Avanti!* 1898, 1904-8; moved to U.S.; returned to Italy and supported Mussolini 1922.
- First International** (International Working Men's Association)—founded 1864; united revolutionary working-class organizations in a number of European countries and North America; Marx became its central leader; campaigned to defend 1871 Paris Commune; faced stiff repression after defeat of Commune and went into decline; seat moved to New York 1872; dissolved 1876.
- Flynn**—see Lindgren, Edward.
- Fraina, Louis** (Lewis Corey) (1894-1953)—born in Italy, emigrated to U.S. 1897; member of Socialist Labor Party 1909-14; campaigned for revolutionary International during World War I; active in SP left wing 1917-19; a founding leader of CP of America 1919; participated in International Communist Conference in Amsterdam and second Comintern congress 1920; Comintern emissary to Mexico 1920-21; left Comintern 1922; wrote under name Lewis Corey from late 1920s; supported Lovestone's pro-Bukharin opposition group in U.S. in 1930s; repudiated Marxism 1940.
- Freeman, Paul** (1884?-1921)—probably born in Germany; emigrated to Australia from U.S. 1911; joined Australian SP and IWW;

active in antidraft campaigns during war; deported repeatedly for antiwar activities 1919; consultative delegate for Australian IWW at second Comintern congress; returned illegally to Australia 1920; participated in third Comintern congress 1921; died in Russia in rail accident.

Freemasonry—teachings and practices of the secret fraternal order of Free and Accepted Masons; evolved from stonemasons' guilds of Middle Ages into a worldwide secret society; largely petty bourgeois in composition; democratic in professed goals; in solidarity with the bourgeois order.

Free Socialist Youth of Germany—revolutionary national opposition group founded in SPD youth early 1916; fused with USPD youth early 1918; 4,000 members October 1918; won over to CP 1919; 35,000 members October 1919; centrist minority expelled October 1919; joined Communist Youth International November 1919; won over majority of USPD youth November 1920; renamed Communist Youth League of Germany late 1920.

Free Workers Union of Germany (Syndicalists)—grew out of pre-war anarcho-syndicalist unions; founding congress December 1919 with 110,000 members; rejected dictatorship of proletariat; degenerated into sect by 1923 as many members joined CP; banned 1933.

Die Freiheit (Freedom)—daily newspaper of German USPD published in Berlin 1918-22; edited by Hilferding.

French Communist Group—organized by French Communists resident in Russia 1918; affiliated to Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP; carried out educational work that helped prepare ground for mutinies among French intervention troops in 1919.

Friis, Jacob (1883-1956)—correspondent for Norwegian Labor Party newspaper *Social-Demokraten* from 1909; joined Comintern with Norwegian Labor Party; delegate to second Comintern congress; representative to Comintern Executive Committee 1920-21; supported Labor Party withdrawal from Comintern 1923; broke with Labor Party and joined CP 1928; left CP 1933 and rejoined Labor Party; opposed asylum for Trotsky in Norway.

Frossard, Louis-Oscar (1889-1946)—joined French SP 1905; a leader of its centrist opposition during World War I; SP general secretary from October 1918; SP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; French CP general secretary 1920-23; split from CP 1923; member SP 1927-35; subsequently minister in several governments including pro-Nazi Vichy government 1940.

Frumkina, Mariya (Ester) (1880-1938)—joined General Union of Jewish Workers (Bund) 1901; editor in chief of Bund newspaper *Der*

Veker from February 1917; close to Mensheviks until October revolution; joined Russian CP 1919; delegate to second Comintern congress; edited Russian CP Jewish press from 1920; head of Comintern Jewish section; arrested during Stalin purges and executed.

Fuchs, Eduard (1870-1940)—longtime German SPD member; leader of Spartacus group during World War I; met with Bolshevik leaders late 1918 on founding of Comintern; attended second Comintern congress; left German CP 1929.

Gallacher, William (1881-1965)—joined British Social Democratic Federation 1903; opposed World War I; leader of British Shop Stewards' movement and president of Clyde Workers' Committee during World War I; Shop Stewards' representative at second Comintern congress; member of British CP from 1920 and of Central Committee 1921-65; held numerous Comintern posts from 1924; member of Parliament 1935-50.

Gandhi, Mohandas (Mahatma) (1869-1948)—central leader of India's independence movement; president of Indian National Congress 1925-34; advocated pacifist civil disobedience as political strategy.

General Confederation of Labor (CGL) (Italy)—founded 1906; grew from 250,000 members 1918 to 2 million late 1920; led by reformists Turati and D'Aragona; remained affiliated with Amsterdam International; dissolved 1927.

General Confederation of Labor (CGT) (France)—founded 1895; anarcho-syndicalist in orientation; 600,000 members 1914; majority leadership backed war effort; internationalist minority rallied to Comintern; 2.5 million members early 1920; hurt by failed general strike May 1920; 600,000 members spring 1921; revolutionary wing expelled with 350,000 members December 1921 and organized United CGT June-July 1922.

General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB)—organized 1919, replacing former federation founded 1890; politically aligned with SPD; 7.4 million members late 1919; affiliated to Amsterdam International.

General Workers Union of Germany (AAUD)—union federation founded February 1920 by ultralefts expelled from German CP; saw factory organizations as basic unit to replace trade unions and political parties; became union arm of KAPD; 80,000 members 1920; membership declined from mid-1921; split 1922; existed as sect until banned 1933.

Gerhardsen, Einar Henry (1897-1987)—joined Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League 1914; youth league delegate to second

Comintern congress; Norwegian Labor Party Central Committee member 1921-69; Labor Party secretary 1923-26 and 1936-39; jailed by Nazis 1941-45; Labor Party chair 1945-65; prime minister after World War II.

Giolitti, Giovanni (1842-1928)—Italian politician; opposed Italy's entry into World War I; prime minister numerous times, including 1920-21; aided fascists during their rise to power.

Goldenberg, Boris (Robert Thal) (1897-1973)—leader of French Socialist Youth Federation during World War I and its delegate to second Comintern congress; arrested in Germany returning to France; worked in Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow 1923-28; left Russia and Communist movement 1928.

Golovin, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1875-1944)—tsarist general; emigrated to France after October revolution 1917 and worked with counterrevolution; collaborated with Nazis during World War II.

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924)—founder and president of American Federation of Labor 1886-1924 (except 1895); advocated policy of collaboration with employers; opposed industrial unionism; supported U.S. entry into World War I; chair of Labor Commission at Versailles conference 1919.

Gopner, Serafima Il'inichna (1880-1966)—Bolshevik from 1903; held important party and government posts in the Ukraine after 1917; member of Comintern Executive Committee secretariat 1929-38.

Gorter, Herman (1864-1927)—Social Democrat from 1897; expelled from Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party with left-wing *Tribune* group and cofounder of Dutch SDP 1909; supported Zimmerwald Left during World War I; cofounder of Dutch CP 1918; worked with German ultraleft from November 1918; supported formation of Comintern; negotiated KAPD affiliation to Comintern as sympathizing organization November 1920; part of KAPD break with Comintern July 1921; active in ultraleft groups in Germany and Netherlands until death.

Graber, Ernst Paul (1875-1956)—leading Swiss Social Democrat; supported right wing in Swiss SDP after 1917.

Gramsci, Antonio (1891-1937)—joined Italian SP 1914; founder of *L'Ordine Nuovo* 1919; leader of revolutionary current in SP; CP founding member 1921; Comintern Executive Committee member from 1922; replaced Bordiga as party's central leader 1926; imprisoned 1926 until death.

Graziadei, Antonio (1873-1953)—joined Italian SP 1893; active in right wing; supported party's antiwar stand in World War I; delegate to second Comintern congress; supported joining Comintern at Italian SP Livorno split congress 1921; expelled from

CP 1928; recanted and rejoined Italian CP late 1940s.

Grimlund, Otto (1893-1969)—cofounder of Swedish Left SDP 1917; delegate to first Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; Swedish CP Central Committee member until 1925; rejoined Social Democrats 1929.

Grimm, Robert (1881-1958)—leader of Swiss SDP and longtime *Berner Tagwacht* editor; centrist during World War I; chair of Zimmerwald International Socialist Committee in Bern 1915-17; helped organize Two-and-a-Half International 1920; later returned to Second International.

Guesde, Jules (1845-1922)—veteran of Paris Commune; one of first Marxists in France; a founder of first French socialist party 1880; led French Workers Party from 1882, which became Socialist Party of France 1901; a leader of Second International and opponent of revisionism until 1914; chauvinist and government minister during World War I.

Guilbeaux, Henri (1885-1938)—French anarcho-syndicalist before World War I; later joined SP; supported Zimmerwald Left at Kienthal conference 1916; delegate of French Communist Federation of Soviets to second Comintern congress; broke with communism in 1930s and became extreme reactionary.

Gylling, Edvard (1881-1944)—joined Finnish SDP 1905; parliamentary deputy 1908-18; finance minister of Finnish soviet government and Red Guard chief of staff 1918; Finnish CP Central Committee member 1919; Finnish Socialist Workers Party delegate to second Comintern congress; joined Russian CP 1920; headed government of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia 1923-35; purged for “nationalism” 1935; arrested 1937; executed.

Haase, Hugo (1863-1919)—German SPD Reichstag member from 1897; with Kautsky in SPD Center current before World War I; SPD cochair 1911-16; voted in Reichstag against war credits from 1916; USPD cochair from 1917; government minister November-December 1918; assassinated by monarchist.

Hakki—see Ismael Hakki of Kayseri.

Han En-hak—consultative delegate of Central Bureau of Chinese Socialist Workers Party to second Comintern congress.

Hapsburg—ruling dynasty of Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918.

Hassanzadeh—see Nikbin, Hassan.

Haywood, William D. (Big Bill) (1869-1928)—a founder of U.S. IWW 1905 and for years a prominent spokesperson; sentenced to 20 years in prison for opposing World War I 1918; jumped bail while on appeal and escaped to Soviet Russia 1921.

- Helfferich, Karl** (1872-1924)—German banker and politician; government minister 1915-18; National People's Party chair from 1919; leader in restabilizing capitalist economy after World War I; opposed abiding by Versailles treaty.
- Henderson, Arthur** (1863-1935)—general secretary of British Labour Party 1911-34; chauvinist during World War I; government minister 1915-17; central organizer of 1919 Bern conference; chair of Second International 1925-29; British foreign secretary 1929-31.
- Henke, Alfred** (1868-1946)—German Social Democrat; edited *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* 1910-17; Reichstag member 1912-18, 1919-32; USPD founding member 1917; head of Bremen workers' and soldiers' council 1918; leader of insurgent Bremen council republic 1919; rejoined SPD 1922; member of parliament.
- Herzog, Jakob** (1892-1931)—Swiss Social Democrat, influenced by anarchism; leader of Swiss SDP youth during World War I; headed radical *Forderung* group; expelled from SDP October 1918; founded first Swiss CP ("Old Communists") 1918, which he represented at second Comintern congress; part of fusion that formed united Swiss CP 1921; leader of CP through 1920s.
- Hilferding, Rudolf** (1877-1941)—Austrian Social Democrat and author of *Finance Capital*; supported German SPD centrist opposition during World War I; USPD member from 1917; *Freiheit* editor in chief 1918-22; anti-Bolshevik; opposed USPD joining Comintern and fusion with German CP; returned to SPD 1922; German finance minister 1923, 1928-29; killed by Hitler's Gestapo.
- Hillquit, Morris** (1869-1933)—leader of U.S. SP; centrist during World War I; nominal head of legal department of Russian Soviet Government Information Bureau in New York 1919; opposed Comintern.
- Hindenburg, Paul von** (1847-1934)—German general; army chief of staff 1916-18; president 1925-34; appointed Hitler chancellor.
- Höglund, Karl Zeth** (1884-1956)—joined Swedish SDP 1904; leader of SDP youth movement and party left wing; internationalist in World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; founding leader of Left SDP 1917; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1922, 1924; broke with CP and Comintern 1924; rejoined SDP 1926; elected to SDP Central Committee 1928.
- Hohenzollern**—ruling dynasty of Prussia and German Empire until November 1918.
- Hornik-Ströhmer, Anna** (1891-1966)—active in Austrian SDP youth and women's movements from 1910; cofounder of Left Radicals 1915-16; supported Zimmerwald Left; an organizer of January 1918 strike wave; with Left Radicals joined newly founded Aus-

trian CP late November 1918; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Central Committee member from 1923; in exile during Nazi regime; resumed activity in Austrian CP after 1945.

Horthy de Nagybánya, Miklós (1868-1957)—Hungarian aristocrat; organized reactionary forces that massacred thousands 1919; dictator of Hungary 1919-44; allied with Hitler during World War II.

Hueber, Anton (1861-1935)—Austrian Social Democrat; central leader of Social Democratic trade unions 1895-1931; a founder of Chamber of Workers and Employers after World War I.

Huggler, August (1877-1944)—secretary of Swiss SDP; opposed SDP joining Comintern 1919.

Hula, Bretislav (1894-1937)—joined Bolsheviks while in Russia late 1917; secretary of Czechoslovak Communist section of Russian CP 1918; returned to Czechoslovakia and advocated Czechoslovak SDP joining Comintern; delegate of SDP left wing to second Comintern congress; CP founding member; expelled from CP as "rightist" 1925.

L'Humanité (Humanity)—founded 1904 by Jean Jaurès; newspaper of French SP until 1920; controlled by chauvinist majority 1914-18, then by centrists; managing editor was Cachin 1918-58; newspaper of CP from 1921.

Humbert-Droz, Jules (1891-1971)—delegate of Swiss SDP left wing at second Comintern congress; founding member of Swiss CP 1921; headed Comintern secretariat responsible for Latin America and Latin countries of Europe through 1920s; relieved of all Comintern functions 1928; capitulated to Stalin; resumed activity in Swiss CP 1931; removed from CP leadership 1941 and expelled 1943; joined Swiss SDP and was its secretary 1947-58.

Huysmans, Camille (1871-1968)—leader of Belgian Workers Party; secretary of International Socialist Bureau from 1904; took chauvinist stand 1914; helped organize 1919 Bern conference; subsequently served in Belgian government.

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921)—founded British Social Democratic Federation 1881, which participated in founding British SP 1911; chauvinist during World War I and opposed women's suffrage; left British SP 1916; hostile to Russian revolution.

Ibrahimov, Veli (d. 1928)—Crimean Tatar; leader of left wing of Crimean National Party after February 1917; joined Russian CP 1919; head of Crimean CP and president of Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic 1920; delegate to second Comintern congress; accused of "nationalist deviation" and arrested 1927; executed.

Ignat, Samuil Iosifovich (1898-1939)—Menshevik from 1915; Bolshe-

vik from mid-1919; youth movement leader in Odessa and Kharkov August 1917-22; Ukrainian Bolshevik youth delegate to second Comintern congress; later held leading government posts.

Independent Labour Party (ILP) (Britain)—founded January 1893; component of Labour Party 1900-1932; pacifist during World War I; 50,000 members April 1919; 45,000 members April 1920; withdrew from Second International 1920; minority split to join CP, majority joined Two-and-a-Half International 1921; broke with Labour Party to form centrist group 1932.

