

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD,  
UNITE!**

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



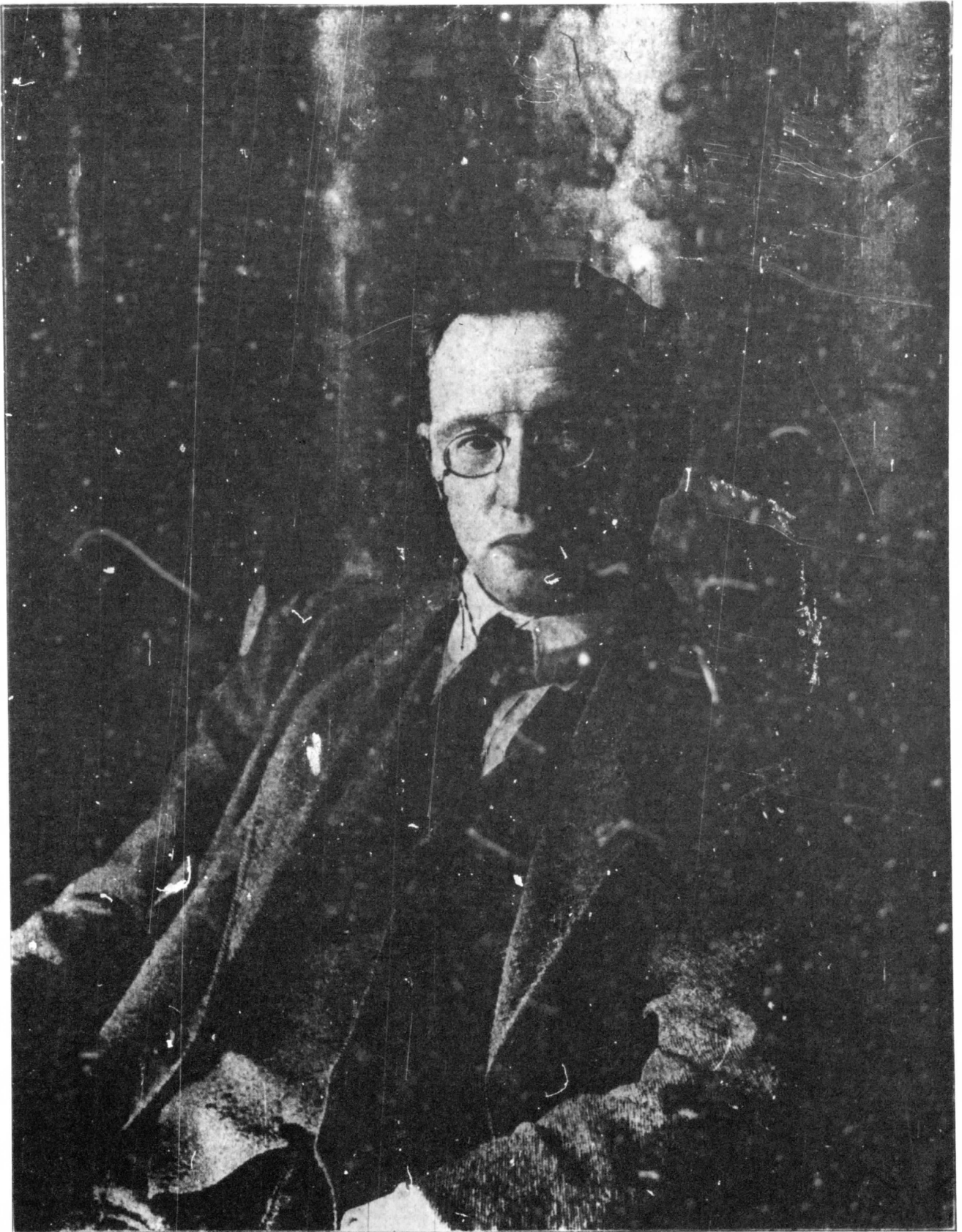
**№4**

**MOSCOW  
KREML.**

**◆ PETROGRAD  
SMOLNY.**

**AUGUST  
1  
1919.**





**M. S. URITSKI,**  
assassinated on August 13-th 1918 by the right-socialist-revolutionary Kannegiesser.



**Rosa Luxemburg and her counsel, the well-known German communist, comrade Levi.**

## **Publisher's Note**

As we explained in the Publisher's Preface, obtaining copy for the English-language edition of the "Old Series" was extremely difficult and, in some cases, impossible. The only available copy of No. 4 was incomplete. Rather than reprint the entire issue in German, we decided to reprint only the missing articles in German, thereby giving our readers the opportunity to read as much of *Communist International* as possible in English. Unfortunately, the article by E. S. Pankhurst beginning on page 31 of this issue ("The Workers Again Betrayed") could not be found in the German-language edition. We regret not being able to reprint the entire article, in whatever language, but have included that portion that was available to us in English (pp. 33-41).

**K. Lenin:**

## Die Aufgaben der Dritten Internationale

(Ramsay MacDonald über die Dritte Internationale.)

In Nr. 5423 des französischen sozial-marxistischen Blattes *L'Humanité* vom 14. April 1919 war ein Leitartikel des bekannten Führers der britischen sogenannten „Unabhängigen Arbeiterpartei“ Ramsay MacDonald erschienen, die in Wirklichkeit stets eine von der Bourgeoisie abhängige opportunistische Partei gewesen ist. Dieser Artikel ist so typisch für die Stellung jener Richtung, die gewöhnlich „das Zentrum“ genannt wird und vom 1. Kongreß der Kommunistischen Internationale in Moskau als solches bezeichnet worden ist, daß wir ihn mit den einleitenden Zeilen der Redaktion der *L'Humanité* voll zum Abdruck bringen.

### Die Dritte Internationale.

Unser Freund Ramsay MacDonald war vor dem Kriege der volkstümliche Führer der Arbeiterpartei im Unterhause. Als überzeugter Sozialist und überzeugter Mensch hielt er es für seine Pflicht, diesen Krieg als einen imperialistischen zu beurteilen, im Gegensatz zu denen, die ihn als einen Krieg für das Recht begrüßten. Infolgedessen verzichtete er nach dem 4. August auf die Rolle eines Führers der Arbeiterpartei (*Labour Party*) und schreckte nicht davor zurück, zusammen mit seinen Genossen aus der Unabhängigen Arbeiterpartei (*Independent Labour Party*), zusammen mit Keir Hardie, den wir alle bewundert haben, dem Kriege den Krieg zu erklären.

Dies erforderte eines nicht geringen, sich von Tag zu Tag wiederholenden Heldentums.

Macdonald hat an seinem eigenen Beispiel gezeigt, daß, um mit Laurès zu reden, Mut darin besteht, „daß man sich dem Gesetze der triumphierenden Völge nicht unterwirft und nicht zum Echo des Beifallstuschens von Dummköpfen und des Zischens von Fanatikern wird.“

Bei den Wahlen wurde Ende November „auf Kommando“\* Macdonald durch Lloyd George besiegt. Wir können ruhig sein. Macdonald wird, und zwar in kurzer Zeit Vergeltung üben. (Redaktion der *L'Humanité*).

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\*) Wörtlich: **Reaktivwahlen**. So wurden sie von den Soldaten genannt, denen befohlen worden war, für die Regierungskandidaten zu stimmen.  
Die Entstehung separatistischer Tendenzen in der nationalen und inter-

Der Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes ist, wie der Leser sieht, bemüht, nachzuweisen, daß die Spaltung unnötig sei. Im Gegenteil. Die Unvermeidlichkeit der Spaltung ergibt sich aus den Ausführungen Ramsay MacDonalds, dieses typischen Vertreters der zweiten Internationale und würdigen Kampfgenossen der Scheidemann und Kautsky, Vandervelde und Branting usw.

Der Artikel Ramsay MacDonalds ist ein gutes Beispiel jener plattien, wohlklingenden, schablonenhaften, angeblich sozialistischen Phrasen, die in allen vorgeschrittenen kapitalistischen Ländern seit lange zur Bemäntelung der bürgerlichen Politik innerhalb der Arbeiterbewegung dienen.

### I.

Beginnen wir mit dem weniger wichtigen, aber besonders kennzeichnenden. Der Verfasser wiederholt wie Kautsky (in seiner Schrift „Die Diktatur des Proletariats“) die Lüge, in Rußland hätte niemand die Rolle der Käte vorausgesehen, ich und die Bolschewiki hätten den Kampf gegen Kerenski nur um der konstituierenden Versammlung willen begonnen.

Das ist eine von der Bourgeoisie erfundene Lüge. In Wirklichkeit habe ich bereits am 4. April 1917, am Tage meines Eintreffens in

rationalen Politik des Sozialismus war ein Unglück für die ganze sozialistische Bewegung.

Es ist natürlich kein Schade, daß innerhalb des Sozialismus Schattierungen in den Meinungen und Unterschiede in den Methoden vorhanden sind. Unser Sozialismus befindet sich ja noch im Stadium des Experimentierens.

Seine Hauptprinzipien sind festgelegt, die beste Anwendungsmethode für diese Prinzipien, die Kombinationen, die zum Triumph der Revolution führen werden, die Organisation des sozialistischen Staates — das alles sind Fragen, die zur Beratung stehen und in denen das letzte Wort noch nicht gesprochen worden ist. Nur ein vertieftes Studium aller dieser Fragen vermag uns einer höheren Wahrheit zuzuführen.

Es kann zu Zusammenstößen zwischen den Extremen kommen, und ein solcher Kampf kann der Festigung sozialistischer Überzeugungen dienen. Das Unglück beginnt jedoch erst, wenn jeder in seinem Gegner einen Verräter, einen Gläubigen sieht, der des Gegens verlustig gegangen ist und vor dem sich die Tore des Parteihimmels schließen müssen.

Wenn der Geist des Dogmatismus die Sozialisten erfasst, wie er seinerzeit im Christentum den Bürgerkrieg zur Ehre Gottes und zur Bewältigung des Bösen schürte, kann die Bourgeoisie ruhig schlafen, da die Periode ihrer Herrschaft noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, wie groß immer die vom Sozialismus erzielten lokalen und internationalen Erfolge auch sein mögen.

Gegenwärtig stößt unsere Bewegung leider auf ein neues Hindernis. In Moskau ist eine neue Internationale gegründet worden.

Mich persönlich betrübt diese Tatsache sehr. Die sozialistische Internationale ist gegenwärtig allen Arten des sozialistischen Denkens offen und, trotz aller durch den Bolschewismus in sie hineingetragen.n theoretischen und praktischen Meinungsverschiedenheiten, sehe ich keinen Grund, warum dessen linker Flügel sich vom Zentrum loslösen und eine selbständige Gruppe bilden muß.

Zunächst darf man nicht vergessen, daß wir noch in der Periode der Geburt stehen der Revolution stehen. Die auf dem Boden der durch den Krieg erzeugten politischen und sozialen Verwüstungen entstandenen Regierungsformen haben die Probe noch nicht bestanden und können nicht als endgültig feststehend gelten.

Petrograd, „Thejen“ aufgestellt, in denen die Räterepublik und nicht die bürgerlich-parlamentarische Republik gefordert wurde. Ich habe dies oftmals unter Kerenski in Wort und Schrift wiederholt. Die Partei der Bolschewiki hat dies in den Beschlüssen ihrer Konferenz vom 29. April 1917 feierlich und offiziell verkündet. Dies nicht wissen, heißt, die Wahrheit über die sozialistische Revolution in Rußland nicht wissen wollen. Nicht verstehen wollen, daß die bürgerlich-parlamentarische Republik mit der konstituierenden Versammlung einen Schritt vorwärts gegenüber der gleichen Republik ohne konstituierende Versammlung bedeutet, daß die Räterepublik dagegen zwei Schritte vorwärts, an ihr gemessen, ausmacht. Dieses nicht verstehen wollen, heißt, dem Unterschiede zwischen Bourgeoisie und Proletariat gegenüber die Augen verschließen.