Independents—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Independent Social Democratic Party (Denmark)—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD)—began to coalesce when centrist SPD deputies were expelled from parliamentary fraction March 1916; formed Social Democratic Working Group, then separate USPD with 120,000 members April 1917; participated in provisional government under Friedrich Ebert November-December 1918; included Spartacus current until December 1918; 100,000 members November 1918; 900,000 summer 1920; majority fused with CP December 1920; minority retained name until rejoined SPD 1922.

Independent Socialist Workers Party of Estonia—see Estonian Independent Socialist Workers Party.

Independent Young People's Socialist League of America—originally YPSL, founded by SP as national organization 1913; 150 chapters by 1916; broke ties with SP fall 1919; majority voted to join Communist Youth International forming Independent YPSL with 3,000 members December 1919; soon succumbed to effects of Palmer raids and division in Communist ranks; Young Communist League organized 1922.

Indian National Congress (Congress Party)—founded as all-India opposition to British rule 1885; Muslim membership split away 1906; came under leadership of wing led by Gandhi 1918; led mass resistance to British rule 1920s through 1940s; ruled India after independence 1947.

Indian Revolutionary Association—founded in soviet Tashkent by exiled Indian revolutionary nationalists 1919; participated in founding Indian CP in Tashkent October 1920.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Australia)—formed 1907 with particular influence among mine and transport workers; 2,000 members 1916; active in struggle against war and conscription during World War I; severely repressed, main leaders con-

victed of “high treason” 1916; remnants participated in forming Communist League 1918.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Britain)—originated 1905 when members of Socialist Labour Party formed British Advocates of Industrial Unionism; after split with anarchists, reorganized as Industrial Workers of Great Britain 1909; height of influence 1910-11; especially strong among Irish, Scottish, and Welsh workers; had many activists in Clyde Workers’ Committee during World War I and Shop Stewards’ movement.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Ireland)—inspired by British and U.S. IWWs, especially after tour by Haywood 1913.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (U.S.)—founded as revolutionary industrial union movement 1905; rejected electoral participation and work in American Federation of Labor; opposed U.S. participation in World War I and suffered severe repression; 35,000 members May 1919; went into decline after formation of CP 1919; majority rejected affiliation to Comintern-led Red International of Labor Unions 1921; some 20 percent of members joined CP.

International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions—established in Moscow July 15, 1920, by representatives of unions from Russia, Italy, Spain, France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Georgia representing nearly 9 million workers; represented 17 million members when it organized first congress of Red International of Labor Unions July 1921.

Die Internationale (The International)—published one issue 1915 edited by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring; banned; resumed publication as journal of German CP 1919; banned 1933; published in exile until 1939.

International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International)—founded by Social Democratic trade union officials 1913; collapsed during World War I; refounded in Amsterdam July 1919; claimed 24 million members 1920; disappeared with advent of World War II.

International Socialist Bureau—Second International executive body; formed 1900.

International Socialist League (South Africa)—founded by split from reformist South African Labour Party 1915; merged with other smaller groups to form CP of South Africa July 1921.

International Working Men’s Association—see First International.

Irish Parliamentary (Home Rule) Party—founded 1873; worked for Irish home rule in British Parliament by maneuvering between Conservatives and Liberals; agreed to suspend Home Rule Bill

during World War I; denounced Easter Uprising as treasonous; discredited, virtually disappeared by 1919.

Irish Socialist Republican Party—see Socialist Party of Ireland.

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU)—founded by James Larkin in Dublin 1909; led workers in general lockout of more than 25,000 workers in Dublin 1913-14; 100,000 members late 1919; Larkin's syndicalist wing split 1924.

Ismael Hakki of Kayseri (1901-1945?)—delegate for Turkey of Bureau of Communist Organizations to second Comintern congress; Central Committee member of Turkish CP founded in Baku spring 1920; remained in Soviet Russia; president of Turkish CP bureau abroad from 1920; worked with Communist University of Toilers of the East; member of CP Transcaucasian provincial committee.

Italian Socialist Party—founded 1892; extreme reformist and chauvinist wing expelled 1912; took centrist stand on Italy's entry into World War I 1915; initiated Zimmerwald conference 1915; 81,000 members 1919, 216,000 in 1920; affiliated to Comintern 1919, but leadership refused to expel party's reformist wing; minority split to form Italian CP January 1921; Turati right wing expelled from SP summer 1922; SP reorganized in Italy, led by Pietro Nenni, 1943.

Italian Socialist Youth Federation—formed 1901; supported SP opposition to World War I and SP affiliation to Comintern; 6,500 members 1918; joined Communist Youth International November 1919; 55,000 members mid-1920; broke with SP, affiliated to newly formed CP, and changed name to Italian Communist Youth Federation January 1921; declined to 2,000 members by December 1922.

ITGWU—see Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

IWW—Industrial Workers of the World.

Jacobins—political association of revolutionary bourgeoisie that provided much of the leadership and organization for French revolution 1789-94.

Jansen—see Proost, Jan.

Jaurès, Jean (1859-1914)—leader of French and international Socialist movements; held reformist positions; founded *L'Humanité* 1904; central leader of French SP from its foundation 1905; spoke out against militarism; assassinated by right-wing fanatic at outbreak of World War I.

Joffe, Adolf Abramovich (1883-1927)—joined Russian Social Democracy before 1900; with Mezhrayontsi during World War I; joined Bolsheviks June 1917 and elected to Central Committee August

1917; member of Soviet delegation to Brest-Litovsk 1918; Soviet ambassador to Berlin April-November 1918; supported Leninist opposition to Stalin led by Trotsky in Russian CP from 1923; committed suicide to protest bureaucratic measures of Stalin faction.

Jogiches, Leo (1867-1919)—a founding leader and central organizer of Polish Social Democracy; imprisoned but escaped to Germany 1907; central organizer of Spartacus current during war; member Spartacus and German CP central bureaus; arrested and murdered during March 1919 struggles in Berlin.

Joonas, Erich (b. 1893)—active in SR party in Estonia from 1909; Estonian Independent Socialist Workers Party member from 1920; consultative delegate for this party to second Comintern congress; later Social Democrat.

Jørgensen, Åge (1890-1960)—member SDP of Denmark and of left wing of Social Democratic youth federation; founder of Danish Socialist Workers Party April 1918; edited party newspaper *Klassekampen*; Left SP delegate to second Comintern congress; Danish CP Central Committee member and its Comintern representative; quit CP 1935; returned to Social Democracy; edited journal sympathetic to Nazis during World War II.

Jouhaux, Léon (1879-1954)—French union leader; began as syndicalist; head of General Confederation of Labor (CGT) 1909-40; chauvinist during World War I; opposed Bolshevik revolution; leader of Amsterdam international trade union federation after World War I; founded French anticommunist union federation Force Ouvrière 1948.

Kabakchiev, Khristo Stevanov (1878-1940)—joined Bulgarian SDP 1897; supported revolutionary Tesnyaki wing in split 1903; Central Committee member of SDP 1905-19 and of CP 1919-28; editor in chief of party newspaper 1908-23; delegate to second Comintern congress; imprisoned after failure of Bulgarian uprising 1923; released and lived in Moscow from 1926; arrested during Stalin purges 1937; released 1938.

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875-1946)—founding member of RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik; Central Committee alternate member from 1912; Central Committee full member 1919; elected Soviet head of state 1919 and remained so until death; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

Kamenev, Lev Borisovich (1883-1936)—joined RSDLP 1901; Bolshevik from 1903; arrested with Bolshevik Duma deputies 1914; elected to Central Committee 1917; Political Bureau member 1917-26; member of Commission on National and Colonial Questions at

second Comintern congress; aligned with Stalin and Zinoviev 1923-25; joined Trotsky and Zinoviev in United Opposition to bureaucratic current led by Stalin 1926-27; expelled from CP 1927; capitulated 1928; twice readmitted and reexpelled; executed during Moscow frame-up trials.

KAPD—see Communist Workers Party of Germany.

Kapp, Wolfgang (1858-1922)—German politician; led failed monarchist military putsch against Weimar republic 1920.

Karakhan, Lev Mikhailovich (1889-1937)—joined RSDLP 1904; joined Bolshevik Party with Mezhrayontsi 1917; secretary of Soviet Brest-Litovsk delegation 1918; held other diplomatic posts; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; executed during Moscow frame-up trials.

Katanian, Ruben Pavlovich (1881-1966)—active in Armenian workers' movement from 1901; joined Bolsheviks 1903; edited socialist and Bolshevik press; consultative delegate from Armenian CP to second Comintern congress; worked in public prosecutor's office from 1936; arrested 1938; rehabilitated 1955.

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)—born in Prague; a leader of German Social Democracy and of Socialist International; collaborator of Engels; author of many works on history and Marxist theory; a leader of Center current in SPD before 1914; adopted pacifist stand 1914; apologist for chauvinist SPD majority; founding member of USPD 1917 and supporter of its right wing; under secretary in German foreign ministry after November revolution 1918; opponent of Russian October revolution; opposed USPD affiliating to Comintern; leader of Two-and-a-Half International; rejoined SPD 1922.

Kemal, Mustapha (Atatürk) (1881-1938)—led Turkish independence struggle and establishment of Turkish republic 1919-23; elected president of provisional government 1920; remained Turkish head of state until death.

Kerensky, Aleksandr Fyodorovich (1881-1970)—Russian SR; leader of peasant-based Trudovik group; prime minister of Russian Provisional Government July-November 1917; emigrated 1918.

Keynes, John Maynard (1883-1946)—British economist and successful stock speculator; chief British treasury representative at Paris conference 1919; resigned in opposition to economic terms of Versailles treaty; later advocated use of government spending to try to counteract capitalist boom-and-bust cycles.

Kilbom, Karl (1885-1961)—joined Swedish SDP 1908; secretary of youth league and editor of SDP newspaper *Stormklockan* during World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; cofounder of Left

SDP 1917 and of CP 1921; worked in Comintern Executive Committee 1919-20; elected to it 1921, 1924, and 1928; chief editor of party newspaper from 1924; expelled with majority of party as "rightist" 1929; launched dissident CP in Sweden, which was affiliated with international pro-Bukharin opposition until 1933; resigned from party 1937 and rejoined SDP.

Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936)—British jingoist writer and poet.

Klinger, Gustav K. (1876-1937?)—joined Bolsheviks 1917; leader of Volga German soviet government 1918; Comintern administrator 1919; ECCI consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; killed during Stalin purges.

Kodzayev, Rozhden Shamelovich—delegate to second Comintern congress from South Ossetia; formerly a worker in Baku.

Koenen, Wilhelm (1886-1963)—joined German SPD 1904; USPD founding member 1917 and Central Committee member from August 1919; supported Twenty-one Conditions and USPD affiliation to Comintern; elected to United KPD Central Bureau 1920 and to Central Committee 1929-31; in exile 1933-45; East German CP member after World War II until death.

Kohn, Michael (Kohn-Eber) (b. 1884)—born in Galicia; member of Poale Zion; Austrian Left Radical, supported Zimmerwald during World War I; consultative delegate from Palestine SP to second Comintern congress; joined Austrian CP 1921; lived in exile in France 1939-46; returned to Austria; worked with Communist Jewish group.

Kolchak, Aleksandr Vasilevich (1873-1920)—tsarist admiral; head of White armies in Siberia and "supreme ruler" of Russian White forces 1918-19; defeated by Red Army; tried and executed for his role in armed counterrevolution.

Kollontai, Aleksandra Mikhaylovna (1872-1952)—Russian Social Democrat in 1890s; Menshevik from 1906; joined Bolsheviks 1915; elected to Central Committee 1917; people's commissar of social welfare 1917; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; head of women's department of CP Central Committee 1920; supported Workers Opposition in CP 1920-21; secretary of Comintern International Women's Secretariat 1921-22; held diplomatic posts after 1923.

Kon, Feliks (1864-1941)—active in Polish socialist movement from 1882; joined Polish SP 1904; became leader of left wing when party split 1906; moved to Switzerland 1914 and supported Zimmerwald movement; moved to Russia 1917; joined Russian CP 1918; CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine Central Committee

secretary 1919-22; CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Polish provisional government during Red Army offensive 1920; criticized during purges and relieved of political positions late 1930s.

Kornilov, Lavr Georgiyevich (1870-1918)—tsarist general; commander in chief under Provisional Government 1917; led attempted putsch August 1917 (old style); later led White armies until killed in battle.

KPD—see Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League).

Krasin, Leonid Borisovich (1870-1926)—Russian Social Democrat from 1890s; Bolshevik; Central Committee member from 1903; emigrated and withdrew from political activity 1908; rejoined Bolsheviks 1917; took central economic responsibilities in Soviet regime; people's commissar of foreign trade 1920-24; elected to Central Committee 1924.

Krasnoshchekov, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1880-1937)—joined Russian Social Democratic movement 1896; lived in U.S. 1902-17, where he joined SP; returned to Russia and joined Bolsheviks 1917; central political leader of CP's Far Eastern bureau and of Far Eastern Republic 1918-21; CP delegate to Second Congress; held key posts in state economic administration from 1921; killed in Stalin purges.

Krasnov, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1869-1947)—tsarist general; commanded units sent against Petrograd by Kerensky late October 1917; captured and released by Bolsheviks; officer in White Cossack army on the Don 1918-19; went abroad 1919; collaborated with Hitler 1941-45; captured, tried, and executed 1947.

Krastins, Karl (1892-1932)—elected to Latvian SDP Central Committee July 1917; delegate of Latvian CP to second Comintern congress.

Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1883-1938)—Bolshevik from 1903; State Duma deputy from 1907; directed Bolshevik committee in the Urals 1917; member of Central Committee 1917-21 and its secretary 1919-21; people's commissar of finance 1918-22; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked in Soviet embassy in Berlin 1921-30; sympathized with opposition to Stalin 1923-24; deputy people's commissar of foreign affairs from 1930; arrested in purges and executed.

Kristensen, Kristian (1889-1934)—member of Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League Central Committee 1911-12; member Norwegian Labor Party 1912-23; delegate to second Comintern congress; Norwegian CP Central Committee member 1923-27; broke with CP and returned to Labor Party 1928.

- Krogh, Sverre** (1883-1957)—leader of Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League 1903-12; joined Norwegian Labor Party 1907; delegate to second Comintern congress; parliamentary deputy 1921-27; joined Norwegian CP 1923; rejoined Labor Party 1928; left labor movement 1937; collaborated with Nazis from 1940; imprisoned for treason 1948.
- Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach**—family of leading German capitalists; owned steel and munitions factories; during World War I, firm run by Gustav (1870-1950) and Bertha (1886-1957).
- Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstantinovna** (1869-1939)—joined Marxist movement 1890; RSDLP founding member 1898; Bolshevik; collaborator and wife of Lenin; leader in commissariat of education after October revolution; Russian CP delegate to Second Congress; briefly supported United Opposition led by Trotsky and Zinoviev 1926; Central Committee member 1927-39; suffered harassment during Stalin purges 1930s.
- Kuczynski, Robert René** (1876-1947)—German statistician; sympathetic to left; edited *Finanzpolitische Korrespondenz* and other statistical journals from 1919; emigrated to Britain 1933; taught at London School of Economics.
- Kun, Béla** (1886-1939)—joined Bolsheviks while war prisoner in Russia; chair of Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP 1918; organized and headed CP on return to Hungary November 1918; head of Hungarian soviet government March-June 1919; after its collapse, interned in Austria 1919-20; was released and arrived in Moscow just after second Comintern congress; later worked in Comintern apparatus; arrested and killed during Moscow purge trials.
- Kuusinen, Otto** (1881-1964)—participated in 1905 revolution; led center faction of Finnish SDP; member of Finnish revolutionary government 1918; Finnish CP founding member 1918; led underground CP in Socialist Workers Party split from SDP 1920-21; attended all seven Comintern congresses; member Comintern Executive Committee from 1921; Soviet CP Central Committee from 1941; signed dissolution of Comintern 1943; secretary of presidium of Soviet CP Central Committee from 1957.
- Labour Party** (Britain)—see British Labour Party.
- Labour Party** (Ireland)—founded 1912 by James Connolly; political arm of transport workers' union; at first supported nationalist cause and workers' republic, but later moved away from these stands; supported Adler-Longuet resolution at Bern conference 1919; opted not to affiliate to Second or Third International 1919; participated in several coalition governments after 1948.

Labriola, Arturo (1873-1959)—revolutionary syndicalist leader of Italian SP; expelled 1906; evolved into pro-war chauvinist by World War I; retained radical rhetoric as Giolitti's minister of labor 1920-21; joined Turati's SP.

Landsberg, Otto (1869-1957)—German Social Democrat; openly pro-imperialist during World War I; government minister November 1918-19.

Langseth, Haavard (1888-1968)—Norwegian Labor Party member 1917-23; delegate to second Comintern congress; Norwegian CP member from 1923; CP Political Bureau 1928; held leading party positions into 1930s; expelled from CP 1949.

Lapinski, Pawel (Y. Lewinson) (1879-1937)—active Socialist from 1897; Polish SP member from 1904; participated in Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; founding member Polish CP 1918; active in Russian CP from 1918; in Soviet diplomatic service from 1920; arrested 1937 and committed suicide in prison.

Larkin, James (1876-1947)—Irish labor leader; founded Irish Transport and General Workers' Union 1909; active in U.S. SP and IWW from 1914; sent greetings to first Comintern congress 1919; imprisoned for revolutionary activities 1919-23; returned to Ireland 1923; declined to support Comintern; thereafter active in unions and Irish Labour Party.

Lazzari, Costantino (1857-1927)—Italian SP general secretary 1912-19; attended Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; joined Comintern along with Italian SP 1919, but left with SP majority 1921; SP delegate at third Comintern congress 1921.

League of Nations—imperialist alliance created by Allied powers at Paris conference 1919; aimed to defend division of world imposed by that conference; disappeared at start of World War II.

Ledebour, Georg (1850-1947)—longtime German SPD leader; opposed SPD majority position during World War I; backed centrist wing of Zimmerwald movement; cochair of USPD 1917-19; a leader of January 1919 Berlin uprising; opposed USPD majority's fusion with Communists 1920; refused to rejoin SPD and led a small left-wing group throughout 1920s; emigrated to Switzerland 1933.

Lefebvre, Raymond (1891-1920)—French internationalist during World War I; wounded at battle of Verdun; joined French SP 1916; a founder of left-wing veterans' organization; joined Committee for the Third International 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; perished on return voyage to France.

Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden—founded by expelled left-

wing minority of Social Democratic Workers Party spring 1917; affiliated to Comintern June 1919; 23,000 members early 1920; majority adopted Twenty-one Conditions and became CP 1921; majority led by Kilbom split from party and Comintern 1929 and later dissolved.

Left Socialist Party of Denmark—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Legien, Carl (1861-1920)—Social Democratic head of German trade unions from 1890; avowed reformist; supported SPD right wing during World War I; backed crushing of revolutionary workers' movement 1918-19; backed and then moved to liquidate general strike against Kapp putsch 1920.

Lékai, János (Johan Leutner) (1895-1925)—Hungarian; former anarchist; among first members of Hungarian CP; president of Union of Young Communist Workers during Hungarian soviet republic; alternate executive committee member of Communist Youth International 1919-22; attended second Comintern congress; sent to U.S.; active in U.S. CP Hungarian Federation and editor of its newspaper *Uj Elöre* 1922-25.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870-1924)—founded St. Petersburg League for the Emancipation of the Working Class 1895; exiled to Siberia 1896; went abroad and helped publish *Iskra* 1900-1903; central leader of Bolsheviks from 1903; defended revolutionary organization against liquidationism after 1907; RSDLP representative on International Socialist Bureau 1908-12; issued call for new, revolutionary International 1914; organized Zimmerwald Left to fight for this goal 1915-17; returned to Russia and led Bolsheviks' struggle for soviet power 1917; chair of Council of People's Commissars government 1917-24; Presiding Committee member at second Comintern congress; central leader of Comintern.

Letonmäki, Lauri—founding member of Finnish CP and elected to first Central Committee 1918; Finnish CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

Leutner, Johan—see Lékai, János.

Levi, Paul (1883-1930)—member of German SPD from 1906; Luxemburg's lawyer in political cases; worked with Zimmerwald Left in Switzerland 1915-16; leader of Spartacus League and central leader of German CP after deaths of Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and Jogiches early 1919; member of Comintern West European Secretariat in Berlin; headed CP delegation to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; elected CP cochair after merger with USPD 1920 but resigned February 1921; expelled for publicly criticizing party policies

following March uprisings 1921; joined rump USPD and later SPD; committed suicide.

Leviné, Eugen (1883-1919)—born in Russia and participated in 1905 revolution; member of German Spartacus current and founding leader of German CP; arrested en route to first Comintern congress; central leader of Bavarian council republic 1919; arrested, tried, and shot after its overthrow.

Lewicky, Mychajlo (1891-1933)—Galician taken prisoner by Russians during World War I; joined Bolshevik Party in Turkestan 1918; East Galician CP Central Committee member 1919-20; member of Galician soviet republic government 1920; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; ambassador of soviet Ukraine to Vienna 1921; worked in USSR from 1924; arrested 1933.

Lieber, Mikhail Isaakovich (1880-1937)—Bund leader and leading Menshevik during 1917; opponent of Russian October revolution; withdrew from politics after October revolution; executed during Moscow trials.

Liebkecht, Karl (1871-1919)—German revolutionary; son of Wilhelm Liebkecht; helped found Socialist Youth International 1907; jailed same year for book *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*; only member of Reichstag to vote against war credits December 1914; helped found Spartacus current; used parliamentary seat to lead antiwar agitation; jailed for antiwar activities 1916; released October 1918; a founding leader of German CP December 1918; a leader of Berlin uprising January 1919; arrested and murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps.

Liebkecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—participated in German revolution of 1848; friend and collaborator of Marx and Engels; a leader of First International in Germany; cofounder of German Social Democratic Workers Party 1869; central party leader until death.

Linderot, Sven (1889-1956)—joined Swedish SDP 1908; founding member of Left SDP 1917 and of CP 1921; Left SDP delegate to second Comintern congress; central leader of International Red Aid in Berlin 1922-23; became party chair after Comintern purge of those linked to Bukharin 1929; held this post until 1951.

Lindgren, Edward I. (Flynn) (b. 1879)—leader of U.S. SP left wing; founding member of Communist Labor Party and elected to its first executive committee; United CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Central Executive Committee and Executive Council of Workers Party 1922.

Lindhagen, Carl (1860-1946)—Swedish liberal, then Social Democrat from 1909; mayor of Stockholm 1903-30; internationalist during World War I; cofounder of Left SDP 1917; joined Comintern

1919; expelled from CP 1921 for opposing decisions of second Comintern congress; rejoined Social Democrats 1923.

Litvakov, Moisey Il'ich (1880-1939)—joined RSDLP 1901; Communist Bund consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; arrested 1938; died in prison.

Litvinov, Maksim Maksimovich (1876-1951)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik from 1903; Soviet envoy to Britain after October revolution 1917; deputy people's commissar, then people's commissar of foreign affairs 1921-39.

Liu Shaozhou (b. 1892)—born in China, lived in Russia from 1897; Bolshevik from 1917; chair of Union of Chinese Workers in Russia; Chinese Socialist Workers Party delegate to first and second Comintern congresses; returned to China after 1949 and held diplomatic post.

Lloyd George, David (1863-1945)—British Liberal politician; prime minister 1916-22; coauthored Versailles treaty and organized British intervention against Soviet republic.

Longuet, Jean (1876-1938)—grandson of Karl Marx; leader of French SP centrist minority after 1916; leader of centrist opposition at 1919 Bern conference; opposed SP joining Comintern; split with right-wing minority that retained SP name 1920.

Loriot, Fernand (1870-1932)—leader of revolutionary left in French SP during World War I; secretary of French Committee for the Third International; French CP international secretary 1921; quit party 1926; collaborated with Left Opposition currents.

Louis, Paul (1872-1955)—joined French SP before World War I; centrist, elected to party central leadership body October 1918; member of centrist Committee to Reconstruct the International December 1919–September 1920; CP central committee member from 1920; quit CP and founded Communist Socialist Party 1924.

Lozovsky, Solomon Abramovich (Dridzo) (1878-1952)—joined RSDLP 1901; in exile 1909-17; active in French trade union movement and SP; member dissident Bolshevik current that advocated conciliation with Mensheviks from 1912; contributed to *Paris Nashe Slovo* 1915; returned to Russia June 1917; elected secretary of trade union central council July 1917; expelled from Bolshevik Party December 1917; readmitted December 1919; Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; general secretary of Red International of Labor Unions 1921-37; elected alternate CP Central Committee member 1927 and full member 1939; deputy minister of foreign affairs 1939-45; arrested 1949; shot in prison.

Lukanov, Todor (1874-1946)—lawyer and member of Tesnyaki wing of

Bulgarian SDP; parliamentary deputy from 1913; jailed during World War I; Bulgarian CP Central Committee member from 1919; CP secretary from 1922; expelled from CP after 1923 uprising; readmitted after 1925; later emigrated to USSR.

Lumivuokko, H.—Finnish trade union leader; Finnish CP delegate to second Comintern congress; allied with Kuusinen 1920.

Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilevich (1875-1933)—joined revolutionary movement 1890s; Bolshevik from 1903; expelled as part of ultra-left current associated with *Vperyod* current 1909; took internationalist position during World War I; joined Mezhrayontsi and with them rejoined Bolsheviks 1917; people's commissar of education 1917-29; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; named ambassador to Spain 1933.

Lüttwitz, Walther von (1859-1942)—German baron and general; commander in chief 1919-20; leading participant in 1920 right-wing coup attempt.

Luxemburg, Rosa (1871-1919)—founding leader of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland 1893; later lived in Germany and joined SPD 1898; Polish representative on International Socialist Bureau from 1903; supported left wing against revisionist right and, after 1910, against Center current led by Kautsky; leader of Spartacus group during war; imprisoned 1915; founding leader of German CP December 1918; arrested and murdered by SPD-instigated Freikorps after Berlin January uprising.

Lysis—pseudonym of Eugene Letailleur, conservative editor of French *Democratie Nouvelle*.

MacAlpine, Eamonn—born in Ireland; member of U.S. SP left wing; associate editor of Boston SP's *Revolutionary Age* 1918 and of *New York Communist* 1919; member Communist Labor Party in U.S.; returned to Ireland 1919; Irish CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress.

MacDonald, James Ramsay (1866-1937)—joined Independent Labour Party 1894; leader of British Labour Party from 1911; forced to resign this post 1914 because of pacifist position on World War I; opposed Bolshevik revolution; head of Labour Party from 1922; prime minister 1924, 1929-31; split from party to found coalition government with Conservatives and Liberals 1931.

McLaine, William (1891-1960)—a leader of British engineers' (metalworkers) union; internationalist, Shop Stewards' leader, and British SP member during World War I; SP Central Committee member 1918; SP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Central Committee member 1920; broke with CP 1929; became outspoken anticommunist.

- MacLean, Neil**—Independent Labour Party delegate to Geneva congress of Second International July-August 1920.
- Madsen, Alfred** (1888-1962)—head of Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League in Bergen 1909; editor of Norwegian Labor Party newspapers from 1914; Labor Party Central Committee member from 1919; delegate to second Comintern congress; left Comintern with Labor Party majority 1923; member of parliament 1921-45; head of trade union federation 1931-34; government minister 1928 and 1935-39.
- Makharadze, Pilipe** (1868-1941)—Georgian revolutionary from 1891; joined Bolsheviks 1903; Georgian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; chair of soviet government in Georgia from 1921; opposed Stalin in dispute on national question in Georgia 1922-23; removed from responsible political positions during Stalin purges late 1930s.
- Malířová, Helena** (1877-1940)—well-known writer; joined SDP in Czechoslovakia 1913; consultative delegate of Czechoslovak Communist Group to second Comintern congress; participated in founding Czechoslovak CP 1921; left CP in opposition to Comintern ultraleft policies 1929; continued activity in workers' movement.
- Mallin, Michael** (1880-1916)—Irish union leader; cofounder of Irish Citizen Army 1913; participated in Easter Uprising and executed by British.
- Manner, Kullervo** (1880-1936)—joined Finnish SDP 1905; party chair 1917-18; headed Finnish revolutionary government 1918; leading figure in Finnish CP and Comintern 1920s; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; expelled from Finnish CP as "Trotskyst sympathizer" 1935; condemned in Soviet Union to hard labor 1935; died in camps.
- Manuil'sky, Dmitri Zakharovich** (1883-1959)—joined RSDLP 1903; Bolshevik; went into exile 1907; associated with Otzovist dissident Bolshevik group and *Vperyod* current; internationalist during World War I; returned to Russia and joined Bolsheviks with Mezhrayontsi 1917; participated in all Comintern congresses except first; key ideologist of Stalinism; held leading Ukrainian diplomatic posts through 1953.
- Marchlewski, Julian** (Karski) (1866-1925)—joined Polish Marxist group 1885; a founding member of RSDLP and of Social Democracy of Poland; helped found German Spartacus group during World War I; jailed by German government 1916; released and moved to Soviet Russia 1918; helped reorganize German CP after January 1919 defeat; Polish CP delegate to second Com-

intern Congress; chair of Polish provisional revolutionary government during war with Poland 1920; chair of International Red Aid 1923.

Maring—see Sneevliet, Henk.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—cofounder with Engels of modern communist workers' movement; leader of Communist League 1847-52; coauthor of Communist Manifesto; editor of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 German revolution; central leader of International Working Men's Association (First International) 1864-76; published first volume of *Capital* 1867; partisan and defender of Paris Commune.

Maurin, Jean (Maurice) (1879-1943)—French Socialist; member of Committee for the Resumption of International Relations during World War I; member of SP central leadership body 1918-27; member of Committee to Reconstruct the International; went with SP after CP formed at Tours congress; expelled from SP 1933.