Sich als Sozialisten bezeichnen und diesen Unterschied nicht wahrnehmen zwei Jahre nach Aufrollung dieser Frage in Rußland, anderthalb Jahre nach dem Siege der Räterevolution in Rußland heißt, hartnäckig der Gefangene der „öffentlichen Meinung der nicht sozialistischen Kreise, d. h. der Ideen und der Politik der Bourgeoisie bleiben.

Der Bruch mit solchen Leuten ist notwendig und unvermeidlich,

Ein neuer Versuch setzt anfänglich überraschend gut. Wie er jedoch schließlich arbeiten wird — darüber kann niemand ein sicheres Urteil im voraus abgeben.

Rußland ist nicht Ungarn, Ungarn nicht Frankreich und Frankreich nicht England. Wer daher, gestützt auf die Erfahrungen irgendeiner einzelnen Nation, eine Spaltung in die Internationale hineinträgt, offenbart eine verbrecherische Beschränktheit des Geistes.

Was ist in der Tat die Erfahrung Rußlands wert? Wer kann hierauf eine Antwort geben? Die verbündeten Regierungen fürchten, uns die Möglichkeit einer gründlichen Informierung zu geben. Es gibt jedoch zwei Dinge, die wir wissen.

Zunächst wissen wir, daß die Revolution von der jetzigen russischen Regierung nicht auf Grund eines vorher entworfenen Planes durchgeführt worden ist. Der Gang der Ereignisse hat sie zur Entwicklung gebracht. Als Lenin den Kampf mit Kerenski aufnahm, forderte er die Einberufung der Konstituierenden Versammlung. Die Ereignisse führten ihn dazu, diese Versammlung auseinanderzutreiben. Als in Rußland die sozialistische Revolution ausbrach, konnte niemand vermuten, daß die Räte in der Regierung den Platz einnehmen würden, den sie innehaben.

Ferner, Lenin hat ganz richtig die Ungarn beschworen, Rußland nicht säkularisch nachzuahmen, sondern die freie Entwicklung der ungarischen Revolution ihrem eigenen Geiste entsprechend nicht zu hemmen.

Die Entwicklung und die Schwankungen bei den Versuchen, deren Zeugen wir sind, hätten keinesfalls zu einer Spaltung innerhalb der Internationale führen dürfen.

Alle sozialistischen Regierungen bedürfen der Unterstützung und der Ratsschläge seitens der Internationale. Die Internationale hat aufmerksam und mit kritischem Blick deren Versuche zu verfolgen.

Eeben hörte ich von einem Freunde, der kürzlich Lenin gesprochen hat, daß niemand eine rücksichtslosere Kritik an der Räteregierung übt, als Lenin selbst.

\* \* \*

Wenn die Unruhen und Revolutionen nach dem Kriege die Spaltung nicht zu rechtfertigen vermögen, so findet letztere ihre Rechtfertigung vielleicht



denn es ist nicht möglich, die sozialistische Revolution Hand in Hand mit jenen durchzuführen, die für die Bourgeoisiere Partei nehmen.

Wenn solche Leute wie Ramsay Macdonald, Kautsky u. a. m. nicht einmal die ganz geringe „Mühe“ auf sich nehmen wollten, die diese „Führern“ das Kennenlernen der Dokumente bezüglich des Verhalten der Bolschewiki gegenüber der Räte-macht, der Behandlung dieser Frage vor und nach dem 25. Oktober (7. November) 1917 gekostet hätte, so wäre es wohl einfach lächerlich, von diesen Herrschaften die Bereitwilligkeit und Fähigkeit zu erhoffen, die ungleich größeren Mühe eines wahrhaftigen Kampfes für die sozialistische Revolution zu überwinden.

Schlimmer als taub sein ist — nicht hören wollen.

## II.

Wenden wir uns der zweiten Unwahrheit zu von den zahllosen Lügen, von denen der ganze Artikel Ramsay Macdonalds voll ist, den in diesem Aufsatz sind nahezu mehr Lügen als Worte vorhanden. Diese Unwahrheit ist so ziemlich die wichtigste.

G. R. Macdonald behauptet, die Internationale hätte vor dem Kriege 1914 bis 1918 nur gesagt, daß, wenn der Krieg den Charakter

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in der Stellung, die einige sozialistische Fraktionen im Kriege eingenommen haben? Ich gestehe offen, daß man hierin einen vernünftigeren Grund finden können. Und wenn wirklich irgendein Vorwand für die Spaltung innerhalb der Internationale vorhanden sein sollte, so ist diese Frage auf der Moskauer Konferenz jedenfalls in der denkbar ungeschicktesten Weise behandelt worden.

Ich gehöre zu jenen, die der Ansicht sind, daß die Debatten auf der Berner Konferenz über die Schuld am Kriege nur ein Entgegenkommen an die öffentliche Meinung der nicht sozialistischen Kreise bedeuteten.

Auf der Berner Konferenz war weder die Möglichkeit gegeben, zu dieser Frage eine Entschliebung anzunehmen, die irgendeinen historischen Wert gehabt hätte (obgleich sie einen gewissen politischen Wert haben können), noch war die Frage selbst richtig gestellt.

Die Beurteilung der deutschen Mehrheit (eine Beurteilung, die die deutsche Mehrheit vollauf verdient hatte, und der ich mich mit Vergnügen anschloß) konnte nicht eine Schilderung der Kriegursachen darstellen.

Die Berner Debatten waren nicht von einer offenen Aussprache begleitet über die Stellung, die die anderen Sozialisten zum Kriege eingenommen hatten.

Sie ergaben keine für den Sozialisten im Kriege verbindlichen Verhaltensmaßregeln. Alles, was die Internationale bis dahin ausgesprochen hatte ging dahin, daß, wenn der Krieg den Charakter einer nationalen Verteidigungstrage, die Sozialisten verpflichtet seien, sich mit den anderen Parteien zusammenzuschließen.

Wen werden wir nun unter solchen Umständen beurteilen?

Einige von uns wußten, daß diese Beschlüsse der Internationale bedeutungslos waren und als praktischer Leitfaden nicht dienen konnten.

Wir wußten, daß dieser Krieg mit dem Sieg des Imperialismus enden würde, und da wir weder Pazifisten noch Antipazifisten in gewöhnlichem Sinn waren, schlossen wir uns der nach unserer Ansicht einzig mit dem Internationalismus zu vereinbarenden Politik an. Die Internationale hat uns jedoch nie eine solche Haltung vorgeschrieben.

Das ist der Grund, weshalb die Internationale mit Ausbruch des Krieges den Zusammenbruch erlebte. Die Internationale büßte ihre Autorität ein, und

einer nationalen Verteidigung trage, die Sozialisten verpflichtet seien, sich mit den anderen Parteien zusammenzuschließen.

Es ist das ein ungeheuerliches, himmelstreichendes Abweichen von der Wahrheit.

Es ist allbekannt, daß das Baseler Manifest von 1912 einstimmig von allen Sozialisten angenommen wurde, und daß nur dieses Manifest allein von sämtlichen Dokumenten der Internationale sich gerade auf den Krieg zwischen der englischen und deutschen Gruppe der imperialistischen Räuber bezieht, der 1912 vor aller Welt vorbereitet wurde und 1914 zum Ausbruch kam. Gerade über diesen Krieg sind in dem Baseler Manifest Dinge gesagt, durch deren Unterschlagung Macdonald jetzt eines der größten Verbrechen am Sozialismus verübt und beweist, daß der Bruch mit Leuten von der Art eines Macdonald eine Notwendigkeit ist, da sie in Wirklichkeit der Bourgeoisie und nicht dem Proletariat dienen.

Ich meine die folgenden drei Dinge:

Der drohende Krieg kann auch nicht durch den Schatten irgendwelcher Interessen der nationalen Freiheit gerechtfertigt werden.

Es würde von seiten der Arbeiter ein Verbrechen sein, in diesem Kriege aufeinander zu schießen.

Der Krieg führt zur proletarischen Revolution.

Dies sind die drei grundlegenden, fundamentalen Wahrheiten, die Macdonald „vergessen“ hat (obgleich er sie vor dem Kriege mit unterzeichnet hat), wodurch er sich in jenen Taten an die Seite der Bour-

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sie traf nicht eine einzige Bestimmung, auf Grund welcher wir jetzt das Recht gehabt hätten, jene zu beurteilen, die ehrlich die Resolutionen der internationalen Kongresse wahrten.

Aus diesem Grunde muß gegenwärtig der folgende Standpunkt vertreten werden: Statt uns wegen der Differenzen über die Ereignisse der Vergangenheit zu trennen, wollen wir eine wirklich tatkräftige und die sozialistische Bewegung in der Periode der Revolutionen und des Aufbaus, in die wir eingetreten sind, stützende Internationale schaffen.

Es ist notwendig, unsere sozialistischen Prinzipien wieder herzustellen. Es müssen zuverlässige Grundpfeiler für das internationale sozialistische Verhalten gelegt werden.

Sollte es sich herausstellen, daß wir in diesen Prinzipien ganz wesentlich voneinander abweichen, sollten wir in der Frage Freiheit und Demokratie zu keiner Verständigung gelangen, sollten unsere Ansichten über die Bedingungen, unter denen das Proletariat die Macht in seine Hände nehmen könnte, endgültig auseinandergehen, sollte es sich endlich herausstellen, daß der Krieg einigen Sektionen der Internationale das Gift des Imperialismus eingepfist hat, dann wäre eine Spaltung möglich.

Ich glaube aber nicht, daß ein solches Unglück passieren könnte.

Daher hat mich das Moskauer Manifest, als zum mindesten berührt und natürlich zwecklos, betrübt, und ich hoffe, daß meine französischen Genossen, auf die in den letzten vier verhängnisvollen Jahren es so viel Verleumdung und Unheil hagelte, sich nicht dem Drang der Ungeduld hingeben und ihrerseits den Bruch mit der internationalen Solidarität nicht fördern werden. Sonst müßten ihre Kinder erneut diese Solidarität herstellen, falls es dem Proletariat einmal vergönnt sein sollte, die Welt zu lenken.

(gez.) G. Ramsay Macdonald.

gewisse gegen das Proletariat stellt und den Beweis erbringt, daß die Spaltung notwendig ist.

Die Kommunistische Internationale ist nicht für eine Einigung mit Parteien zu haben, die diese Wahrheit nicht anerkennen wollen und die nicht fähig sind, durch ihre Taten ihre Entschlossenheit und Bereitschaft, ihr Können kundzutun, diese Wahrheit den Massen zum Bewußtsein zu bringen.

Der Versailler Friede hat selbst den Dummen und den Blinden, sogar der Masse der kurzsichtigen Leute gezeigt, daß die Entente derselbe blutige und grausame imperialistische Räuber war und geblieben ist, wie Deutschland. Nur Heuchler und Lügner konnten dies nicht erkennen, die in der Arbeiterbewegung eine bewußt bürgerliche Politik treiben, direkte Agenten und Stomms der Bourgeoisie (labor lieutenants of the capitalist class — Arbeiteroffiziere im Dienste der Kapitalistenklasse — wie die amerikanischen Sozialisten sich ausdrücken) oder Leute, die sich in einem solchen Maße von den bürgerlichen Ideen und der Bourgeoisie haben beeinflussen lassen, daß sie sich zwar Sozialisten nennen, aber in Wirklichkeit Kleinbürger, Philister, Schrittmacher der Bourgeoisie sind. Der Unterschied zwischen der ersten und zweiten Kategorie ist wichtig vom Standpunkte der Einzelpersonen, d. h. wichtig zur Beurteilung der Schulze und Müller in den Reihen der Sozialchauvinisten aller Länder. Für die Politik, d. h. vom Standpunkte der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Millionen von Menschen, den Beziehungen der Klassen zueinander ist dieser Unterschied unwesentlich.