Max von Baden (1867-1929)—German prince, politician, and heir to throne of Baden; appointed imperial chancellor October 3, 1918; named Ebert as successor on November 9.

Mayéras, Barthélémy (1879-1942)—joined Guesde's French Workers Party; SP executive body member 1910-14 and 1920-25; centrist during World War I; part of Committee for the Reconstruction of the International; went with SP after split with Communists at Tours congress December 1920.

Mazzinists—Left bourgeois chauvinist current favoring Italy's entry into World War I; named after Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), Italian patriot and revolutionary republican.

Medby, Johan (1896-1971)—secretary of Norwegian Social Democratic Youth League; arrested for antimilitarist agitation 1917; youth league delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; edited various Labor Party newspapers; joined CP when Labor Party left Comintern 1923; edited CP newspapers, including illegal paper during Nazi occupation.

Mensheviks—originated as minority faction of RSDLP at its second congress 1903; moved increasingly to right after 1907; contained centrist and openly chauvinist wings during World War I; participated in Provisional Government 1917; opposed October 1917 revolution; during civil war one wing openly supported White armies; the other, led by Martov, opposed White Guards and participated in soviets but took no clear stand in defense of Soviet rule; this wing placed itself outside Soviet legality during Kronstadt crisis in 1921; thereafter functioned primarily in exile.

- Merezhin, A.N.** (b. 1880)—Menshevik 1905-16, then member of Bund; joined Bolsheviks 1919; member Bolshevik Party Central Bureau of Jewish Sections; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked in People's Commissariat of Nationalities, then as lecturer.
- Merges, August** (1870-1933)—German Spartacus group leader of Brunswick Workers' and Soldiers' Council and president of Brunswick Council of People's Representatives 1918-19; delegated to represent ultraleft KAPD at second Comintern congress but left as congress opened; joined German CP 1921; murdered by Nazis.
- Méric, Victor** (1876-1933)—French anarchist; left Socialist; member of Committee for the Third International; member of SP central leadership body from February 1920 and of CP central committee 1920-21; increasingly opposed Comintern from rightist standpoint; expelled 1923.
- The Messenger**—U.S. monthly founded 1917 by A. Philip Randolph, while member of SP left wing, that promoted Black rights and opposed World War I.
- Mexican Communist Party**—founded with 22 members when Mexican SP adopted this name November 1919; 1,500 members late 1922.
- Meyer, Ernst** (1887-1930)—left-wing German SPD member from 1908; delegate to Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; leader of Spartacus current; German CP Central Bureau member 1918-20, 1921-23 and Central Committee member 1926-29; delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; removed from leadership positions 1929 for opposing Stalin's policies.
- Mezhrayontsi**—Russian Social Democratic group formed 1913 with position intermediate between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; took internationalist stand during World War I; among its leaders were Trotsky, M.S. Uritsky, and Lunacharsky; fused with Bolsheviks 1917.
- Michaelis, Georg** (1857-1936)—German chancellor and head of Prussian government July-October 1917.
- Milkic, Iliya** (1882-1968)—a founder and organizer of Serbian Social Democratic and union movements; lived in France and Switzerland during World War I, in Russia 1919-22; Yugoslav CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; lived in Vienna, active in Yugoslav CP 1922-26; returned to Belgrade and left politics 1926.
- Millerand, Alexandre** (1859-1943)—French SP politician; sparked controversy when took ministerial post in bourgeois government 1899; later moved to right of bourgeois political spectrum; pre-

mier and foreign minister January-September 1920; president 1920-24.

Mineff, Stoyan (Vanini) (1891-1959)—joined Tesnyaki wing of Bulgarian SDP; internationalist in Switzerland during World War I; supported Lenin in Zimmerwald movement in Switzerland 1916-17; moved to France 1920; French Committee for Third International delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern envoy to Spain during civil war; remained on Comintern staff until retired for health reasons 1941.

Mistral, Paul (1872-1932)—joined French Workers Party 1893; SP member of parliament 1910-32; backed centrist opposition during World War I; mayor of Grenoble 1919-32; opposed Comintern; after split with CP, member of SP central leadership body 1920-24.

Mitskevich-Kapsukas, Vikenti S. (1880-1935)—joined Lithuanian SDP 1903; joined Bolsheviks 1915; edited Bolshevik newspaper in Lithuania 1917; founder of Lithuanian CP and Central Committee member from 1918; headed soviet Lithuanian government 1919; delegate from CP of Lithuania-Belorussia to second Comintern congress; held leading positions in Comintern from 1924.

Modigliani, Giuseppe Emanuele (1872-1947)—joined Italian SP 1894; parliamentary deputy 1913-24; opposed Italy's entry into World War I; backed centrists at Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences 1915 and 1916; with Turati, leader of SP's openly reformist right wing; expelled; helped found United SP 1922; participated in SP reunification 1930; split again with right Social Democrats 1947.

Monatte, Pierre (1881-1960)—French anarcho-syndicalist from 1904; leader of antichauvinist opposition in unions during war; secretary of Committee for Third International; advocated revolutionary syndicalists joining Comintern; did not join French CP until 1923; expelled 1924 for opposing anti-Trotsky campaign; returned to syndicalism.

Moraczewski, Jędrzej (1870-1944)—a leader of Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia (PPSD) from 1893; deputy in Austrian imperial parliament; formed first procapitalist Warsaw government November 1918; PPSD deputy in Polish parliament 1919-27; expelled from party for supporting Pilsudski; head of progovernment trade union organization 1931-39.

Morgan—U.S. capitalist family based on railroad, steel, and banking empire.

Moyrova, Varvara Akimovna (1890-1951)—joined Russian CP 1917; active in various international and Soviet bodies; CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

- Mukherji, Abaninath** (1891-1937)—born in India; studied abroad 1910-12; joined German SPD 1912; active in independence movement in India during World War I; consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; attended Baku congress 1920; a founder of CP of India in Tashkent exile 1920; active in underground in India 1922-26; returned to Soviet Union 1926; worked in Comintern apparatus and in scientific work in Moscow and Leningrad from 1926; arrested and killed in Stalin's purges.
- Münzenberg, Willi** (1889-1940)—German Socialist; moved to Switzerland 1910; secretary of reconstituted Socialist Youth International 1915-19; supported Zimmerwald Left; German CP founding member; key founder and secretary of Communist Youth International (CYI) 1919-21; CYI delegate to second Comintern congress; leader of International Red Aid from 1921; elected to German CP Central Committee 1927; broke with Stalin and expelled from CP 1937; continued political activity in France; probably killed by Stalin's secret police.
- Murphy, John T.** (1888-1966)—leader of British Shop Stewards' movement during World War I; joined Scottish Socialist Labour Party 1917; represented Shop Stewards at second Comintern congress; founding member of British CP 1920 and elected to its first Central Committee; prominent in CP-led trade union Minority Movement; jailed six months for subversion 1925; broke with CP and Comintern 1932; joined Labour Party.
- Nadolny, Rudolf** (1873-1953)—member of German foreign office from 1902; head of its Russian department 1918-19.
- Naine, Charles** (1874-1926)—a leader of Swiss SDP; member of Zimmerwald International Socialist Committee in Bern; joined right wing of Swiss party 1917; helped form centrist Two-and-a-Half International 1919-21.
- Napoléon III** (Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoléon Bonaparte; became emperor after 1851 coup; deposed 1870.
- National Democratic People's Party** (Germany)—split-off from Bavarian People's Party; participated in German National Assembly elections 1919 and Reichstag elections 1920 with little success.
- National Federation of Labor** (CNT) (Spain)—Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation founded in Madrid 1911; 109,000 members 1914; voted to join Comintern at Second Congress December 1919; grew to 700,000 members by late 1919; disaffiliated under pressure of anarchist leaders 1922; banned 1923-30.
- National Young Labour League** (Britain)—one of three small British organizations affiliated to Communist Youth International in

mid-1920; probably grew out of London-based Proletarian College, which was an offshoot of Scottish youth organization of same name; functioned publicly from May 1920.

Nazaretian, Hamaiak (1889-1937)—Bolshevik from 1905; member of Council of People's Commissars of Terek Soviet Republic from April 1918; organized partisan detachments in Georgia 1919; Russian CP Caucasus bureau secretary 1920-22; Armenian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; occupied key party posts until disappeared in Stalin purges.

Nedelkov, Ivan (Nikolai Shablin) (1881-1925)—active in Bulgarian SDP (Tesnyaki) before World War I; Bulgarian CP founder and Central Committee member 1919; delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; represented Comintern at Baku congress 1920; returned to Bulgaria and carried out underground party work after right-wing coup 1923; murdered by police.

Nemec, Antonín (1858-1926)—centrist leader of Czechoslovak SDP; supported Tusar's participation in coalition government.

Nenkov, Temelko (1877-1925)—joined Bulgarian revolutionary workers' movement 1906; mine workers' union secretary 1912-24; Bulgarian CP founding member 1919; killed by government forces.

Newbold, J.T. Walton (1888-1943)—joined British Fabian Society and Independent Labour Party 1910; joined British CP 1921; elected to Parliament 1922; left CP 1924.

Newbold, Marjory Neilson (1883-1926)—joined British Independent Labour Party 1908 and became a leader of its left wing; chair of British National Young Labour League, for which she was a consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; joined CP with ILP left wing 1921.

New Statesman—British Labour Party publication founded by Beatrice and Sidney Webb in 1913.

Nielsen, Marie-Sophie (1875-1951)—member of Danish SDP; executive committee member 1916-18; second Comintern congress delegate from Communist Teachers Club; founding member of Danish CP 1920; expelled for not supporting campaign against Trotsky 1928.

Nikbin, Hassan (Hassanzadeh, Hassanov, Kerim-Aga Farsi) (b. 1879)—Iranian trade union leader, Iranian CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; succeeded Heydar Khan as Iranian CP head September 1921.

Nobs, Ernst (1886-1957)—leading Swiss Social Democrat; supported Zimmerwald Left at Kienthal conference; adopted centrist posi-

tion 1917 and became right-wing Social Democrat after 1920; president of Switzerland 1949.

Norwegian Labor Party—founded 1887; left wing won majority 1918; affiliated to Comintern June 1919; 125,000 members 1920; right-wing minority of 3,000 split to form Social Democratic Labor Party 1921; majority disaffiliated from Comintern 1923; minority founded Norwegian CP with 15,000 members.

Noske, Gustav (1868-1946)—German SPD leader; chauvinist during World War I; German war minister 1919-20; organized suppression of workers' uprisings in Berlin and central Germany January-March 1919.

Nurijanian, Avis (1896-1937)—Armenian; Dashnaktsutun Party representative to Baku soviet Executive Committee 1918; joined Bolshevik Party 1918; secretary of Russian CP Baku committee 1918; helped found CP of Armenia 1920; represented it at second Comintern congress and Baku congress 1920; Armenian soviet republic commissar of war 1920-21; held other party and government posts 1921-37; arrested and killed during Stalin purges.

Obolensky, Valeryan Valeryanovich (N. Osinsky) (1887-1938)—joined RSDLP 1907; Bolshevik; first chair of Supreme Council of National Economy 1917; a leader of Left Communist opposition 1918; Russian CP delegate at second Comintern congress; Central Committee alternate member 1921 and from 1925; supported Leninist opposition to Stalin led by Trotsky in Russian CP from 1923; later aligned with Bukharin; arrested 1937 and shot.

Olbracht, Ivan (Kamil Zeman) (1882-1952)—delegate from Czechoslovak CP to second Comintern congress; edited Czechoslovak CP newspaper *Rudé Pravo*; denounced as "rightist" 1928-29; quit party in opposition to Comintern's ultraleft course 1929; subsequently rejoined; participated in resistance during World War II; left political activity after 1945.

Ol'minsky, Mikhail Stepanovich (Aleksandrov) (1863-1933)—joined revolutionary movement 1883 and RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik from 1903; leading member of People's Commissariat of Finance 1917; *Pravda* editorial staff member 1918-20; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; engaged in party history and literary studies from 1920.

L'Ordine Nuovo (New order)—Italian revolutionary newspaper launched by Gramsci, Tasca, Terracini, and Togliatti 1919; merged with *Avanti!* 1921; forced to cease publication October 1922; also name of left-wing current in SP that dissolved into CP 1921.

Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele (1860-1952)—Italian bourgeois politician; prime minister 1917-19; headed Italian delegation to Paris peace talks 1919-20.

Osinsky—see Obolensky, Valeryan.

Oudegeest, Jan (1870-1951)—Dutch trade union federation chair 1908-18; secretary of International Federation of Trade Unions and leader of League of Nations International Labour Office from 1919; Social Democratic Workers Party chair 1927-34.

Pak Chin-sun—born in Korea, settled in Russia as youth before World War I; rallied to communism 1917; delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee; worked in China among immigrant Korean Communists 1921; not recognized as delegate at fourth Comintern congress and relieved of Comintern duties 1922; lived in Soviet Union.

Pankhurst, Sylvia (1882-1960)—joined British Independent Labour Party 1898; repeatedly arrested for activity in labor and women's suffrage movements; held antichauvinist position on war; leader of Workers' Socialist Federation, which took name CP June 1920; represented this group at second Comintern congress; Pankhurst group joined unified British CP January 1921, which expelled her for indiscipline 1921.

Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—joined Dutch Social Democrats 1902; leader of left-wing *Tribune* current from 1907; member Zimmerwald Left during World War I; cofounder Dutch CP 1918; worked closely with KAPD; broke with Comintern over Twenty-one Conditions as part of ultraleft split from Dutch CP 1921; subsequently left political activity while continuing to consider himself a Marxist and write on theoretical questions.

Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846-1891)—Irish nationalist; joined Parliamentary (Home Rule) Party 1875; led struggles against British landlord system 1879-82; elected chairman of Parliamentary Party 1880; central leader of Irish nationalist movement until death.

Party of Revolutionary Communism—founded September 1918 as split from Russian Left SRs following July uprising against soviet power; supported Soviet government but at first denied need for proletarian dictatorship; joined Russian CP fall 1920.

Pastukhov, Krustiu Ivanov (1874-1949)—leader of reformist Shiroki wing of Bulgarian SDP after 1903 split; harshly repressed popular mobilizations as minister of interior 1919; arrested for anti-communist activities 1946.

Paul-Boncour, Joseph (1873-1972)—French politician; parliamentary deputy 1909-14 and 1919-31; labor minister 1911; joined SP

1916; opposed SP joining Comintern and went with SP after split at Tours congress 1920; quit SP 1931; several times government minister; rejoined SP 1945; French signatory to United Nations Charter 1946.

Pavlovich, Mikhail (M.L. Wel'tman) (1871-1927)—joined Russian Socialist movement before finishing secondary school; exiled in Paris from late 1890s; collaborated with *Iskra*; Menshevik from 1903; internationalist, contributed to *Nashe Slovo* during World War I; joined commissariat of foreign affairs after Bolshevik victory; Bolshevik delegate to second Comintern congress; participated in Baku congress 1920.

Pestaña, Angel (1888-1937)—anarchist; leader of Spanish National Federation of Labor (CNT); CNT delegate to second Comintern congress; after congress, opposed joining Comintern and Red International of Labor Unions; founded syndicalist party 1934; deputy commissar of republican army during Spanish civil war.

Pestkowski, Stanislaw (1882-1937)—joined left wing of Polish Social Democracy 1902; escaped Siberian exile; active in London Bolshevik section and British SP 1914-17; participated in October revolution in Russia 1917; deputy people's commissar of nationalities under Stalin 1917-19; chair of Kirghiz Revolutionary Committee 1919-20; headed political administration of western front 1920-21; Bolshevik delegate at second Comintern congress; held various posts in Soviet diplomatic service and Comintern; disappeared during Stalin purges.

Phillips, Charles (Frank Seaman, Jesús Ramírez, Manuel Gomez, Charles Shipman) (1895-1989)—U.S. journalist; founder of Mexican CP 1919; traveled to Russia via Cuba; Mexican CP delegate to second Comintern congress; deported from Mexico, joined U.S. CP 1921; headed CP's All-American Anti-Imperialist League from 1925; Comintern Executive Committee member 1928; expelled from U.S. CP 1929; worked with pro-Bukharin opposition groups until mid-1930s, then quit politics.

Pilsudski, Józef (1867-1935)—cofounder of Polish SP 1892; led right-wing nationalist Revolutionary Faction from party's 1906 split until 1918; backed Central Powers in World War I; headed newly created Polish republic 1918; led invasion of Soviet republic 1920; resigned 1923; right-wing dictator of Poland 1926-35.

Platten, Fritz (1883-1942)—Swiss SDP secretary from 1912; led Swiss Zimmerwald Left; organized Lenin's return to Russia from exile April 1917; led pro-Comintern left wing of Swiss SDP 1919-21; delegate at Comintern founding congress; returned to Switzerland spring 1920; led founding of united Swiss CP 1921; party

secretary 1921-23; in Soviet Union after 1923 except 1930-31; arrested in Stalin's purges 1938 and died in prison camp.

Poale Zion (Workers of Zion)—coalition of Jewish nationalist organizations that attempted to combine ideas of socialism with Zionism; formed in several eastern European countries from 1897; gave rise to several parties, including in Russia, Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party—Poale Zion 1904-6; 15,000 members 1917; opposed October revolution; supported right-wing Ukrainian Directory government 1918; left wing split, forming Jewish CP—Poale Zion August 1919; some members of this party joined Russian CP December 1922; Poale Zion banned in Soviet Union 1928.

Poale Zion of Austria—small group that developed in Vienna during World War I; supported Zimmerwald Left; active in January strikes 1918; after Russian revolution, initially sought to reconcile Zionism and communism; many members later joined CP.

Pokrovsky, Mikhail Nikolayevich (1868-1932)—joined RSDLP 1905; Bolshevik; in exile 1909-17; supported ultraleft current associated with *Vperyod*; contributed to *Nashe Slovo*; chair of Moscow soviet November 1917–March 1918; associated with Left Communists 1918; deputy commissar of education 1918-32; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked as historian; writings fiercely attacked and banned in 1930s.

Polano, Luigi (b. 1897)—leader of Italian Socialist youth during World War I; elected to Communist Youth International Executive Committee 1919; Italian Socialist youth delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Italian CP Central Committee at founding congress 1921; lived in Soviet Union during fascist regime; arrested during Stalin purges and deported to Siberia; returned to Italy 1945; Italian CP elected official after 1945.

Polish Socialist Party—founded 1892; strongly marked by nationalist and reformist tendencies; left-wing majority founded Polish Socialist Party–Left 1906, which adopted internationalist position during World War I and merged with Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to form Polish CP 1918; right-wing Revolutionary Faction supported Central Powers during World War I and participated in formation of Polish capitalist state 1918; joined coalition government during war with Russia 1920.

Pöögelmann, Hans (1875-1938)—active in Estonian socialist movement from 1905; active in U.S. exile in SP Estonian federation 1911-17; member of Estonian soviet governments 1919-20; after overthrow, lived in Soviet Union; Estonian CP founding member

1920 and Central Committee member 1925-27; Estonian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Estonian representative to Comintern Executive Committee 1921-22; Comintern Control Commission member 1924-28; arrested during Moscow trials and shot.

Le Populaire (The people)—French SP newspaper representing centrist Longuet current.

Prampolini, Camillo (1857-1930)—editor of Italian Socialist newspapers from 1887; Italian SP founding member 1892; Socialist deputy 1890-1926; took centrist position during World War I; part of reformist wing of Italian SP; stayed with SP when CP formed 1921; expelled from SP with right-wing faction 1922.

Preobrazhensky, Yevgeny Alekseyevich (1886-1937)—joined Bolsheviks 1903; alternate Central Committee member 1917-18, full member 1920-21; Left Communist 1918; *Pravda* editor 1919; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Leninist opposition in Soviet CP led by Trotsky; expelled from CP 1927; readmitted 1929; arrested during Stalin purges; refused to profess guilt and was shot without trial.

Pressemagne, Adrien (1879-1929)—French Socialist; adopted centrist position during World War I; member of parliament 1914-29; member of Committee to Reconstruct the International 1919-20; opposed Twenty-one Conditions; went with SP when CP founded 1920; member of its central leadership body 1920-26.

Proost, Jan (Jansen) (1890-1943)—worked with Dutch *Tribune* current during World War I; a founding member of Dutch CP 1918; attended second Comintern congress, where he served on parliamentarism and agrarian commissions; elected to Comintern Executive Committee; remained in Moscow as Dutch CP representative through 1923; left Dutch CP when Wijnkoop and Van Ravesteijn expelled 1926; shot by Nazi troops.

Quelch, Thomas (1886-1954)—member Social Democratic Federation, then British SP; internationalist during World War I; advocated SP affiliating to Comintern; delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee; participated in Baku congress 1920; British CP Central Committee 1923-25; *Communist International* editorial staff 1920-31; withdrew from CP late in life.

Radek, Karl (1885-1939)—joined Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania 1904; moved to Germany 1908 and was active in SPD left; leader of Zimmerwald Left during World War I; joined Bolsheviks 1917; Bolshevik and Soviet emissary to Germany December 1918; arrested there February 1919; released

and returned to Russia January 1920; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1919; Comintern secretary April-August 1920; a central Comintern leader; with Trotsky, part of Leninist opposition to Stalin 1923-29; expelled from CP 1927; capitulated 1929; arrested 1937 during Moscow frame-up trials and died in prison.

Rafes, Moshe (1883-1942)—joined Bund 1903; Central Committee member 1912-19; opposed Bolshevik revolution; fought against Bolsheviks in the Ukraine 1917-19; joined Bolshevik Party 1919; played key role in winning left wing of Bund to communism in Poland and Russia 1919-21; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern representative to China 1927; arrested during purges and died in prison.

Rahja, Jukka (1887-1920)—Finnish Bolshevik from 1905; Finnish SP 1907-13; member Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee 1917; participated in Finnish revolution 1918; returned to Moscow and helped form Finnish CP 1918; Finnish delegate to first and second Comintern congresses; assassinated in Petrograd by opponent current previously expelled from CP.

Rákosi, Mátyás (1892-1971)—joined Hungarian SDP 1910; joined Bolsheviks while prisoner of war in Russia 1918; returned to Hungary and participated in founding Hungarian CP November 1918; held key posts in Hungarian soviet republic 1919; joined Comintern staff 1920; Hungarian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee secretariat member 1921-24; returned to Hungary to reorganize CP, captured and imprisoned 1925-40; signed manifesto dissolving Comintern 1943; general secretary of Hungarian CP 1945-56; emigrated to Soviet Union after Hungarian uprising 1956; expelled from Hungarian CP 1962.

Rakovsky, Christian (1873-1941)—prominent Romanian Social Democrat from 1890s; elected secretary of Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation 1915; attended Zimmerwald conference; joined Bolsheviks 1918; elected to Central Committee 1919; head of Ukrainian soviet government January 1919-23; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; supported Leninist opposition to Stalin led by Trotsky in Russian CP from 1923; expelled from party and arrested 1927; capitulated 1934; died in prison following Moscow frame-up trials.

Ramírez, Jesús—see Phillips, Charles.

Ramonov, Yevgeny Davidovich (1883-1950)—joined Bolsheviks 1905; active in Central Asia and southern Caucasus from July 1917; delegate to second Comintern congress from Bolshevik organization among Caucasus mountain peoples; held key Transcaucas-

ian party posts and was USSR Soviet Central Executive Committee member; later left political activity.

Ramsay, David (1883-1948)—member of British Social Democratic Federation, then of Socialist Labour Party before World War I; antichauvinist and leader of Shop Stewards during World War I; Shop Stewards' delegate to second Comintern congress; joined British CP 1920; CP executive committee 1926-29.

Randolph, A. Philip (1889-1979)—launched radical socialist Black magazine the *Messenger* 1917; initially sympathetic to Russian revolution but stayed with SP after CP founded 1919; organized Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters 1925; organized March on Washington movement for Black civil rights during World War II; vice president AFL-CIO 1955.

Rasikas, Rafail Stepanovich (1887-1938)—Lithuanian; member of the Latvian SDP 1904-6 and of Lithuanian SDP 1906-17; joined Bolsheviks November 1917 and was leader of Lithuanian soviet of soldiers' deputies in Petrograd; Lithuanian soviet government military commissar 1919; member of Lithuanian CP Bureau Abroad 1920-22; Lithuanian-Belorussian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; held Comintern posts until 1925.

Reconstructors—see Committee to Reconstruct the International.

Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern)—founded July 1921 by Communist and revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist union leaders to provide alternative to reformist policies of Amsterdam International; dissolved December 1937.

Reed, John (1887-1920)—radical U.S. journalist; supported IWW from 1913; opposed government during World War I; supported Wilson 1916; won to Communist movement while U.S. correspondent in Russia during October revolution 1917; author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*; joined U.S. SP 1918; a founding member of Communist Labor Party 1919; Communist Labor Party delegate at second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; addressed Baku congress 1920; died of typhus in Soviet Russia.

Reichpietsch, Max (1894-1917)—mechanic; drafted into German navy 1914; worked with USPD in organizing sailors against World War I; leader of mutiny summer 1917; executed.

Renaudel, Pierre (1871-1935)—associate of Jean Jaurès before 1914; central leader of French SP right-wing majority during World War I; political director of L'Humanité 1914-18; member of parliament 1914-19, 1924-35; opposed Comintern; part of right-wing split that retained SP name 1920; led right-wing split from SP 1933.

- Renner, Karl** (1870-1950)—prominent revisionist in Austrian SDP; promoted “national-cultural autonomy” within capitalist state for minorities from 1897; chauvinist during World War I; Austrian chancellor 1919-20 and president 1931-33.
- Rockefeller**—U.S. capitalist family; founded Standard Oil and acquired vast industrial and banking empire.
- Roland-Holst, Henriette** (1869-1952)—joined Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party 1897; supported its left wing; with Zimmerwald Left; joined SDP *Tribune* group 1916; founding member Dutch CP 1918; left CP 1927; later Christian Socialist.
- Rosmer, Alfred** (Griot) (1877-1964)—French revolutionary syndicalist; joined Zimmerwald movement during World War I; Comintern Executive Committee member in Moscow 1920-21; delegate of Committee for Third International to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; CP founding member 1920; a leader of Red International of Labor Unions; expelled from CP as supporter of Left Opposition to Stalin 1924; broke with Left Opposition 1930 but collaborated with Trotsky and movement for Fourth International after 1936.
- Rothe, Franz** (1862-1941)—writer for Austrian SDP newspaper *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; a leader of a left tendency in SDP, Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils; joined CP 1921.
- Rovio, Gustaa** (1887-1938)—born in Finland; joined Bolsheviks while living in Russia 1905; joined Finnish SDP 1910; hid Lenin August-September 1917; chief of Helsinki militia during Finnish revolution 1918; after its defeat, emigrated to Russia; founder of Finnish CP 1918; Finnish Socialist Workers Party delegate to second Comintern congress; head of CP in Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia from 1929 until dismissed for “nationalist deviation” 1935; arrested during Stalin purges 1937 and shot.
- Roy, Evelyn Trent** (Helen Allan, Santi Devi)—traveled to Mexico from U.S. with M.N. Roy; cofounder of Mexican CP 1919; Mexican CP consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Indian CP in exile in Tashkent 1920; active in Comintern through 1925; left political activity late 1920s.
- Roy, Manabendra Nath** (Bhattacharya, Robert Allan-Roy) (1887?-1954)—Indian revolutionary; active in nationalist protests against British rule 1910-15; forced into exile 1915; attracted to Marxism in U.S. 1916-17; under U.S. federal indictment, escaped to Mexico 1917; participated in founding Mexican CP 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; founded

Indian CP in exile in Tashkent 1920; headed Comintern Far Eastern bureau 1920; elected Comintern Executive Committee alternate member 1922-24 and full member 1924-27; Comintern representative to China February-August 1927; expelled from Comintern with Bukharin supporters 1929; returned to India 1930; led current critical of Comintern's sectarianism on national struggle; imprisoned 1931-36; joined Congress Party with supporters 1936; founded Radical Democratic Party 1940 and edited its newspaper, *Radical Humanist*.

RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party)—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks); Mensheviks.

Rudas, László (1885-1950)—Hungarian CP Central Committee member 1918; carried out academic work in Moscow from 1922; imprisoned 1937; returned to Hungary after World War II and directed CP school.

Rudnyánszky, Endre (1885-1943)—Hungarian prisoner of war in Russia; joined Bolsheviks 1917; helped found Hungarian Communist Group; chair of Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP late 1918; Moscow representative of Hungarian soviet republic 1919; Hungarian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; disappeared from Russia with Comintern funds and was expelled from Hungarian CP 1921.

Rudzutak, Yan Ernestovich (1887-1938)—Latvian; joined Bolsheviks 1905; after October revolution, member of Supreme Council of National Economy Presiding Committee; Russian CP Central Committee member from 1920; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; general secretary of All-Russia Central Trade Union Council; head of Russian CP Central Asia bureau 1921-24; CP Political Bureau member 1927-32; arrested during Stalin purge trials and shot.

Rühle, Otto (1874-1943)—joined German SPD 1900; voted with Liebknecht against war credits in Reichstag 1915; chair of Dresden Workers' and Soldiers' Council in November 1918 revolution; delegate to German CP founding congress December 1918; part of 1919 ultraleft split that later formed KAPD; delegated to represent KAPD at second Comintern congress, but left as congress began; expelled from KAPD November 1920; returned to German SPD 1923; served on Dewey commission to investigate Moscow frame-up trial against Trotsky 1937.

Russian Social Democratic Labor Party—see Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks); Mensheviks.