Jene Sozialisten, die während des Krieges 1914—1918 nicht begriffen haben, daß dies auf beiden Seiten ein verbrecherischer, reaktionärer, räuberischer, imperialistischer Krieg war, sind Sozialchauvinisten, d. h. Sozialisten in Worten und Chauvinisten in ihren Taten; in Worten Freunde der Arbeiterklasse, in Wirklichkeit Lakaien der Bourgeoisie der „eigenen“ Nation, der sie dabei behilflich sind, das Volk zu betrügen, indem sie den Krieg zwischen der englischen und deutschen imperialistischen Gruppe, den gleich schmutzigen, selbstsüchtigen, blutigen, verbrecherischen, reaktionären Räubern als einen „Befreiungs-“, „Verteidigungskrieg“, als einen „gerechten“ usw. Krieg schildern.

Einigung mit den Sozialchauvinisten heißt Verrat an der Revolution, Verrat am Proletariat, am Sozialismus, Uebergang auf die Seite der Bourgeoisie, denn es bedeutet „Einigung“ mit der nationalen Bourgeoisie des „eigenen“ Landes gegen eine Einigung mit der Bourgeoisie gegen das Proletariat.

Der Krieg 1914—1918 hat dies endgültig erwiesen. Wer das nicht begriffen hat, mag bei der gelben Berner „Internationale“ der Sozialverräter bleiben.

### III.

Ramsay MacDonald erklärt mit der grotesken Naivität eines Salvozialisten, der die Worte in den Wind spricht, ohne ihre ernste Bedeutung zu erfassen, ohne im geringsten daran zu denken, daß Worte zu Taten verpflichten: Die Berner Debatten waren „nur ein Entgegenkommen an die öffentliche Meinung der nichtsozialistischen Kreise.“

Sehr richtig! Die ganze Berner „Internationale“ betrachten wir

als gelb, treulos, verräterisch, denn ihre gesamte Politik ist ein „Entgegenkommen“ an die Bourgeoisie.

Ramsay MacDonald weiß genau, daß wir die Dritte Internationale geschaffen und mit der Zweiten gebrochen haben, da wir uns von ihrem hoffnungslosen Zustande, ihrer Unverbesserlichkeit und Bedientenhaftigkeit gegenüber dem Imperialismus, ihrer Rolle als Vermittlerin des bürgerlichen Einflusses, der bürgerlichen Lüge und der bürgerlichen Demoralisation in der Arbeiterbewegung überzeugt haben. Wenn R. MacDonald von dem Wunsche besetzt, über die Dritte Internationale zu sprechen, den Kern der Sache umgeht, immer um die Dinge herumredet, inhaltsleere Phrasen macht und nicht davon redet, wovon gesprochen werden muß, so ist dies seine Schuld und sein Verbrechen. Denn das Proletariat braucht Wahrheit, und es gibt nichts Schädlicheres als die wohlscheinende, wohlanständige, spießbürgerliche Lüge.

Die Frage des Imperialismus und seines Zusammenhangs mit dem Opportunismus in der Arbeiterbewegung, mit dem Verrat der Arbeitersache durch Arbeiterführer ist schon vor langer, sehr langer Zeit angechnitten worden.

Marx und Engels haben in den vierzig Jahren von 1852—1892 ständig auf die verbürgerlichten Spitzen der Arbeiterklasse in England infolge der wirtschaftlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des Landes (Kolonien, Monopol auf dem Weltmarkt usw.) hingewiesen. Marx erwarb sich in den siebziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts den ehrenden Satz der niedrigen Helden der damaligen Berner internationalen Richtung, der Opportunisten und Reformisten, weil er viele Führer der englischen Trade Unions als Individuen gebrandmarkt hatte, die sich an die Bourgeoisie verkauft hatten oder von ihr für Dienste bezahlt wurden, die sie aus der Arbeiterbewegung heraus der Bourgeoisie leisteten.

Während des Burenkrieges hat die angelsächsische Presse die Frage des Imperialismus als des neuesten (und letzten) Stadiums des Kapitalismus vollkommen klar aufgestellt. Wenn mich mein Gedächtnis nicht trügt, so war es niemand anders als Ramsay MacDonald, der damals aus der Fabian Society (Fabier-Gesellschaft) austrat, diesem Gegenstück zur Berner „Internationalen“, diesem Mißbeet und Muster des Opportunismus, das Engels mit genialer Kraft, Schärfe und Wahrheit im Briefwechsel mit Sorge gekennzeichnet hat. „Fabian-Imperialismus“ — das war damals die allgemeine Bezeichnung in der englischen sozialistischen Literatur. Wenn Ramsay MacDonald das vergessen haben sollte, um so schlimmer für ihn. Fabian-Imperialismus ist ein und dasselbe: Sozialismus in Worten, Imperialismus in Taten, *Sin-  
auswachsen* des Opportunismus zum Imperialismus. Diese Erscheinung ist jetzt in und nach dem Kriege 1914—1918 zu einer internationalen Tatsache geworden. Die Verständnislosigkeit ihr gegenüber ist die ärgste Blindheit der Berner gelben „Internationalen“ und deren größtes Verbrechen. Der Opportunismus und der Reformismus mußten unvermeidlich zu dem welthistorische Bedeutung besitzenden sozialistischen Imperialismus oder Sozialchauvinismus hinüberwachsen, denn der Imperialismus überließ einer Handvoll der reichsten, vorge-schrittensten Nationen die Ausraubung der ganzen Welt und gestattete, dadurch der Bourgeoisie dieser Länder, auf Kosten ihres monopolistischen

Uebergewinn (Imperialismus ist monopolistischer Kapitalismus) die Spitzen der Arbeiterklasse dieser Länder zu kaufen.

Die wirtschaftliche Unvermeidlichkeit dieser Tatsache unter dem Imperialismus können nur vollendete Stümper oder Heuchler nicht merken, die die Arbeiter irreführen, Gemeinplätze über den Kapitalismus immer wieder breittreten und dadurch die bittere Wahrheit vom Uebergange einer ganzen Richtung im Sozialismus auf die Seite der imperialistischen Bourgeoisie verdunkeln.

Aus dieser Tatsache ergeben sich nun aber zwei unbestreitbare Folgerungen:

Folgerung eins: Die Berner „Internationale“ ist in Wirklichkeit in ihrer tatsächlichen geschichtlichen und politischen Rolle, unabhängig von dem guten Willen und den unschuldigen Wünschen dieser oder jener ihrer Mitglieder, eine Organisation der Agenten des internationalen Imperialismus, die innerhalb der Arbeiterbewegung tätig sind, in ihr den bürgerlichen Einfluß ausüben, bürgerliche Ideen, bürgerliche Lügen und bürgerliche Demoralisation verbreiten.

In Ländern mit alter demokratisch-parlamentarischer Kultur hat es die Bourgeoisie vorzüglich gelernt, nicht nur durch Gewalt, sondern auch durch Betrug, Bestechung, Schmeichelei bis zu den verfeinertsten Formen dieser Methoden einschließlich zu wirken. Die „Lunchs“ (Frühstückstafeln) der englischen „Arbeiterführer“ (d. h. der Handlanger der Bourgeoisie auf dem Gebiete der Massführung der Arbeiterschaft) sind nicht umsonst berühmt geworden, und schon Engels hat von ihnen gesprochen. Von derselben Gattung sind der „bezaubernde“ Empfang, den Herr Clemenceau dem Sozialverräter Merrheim bereitet hat, der lebenswürdige Empfang der Führer der Berner „Internationale“ durch die Entente-Minister u. a. m. „Märt sie auf, und wir werden sie kaufen,“ sagte eine kluge englische Kapitalistin zu dem Sozialimperialisten Hyndmann, der in seinen „Erinnerungen“ erzählt, wie diese Frau, die weitsichtiger war als alle Führer der Berner „Internationale“ zusammengenommen, das „Wirken“ der sozialistischen Intellektuellen zur Heranbildung sozialistischer Führer aus Arbeiterkreisen bewertete.

Als während des Krieges die Wanderveldes, Brantings und diese ganze Bande von Verrätern „internationale“ Konferenzen veranstalteten, höhnten die französischen bürgerlichen Zeitungen sehr giftig und treffend: Diese Wanderveldes haben alle ihre Grillen. So wie Menschen, die einen Tick haben, keine zwei Sätze sagen können ohne seltsame Zuckungen der Gesichtsmuskeln, so müssen die Wanderveldes bei ihrem politischen Auftreten nach Papageienart die Worte: Internationalismus, Sozialismus, internationale Solidarität der Arbeiter, Revolution des Proletariats u. a. m. ständig wiederholen. So mögen sie denn, so oft sie wollen ihre felerlichen Formeln herjagen, wenn sie uns nur behilflich sein wollen, die Arbeiter an der Nase herumzuführen und uns Kapitalisten bei Führung des imperialistischen Krieges und uns bei der Anbelung der Arbeiter zu unterstützen bereit sind.

Die englischen und französischen Bourgeois sind mitunter sehr klug und wissen genau den Wert der Kataienrolle der Berner „Internationale“ einzuschätzen.

Martow hat irgendwo geschrieben: Ihr Bolschewiki schmäh die Berner Internationale; ihr gehört aber auch „Euer“ Freund Voriot an.

Es ist dies die Beweisführung eines Spitzbubens. Denn es ist allbekannt, daß Voriot offen, ehrlich, heldenmütig für die Dritte Internationale kämpft. Als Zubatow 1902 Versammlungen von Arbeitern in Moskau veranstaltete, um diese für den „Polizei-Sozialismus“ einzufangen, besuchte die Zubatowjchen Versammlungen der Arbeiter Babuschkin, den ich seit 1891 als Angehörigen meines Arbeiterkreises in Petersburg kannte, einer der besten, der Sache treu ergebener Arbeiter der Astragruppe, einer der Führer des revolutionären Proletariats, der 1906 von Krenenkampf in Sibirien erschossen wurde. Er besuchte jene Versammlungen, um das Zubatowtum zu bekämpfen und die Arbeiter „aus dessen Klauen“ zu befreien. Babuschkin war ebensowenig ein Zubatowjünger wie Voriot ein „Berner“.

#### IV.

Folgerung zwei: Die Dritte kommunistische Internationale ist gerade zu dem Zwecke begründet worden, um es den „Sozialisten“ nicht möglich zu machen, sich auf solche Lippenbekenntnisse zur Revolution zu beschränken, von denen Ramsay MacDonald in seinem Artikel ein Beispiel gibt. Das Befennen zur Revolution in Worten, mit denen in Wirklichkeit eine durch und durch opportunistische, reformistische, nationalistische, Kleinbürgerliche Politik verdeckt wurde, bildete die Hauptsünde der Zweiten Internationale. Diesem Uebel haben wir Krieg auf Leben und Tod erklärt.

Wenn man sagt: Die Zweite Internationale hat nach einem schmachvollen Zusammenbruch ihren Tod gefunden, so muß das verstanden sein. Es bedeutet: Opportunismus, Reformismus, Kleinbürgerlicher Sozialismus haben Schiffbruch erlitten und sind tot. Denn die Zweite Internationale hat ein historisches Verdienst, hat bleibende Errungenschaften, die ein klassenbewußter Arbeiter nie leugnen wird, nämlich: Organisation der Arbeitermassen, Schaffung genossenschaftlicher, gewerkschaftlicher und politischer Massenorganisationen, Ausnutzung des bürgerlichen Parlamentarismus wie überhaupt aller Einrichtungen der bürgerlichen Demokratie u. a. m.

Um den Opportunismus, der zum schmachvollen Tod der Zweiten Internationale geführt hat, wirklich zu besiegen, um die Revolution, deren Mahen selbst Ramsay MacDonald zuzugeben sich genötigt sieht, zu fördern, muß man

erstens, die ganze Propaganda und Agitation vom Standpunkt der Revolution im Gegensatz zum Reformismus betreiben, und die Massen auf Schritt und Tritt der parlamentarischen, gewerkschaftlichen genossenschaftlichen und sonstigen Arbeiten über diese Gegenfälschlichkeit systematisch, praktisch und theoretisch, aufklären. Keinesfalls darf man (abgesehen von Ausnahmefällen) auf die Ausnutzung des Parlamentarismus und aller „Freiheiten“ der bürgerlichen Demokratie verzichten, Reformen ablehnen, aber man hat in ihnen nur ein untergeordnetes Ergebnis des revolutionären Massenkampfes des Proletariats zu erblicken. Keine der Parteien der Berner „Internationalen“ entspricht dieser Forderung. Keine befundet auch nur Verständnis dafür, wie Propaganda und Agitation betrieben werden müssen durch

Klarlegung des Unterschiedes zwischen Reform und Revolution wie man die Partei und die Massen unbeeirrt zur Revolution erziehen muß;

zweitens muß man die legale mit der illegalen Arbeit vereinigen. Dies haben die Bolschewiki immer gefordert, insbesondere im Kriege 1914—1918. Die Helden des schändlichen Opportunismus haben darüber gehöhnt und selbstgefällig die „Gleichmäßigkeit“, „Demokratie“, „Freiheit“ usw. der westeuropäischen Republiken in den Himmel gehoben. Jetzt können nur noch direkte Spießhüben, die die Arbeiter durch Phrase betrügen, bestreiten, daß die Bolschewiki im Recht gewesen sind. In allen Ländern der Welt, auch in den vorgeschrittensten, „freiheitlichsten“ bürgerlichen Republiken, herrscht der Terror der Bourgeoisie, besteht keine Freiheit der Agitation für die sozialistische Revolution, keine Freiheit der Propaganda und Organisationsarbeit gerade nach dieser Richtung. Eine Partei, die dies unter der Herrschaft der Bourgeoisie bis auf den heutigen Tag nicht erkannt hat und die keine systematische, gründliche illegale Tätigkeit entfaltet entgegen den Gesetzen der Bourgeoisie und der bürgerlichen Parlamente, ist eine Partei der Verräter und Taugenichtse, die durch Lippenbekenntnisse zur Revolution das Volk betrügen. Solche Parteien gehören in die gelbe Berner „Internationale“. In der kommunistischen Internationale werden sie nicht anzutreffen sein;

drittens, ist ein unentwegter und schonungsloser Kampf für die völlige Beseitigung aus der Arbeiterbewegung aller jener opportunistischer Führer notwendig, die sich schon vor, namentlich aber während des Krieges sowohl auf dem Gebiete der Politik als auch insbesondere dem der Gewerkschaften und Genossenschaften „bewährt“ haben. Die „Neutralitäts“-Theorie ist eine gemeine Finte, die der Bourgeoisie half, 1914—1918 die Massen zu gewinnen. Parteien, die in Worten für die Revolution eintreten, in Wirklichkeit jedoch nicht unermüdet für den Einfluß gerade der revolutionären, und nur der revolutionären, Partei in allen und jeden Massenorganisationen der Arbeiter tätig sind, sind Parteien des Verrats;

viertens darf man sich nicht damit abfinden, daß sie in Worten den Imperialismus verurteilen, und in Wirklichkeit nicht den revolutionären Kampf für die Befreiung der Kolonien (und der abhängigen Nationen) von der eigenen imperialistischen Bourgeoisie führen. Das ist — Heuchelei. Es ist die Politik der Agenten der Bourgeoisie in der Arbeiterbewegung (Arbeiteroffiziere im Dienste der Kapitalistenklasse). Jene englische, französische, holländische, belgische usw. Partei, die in Worten dem Imperialismus feindlich gegenübersteht, in Wirklichkeit jedoch keinen revolutionären Kampf in den Kolonien für den Sturz der Bourgeoisie führt, keine systematische Unterstützung der überall in den Kolonien bereits begonnenen Arbeit leiht, den revolutionären Parteien in den Kolonien keine Waffen und keine Literatur zuführt, ist eine Partei von Taugenichtsen und Verrätern;

fünftens, die größte Heuchelei ist die für die Berner „Internationale“ typische Erscheinung: sich in Worten zur Revolution bekennen, in der Tat jedoch ein reformistisches Verhalten gegenüber den Anfängen, Keimen, den Anzeichen des Wachstums der Revolution bekunden, als welche die Handlungen der Massen zu betrachten sind, die die bürgerlichen Gesetze über den Haufen werfen, jede Gesetzlichkeit vermissen

lassen, wie beispielsweise Massenstreiks, Straßendemonstrationen, Soldatenproteste, Meetings beim Meer, Verbreitung von Flugblättern in den Kasernen und Lagern u. a. m.

Fragt man einen beliebigen Felden der Berner „Internationale“, ob seine Partei eine derartige systematische Arbeit verrichte, so antwortet er entweder mit ausweichenden Phrasen, die den Mangel einer solchen Arbeit verdecken: Fehlen einer entsprechenden Organisation und des zugehörigen Apparates, Unfähigkeit seiner Partei, eine solche Arbeit zu betreiben, oder mit einem hochtrabenden Erguß gegen den „Puttschismus“, „Anarchismus“ usw. Darin besteht gerade der Verrat der Arbeiterklasse durch die Berner „Internationale“, deren tatsächlicher Uebergang in das Lager der Bourgeoisie.

Alle nichtswürdigen Führer der Berner „Internationale“ beteuern ihre „Sympathie“ für die Revolution im Allgemeinen und die russische im besonderen. Aber nur Heuchler oder Dummköpfe können es nicht begreifen, daß die besonderen großen Erfolge der Revolution in Rußland mit der langjährigen Arbeit der revolutionären Partei in der bezeichneten Richtung verbunden sind, wo in jahrelangen Bemühungen ein systematischer illegaler Apparat zur Leitung von Demonstrationen und Streiks, zur Arbeit im Heere ausgebaut wurde, die Methoden erprobt wurden, illegale Literatur geschaffen wurde, die das Ergebnis der Erfahrungen zusammenfaßte und die Gesamtpartei im Gedankens an die Notwendigkeit der Revolution erzog, Massenfürher für solche Fälle herangebildet wurden usw.

## V.

Die tiefgehendsten, grundlegendsten Differenzen, die die Folge des oben Erwähnten sind und die Unvermeidlichkeit eines unveröhnlichen theoretischen und praktischen politischen Kampfes des revolutionären Proletariats gegen die Berner „Internationale“ beweisen, sind die Fragen der Umwandlung des imperialistischen Krieges in einen Bürgerkrieg und der Diktatur des Proletariats.

Die Fesselung der Berner „Internationale“ durch die bürgerliche Ideologie kommt am meisten darin zum Ausdruck, daß diese „Internationale“, ohne den imperialistischen Charakter des Krieges 1914—1918 zu begreifen (oder: begreifen zu wollen, oder: den Dummen spielend), es nicht hat verstehen können, daß die Umwandlung des Krieges in einen Bürgerkrieg zwischen Bourgeoisie und Proletariat in allen vorgeschrittenen Ländern nicht abzuwenden ist.

Als die Bolschewiki bereits im November 1914 auf diese Unabwendbarkeit hinwiesen, antworteten die Philister aller Länder mit stumpfsinnigem Spott. Zu diesen Philistern gehören alle Führer der Berner „Internationale“. Nunmehr ist die Umwandlung des imperialistischen Krieges in einen Bürgerkrieg in einer ganzen Reihe Länder, nicht nur in Rußland, sondern auch in Finnland, in Ungarn, in Deutschland, selbst in der neutralen Schweiz zur Tatsache geworden und das Anwachsen des Bürgerkrieges macht sich in allen vorgeschrittenen Ländern ohne Ausnahme bemerkbar.

Diese Frage jetzt durch Schweigen zu umgehen (wie dies R. MacDonald tut) oder den unvermeidlichen Bürgerkrieg durch süße Verständigungsphrasen abzulehnen (wie dies die Herren Kautsky und Co. tun)



ist gleichbedeutend mit einem direkten Verrat am Proletariat, gleichbedeutend mit einem tatsächlichen Uebertritt ins Lager der Bourgeoisie. Denn die jetzigen Führer der Bourgeoisie haben schon längst die Unvermeidlichkeit des Bürgerkrieges begriffen und bereiten ihn glänzend, durchdacht, systematisch vor und sorgen in gleicher Weise für die Festigung ihrer Stellung im Bürgerkriege.

Die Bourgeoisie der ganzen Welt bereitet unter Anspannung aller Kräfte, mit ungeheurer Energie, Verstand, Entschlossenheit in dem nahen Bürgerkriege die Unterdrückung des Proletariats vor; sie schrickt vor keinem Verbrechen zurück und verurteilt ganze Länder zum Hungern. Und die Helden der Berner „Internationale“ singen wie Dummerjahae, wie heuchlerische Pfäfflein, wie pedantische Professoren das alte, banale, abgeleierte reformistische Lied! Ein ekelhafteres, ein abstoßenderes Schauspiel gibt es nicht.

Die Kautsky und Macdonald fahren fort, die Kapitalisten mit der Revolution zu erschrecken, der Bourgeoisie mit dem Bürgerkriege Furcht einzuflößen, um von ihnen Zugeständnisse zu erlangen, sie zu bewegen, den reformistischen Weg zu beschreiten. Hierauf laufen alle Schriften, die ganze Philosophie, die gesamte Politik der Berner „Internationale“ hinaus.

Diese traurige Sakaienmethode beobachteten wir in Rußland im Jahre 1905 bei den Liberalen (Kadetten), 1917—1919 — bei Menschewiki und Sozialrevolutionären. Die Sakaienseelen aus der Berner „Internationale“ denken auch nicht im Traume daran, daß es notwendig ist, die Massen zum Bewußtsein von der Unvermeidlichkeit und Notwendigkeit zu erziehen, die Bourgeoisie im Bürgerkriege zu besiegen, die gesamte Politik unter dem Gesichtswinkel dieses Zieles zu behandeln, alle Fragen von diesem Standpunkte aus zu beleuchten, zu stellen und zu entscheiden. Unser Ziel muß es aber sein, die unverbesserlichen Reformisten, d. h. 9/10 der Führer der Berner „Internationale“ endgültig abzutun, die Sakaien der Bourgeoisie in den Orkus zu befördern. Die Bourgeoisie braucht solche Sakaien, denen ein Teil der Arbeiterklasse vertraut und die die Bourgeoisie durch Redereien über die Möglichkeit des reformistischen Weges schöner erscheinen zu lassen suchen, die dem Volke mit solchem Verede Sand in die Augen streuen, das Volk von der Revolution ablenken durch Ausmalen der Schönheiten und Möglichkeiten des reformistischen Weges.

Alle Schriften Kautskys wie auch unsere Menschewiki und Sozialrevolutionäre laufen auf ein solches Verede, das Wehklagen eines feigen Kleinbürgers hinaus, der Furcht vor der Revolution hat.

Wir haben hier nicht die Möglichkeit, ausführlich zu wiederholen, welche wirtschaftlichen Hauptursachen gerade den revolutionären Weg — und nur diesen — unvermeidlich, eine andere Lösung der durch die Geschichte auf die Tagesordnung gesetzten Fragen unmöglich gemacht haben. Hierüber müssen und werden Bände geschrieben werden. Wenn die Kautsky und die anderen Führer der Berner „Internationale“ dies nicht begriffen haben, so kann man nur sagen: die Unwissenheit ist weniger weit von der Wahrheit entfernt als das Vorurteil.

Denn die unwissenden aber aufrichtigen Menschen der Arbeit und jene, die auf Seiten der werktätigen Bevölkerung stehen, erfassen jetzt, nach dem Kriege, besser die Unvermeidlichkeit der Revolution, des Bür-

gerkrieges und der Diktatur des Proletariats, als die mit den gefährtesten reformistischen Vorurteilen vollgepfropften Herren Kautsky, Macdonald, Wandervelde, Branting, Turati und wie sie alle heißen mögen.

Als eine besonders anschauliche Bestätigung der überall zu beobachtenden Erscheinung eines Erstarkens des revolutionären Bewußtseins in den Massen kann man die Romane von Henri Barbusse „La feu“ (Das Feuer) und „Clarté“ (Die Erleuchtung) betrachten. Der erstgenannte Roman ist bereits in allen Sprachen übersetzt und in Frankreich in 230 000 Exemplaren umgesetzt worden. Die Umwandlung eines völlig unwissenden, von Ideen und Vorurteilen ganz und gar beherrschten Spielers und Tugendmenschen in einen Revolutionär gerade unter der Einwirkung des Krieges ist außerordentlich eindrucksvoll, talentvoll und wahrheitsgetreu geschildert.