Rutgers, Sebald Justius (1879-1961)—joined Dutch Social Democracy

1899; part of left-wing Tribune group from 1909; organized U.S. supporters of *Tribune* current and Zimmerwald Left in Socialist Propaganda League during World War I; delegate at first Comintern congress 1919; headed Comintern's Amsterdam bureau 1919-20; headed settlement of U.S. volunteer workers in Kuzbas, Soviet Union, 1922-25; continued to live in Soviet Union until 1938, then returned to the Netherlands.

Ruthenberg, Charles E. (1882-1927)—joined U.S. SP 1909 and a leader of its left wing during World War I; CP national secretary 1919-27; Comintern Executive Committee alternate member from 1922 and full member from 1924.

Ryazanov, David Borisovich (Gol'dendakh) (1870-1938)—active in Russian Social Democratic and trade union movements from 1890s; collaborated with *Nashe Slovo* in Paris during World War I; returned to Russia, joined Mezhrayontsi, then Bolsheviks 1917; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; director of Marx-Engels Institute from 1921; included in frame-up of "Mensheviks" and expelled from CP 1931; arrested and died in Stalin purges.

Rykov, Aleksey Ivanovich (1881-1938)—joined RSDLP 1899 and Bolsheviks 1903; elected to Central Committee 1905; member of first Council of People's Commissars 1917; party Central Committee 1917, 1920-34; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Political Bureau member 1922-30; deputy chair of Council of People's Commissars from 1921; succeeded Lenin as its chair 1924; allied with Bukharin; leader of Right Opposition 1928-29; recanted 1929; expelled from CP 1937; executed during frame-up purges.

Ryvkin, Oskar L'vovich (1899-1937)—joined Red Guards and Bolsheviks early 1917; central leader of Russian CP youth organization from its founding 1918; represented it at second Comintern congress; held various party posts from 1924; arrested 1937 and died in prison.

Sadoul, Jacques (1881-1956)—French SP member; part of French military mission to Russia 1917; won to communism and volunteered for Red Army; sentenced to death in absentia in France for desertion 1919; delegate of French Communist Group in Russia to second Comintern congress; returned to France 1924 and pardoned; remained with French CP until death.

Sadovskaya, Bronislava Lyudvigovna—Polish; Bolshevik Party member 1917-35; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

Safarov, Georgy Ivanovich (1891-1942)—joined RSDLP 1908, soon became Bolshevik; worked in exile during World War I; returned

to Russia with Lenin 1917; led Comintern work for Middle and Far East from 1920; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1922; associated with Zinoviev in Leningrad opposition and dropped from CP Central Committee 1925; member of United Opposition 1926-27; expelled from CP 1927; capitulated 1928; reexpelled 1934 and arrested; perished in prison camps.

Said Galiev, Sahibgiray (1894-1939)—Tatar; began revolutionary work in army 1916; joined Bolsheviks March 1917; held numerous posts leading political work among Muslim peoples 1918-20; chair of Central Bureau of the Communist Organization of the Peoples of the East November 1919; elected chair of Council of People's Commissars of Tatar autonomous republic 1920 and of Crimean republic 1921; Tatar CP delegate to second Comintern congress; held other government posts until killed in Stalin purges.

St. John, Vincent (1873-1929)—one of the principal leaders of U.S. IWW and its general secretary 1908-14; became an opponent of CP.

Samuelson, Oskar (1885-1947)—chair of Social Democratic Youth League of Sweden, which played important role in founding Left SDP 1917; elected to Communist Youth International Executive Committee 1919; journalist for Left SDP from 1920; joined CP 1921; CP secretary from 1924; broke from Comintern with Kilbom 1929; rejoined SDP 1937.

Sapunov, Mikhail Yefimovich (1884-1952)—oil worker in Baku 1901-20; joined Bolshevik Party March 1917; elected to first Baku soviet of workers' deputies; Soviet oil workers' union Central Committee deputy chairman 1920-22; delegate for Azerbaijan trade union majority to second Comintern Congress; subsequently held administrative posts.

Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association)—formed in Indonesia out of Association of Islamic Merchants 1912; initially reflected interests of Indonesian bourgeoisie against foreign competition; became mass nationalist movement, with strong rural support, claiming 360,000 members by 1916; adopted radical democratic program under influence of mass pressure and revolutionary Social Democrats 1917; 1.5 million members 1920; played no significant role after political break with CP 1923.

Sazonov, Sergey Dmitrovich (1860-1927)—tsarist diplomat; minister of foreign affairs 1910-16; represented Denikin and Kolchak at Versailles conference 1919; died in exile.

Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich (1831-1903)—German and Aus-

trian economist, social reformer, and politician.

Scheflo, Olav (1883-1943)—Norwegian Labor Party journalist from 1905; editor of central organ *Social-Demokraten* 1918-21; led struggle for Norwegian Labor Party to join Comintern; represented party at second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1921-27; joined CP when Labor Party split from Comintern 1923; CP Central Committee member and chief editor of *Norges Kommunistblad* 1923-26; criticized as “right opportunist” from 1925; left CP 1928; rejoined Labor Party 1929; when Trotsky was in Norway, defended him against government and Stalinist attacks 1935-36.

Scheidemann, Philipp (1865-1939)—German SPD member; elected to Reichstag 1898; with Ebert, a central leader of party after Bebel’s death in 1913; chauvinist during World War I; SPD cochair from 1917; as member of Ebert’s cabinet, participated in suppression of 1918-19 revolution; chancellor 1919; forced into exile by Nazis 1933.

Schlicke, Alexander (1863-1940)—chair of German metalworkers’ union 1895-1919; specialist on union questions in war ministry 1917-18; minister of labor 1919-20.

SDP—Social Democratic Party.

Seaman, Frank—see Phillips, Charles.

Second International—founded 1889 as international association of workers’ parties; based in Brussels; collapsed at outbreak of World War I when leaders of most constituent parties supported interests of own bourgeoisies; revolutionary left wing founded Communist International 1919; right wing formed Bern International on procapitalist basis 1919 and Labor and Socialist International based in London 1923.

Seitz, Karl (1869-1950)—Austrian Social Democrat; chauvinist during World War I; National Assembly president 1919-20; SDP president 1920-34.

Sembat, Marcel (1862-1922)—prominent right-wing French SP leader; government minister 1914-16.

Serebryakov, Leonid Petrovich (1888-1937)—joined Bolsheviks 1905; All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee secretary 1919-20; CP Central Committee secretary 1919-20; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; active in Left Opposition to Stalin’s anti-Leninist course from 1923; expelled from CP 1927; readmitted 1930; reexpelled for “antiparty activities” 1936; condemned in Moscow frame-up trial of “anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center” and shot.

Sergeyev, Fedor Andreyevich (Artem) (1883-1921)—joined RSDLP

1901; headed Bolshevik organization in Kharkov and led armed uprising there 1905; emigrated to Australia 1911 and led revolutionary Russian workers there; returned to Russia May 1917; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1917, 1919-21; chair of Donetsk-Krivoi Rog Soviet Republic 1918; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; died in rail accident.

Serrati, Giacinto Menotti (1874-1926)—central leader of Italian SP during war; editor of *Avanti!* 1915-20; attended Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences; led SP into Comintern; Italian SP delegate to second Comintern congress and served on Presiding Committee; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; opposed break with reformists and remained head of SP after CP split 1921; led SP left wing into fusion with CP 1924; elected to CP Central Committee.

Shablin, Nikolai—see Nedelkov, Ivan.

Shafiq, Mohammad—left India in protest against British policy in Turkey May 1919; joined Indian exile revolutionary group in Tashkent summer 1920; observer for Indian Section of Council for International Propaganda, an Indian exile group, at second Comintern congress; first general secretary of Indian CP formed in Tashkent exile November 1920; played leading role in Indian CP through 1920s; left politics 1932.

Shatskin, Lazar Abramovich (1902-1938)—joined Bolshevik Party 1917; Communist Youth League Central Committee member from 1918 and first secretary 1919-22; elected to Communist Youth International Executive Committee 1919, which he represented at second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member from 1920; closely associated with Stalin late 1920s; accused of opposition activities and excluded from political activity 1931; expelled from party and arrested 1935; died in Stalin purges.

Shaw, Thomas (1872-1938)—British labor official; chauvinist during World War I; Labour member of Parliament 1918-31; cosecretary of Second International 1923-25.

Shiroki—right wing of Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria; Shiroki (Broad) faction split from revolutionary Tesnyaki (Narrow) faction in 1903; voted to quit Second International 1919; voted against joining Comintern 1920; left wing split and joined CP; Shiroki then had 8,000 members.

Shlyapnikov, Aleksandr Gavrilovich (1885-1937)—joined RSDLP 1901; Bolshevik; in exile in western Europe from 1908; organized Bolshevik Party leadership within Russia 1914-17; first commissar of labor after October revolution; Central Committee alter-

nate member 1918-19 and full member 1921-22; CP delegate to second Comintern congress 1920; leader of Workers Opposition in CP 1920-22; Soviet diplomatic service from 1924; expelled from CP 1933; arrested and shot.

Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees—originated among engineers (metalworkers) in Clyde valley strike in Scotland 1915; grew with strike wave and by early 1917 was national organization opposed to official trade union leadership no-strike policy; advanced revolutionary demands; movement declined after 1918 but many militant stewards joined British CP.

Shums'ky, Oleksandr (1890-1946)—leader of Ukrainian SR party and of its left wing (Borotbists); member of Ukrainian soviet government 1919; led Ukrainian CP (Borotbist) into CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine March 1920; CP Central Committee member; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Ukrainian commissar of education, where he promoted Ukrainian language and culture, 1924-27; accused of "nationalist deviation"; expelled from CP and arrested 1933; died in prison camp.

Simons, Walter (1861-1937)—member of German delegation at Brest-Litovsk negotiations 1918; Imperial Association of German Industry president 1919-20; German foreign minister 1920-21.

Sirola, Yrjö (1876-1936)—joined Finnish SDP 1903; foreign affairs commissar in revolutionary government 1918; founding leader of Finnish CP 1918; elected to Comintern Control Commission 1921, 1928, and 1935; Comintern emissary to U.S. CP 1925-27.

Skrypnyk, Mykola (1872-1933)—joined RSDLP 1897; Bolshevik from 1903; member Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee in October revolution; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected alternate Russian CP Central Committee member 1924, full member from 1927; central leader of CP of the Ukraine from 1927; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1928; supported Stalin faction in 1920s; accused of "nationalist deviation" during Stalin's assault on Ukrainian national rights; committed suicide.

Skulski, Leopold (b. 1878)—Polish politician; premier of Pilsudski's cabinet December 1919–June 1920; interior minister 1920-21.

Smeral, Bohumír (1880-1941)—joined Czech SDP 1897 and elected to Central Committee 1904; took chauvinist stand during World War I but spoke against collaboration with bourgeois parties from 1918; a leader of SDP left wing 1919-21; headed CP from its founding 1921; Comintern Executive Committee member 1922-35.

Smidovich, Petr Germogenovich (1874-1935)—joined RSDLP 1898;

Bolshevik from 1903; member of Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee 1917; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; member of All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee; held various government posts.

Sneevliet, Henk (Maring) (1883-1942)—joined Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party 1902; emigrated to Dutch East Indies 1913; became leader of rail union in Semarang and founding leader of Indies Social Democratic Association 1914; supported Russian October revolution 1917; deported December 1918; joined Dutch CP 1919; represented Communist Association in the Indies at second Comintern congress; Comintern representative in China 1921-23; returned to Netherlands 1924; left CP 1927; supported views of Left Opposition led by Trotsky; founded Revolutionary Socialist Party 1929; with Trotsky, cosigned call for new International 1933; did not participate in launching Fourth International 1938; took part in resistance to Nazi occupation forces until captured and executed.

Social Democratic Federation (Britain)—founded 1884; changed name to Social Democratic Party 1906; participated in founding British SP 1911; chauvinist wing of SP split from antiwar majority 1916 and retook name Social Democratic Federation 1920.

Social Democratic Party of Austria—see Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria.

Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia—originated before 1914 as national breakaway from SDP of Austria; Marxist Left faction organized December 1919, which won leadership of party 1920; 650,000 members mid-1920; split fall 1920; left-wing majority took name CP with 350,000 members and adopted Twenty-one Conditions March 1921; united with Communist groups based among other nationalities November 1921; 170,000 members 1922. See also Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Social Democratic Party of Finland—founded 1899; adopted this name 1903; held internationalist positions during World War I; won majority of parliamentary seats 1916; after defeat of working class in Finnish civil war, SDP left wing founded CP in Russian exile August 1918 but also continued to work in SDP; underground Communists in Finland participated in left-wing split from SDP that led to founding of Socialist Workers Party May 1920.

Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)—founded 1875 as Social Democratic Workers Party from fusion of Marxist and Lassalleian parties; changed name to SPD 1891; largest and most influential party in Second International; more than 1 million members 1914; majority leadership supported German imperialist war ef-

fort; expelled oppositionists 1917; 250,000 members March 1918; headed bourgeois government 1918-19; 1 million members 1919; opposed formation of Comintern, remained in Second International.

Social Democratic Party of Hungary—founded 1890; initially chauvinist during World War I; shifted to pacifist position 1915; fused with CP and participated in short-lived Hungarian soviet republic 1919; refounded 1921; functioned as legal reformist opposition party.

Social Democratic Party of Romania—see Balkan Communist Federation.

Social Democratic Party of Switzerland—founded 1888; leadership took centrist position during World War I, helping initiate and lead Zimmerwald movement; withdrew from Second International 1919; voted for Comintern affiliation at 1920 congress, but membership referendum later that year reversed decision; left wing split and fused with other Communist groups to form Swiss CP March 1921; SDP had 54,000 members 1921.

Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia—founded 1903 as Social Democratic Party of Serbia; opposed war credits 1914; participated in Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation from 1915; called April 1919 conference that united left wings of all Yugoslav Socialist parties (except Slovenian) to form Socialist Workers Party (Communist) April 1919 that joined Comintern; 50,000 members late 1919; changed name to CP of Yugoslavia June 1920.

Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria—founded 1888-89; loose federation of six autonomous national parties from 1896, which broke up by 1912; then functioned solely within German Austria; led governmental coalition with bourgeois parties November 1918–June 1920, left government October 1920; suffered no significant left-wing split after World War I; 335,000 members November 1920; main party in Two-and-a-Half International 1921-23; 491,000 members 1921.

Social Democratic Working Group of Revolutionary Workers Councils—formed October 1919 as left faction in Austrian SDP; expressed support for soviet power and Communist International; considerable influence over workers' councils late 1919; split over election tactics September 1920; reunited December 1920 and joined CP January 1921.

Social Democratic Youth League (Denmark)—founded 1906; youth organization affiliated to SDP of Denmark; opposed party's reformist line, supported Zimmerwald movement during World

War I; split from SDP October 1919; most members fused with Socialist Workers Party to form Left SP of Denmark November 1919; minority returned to SDP; 10,000 members 1920.

Social Democratic Youth League (Norway)—youth organization of Norwegian Labor Party founded 1907; strong radical influence on party during war; 12,000 members 1920.