Die Massen der Proletarier und Halbproletarier stehen hinter uns und gehen täglich, nein, stündlich, zu uns über. Die Berner „Internationale“ ist ein Stab ohne Heer, der wie ein Kartenhaus zusammenbrechen wird, sobald wir ihn vor den Massen restlos enthüllt haben werden.

Der Name Karl Liebknecht diente in der gesamten bürgerlichen Presse der Entente während des Krieges zur Irreführung der Massen, um die Räuber und Plünderer des französischen und englischen Imperialismus als sympathisierend mit diesem Helden, diesem „einzigen ehrlichen Deutschen“, wie sie sagten, hinzustellen.

Jetzt sitzen die Helden der Berner „Internationale“ in derselben Organisation mit den Scheidemännern, die die Ermordung von Karl Liebknecht und Rosa Luxemburg vorbereiteten, mit den Scheidemännern, die die Rolle von Henkern aus Arbeiterkreisen spielten, die der Bourgeoisie Henkersdienste erweisen. In Worten — heuchlerische Versuche, die Scheidemänner zu „verurteilen“ (als ob durch eine solche „Verurteilung“ irgend etwas an der Sache geändert werden würde!), in der Tat Verbleiben in der gleichen Organisation mit den Mördern.

1907 hatte die deutsche Regierung den verstorbenen Harry Dueda aus Stuttgart ausgewiesen, weil er eine Sitzung der europäischen Diplomaten als „Gesellschaft von Dieben“ bezeichnet hatte. Die Führer der Berner „Internationale“ sind nicht nur eine Gesellschaft von Dieben, sie sind eine Gesellschaft von gemeinen Mördern.

Sie werden dem Gericht der revolutionären Arbeiter nicht entgehen.

## VI.

Die Frage der Diktatur des Proletariats tut Ramsan Macdonald mit ein paar Worten ab als eine zur Debatte stehende Frage über Freiheit und Demokratie.

Nein, es ist Zeit, zu handeln. Für Diskussionen ist es zu spät.

Das gefährlichste auf Seiten der Berner „Internationale“ ist ihr Lippenbekenntnis zu der Diktatur des Proletariats. Diese Leute sind imstande, alles anzuerkennen, alles zu unterzeichnen, nur um an der Spitze der Arbeiterbewegung zu bleiben. Kautsky erklärt schon jetzt, nicht gegen die Diktatur des Proletariats zu sein! Die französischen Sozialchauvinisten und die Leute vom französischen „sozialistischen Ben-

trum“ setzen ihre Namen unter eine Entschliebung für die Diktatur des Proletariats!

Sie verdienen nicht das geringste Vertrauen!

Kein Lippenbekenntnis ist erforderlich, sondern der völlige Bruch durch die Tat mit der Politik des Reformismus, den Vorurteilen von der bürgerlichen Freiheit und der bürgerlichen Demokratie, die Durchführung einer Politik des revolutionären Klassenkampfes durch die Tat.

Man sucht die Diktatur des Proletariats in Worten anzuerkennen, um gleichzeitig von hinten herum den „Mehrheitswillen“, „die allgemeine Abstimmung“ (das tut gerade Kautsky), den bürgerlichen Parlamentarismus, den Verzicht auf die völlige Beseitigung, Entwurzelung, den völligen Abbruch des ganzen bürgerlichen staatlichen Apparates einzuschmuggeln. Diese neuen Ausflüchte, diese neuen Winkelzüge des Reformismus sind die gefährlichsten.

Die Diktatur des Proletariats wäre unmöglich, wenn die Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung nicht aus Proletariern und Halbproletariern bestünde. Diese Tatsache suchen die Herren Kautsky u. Co. dahin umzufälschen, daß eine „Stimmenmehrheit“ erforderlich sei, um die Diktatur des Proletariats als „rechtmäßig“ zustande gekommen gelten lassen zu können.

Römische Pedanten! Sie haben es nicht begriffen, daß die Abstimmung im Rahmen, in den Institutionen, nach dem Brauch des bürgerlichen Parlamentarismus einen Teil des bürgerlichen staatlichen Apparates ausmacht, der von unten bis oben zerbrochen werden muß zwecks Verwirklichung der Diktatur des Proletariats, zum Zwecke des Ueberganges von der bürgerlichen Demokratie zur proletarischen.

Sie haben es nicht begriffen, daß alle ernstesten Fragen der Politik überhaupt nicht durch Abstimmungen sondern durch den Bürgerkrieg entschieden werden, wenn die Geschichte die Frage der Diktatur des Proletariats auf die Tagesordnung gestellt hat.

Sie haben es nicht begriffen, daß die Diktatur des Proletariats die Macht einer Klasse bedeutet, die den gesamten Apparat der neuen Staatlichkeit in die Hand nimmt, die Bourgeoisie besiegt und das ganze Kleinbürgertum, die Bauern, Spießer, Intellektuellen neutralisiert.

Die Kautskys und Macdonalds erkennen in Worten den Klassenkampf an, um ihn in Wirklichkeit im entscheidenden Augenblick der Geschichte, im Kampfe für die Befreiung des Proletariats zu verleugnen, in einem Augenblick, wo das Proletariat nach Uebernahme der Staatsmacht und vom Halbproletariat unterstützt mit Hilfe dieser Macht den Klassenkampf fortführt und ihn bis zur Vernichtung der Klassen fortsetzt.

Wie die richtigen Philister wiederholen die Führer der Berner „Internationale“ die bürgerlich-demokratischen Phrasen über Freiheit, Gleichheit und Demokratie ohne zu erkennen, daß sie die Trümmer der Idee vom freien und gleichberechtigten Warenbesitzer wiederholen ohne zu begreifen, daß das Proletariat den Staat nicht um der „Freiheit“ willen braucht, sondern um seinen Feind, den Ausbeuter, den Kapitalisten zu überwinden.

Die Freiheit und Gleichheit des Warenbesizers sind tot

genau wie der Kapitalismus tot ist. Auch anderen Kräften wie den Kautsky und Macdonald wird es nicht gelingen, ihn zum Leben zu erwecken.

Das Proletariat braucht die Beseitigung der Klassen — das ist der reale Wesensinhalt der proletarischen Demokratie, der proletarischen Freiheit (Befreiung von Kapitalisten, vom Warenaustausch), der proletarischen Gleichheit (nicht Gleichheit der Klassen — die Kautsky, Vandervelde und Macdonald verirren sich zu dieser Abgeschmacktheit — sondern Gleichheit der Werktätigen, die das Kapital und den Kapitalismus stürzen).

Solange es Klassen gibt, sind Freiheit und Gleichheit der Klassen ein bürgerlicher Trug. Das Proletariat übernimmt die Macht, wird zur herrschenden Klasse, zerbricht den bürgerlichen Parlamentarismus und die bürgerliche Demokratie, unterdrückt die Bourgeoisie, unterdrückt alle Versuche aller übrigen Klassen, den Kapitalismus wiederherzustellen, verleiht den Werktätigen wahre Freiheit und Gleichheit (was nur zu verwirklichen ist nach Beseitigung des Privateigentums an Produktionsmitteln), gibt ihnen nicht nur „Rechte“, sondern auch die reale Nutznießung dessen, was die Bourgeoisie ihnen genommen hat.

Wer diesen Wesensgehalt der Diktatur des Proletariats (oder, was dasselbe ist, der Rätemacht oder der proletarischen Demokratie) nicht begriffen hat, wird vergeblich das Wort zu erfassen suchen.

Ich kann hier nicht ausführlich diese Gedankengänge entwickeln, die ich in meiner Schrift „Staat und Revolution“ und in der Broschüre „Die Diktatur des Proletariats und der Renegat Kautsky“ dargelegt habe. Ich kann schließen, indem ich diese Bemerkungen den Delegierten des Luzerner Kongresses vom 10. August 1919 der Berner „Internationale“ widme.

14. Juli 1919.

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G. Zinowjew:

## Zwei Daten

(21. Juli — 1. August 1919).

In dem Aufruf der Kommunistischen Internationale vom 25. Juli schreiben wir:

„Der Streik vom 21. Juli ist mißlungen. Die Sozialverräter haben der Menge ungeheurer Verbrechen, die sie seit 1914 an der Arbeiterklasse aller Länder verübt haben, noch einen neuen Verrat hinzugefügt. Der Streik ist, zum mindesten in einigen der Länder, in denen er geplant war, vereitelt worden. Das erste Resultat davon ist, daß die verbündeten Imperialisten einen neuen Ansturm gegen die heldenmütige Räterepublik in Ungarn vorbereiten. . . Wenn sich jetzt die Horden der Weißgardisten auf die Helden des ungarischen Proletariats stürzen werden, die ihr Land vom Joch des Kapitalismus befreit haben, so tragen die Schuld daran in

erster Linie jene Sozialverräter, die den Streik vom 21. Juli vereitelt haben.“

Unsere Voraussage ist leider nur zu rasch in Erfüllung gegangen.

Am 21. Juli wurde der internationale politische Streik vereitelt, am 1. August haben die rumänischen gegenrevolutionären Truppen im Verein mit den französischen und italienischen Generälen und den ungarischen Sozialverrätern die Räte-macht in Ungarn gestürzt. Der Zusammenhang zwischen diesen beiden Daten — dem 21. Juli und dem 1. August ist unlösbar.

Wie tauchte der Gedanke eines internationalen politischen Streiks auf und wie gelang es den Sozialverrätern, diesen zu vereiteln? Eine Frage, die restlos aufgeklärt werden muß.

Die Idee eines internationalen, konkret auf einen bestimmten Tag festzusetzenden Streiks (in diesem Falle auf den 21. Juli 1919) ging nicht unmittelbar von der Kommunistischen Internationale aus. Die Kommunistische Internationale, die die Ereignisse abwarten wollte, trat nicht einmal am Tage des Streiks mit einem diesbezüglichen Aufruf hervor. Den politischen Streik vom 21. Juli hatten eine Reihe der zweiten Internationale angehörige Organisationen und Gruppen proklamiert. Viele Mitglieder der französischen Confédération du Travail (Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften) — typische Sozialverräter — setzten sich für diesen Streik ein.

Wie läßt sich das erklären? Der Gedanke eines internationalen politischen Streiks unter dem Kampfesruf „gegen die Einmischung der Imperialisten in die Angelegenheiten der ungarischen und russischen sozialistischen Republik“, dieser Gedanke selbst war natürlich dem Arsenal der Dritten Internationale entnommen.

Auch während ihrer Blütezeit hat die zweite Internationale nicht an solche Unternehmungen gedacht. Das Vorbild ähnlicher aktiver internationaler Unternehmungen bildete zur Zeit der zweiten Internationalen die Idee der Maisfeier. Aber auch nur die Idee. In Wirklichkeit erlebten wir ganz etwas anderes. Besonders in den letzten Jahren des Abstiegs der zweiten Internationale wurde die Maisfeier zu einer leeren Komödie, die keine Begeisterung bei den Arbeitern wachrief, der Bourgeoisie keinen Schrecken einflößte und die proletarischen Massen gleichgültig ließ.

Wie ist es zu erklären, daß viele Mitglieder der zweiten Internationale jetzt die Frage eines internationalen politischen Streiks auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt haben.

Die Erklärung hierfür ist unseres Erachtens darin zu suchen, daß der Gedanke eines internationalen proletarischen Vorgehens in der Luft hängt. In den breiten Arbeitermassen der fortgeschrittensten kapitalistischen Länder reißt ein gewaltiger Protest gegen die imperialistischen Regierungen heran. Wir wissen genau, daß es an einer ganzen Reihe von Orten zu Zusammenstößen kommt zwischen bewaffneten Arbeitern und den Truppen der Bourgeoisie. Wir haben die Maisfeier von 1919 in Paris erlebt, die durch große bewaffnete Demonstrationen von Hunderttausenden Pariser Proletariern gekennzeichnet ist. In den Arbeitermassen reißt der Gedanke eines bewaffneten Aufstandes heran. Daher suchen die Kauts-

knauer und die Sozialverräter schüchtern Anschluß an die Idee des internationalen politischen Streiks.

Die Agenten des Kapitals, insbesondere so geriebene Gauner, wie man sie unter den „Sozialisten“ Frankreichs antrifft, haben eine gute Nase. Bei diesen Herrschaften ist der Spürsinn besser entwickelt als bei manchem Spürhund. Sie waren sich genau bewußt, daß bei den französischen Proletariern ein heldenmütiger Anschluß heranreift. Um ihren Herren zu dienen, beschloßen die Sozialverräter, ein außergewöhnliches Mittel zu ergreifen, d. h. den Versuch zu machen, sich an die Spitze der Bewegung zu stellen, um sie im entscheidenden Augenblick zu verraten.

Wir kennen noch nicht im einzelnen die Intriguen, die in Paris gesponnen wurden, die Unterredungen, die in den verschwiegenen Räumen des Clemenceauschen Arbeitszimmers mit solchen „Sozialisten“ geführt wurden. Auf die Frage, wieviel sie daran wohl verdient haben, kann in diesem Augenblick niemand eine genaue Auskunft geben. Wer jedoch die Dokumente des französischen, mit Verlaub zu sagen, „Sozialisten“ Charles Dumas kennt, wird uns darin zustimmen, daß es keine Gemeinheit gibt, zu der die käuflichen „Führer“ des französischen offiziellen „Sozialismus“ nicht fähig wären. . . .

Die französischen Verständigungssozialisten schlossen sich dem Gedanken eines internationalen Streiks an, sie strichen den französischen Arbeitern diese schöne Idee um die Lippen. Als dann die Stunde der entscheidenden Tat kam, machten sie kehrt, gaben Gegenorder und desorganisierten die vorzüglich herangereifte Bewegung.

Etwas Ähnliches erlebten wir während der ersten allgemeinen Streiks in den neunziger Jahren in Belgien, nur lagen damals die Dinge anders. Die belgischen offiziellen Sozialisten waren damals von der Fäulnis der Käuflichkeit und des Opportunismus noch nicht in dem Maße wie jetzt die in Bersekung befindliche zweite Internationale angefressen. Obgleich somit die Verhältnisse anders lagen, handelten einige „Führer“ der belgischen Sozialisten ganz ähnlich. Sie schlossen sich dem Gedanken eines Generalstreiks der belgischen Arbeiter an, um das Vertrauen der Arbeiter zu gewinnen und an die Spitze der Organisation zu treten. Im entscheidenden Augenblick fielen sie jedoch der Bewegung in den Rücken und desorganisierten sie.

Der Streik am 21. Juli hatte, soweit wir nach den hier vorliegenden lückenhaften Mitteilungen uns ein Urteil bilden können, einen großen Erfolg in Italien, wo er stellenweise zu direkten Aufständen und zur Machtergreifung durch die Arbeiter führte. Auch in einigen skandinavischen Ländern hatte der Streik vom 21. Juli Erfolg. Der Schwerpunkt der geplanten Bewegung lag jedoch in Frankreich. Dort befindet sich der wichtigste Herd der Reaktion. In Paris hat der internationale Stab des räuberischen Imperialismus seinen Sitz. Die ganze Frage war, wie weit die Bewegung gerade in Frankreich Erfolg haben würde.

Die französische Regierung, die aus den gewichtigsten Führern des imperialistischen Banditentums besteht, hat die Gefährlichkeit der Lage genau erkannt. Clemenceau setzte alle Hebel in Bewegung. Einerseits versprach er vielen politischen Gefangenen Begnadigung und stellte eine Beschleunigung der Demobilmachung des Heeres in Aussicht. Anderer-

seits griff Clemenceau zu den Mitteln eines unverhüllten Terrors. Er drohte den Eisenbahnern mit dem Feldgericht und stellte den Post- und Telegraphenbeamten die gleichen Skorpione in Aussicht. Gleichzeitig trat er fraglos in geheimgelassene Unterhaltungen mit den Sozialverrättern und einigen Mitläufern des sog. „sozialistischen Zentrums“

Clemenceau erreichte seinen Zweck. Die Confédération du Travail und die Verständigungsfreunde des „Zentrums“ erließen am Vorabend des Streiks eine Gegenparole an die Arbeiter, vermischten die Karten, brachten Verwirrung in die Sache, und der Streik war niedergebroschen . . .

Der Gedanke des internationalen Streiks wird weiterleben. Schon der Umstand allein, daß dieser Gedanke selbst bei den gemäßigtesten Vertretern der zweiten Internationale auftauchen und Unterstützung finden konnte, ist ein indirekter Beweis, daß es unter den Arbeitermassen Europas gärt. Es ist äußerst bezeichnend, daß der erste geplante Streik unter der Losung „gegen die Einmischung der Imperialisten in die Angelegenheiten der ungarischen und russischen sozialistischen Republiken“ erfolgen sollte. Diese Losung waren einige jener Gruppen und „Führer“ zu unterstützen genötigt, die noch zu Anfang dieses Jahres auf der berüchtigten Berner Konferenz der gelben Internationale nahe daran waren, die Idee einer Intervention der imperialistischen Reaktionen im Rußland zu unterstützen. Wiederum ein indirekter Beweis dafür, wie groß die Sympathien des internationalen Proletariats für das Rußland und die Idee der proletarischen Diktatur überhaupt sind.

Seht! Die Augusttagung der zweiten Internationale in Luzern, auf der solche Herren wie Henderson, Guymans und Branting den Ton angeben, läßt durch ihren Vorsitzenden verkünden, daß sie gegen eine Intervention in Rußland ist. Auch der Amsterdamer Kongreß der gemäßigten Gewerkschaften, die auf dem Boden der zweiten Internationale stehen, protestierte Anfang August dieses Jahres gegen die Einmischung der Entente im Rußland.

Und wer war tonangebend auf diesem Amsterdamer Kongreß? Die Legien, Gompers, Appleton. Auf diesen bemerkenswerten Kongreß warf der Lakai der amerikanischen Kapitalisten, Gompers, der auf den Namen eines Führers der amerikanischen Gewerkschaften Anspruch erhebt, seinem Kollegen, dem Führer der deutschen Gelben, dem Mitarbeiter Scheidemanns, Herrn Legien, die Zuneigung zum Kaisertum vor. Und der französische Verständigungssozialist Bonhauz suchte zwischen den beiden verdienten „Führern“ Frieden zu stiften und beschwor sie, einander lieb zu gewinnen. Ein hervorragender Teilnehmer des Amsterdamer Kongresses, Appleton, erklärte dem Berichterstatter des Pariser Blattes „Petit Parisien“ gegenüber: „Die Bolschewiki? Meines Erachtens darf es weder in der Internationale noch überhaupt in der Welt einen Platz für die Bolschewiki geben.“

Und dennoch ist diese Bande hakerfüllter Renegaten gezwungen, der Stimmung der europäischen Arbeiter Rechnung zu tragen und Protestresolutionen gegen die Einmischung der Imperialisten in die Angelegenheiten des Rußlands zu beschließen.

Was hat das alles zu bedeuten? Es bedeutet, daß die proletari-

ische Revolution in Rußland die stärksten Sympathien der europäischen Arbeiter genießt. Es bedeutet, daß der Gedanke einer nationalen Diktatur sich immer mehr und mehr die Herzen der Arbeiter in ganz Europa erobert.

Wir können daher aus voller Ueberzeugung sagen: der Gedanke des internationalen politischen Streiks wird nicht verschwinden. Das feige Verhalten der Verständigungssozialisten und Kautskyaner, die den politischen Streik vom 21. Juli vereitelt haben, wird sie nur endgültig nur um das restliche Vertrauen der Arbeitermassen bringen. Als im Januar 1919 in Berlin die heldenmütigen Berliner Arbeiter unter der Führung des unvergeßlichen Karl Liebknecht sich zum Aufstand gegen die deutschen Kapitalisten erhoben, besaßen sich die Vertreter des deutschen „Zentrums“ mit Kautsky und Haase an der Spitze damit, daß sie vermittelten, von der einen Partei zur anderen liefen und es so der Bourgeoisie ermöglichten, den Aufstand der Berliner Proletarier zunichte zu machen. Das gleiche haben jetzt die Herren vom „Zentrum“ in Frankreich getan. Solche Lehren tragen jedoch ihre Früchte. Zehn- und Hunderttausende von Arbeitern lernen daraus. Diese Lehren dienen zur Stählung des Vortrupps des Proletariats, diese Lehren bilden eine Epoche in der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung.

Die Idee des internationalen politischen Streiks wird wieder auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt werden, befreit von Illusionen und Fehlern, denen sich ein Teil der Arbeiterschaft vor dem 21. Juli hingeeben hatte. Die Dritte Internationale muß und wird die Sache in die Hand nehmen. Der Sympathien der Arbeiter für diesen Gedanken ist sie sicher.

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Indes ist es den Herren Imperialisten dennoch inzwischen gelungen, dem Räteungarn das Rückgrat zu brechen. Das Räteungarn besteht nicht mehr.

Wer hat diesen Schlag geführt? Die Imperialisten der Entente zusammen mit den ungarischen wie überhaupt den europäischen Sozialverrättern! Das eine Ende der Schlinge, durch die das ungarische Proletariat erwürgt wurde, hielt Clemenceau, das andere hielten all diese großen und kleinen Renaudel, Henderson, Paidel, Garami, Agoston, Renner, Remek (der tschechische Sozialverräter) und Co. in Händen.

Die Haupt„arbeit“ nahmen natürlich die Führer der internationalen Börse auf sich. Die „Liga der Nationen“ hekte fortwährend die Rumänen und Tschechoslowaken auf und verlangte von ihnen das Vorgehen gegen das rote Ungarn. Der Viererrat versuchte mit der Regierung unseres Genossen Bela Kun Rahe und Maus zu spielen. Bald verlangte er von der Räteregierung, sie sollte alle kriegerischen Aktionen gegen die Rumänen unterlassen, bald stellte er die Anerkennung von Räteungarn in Paris in Aussicht, dann wieder wurde der ungarischen Räteregierung versichert, daß die Verbündeten Maßnahmen gegen die maßlosen Ansprüche derer vom rumänischen Schwarzen Hundert getroffen hätten. Inzwischen verfolgte die in Paris sitzende Betrügergesellschaft nur das eine Ziel, die gegenrevolutionären rumänischen und tschechischen Truppen möglichst nahe an die Mauern von Budapest heranzurücken.

Liegt das nicht klar zutage? Die Truppen des rumänischen



Schwarzen Hundert befanden sich bereits in den Vororten von Budapest. Da sandte der gerissene Gauner der französischen Republik, der Außenminister Pichon, dem rumänischen Oberkommando ein Telegramm, wonach Budapest nicht besetzt werden sollte. Ein oder zwei Tage vorher hatte der gleiche Pichon natürlich nach Bukarest, der Hauptstadt von Rumänien, eine chiffrierte Depesche mit dem entgegengesetzten Wortlaut gesandt.

In der gleichen Zeit, wo die Könige der Börse in ganz Mitteleuropa einige zehntausend reaktionärer Truppen zur Erwürgung des roten Ungarn aufzutreiben suchten, wo ein amerikanischer Funkpruch über Lyon der ganzen Welt verkündete, daß die einzigste Hoffnung der zivilisierten Menschheit nunmehr auf der edlen rumänischen Armee beruhte, machten die Sozialverräter in Paris und Wien, in London und Prag und in Budapest selbst gemeinsame Sache mit dieser sauberen reaktionären Gesellschaft. Sie unterstützten die Henker bei deren Versuch, die ungarischen Proletarier abzuwürgen.