Socialist Labour Party (Britain)—founded with 80 members 1903 by split of Scottish sections of Social Democratic Federation; influenced by Daniel De Leon of U.S. SLP; opposed labor movement's fighting for partial goals short of socialism; actively opposed World War I; supported Bolshevik revolution and Comintern; at first participated, then withdrew from unity talks on forming CP December 1919; 1,250 members 1920; minority split and participated in founding first CPGB August 1920; 100 members 1924.

Socialist Party of America—founded 1901; 1917 membership referendum denouncing U.S. entry into World War I ignored by most of leadership; 109,000 members January 1919; leadership representing right-wing minority expelled 70,000 members January-July 1919; membership referendum voted for conditional affiliation with Comintern early 1920, which was rejected by Comintern; membership dropped to 13,000 by 1921.

Socialist Party of France (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière; SFIO)—founded by merger of Guesde's SP of France and Jaurès's French SP 1905; deputies voted unanimously to support war credits August 1914; 93,000 members 1914; dropped to 34,000 1918; centrists won majority July 1918; split at Tours congress December 1920; majority of 120,000 changed name to CP; right-wing minority of 50,000 split, retained name SFIO, affiliated to centrist Two-and-a-Half International February 1921.

Socialist Party of Ireland—founded as Irish Socialist Republican Party by James Connolly 1898; became SP in Connolly's absence 1903-10; reconstituted 1917 after Connolly's death; called for reestablishing Second International 1918; supported Adler-Longuet resolution at Bern conference 1919; included small left faction that called itself Workers' Communist Party, which sent delegates to second Comintern congress; left wing won majority September 1921 and renamed party CP, which was dissolved when Comintern transferred recognition to Irish Workers' League 1923.

Socialist Party of Italy—see Italian Socialist Party.

Socialist Party (Shanghai)—formed September 1919 by laborers who were exposed to revolutionary movement while working in Eu-

rope 1917-18. See also Chinese Socialist Workers Party.

Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR)—formed in Russia by rightward-moving currents from populist Narodnik tradition 1901-2; affiliated to Second International; had wings that supported and opposed war effort during World War I; supported by majority of peasant delegates to soviets 1917; Right SRs opposed October revolution and took up arms against Soviet government; Left SRs opposed World War I, supported immediate confiscation of landed estates, backed October revolution and soviet power; joined Bolsheviks in coalition government November 28, 1917 (November 15, old style); broke from Soviet government and organized attempted insurrection July 1918; minority currents split away and eventually joined Russian CP.

Socialist Workers Party (Denmark)—see Communist Party of Denmark.

Socialist Workers Party of Finland—see Communist Party of Finland.

Socialist Workers Party of Palestine—founded October 1919; defended Zionism; called for alliance with Arab workers; banned by British authorities in Palestine mid-1921; disintegrated shortly thereafter.

Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE)—founded by former members of Spanish section of First International 1879; policies reflected majority views of Second International; voted for conditional affiliation to Comintern June 1920, but reversed this decision April 1921; left wing split to form Communist Workers Party of Spain 1921.

Socialist Youth Federation (France)—founded as national organization, affiliated to SP, 1912; adopted chauvinist position during World War I; 1,300 members 1918; opposition won leadership June 1918; 15,000 members mid-1920, with significant communist, syndicalist, and pacifist currents; application to join Communist Youth International initially rejected; adopted positions of autonomy with respect to party; pro-Communist wing won majority, changed name to National Federation of Socialist-Communist Youth of France and affiliated with Communist Youth International October 1920.

Socialist Youth Federation of Italy—see Italian Socialist Youth Federation.

Socialist Youth Organization (Switzerland)—developed early 1900s from existing youth groups with anarcho-syndicalist influence; renamed Social Democratic Youth Organization and adopted increasingly revolutionary stance from 1911; took name Socialist Youth Organization 1915; French- and Ger-

man-speaking sections unified 1919; joined Communist Youth International and Comintern 1919; broke with SDP January 1920; participated in second Comintern congress; 2,500 members August 1920; changed name to Communist Youth League November 1920.

Sokolnikov, Grigory Yakovlevich (1888-1939)—joined Bolsheviks 1905; collaborated with *Nashe Slovo* in Paris during World War I; rejoined Bolsheviks April 1917; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1917-19, 1922-30; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; headed Comintern Central Asia bureau from 1920; people's commissar of finance 1922-26; briefly supported United Opposition 1926; Soviet diplomatic service 1929-34; sentenced to ten years in prison at Moscow frame-up trial 1937 and shot.

Solf, Wilhelm Heinrich (1862-1936)—German colonial minister 1911-18; negotiated armistice as foreign minister 1918; ambassador to Tokyo 1920.

Souchy, Augustin (1892-1984)—anarchist from 1911; in Sweden and Denmark as opponent of draft during World War I; leader of German anarcho-syndicalist Free Workers Union 1919-33; represented it at second Comintern congress; refused to join Comintern or Red International of Labor Unions; leader of anarcho-syndicalist International from 1922; fled to France 1933; active in anarchist federation in Spain during civil war 1936-39; emigrated to Mexico 1942; returned to Europe, worked with UN International Labor Organization 1950s.

SP—Socialist Party.

Spartacus—illegal organ of German Spartacus group; appeared irregularly September 1916 to October 1918; predecessor newsletters dated from fall 1914.

SPD—see Social Democratic Party of Germany.

SR—see Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Stalin, Joseph (1879-1953)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik from 1903; member Central Committee 1912; people's commissar of nationalities after October revolution; general secretary of Russian CP Central Committee 1922; presided over bureaucratic degeneration of Russian CP and Comintern and their rejection of revolutionary internationalist course; organized Moscow frame-up trials in 1930s and liquidation of majority of Bolshevik leaders of Lenin's time; dissolved Comintern as political gesture to imperialist allies 1943.

Steinhardt, Karl (J. Gruber) (1875-1963)—member of Austrian SDP from 1891; militant antichauvinist, expelled from party 1916;

Austrian CP chair from 1918; elected general secretary 1919; on return journey from first Comintern congress imprisoned in Romania April 1919–January 1920; Austrian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; still active in CP after World War II.

Steklov, Yury Mikaylovich (1873-1941)—active in Russian revolutionary movement from 1888; joined Social Democratic movement 1893; in exile in Siberia and abroad 1894-1914; edited *Izvestia* 1917-25; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; popularizer of Marxism and historian of Russian revolutionary movement; arrested 1938; works placed under ban; died in prison.

Stinnes, Hugo (1870-1924)—leading German capitalist; headed industrial production during World War I.

Stoecker, Walter (1891-1939)—member German SPD 1908; joined USPD 1918; favored its affiliation to Comintern; USPD delegate to second Comintern congress; led USPD majority into united CP 1920; elected to CP Central Bureau 1920-21, 1923-24, and to Central Committee 1927-33; chair of CP parliamentary fraction 1924-31; arrested by Nazis night of Reichstag fire 1933; died in Nazi concentration camp.

Stoklitsky, Alexander I.—Russian emigrant to U.S.; head of U.S. SP Russian federation; a founder of U.S. CP 1919; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; remained in Russia.

Ströbel, Heinrich (1869-1944)—active in German workers' movement from 1889; editor of various Social Democratic newspapers; opposed SPD leadership during war; joined USPD; later returned to SPD; parliamentary deputy from 1924; founded journal *Klassenkampf*.

Ströhmer—see Hornik-Ströhmer, Anna.

Ström, Fredrik (1880-1948)—Swedish SDP party secretary 1911-16; close to Zimmerwald Left during World War I; member of parliament 1916-21, 1928-48; a founder of Left SDP 1917; head of Stockholm Comintern liaison with western Europe 1919-20; a CP founder 1921 and its general secretary 1921-24; opposed Comintern policies with Höglund from 1924; resigned from CP and returned to SDP 1926.

Stuchka, Pyotr Ivanovich (1865-1932)—Latvian; joined Bolsheviks 1903; Bolshevik Central Committee member 1917; people's commissar of justice 1917-18; Latvian soviet government head 1918-19; chair of Supreme Court, Russian Soviet Republic 1923-32.

Sturm, Fritz—see Zaks, Samuel.

Sultan Galiev, Mir-Said (1880-1939?)—Tatar; central organizer of movement uniting revolutionaries from predominantly Muslim

peoples from 1917; joined Bolshevik Party November 1917; member of Central Muslim Commissariat and of commissariat of nationalities central leadership; represented Tatar CP at second Comintern congress; opposed policies of Stalin and Russian CP leadership on national question from 1923; briefly arrested for "national deviation" 1923 and expelled from Russian CP; rearrested 1928 and disappeared in prison.

Sultanzadeh, Ahmed (Avetis Mikaelian) (1889-1938)—born in Iran, settled in tsarist Russia; joined Caucasus SDP 1907; joined Bolsheviks 1912; Iranian CP founder 1920; Central Committee member 1920-23 and 1927-32; represented Iranian CP at second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee and attended Baku congress 1920; left Comintern and Iranian CP posts 1923-27 to work in Soviet government; expelled from Iranian CP Central Committee 1932; arrested and died in Stalin purges.

Sun Yat-sen (Sun Ixian) (1866-1925)—Chinese revolutionary democrat; president of republic after first revolution 1911-12; founder of Kuomintang 1912; removed by Yuan Shikai 1912; after two failed attempts, established government in Canton 1923; accepted help of Soviet Russia from 1923.

Suzenko, Alexander—exiled from Russia to Australia after defeat of 1905 revolution; active in association of Russian-born workers there during World War I; deported from Australia mid-1919, returned and was again deported 1920; Australian IWW consultative delegate to second Comintern congress.

Syvertsen, Sigrid (1885-1974)—joined Norwegian Labor Party 1907; secretary of Labor Party Women's League 1917-23; Labor Party delegate to second Comintern congress; quit Comintern with Labor Party 1923; Central Committee member and head of women's secretariat from 1923.

Szamuely, Tibor (1890-1919)—joined Bolsheviks as Hungarian prisoner of war in Russia 1917; political commissar of First Internationalist Battalion of Red Army 1918; returned to Hungary January 1919 and became Hungarian CP Central Committee chair; as leader of soviet republic, visited Moscow May 1919; captured and died after fall of Hungarian soviet republic.

Tanner, Jack (1889-1965)—leader of British Shop Stewards during World War I, which he represented at second Comintern congress; joined CP 1921; leader of CP-led trade union Minority Movement 1920s; became right-wing opponent of CP in 1940s; continued to hold prominent posts in British trade unions until 1954.

Taratuta, Viktor Konstantinovich (1881-1926)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik from 1903; elected alternate Central Committee member 1907; abroad 1909-19; joined French SP 1917; represented Russian CP at second Comintern congress; later worked in Soviet foreign commerce bank.

Le Temps (The times)—daily newspaper published in Paris 1861-1942; unofficial voice of French government.

Tesnyaki—see Communist Party of Bulgaria.

Thomas, Albert (1878-1932)—leader of French SP right wing; chauvinist during World War I; held key government posts 1914-17; visited Russia April 1917 to promote war effort; led attempts to reorganize Second International 1919; first director of League of Nations International Labour Office.

The Times—leading Conservative British newspaper founded 1785, took present title 1788.

Todria, Sil'vestr Yaseyevich (1880-1936)—joined RSDLP 1901; Bolshevik; participated in revolutionary movement in Azerbaijan and Georgia; held various posts after 1917; Georgian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; held high posts in Georgian and Transcaucasian soviet governments; disappeared during frame-up purges.

Tomann, Karl (1887-1945)—born in Austria of Czech descent; won to Bolsheviks while prisoner of war in Russia; head of German section, Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian CP; returned to Austria, joined Austrian CP December 1918; became general secretary February 1919; represented CP at second Comintern congress; editor in chief of CP newspaper until 1924; dropped from Central Committee 1924; expelled from CP 1931; led independent socialist grouping; became town mayor under Nazis; shot by Soviet troops after World War II.

Tomschik, Josef (1867-1945)—longtime national secretary of Austrian rail union; elected to Austrian SDP Central Committee 1896; parliamentary deputy 1907-34.

Tomsky, Mikhail Pavlovich (1880-1936)—joined RSDLP 1904; Bolshevik; chair of Revel (Tallinn) soviet in 1905 revolution; All-Russia Central Trade Union Council chair 1919-29; CP Central Committee member 1919-36 and Political Bureau member 1922-29; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920; helped found Red International of Labor Unions 1921; with Bukharin, leader of Right Opposition 1928-29; stripped of all leading posts and forced to make self-criticism by Stalin 1930; committed suicide after publicly assailed during Moscow frame-up trials.

- Treves, Claudio** (1869-1933)—joined Italian SP 1893; parliamentary deputy 1906-26; editor of *Avanti!* 1909-12; called for Italian neutrality during World War I; leader of reformist, anti-Comintern wing of SP after World War I; stayed with SP when CP founded 1921; expelled from SP with rightist current that founded United SP 1922; emigrated to Paris when fascists took power.
- De Tribune** (The tribune)—founded 1907 as publication of left wing of Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party; became newspaper of SDP of the Netherlands 1909 and of CP 1919.
- Triple Alliance**—formal agreement of mutual support among British mine, rail, and transport unions; established 1914; operation suspended by union officials during World War I; broke up over failure to support miners' strike April 1921.
- Troelstra, Pieter** (1860-1930)—right-wing leader of Dutch Social Democratic Workers Party from its foundation 1894; member of International Socialist Bureau; chauvinist during World War I.
- Trotsky, Leon** (1879-1940)—Russian revolutionary leader; aligned with Mensheviks 1903-4; president of St. Petersburg soviet 1905; took intermediate position between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks 1904-17; led Mezhrayontsi into fusion with Bolsheviks 1917; elected to Bolshevik Central Committee 1917; people's commissar of foreign affairs 1917-18; organized and led Red Army 1918-25; prominent leader of Comintern; from 1923 led opposition in Russian CP and Comintern against retreat from Leninist policies; expelled from party 1927; exiled abroad 1929; launched fight for new, revolutionary International 1933; led in founding Fourth International 1938; main defendant, in absentia, at 1936-38 Moscow frame-up trials; assassinated by agent of Stalin.
- Tsetlin, Yefim Viktorovich** (1898-1937)—Bolshevik youth movement leader 1917-22 and its delegate to second Comintern congress; Communist Youth International Executive Committee member 1922-24; active in party work until 1929, then held administrative posts.
- Tskhakaya, Mikhail Grigor'evich** (Leonov Barsov) (1865-1950)—active in revolutionary movement in Georgia and Caucasus from 1880s; joined RSDLP 1898; exiled abroad 1907-17; member of Tiflis RSDLP committee 1917-20; Georgian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Comintern Executive Committee member 1920; held high government and state posts in Georgia; demoted but not arrested during frame-up purges of 1930s.
- Tsyperovich, Grigory** (1871-1932)—joined Russian revolutionary movement 1888; worked in trade unions after October revolution; joined Russian CP 1919; represented CP at second Com-

intern congress; worked in Petrograd economic council, later chancellor of Leningrad industrial academy.

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—a founder of Italian SP; avowed reformist; voted against war credits during World War I but supported Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points; opposed Comintern; led right-wing split from SP 1922.

Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques (1727-1781)—high official of French monarchs Louis XV and Louis XVI; tried unsuccessfully to introduce limited reforms.

Tusar, Vlastimil (1880-1924)—leader of Czechoslovak SDP; prime minister of coalition government July 1919–September 1920.

Two-and-a-Half International—derogatory name applied to the International Association of Socialist Parties; formed 1921 by centrist parties that opposed soviet power but had left Second International, with which it reunited 1923.

Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbist)—originated in Borotbist majority faction in Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries May 1918; fought against Skoropadsky and Directory governments under banner of soviet power and Ukrainian federation with Soviet Russia; joined Ukrainian soviet government April 1919; criticized Bolshevik policy toward demands of peasantry and Ukrainian national rights; formed Ukrainian CP (Borotbist) August 1919; applied to Comintern for recognition as its Ukrainian section August 1919 but was refused; fused with CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine March 1920.

Ukrainian Communist Party (Ukapist)—originated in left-wing split from nationalist and antisoviet Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party; these forces formed Ukrainian SDP (Independents) 1919, which fought both Whites and Bolshevik-led soviets; supported soviet regime from late 1919; took name Ukrainian CP (Ukapist) 1920; defended soviet power while advocating an independent soviet Ukraine and accusing the Bolsheviks of failing to respect Ukrainian national rights; its forces joined Bolsheviks in stages 1923-25.

Ukrainian National Directory—see Directory.

United Communist Party (U.S.)—see Communist Party of America; Communist Labor Party (U.S.).

USPD—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Ustinov, A.M. (1879-1937)—active in Russian revolutionary movement from 1901; SR 1906-17; Left SR 1917-18; member All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee 1917-20; split from Left SRs with forces who formed Party of Revolutionary Communism; represented this party as consultative delegate at second Com-

intern congress; joined Russian CP 1920; diplomat from 1921.

Vacirca, Vincenzo—member of Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGL) delegation to Soviet Russia 1920; consultative delegate of Italian SP to second Comintern congress; left congress early with D'Aragona; expelled with Turati current from SP after Rome party congress 1922; joined United SP founded by Turati 1922.

Vakmann, Rudolf (1894-1937)—RSDLP member in Estonia from 1913; Revel (Tallinn) party committee secretary 1917; Estonian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; Central Committee member 1920-30; executed during Stalin purges.

Vandervelde, Emile (1866-1938)—Belgian Social Democrat; International Socialist Bureau chair from 1900; defended chauvinist positions during World War I; cabinet minister throughout World War I; an organizer of 1919 Bern conference; president of Second International 1929-36.

Vanek, Milos (1897-1967)—joined left wing of Czechoslovak SDP during World War I, which he represented at second Comintern congress; helped form CP 1921; worked for Comintern in Moscow 1922-26; rejoined SDP 1926; emigrated to West Germany 1948; commentator for Radio Free Europe from 1951.

Vanini, Lorenzo—see Mineff, Stoyan.

Van Leuven, Vilem—member of Dutch SDP from 1909; stockbroker; a founding member of Dutch CP; Dutch CP delegate to second Comintern congress; quit CP 1924.

Van Overstraeten, Eduard (War) (1891-1981)—active in Socialist Young Guards in Belgium at end of World War I; founded Walloon Communist Federation 1920; represented it at second Comintern congress; elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1921; elected Belgian CP national secretary at founding congress 1921; imprisoned for opposing Ruhr occupation 1923; led majority of party Central Committee in opposing expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev 1927; expelled 1928; founder of Belgian Left Opposition but soon withdrew from politics.

Van Ravesteyn, Willem (1876-1970)—Dutch Social Democrat from 1900; leader of *Tribune* current from its inception 1907; Zimmerwald Left supporter during World War I; Dutch CP founding member 1918; expelled with Wijnkoop 1926 and retired from political activity.

Vardanian, Stepan Khristoforovich (1900-1936?)—joined Bolsheviks 1916; Transcaucasian Bolshevik youth organization chairman 1919-20, which he represented at second Comintern congress; held leading government and party posts in Armenia and Geor-

gia 1920s; Armenian CP Central Committee secretary 1930-32.

Varenne, Alexandre (1870-1947)—member of French parliament 1906-10, 1914-36; part of SP chauvinist majority during World War I; opposed SP joining Comintern 1920; went with SP after CP formed 1920; member of SP central leadership body 1923-25; quit SP 1925-31 and again 1933; active in bourgeois parties; government minister 1946.

Varga, Jenő (Eugen) (1879-1964)—joined Hungarian SDP 1906; university economics professor; joined CP February 1919; people's commissar of finance in Hungarian soviet republic 1919; interned with Kun in Austria 1919-20 after collapse of republic; released with Kun and arrived in Moscow just after second Comintern congress; played leading role in Comintern from 1920; leading Soviet economist until criticized by Stalin 1947; restored to favor after Stalin's death.

Vashakidze, Valerian Afanas'evich (1882-1937?)—rail union leader 1917; Georgian trade union delegate to second Comintern congress; Georgian government commissar 1928-36.

Vatin, Vadim Aleksandrovich (Bistriyansky) (1886-1940)—joined Bolsheviks 1907; newspaper editor 1920-30; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress.

Vaynshteyn, Aron Isakovich (1877-1938?)—joined Bund 1897; held chauvinist positions during World War I; chairman of Bund from 1917; initially critical of October revolution; supported soviet power from 1919; joined Russian CP with Bund majority 1920; Communist Bund consultative delegate to second Comintern congress; member of Belorussian soviet government 1921-22; member of Soviet Union commissariat of finance executive board from 1923.

Vennerström, Ivar (1881-1945)—Swedish SDP National Committee member 1911-16 and leader of left wing; member of parliament 1914-36; Left SDP cofounder 1917; opposed Twenty-one Conditions and broke with Comintern 1921; rejoined SDP 1924; defense minister 1932-36.

Voronova, Pelageya Yakovlevna (b. 1892)—leader of textile workers' union and Russian CP women's department; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; textile workers' union Central Committee secretary 1927-30; held government posts 1931-37.

Vorovsky, Vatslav Vatslavovich (1871-1923)—Social Democrat from 1894; Bolshevik from 1903; edited *Vperyod* and *Proletary* with Lenin 1905; headed Bolshevik Odessa organization 1907-12; member of Central Committee abroad 1917; ambassador in Scandinavia 1917-19; Comintern secretary and Executive Com-

mittee member 1919-20; ambassador to Italy 1921-23; assassinated by White émigré.

Vorwärts (Forward)—main daily newspaper of German SPD; founded in Leipzig 1876; published abroad from 1933.

Walcher, Jakob (1887-1970)—German Social Democrat from 1906; active in Spartacus current during World War I; German CP founding member December 1918; Central Bureau alternate, then full member responsible for trade union work 1919-23; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; worked in Red International of Labor Unions headquarters 1924-26; returned to Germany 1926; expelled from party as "rightist" 1928; in exile in France and U.S. during Nazi regime; returned to East Germany and joined CP 1946; expelled 1951; readmitted 1956.

Walloon Communist Federation—originated January 1920 when first group founded in Brussels by Socialist Young Guards, youth group of Belgian Workers Party; ten groups with 200 members consolidated into federation at congress May 1920; fused September 1921 to form CP with other groups that had split from Workers Party December 1920.

Washington, Booker T. (1856-1915)—born a slave in U.S.; Black educator; exponent of vocational self-improvement and accommodation rather than struggle for Black rights; founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute 1881 and National Negro Business League 1900.

Webb, Sidney (1859-1947)—British reformist; leading figure in Fabian Society; supported British war policy; colonial minister in Labour government 1929-31; hostile to Lenin's Bolshevik government of early 1920s but later an admirer of Stalin's regime.

The Weekly Critic (Hsing-ch'i p'ing-lun)—socialist newspaper published in Shanghai from mid-1919.

Wesolowski, Bronislaw (1870-1919)—a founder of Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and collaborator of Luxembourg; participated in Russian October revolution; murdered by Polish police.

West European Secretariat—established in Berlin by Comintern Executive Committee October 1919 as Comintern political and information center for central and western Europe.

White, James (1879-1946)—British captain; supported Irish home rule from 1913; organized and trained Irish Citizen Army 1913 and Irish Volunteers 1914; imprisoned for organizing Welsh miners' strike to try to block execution of James Connolly 1916.

WIU—see Workers International Industrial Union.

Wijnkoop, David (1877-1941)—Dutch Social Democrat; chair of left-wing

Dutch SDP 1909; supported Zimmerwald Left during World War I; leader of Dutch CP from 1918; CP delegate to second Comintern congress and elected to Comintern Executive Committee 1920, 1924; expelled from Dutch CP 1926; reinstated 1930.

Williams, Robert (1881-1936)—secretary of National Transport Workers' Federation 1912-25; leader of Triple Alliance of mine, rail, and transport unions; helped form action council to oppose imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia and part of labor delegation to Soviet Russia spring 1920; British SP member and founding member of British CP; expelled from CP for failure to support miners' strike 1921; Labour Party chair 1926.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856-1924)—U.S. president 1913-21; led U.S. into World War I; announced Fourteen Points as alternative to Soviet program for democratic peace without annexations 1918; joined in organizing invasion of Soviet republic 1919.

Winberg, Carl (1867-1954)—organizer of Swedish rail workers' union; member of parliament 1911-17, 1919-30; cofounder Left SDP 1917 and CP 1921; expelled along with CP majority 1929; active in opposition CP led by Kilbom 1930s.

Wolffheim, Fritz (d. 1936?)—part of Hamburg revolutionary left during World War I; German CP founding member December 1918; split with ultraleft wing October 1919; KAPD founding member 1919; expelled from KAPD for advocating Communist bloc with right-wing German nationalists for liberation struggle against Entente August 1920; later active in Nazi groups; arrested by Nazi regime and died in concentration camp.

Wolfstein, Rosi (Rosi Frölich) (1888-1987)—joined German SPD 1908; internationalist during World War I; member of Spartacus group; delegate at German CP founding congress 1918; CP delegate to second Comintern congress; elected alternate member of German CP Central Bureau 1920, full member 1921-23; expelled from German CP as "rightist" early 1929; in exile 1933-50; active in groups aligned with pro-Bukharin opposition 1930s; returned to West Germany 1951 and joined SPD.

Workers' Dreadnought—published by Sylvia Pankhurst 1914-24 (during first three years under name *Woman's Dreadnought*); became newspaper of Shop Stewards' movement from 1918.

Workers International Industrial Union—De Leonist split from U.S. IWW 1908; based primarily in Detroit; opposed IWW's militant tactics; took this name 1915; dissolved 1925.

Working Group—see Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Wrangel, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1878-1929)—tsarist general; succeeded

Denikin as head of White forces in Russian civil war April 1920; fled to Turkey after defeat by Red Army October 1920.

Yanson, Karl Ernestovich (1882-1937?)—joined Bolsheviks 1904; lived in U.S. and active in SP left wing 1909–April 1920; delegate to U.S. CP founding congress September 1919; political prisoner in Boston October 1919–April 1920; elected to United CP Central Committee and was its delegate to second Comintern congress; active in Communist movement and trade unions in U.S. and Canada until mid-1920s; held Comintern posts in late 1920s.

Yaroslavsky, Yemel'yan Mikhailovich (1878-1943)—joined RSDLP 1898; edited Bolshevik newspapers 1917; member of Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee during October revolution; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Central Committee secretary 1921; CP Central Control Commission secretary 1923-34; organized expulsion of United Opposition leaders 1929; authored Stalinist textbooks on party history.

Yenukidze, Avel' Sofronovich (1877-1937)—joined RSDLP 1898; Bolshevik; active in revolutionary movement in Tiflis and Baku; All-Russia Soviet Central Executive Committee secretary 1918-35; Russian CP delegate to second Comintern congress; CP Central Control Commission 1924-34; CP Central Committee from 1934; expelled from CP June 1936; executed.

Young Bukharans—revolutionary nationalist bourgeois party founded in Bukhara 1909; strengthened and radicalized under impact of Russian revolution; overthrew feudal regime August-September 1920; merged with Bukharan CP August 1920; leaders prominent in Uzbek CP until purged 1937-38.

Yudenich, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1862-1933)—tsarist general; White army commander 1919; emigrated to Britain 1920.

Zaks, Samuel Markovich (Fritz Sturm, Gladnev) (1884-1937)—joined German SPD 1904; moved to Russia; joined RSDLP as Menshevik; joined Bolsheviks 1906; sent to Germany November 1918; active with Hamburg Left Radicals; expelled with ultraleft October 1919; arrested and deported from Germany 1920; consultative delegate for German syndicalist unions at second Comintern congress; remained in Russia; backed oppositions led by Zinoviev and Trotsky 1925-27; framed up for terrorism 1937 and executed.

Zápotocky, Antonín (1884-1957)—joined Czech SDP 1902; part of left wing 1919; delegate to second Comintern congress for left wing of SDP; Czechoslovak CP Central Committee secretary 1922-25; general secretary of CP-led trade unions 1929-39; imprisoned by Nazis 1939-45; trade union central council chair 1945-50; president of Czechoslovakia 1952-57.

Zetkin, Clara (1857-1933)—joined German Social Democracy 1878; a leader of Marxist wing of Second International; editor of SPD women's newspaper; secretary of International Bureau of Socialist Women; helped organize International Conference of Socialist Women in Bern 1915; Spartacus leader during World War I; joined German CP 1919; named head of Comintern's International Secretariat for Communist Women 1920; elected to Comintern executive committee 1921; remained a prominent figure in German CP and Comintern until death.

Zimmerwald—the Zimmerwald conference, the first gathering of anti-war parties and currents during World War I, was held in Switzerland September 1915; groups supporting the conference manifesto were linked in the Zimmerwald movement, active through 1917; the revolutionary forces at the 1915 conference formed the Zimmerwald Left, a precursor of the Communist International.

Zimmerwald—theoretical journal of Swedish Left SDP, then of CP 1917-21.

Zinoviev, Gregory (1883-1936)—joined RSDLP 1901; Bolshevik; elected to RSDLP Central Committee 1907; in exile in western Europe 1908-17; member of Zimmerwald Left bureau; chair of Petrograd soviet 1917-26; Russian CP delegate to ECCI until 1926; chairman of Communist International 1919-26; served on Presiding Committee at second Comintern congress; aligned with Stalin and Kamenev 1923-25; joined Trotsky and Kamenev in United Opposition to bureaucratic current led by Stalin 1926-27; capitulated 1928; convicted at first Moscow frame-up trial and executed.

Zorin, S.S. (1890-1937)—joined RSDLP 1905; in exile, member U.S. SP 1911-17; held various Soviet government and Russian CP posts after October revolution; delegate to second Comintern congress; member of opposition in CP led by Zinoviev and Kamenev 1925; later in United Opposition 1926-27; expelled from CP after party congress 1927; readmitted 1930; arrested during frame-up purges and died in prison.

Zubatov, Sergey Vasilevich (1864-1917)—tsarist police official; organized police-sponsored trade unions to maintain control over workers; committed suicide at the beginning of Russian February revolution.

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