Als Renaudel und Johaux in Paris den Streik am 21. Juli verteilten, wurden sie zu bewußten Helfershelfern Clemenceaus, der sich anschickte, die ungarische Regierung zu erdroffeln. Als Renner, Bauer, Friedrich Adler und andere Verständigungsapostel in Wien den ungarischen gegenrevolutionären Offizieren das Asylrecht gewährten, als sie die offiziellen Vertreter von Räteungarn auswiesen, als sie vor keiner Lüge zurückschreckten, um das rote Budapest zu verleumben, als sie, statt den Helden des ungarischen Proletariats zu helfen, diese zu Fall zu bringen suchten, erwiesen sie sich wieder als die Spießgesellen des Räubers Clemenceau. Als in Prag der Führer der Sozialverräter Nemeš u. a. m. buchstäblich alles taten, um den Sieg der ungarischen Proletarier zu erschweren, als sie den tschechischen Grundbesitzern und der tschechischen Bourgeoisie gestatteten, die Truppen gegen das rote Ungarn marschieren zu lassen, handelten sie als die Handlanger und Söldner des europäischen Kapitals.

Als Ergebnis dieser kombinierten Handlungen von Verrätern, die sich Sozialdemokraten nennen und von Schlächtern, die sich als Vertreter der „Liga der Nationen“ bezeichnen, scheiterte das jugendliche, noch nicht genügend gefestigte Räteungarn.

„Ungarn geht vom Räteregime zu dem der Demokratie über“, so lautet der erste, von dem bekannten Sozialverräter Paideli, dem ungarischen Noske, unterzeichnete Funkpruch, der am ersten Tage des Staatsstreiks in Ungarn in die Welt gesandt wurde. O, ihr Toren, ihre verächtlichen Verräter, ihr Zwergel! Noch ist kaum eine Woche vergangen seit dem Sturz der Räteregierung in Ungarn, und schon ist in Budapest die Gewalt in Händen der Agrarier und Bankiers.

Nachdem die ungarischen Grundbesitzer sich der Sozialverräter bedient hatten, beförderten sie sie wie eine ausgequetschte Zitrone auf den Müllhaufen. „Der Mohr hat seine Schuldigkeit getan; der Mohr kann gehen.“ Judas hat sein verräterisches Tun erfüllt; jetzt braucht er nur noch einen Strick, um sich aufzuhängen.

Binnen ganz weniger Tage hat Ungarn den ganzen Kreislauf der Entwicklung durchlaufen. Vom Räteregime, über die sogenannten „reinen Sozialisten“ zur unverhüllten Diktatur der ungarischen Gutshesitzer. Der berühmte Graf Andrássy ist nach Budapest zurückgekehrt,

wo das Gendarmeriecorps wiederhergestellt ist, das die menschenwistische Regierung Páideli vertrieben hat; der Erzherzog Josef besteigt wieder den Thron. Zehntausende rumänischer, tschechischer, englischer, französischer Soldaten ergießen sich wieder über das hungernde Budapest. Aus dem Szegedin sind die Banditen, die gegenrevolutionären ungarischen Offiziere zurückgekehrt. Alle eilen Hals über Kopf, um Budapest auszurauben und an den gegen das ungarische Proletariat gerichteten Plünderungen und Morden teilzunehmen.

Anschaulich hätte man dem internationalen Proletariat die „reinen Sozialisten“ nie schildern können. Die „reinen Sozialisten“ bilden die Vorstufe zu dem mit Arbeiterblut besudelten Thron dieses oder jenes Monarchen. Die „reinen Sozialisten“ sind die Uebergangsstufe zu der wiederhergestellten, tollwütigsten agrarisch-kapitalistischen Reaktion. Die „reinen Sozialisten“ sind die Instrumente der imperialistischen Wegelagerer . . . .

Entweder Diktatur der reaktionären Bourgeoisie oder Diktatur des von den Kommunisten geleiteten Proletariats! Ein Drittes gibt es nicht.

Natürlich waren außer dem Verrat der ungarischen Menschewiki noch andere objektive Ursachen vorhanden, die der Räuberliga die Eroberung der ungarischen Räterepublik erleichterten. Das ungarische Proletariat ist verhältnismäßig schwach an Zahl. Bei der Kürze der Zeit war es der Räteregierung noch nicht gelungen, mit den ungarischen Bauern feste Bande zu knüpfen. Das Gebiet von Ungarn ist nicht so groß, daß man, wie im Räterußland, Raum preisgeben könnte, um Zeit zu gewinnen. Budapest, das unter den Schlägen von Prag und Bukarest zu leiden hatte, befand sich in einer schwierigen strategischen Lage. Prag, Wien und Budapest eilten nicht nur nicht dem roten Budapest zu Hilfe, sondern haben durch ihre Verständigungssozialisten nach Kräften die Erfolge der ungarischen Räterepublik zu vereiteln gesucht. Die russische Räterepublik, die von Herzen gern ihrer jüngeren Schwester zu Hilfe geeilt wäre, verfügte leider nicht über die nötigen bewaffneten Kräfte, um dem roten Ungarn sofort reale Hilfe verleihen zu können. Die internationale proletarische Bewegung ist in den vier Monaten des Bestehens der ungarischen Räterepublik überaus erstarbt. Sie war jedoch nicht stark genug, um das rote Ungarn sofort vom Ansturm der Pariser und Londoner Räuber zu befreien. Das hat der 21. Juli bewiesen, der Tag, der für die Räte macht in Ungarn zum Verderben werden sollte.

Gewiß müssen wir die Verräter als solche brandmarken, ihre Schande festnageln. Für jene, die den Verrätern ein ungerechtfertigtes Vertrauen entgegengebracht haben, und die jetzt wie die ungarischen Kommunisten, den bitteren Kelch bis zur Neige zu leeren gezwungen sind, haben wir nur Worte der Brüderlichkeit und der Aufmunterung. Aber die unseren Brüdern, den ungarischen Kommunisten, erteilte Lehre soll nicht nutzlos verhallen. Sie nahmen in ihre Partei die burgfriedlichen Sozialdemokraten von gestern auf. Ihnen zu Liebe nannten sie ihre Partei die „Partei der Sozialisten und Kommunisten“, sie nahmen diese Herrschaften in die zentrale Räteregierung auf und verzichteten um der lieben Einigkeit willen auf eine radikale Ausmüftung der Augiasställe der Gegenrevolution.

Natürlich waren zunächst genügend Gründe hierfür vorhanden.

Wir alle haben diesen Fehler mit unseren ungarischen Genossen begangen. Auch wir haben geglaubt, die ungarischen Sozialdemokraten würden aus den bitteren Erfahrungen gelernt haben und würden die Diktatur der Arbeiter stützen. Wir vertrauten dem feierlichen Gelöbniß der ungarischen Sozialdemokraten, die Rätewacht zu unterstützen. Wir konnten nicht ahnen, daß diese Herrschaften eine solche abgrundtiefe Gemeinheit, wie sie jetzt bei ihnen zutage tritt, offenbaren würden.

Nunmehr müssen die Kommunisten aller Länder daraus lernen.

In dieser schweren aber großen Zeit des verschärften Klassenkampfes, der überall die Gestalt des Bürgerkrieges annimmt, kann der geringste Fehler, das unbedeutendste Versehen, das geringfügigste Entgegenkommen an die Opportunisten die verderblichsten Folgen haben. Die dritte Internationale muß sich ein für allemal von den Schwächen, wie sie der zweiten Internationale eigen waren, freimachen. Nicht das geringste Entgegenkommen an den Opportunismus! Keinerlei Vertrauen zu dem alten Geschlecht der käuflichen Führer! Man muß sich darüber klar sein, daß die alte fiskalische Sozialdemokratie unser gefährlichster Feind ist. Das ist die Lehre, die sich aus den Ergebnissen in Ungarn ergibt.

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Die Bourgeoisie triumphiert. Die sozialistischen Bürokraten aus dem Lager der zweiten Internationale summen begeistert wie die Hummeln über den Sieg der „Demokratie“ über das Räteregime in Ungarn. Die Wertpapiere an der Pariser Börse steigen im Preise, das Gelichter in der Scheidemann-Partei in Deutschland erhebt sein Haupt. Die ganze finstere Gesellschaft glaubt, einen entscheidenden Sieg über die Idee der Diktatur des Proletariats davongetragen zu haben. Vergebens! Der imperialistische Krieg hat dem Kapitalismus das Rückgrat gebrochen. Selbst wenn die Imperialisten in den nächsten Monaten noch etliche solcher Siege über die proletarische Revolution davontragen sollten — ausgespielt haben sie dennoch.

In dem gleichen Augenblick, wo die Räteregierung in Ungarn gestürzt wurde, brach, zum zweiten Male bereits, in der Schweiz, der neutralen, Kleinbürgerlichen Schweiz, ein Generalstreik aus, und zwar gegen den Willen der offiziellen Sozialdemokratie. In Bulgarien gewinnt die kommunistische Partei stündlich an Boden. Die Streikbewegung dehnt sich über das ganze Land aus und führt an einzelnen Orten zu Aufständen. Italien brennt lichterloh im Feuer des Bürgerkrieges. Die Zeit ist nicht mehr fern, wo das italienische Proletariat die Macht ergreifen wird. Während ich diese Zeilen niederschreibe, bringt der Telegraph die Nachricht von einem riesigen bewaffneten Zusammenstoß zwischen den Arbeitern von Triest und italienischen Weißgardisten. Die Streikbewegung in England und Frankreich ist im Wachsen. Die Rätewacht in Rußland steht gefestigter da denn je. Sibirien wird von den Truppen Koltshats, der Bierde und dem Stolz der gesamten internationalen Reaktion, gesäubert.

Wo die Arbeiter erst einmal die Rätewacht kennengelernt haben, werden sie sich nie und nimmer mit einer anderen Regierungsform zufrieden geben. Das erkennt man an den Beispielen Estlands, Finnlands und Sibiriens, an dem Beispiel von Archangelsk und sogar von München, wo die ersten Demonstrationen und Aufstände wieder in Er-

scheinung treten. Ähnlich wird es auch wieder in Budapest kommen.

Das ist ja gerade der Kummer des internationalen Imperialismus, daß jetzt, wo die Masken gefallen sind, wo der Klassenkampf in unverhülltester Form geführt wird, jede Niederlage des Proletariats nur eine Episode bleibt in dessen gigantischem Kampf, der unvermeidlich mit einem Siege der Arbeiterschaft endigen wird.

Bereits an dem gleichen Tage, an dem die imperialistischen Truppen in Budapest einrückten, fing das Kräfteverhältnis wieder an, sich zugunsten einer Diktatur des Proletariats zu verschieben. Dieses läßt sich mit absoluter Sicherheit sagen. So war es auch überall in Rußland. An dem gleichen Tage, an dem diese oder jene Stadt von den Banden Koltshaks oder Denikins besetzt wurde, und die Knete wieder auf den Rücken der Arbeiter niederprasselte, reifte erst langsam und dann immer schneller in den weitesten Arbeiterschichten die Ueberzeugung heran, daß eine Befreiung von der Knechtung durch die Bourgeoisie nur auf dem Wege einer Diktatur des Proletariats möglich ist.

Der 21. Juli und der 1. August sind Tage bitterer Prüfungen für das internationale revolutionäre Proletariat. Diese Tage werden jedoch ohne Zweifel den Uebergang zu einem neuen Abschnitt entscheidender Kämpfe bilden, die mit dem Siege des Kommunismus in der ganzen Welt enden werden.

11. August 1919.

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This sort of «nationalization» or government control, will not, as nationalization should, remove the capitalist incubus, and thus enable the workers in the industry to live at a higher level of comfort, and at the same time, allow of a reduction in the price of coal. No, this sort of nationalization may even increase the parasitic charges upon industry. But does anyone imagine that it is possible to nationalize the mines without continuing to pay the dividends of the mine owners except by revolution? Does anyone believe it can be done except in the course of a general revolution which would dispossess, not merely the mine owners, but all the other capitalists?

The Transport Bill will give the workers no freedom. On the contrary, they will find all the power of the Government against them, should a dispute arise. A sinister phrase occurs in Clause 2.

«There shall be transferred to the Minister any officer or servant of an undertaking of which possession is retained or taken under this Act, whose services the Minister may require, either permanently with the consent of the officer or servant, or temporarily with the consent of the undertakers».

This would seem to indicate that if the services of the workers are only temporarily required by the Ministry, the consent of the workers is unnecessary. Why is this phrase slipped in? We believe the reason to be that the Government intends to use the power of taking over the railways to crush industrial revolts, as was done in the French railway strike a few weeks ago. The British Government probably desires to make quite certain that such action shall not be challenged in the Courts and to make it illegal for the workers to terminate their engagements to work on the railways in the event of such a crisis.

We believe that the fear of revolution has been the motive force behind this Bill.

The Government found it expedient to control the railway when it was fighting a capitalist war in Europe, and the Government realises that it will be still more expedient to control the railways when it is fighting a civil war with Labour at home.

The Transport Bill is not an instalment of State Socialism, as some people declare; at the best, it is a piece of State Capitalism, and it may turn out to be merely a blind to hide the fact that the Government is taking greater powers to coerce the workers.

A Socialist administration in taking over the railways would assume no responsibility or dividends; it would offer work at an equal wage for all connected with the railways, whether engine-drivers or managers; it would pay a pension equal to that wage to those unable to work; it would place the control of the railways under the workers on the railways. That sort of nationalisation is called «Bolshevism», and is bitterly attacked by those who have vested interests in the railways. But when the Revolution comes that is precisely the sort of Nationalisation we shall get. Speed the Revolution.

#### The Joint Industrial Conference.

In the proceedings of the Joint Industrial Conference we see the crowning folly and vanity of those one-time Labour Leaders—both men and women who have forgotten any class solidarity they may ever have possessed, and are eagerly making themselves agreeable to the employing class. Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labour, who presided over the Conference, spoke

with amazing cynicism regarding the unemployed. He said that unemployment amongst men in the insured trades was only 6.5 per cent, and though there was much larger percentage of unemployment amongst women, he considered that entirely natural, and he asserted that large numbers of the women who were swelling the ranks of the unemployed, and presumably claim the unemployed donation, did not intend to go back to work again now that the war is over. We can tell another tale of innumerable unemployed women, who on one flimsy pretext or another, are denied the unemployed benefit to which they were entitled. Sir Robert Horne said the amount of the unemployed donation explained the large number of unemployed women, as it was higher than the wage they could get in the trades they worked at before the war. But the number of unemployed would now be reduced because the Government was about to reduce the unemployed donation from 25 s. to 15 s. a week for women, and from 29 s. a week to 20 s. for men. Thus, oh! cynical executive of slave drivers do you fulfil your promise of social reconstruction, using the goad of privation to drive the workers back to sweated employments!

Most churlish was the Minister's statement that in reducing the unemployed donation after a given period, the Government had «decided to follow trade union practice». The trade unions are forced by shortage of funds, to that unfortunate, and in its effects upon men, women, and children, that cruelly harsh procedure. The Government, which is not condemning the unemployed to want is spending over sixty millions a year on furnishing profits to the railway directors, and is introducing a bill which guarantees those profits for as long as the railways shall be controlled.

As for the plea that the «National» factories, which were established because the private undertakings were inadequate for the huge enterprise of winning the war, should be used to provide work for the unemployed, Sir Robert Horne replied that the Government had decided to close those factories because it thought that if the Government were regarded as a competitor in the industries which private enterprise was at present running, private work would never be started again at all.

There would have been the opportunity to nationalize industry, without the capitalists having a shadow of title to demand compensation, since they had retired from business in fear of state competition. But Governments formed in capitalist interests do not seize such opportunities to benefit the majority of the people. On the contrary, they hasten to add the capitalists to the detriment of the masses.

No definite promise concerning the reduction of working hours was forthcoming; indeed, the Labour Minister made it clear that the Government did not intend to take national action concerning it. Wages Boards for the most ultra-sweated trades and the establishment of Whitley Councils were the only concessions held out to the workers as even remotely possible. Yet J. R. Clynes (Oh renegade!) declared that the only defect in Sir Robert Horner's speech was his announcement on the subject of unemployment benefit. Clynes said that his only concern was whether labour in its own interest is going to ask for too much at one time.

But Clynes has again and again openly allied himself with the capitalist parties; Henderson, on the other hand has pretended to sturdy independence since he

was dropped by the Lloyd George Government. How did Henderson receive the denial of the rewards which he persistently assured the workers they would win by supporting the Government in the war? As though the commercial soundness of the capitalist machine were all that should concern a representative of the workers who are exploited by that machine; callously ignoring the trusteeship for the workers' interest; who, with many pledges, he declared that he had abandoned when he entered the Coalition Government. He smugly said that unless something were done to put industrial unrest permanently out of the way, he could see no hope of this country meeting its financial liabilities. He then moved this fatuously worded and most unwise resolution:

That this conference, being of the opinion that any preventable dislocation of industry is always to be deplored, and in the present critical period of reconstruction might be disastrous to the interests of the nation, and thinking that every effort should be made to remove legitimate grievances and promote humanity and good will, resolves to appoint a Joint Committee consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers, men and women, together with chairman to be appointed by the Government, to consider questions relating to 1) hours, wages, general conditions of employment; 2) unemployment and its prevention; 3) the best method of promoting co-operation between Capital and Labour. In view of the urgency of the question the Joint Committee to be empowered to arrange with the Government for the re-assembly of this conference not later than April 5th, for the purpose of considering the report of the Joint Committee.

Have you forgotten, Mr. Henderson, the great story we heard from you at the Blackpool conference concerning the powerful International Labour Party that was to carry all before it, and to create a new world? Was that speech merely bluff? Did you not mean it? Here you are advocating co-operation between capital and labour, though it is only by strife between those irreconcilable forces that capitalism can be overthrown. Here you are saying that preventable dislocation of industry might prove disastrous to the nation, as though the nation could have any existence at all apart from its workers.

Lloyd George approved Henderson's resolution, and urged the Conference to accept it. Both employers and labour representatives accepted the proposal, and thirty representatives of each side were immediately afterwards appointed. The Government is to appoint the Chairman. There is no such thing as an unbiased judgment on such questions. Therefore, as the Chairman will, we are sure, be drawn from the employing class the workers are at once placed in a minority.

Participation in such joint committees is disastrous to the interests of the workers; it merely postpones the day of their emancipation.

#### The miners demands and the statutory Commission.

##### The Unemployed Deserted.

The miners' conference has weakly surrendered to the proposals of the Government. It has agreed to postpone the strike notices from March 15th to March 22nd, in order that the findings of the Statutory Commission may be known before action is taken. It has decided to accept seats in the Commission. Because the Government refused to deal with the demand for full pay for the unemployed, the Conference has decided to abandon

this claim, and, instead of making it one of the strike issues, it has asked the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party to take the matter up. As everyone knows, that means leaving the unemployed to the tender mercies of the Government, unless some other section of Industrial Workers will champion their case, or unless the unemployed themselves will take revolutionary steps to forward it. The Labour Party and Trade Union Congress are impotent for action, and have clearly shown that they will not even recommend a strong independent policy to their constituent bodies which have the power to enforce it. This is the moment chosen by the Government to reduce the unemployed benefit, and no protest has come either from the miners, or from the bodies to which it has handed over the unemployed claim.

Having accepted seats on the Statutory Commission, the miners' representatives will find it exceedingly difficult to remain uncompromised. Every effort will be used to make them responsible for its findings, and their position will be most difficult.

The miners agreed to join the Commission, if half the seats were allotted to them, but they have had to content themselves with three nominees out of twelve. The employers have also three representatives. The Government has nominated six, three of whom are said to be representing other industries on the employers' side, and three are to watch the workers' interests in other industries. The consequence of all this is that the Socialist element which provides the driving force in the mining areas can hardly be satisfied with the miners' representation. It was natural that the miners should choose their representatives, president and vice-president, though even Robert Smillie does not fully represent the younger revolutionary element, but it is really an injustice that the elderly hide-bound reactionary, Sydney Webb, should have been chosen as representative of the miners, whilst Sir Leo Chiozza Money is, after all, a Liberal, and Mr. Tawney comes from the Workers' Educational Association, whilst the miners are active partisans of the Central Labour College. The men whom the Government has chosen to represent the employers' interests are typical employers and men of affairs, and one at least is said to be an expert in regard to coal. The men, whom the Government has chosen to support the three miners representatives are middle-class theorists who have no first-hand experience of the miner's life. The Chairman of the Commission is a judge, and judges are notoriously reactionary in their views. The miners are fairly certain to find themselves either out-voted, or worse still, and much more probable, manoeuvred into a false position.

And outside the Commission are the rank and file. A strong appeal will be made to them to support their representatives on the Commission, «loyally» to abide by its findings, to avoid, at all costs, industrial dislocation at this important crisis in the world's history.

Will the rank and file realise that the crisis is one in which they have a great part to play? Will they see that the struggle which is convulsing the world is the struggle of labour to establish Socialism, and that they must not shirk the issue, but take their stand on the side of the International working class? Will the miners lead the way in the British Section of the International Industrial Revolution?

### More war.

#### The Enormous Cost of Fighting International Socialism.

In 1913—1914 the Army Estimate were 28,346,000 pounds, for the year 1919—20 they reach the enormous sum of 440,000,000 pounds. Let there be no mistake about the fact that this money is being raised to fight Socialism.

Mr. Churchill says that there is an Allied Army in Archangel and Murmansk; its size he would not tell, but explained that it was half British and that whatever the Paris Conference might decide it could not leave till the summer was far advanced.

«Since they have got to stay they must be supported—with reinforcements—with everything they may require».

Strange, very strange, it is not, that reinforcements can be sent and yet the original force cannot be removed? Why cannot it be removed? Is it because of climatic conditions, or because the Government desires that it should stay? «Further»—said Mr. Churchill, «we have incurred heavy commitments to the people who have espoused our cause». The people? No! The Capitalists, the landlords and the Czarists; the few who had wealth, not the many who had scarcely the wherewithal to live!

In the Caucasus, too, Britain has «an army of moderate size». Again Mr. Churchill would have it that it is only there by accident. It went there to fight the Turks and then it just happened to stay «to maintain order in those wild regions and amongst those turbulent people pending the decision of the Peace Conference». How can it be pretended that an army is merely «maintaining order» when its engagements, victories, and reverses are constantly being recorded? «In this theatre we have no special British interests to serve». Indeed? Have we not heard of oil wells at Baku and other rich products, and was it not stated recently that this part of Russia would shortly be opened up as a profitable field of commercial enterprise? But Mr. Churchill had more to say that this army was a source of support to general Denikin to whom Britain is sending arms, munitions and equipment and «we have a military mission at general Denikin's headquarters», and he gained an important victory last month and took 30,000 Bolshevik prisoners. And we have also some soldiers in Siberia, fighting with Colonel John Ward and Admiral Kolchak, the reactionary ruler who maintains his government on the revenue derived from vodka and on loans from Britain.

Mr. Churchill added that on an early date the Allied Governments must make up their minds as to their policy in Russia. He was careful to state that the decision must be made in Paris; the House of Commons is made to understand that it does not count. The Allied Governments must also come to a decision in regard to Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and many other states which, he said, «are not yet engulfed in the area of Bolshevik devastation». Probably the Allies will desire to carry on the International civil war in those regions also. On the Rhine, too, he said a strong army must be maintained after the peace terms are signed.

The policy of the British Government is now clearly shown to include the maintenance of a great European Army. Churchill explained:

«Without this power we have no means whatever of influencing or guiding the course of events in Europe, except by starving every one into Bolshevism».

Let it be clearly realised this policy of influencing by means of a big army is the policy alleged to have been pursued by Germany, the policy which Britain was supposed to condemn. But as we have always contended the policies of all capitalist and militarist powers closely approximate.

### The revolution in Hungary.

This declaration by Joseph Pogany of the Hungarian Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Hungary shows how matters are developing in that country:

«The political revolution, although apparently at an end, is in reality only beginning, and will be succeeded by a social revolution, which will only end when we have completely crushed the old system. There is a revolutionary Government, but it has no power over the country. The question is whether the Government is willing to carry through rapidly the revolutionary transformation. We gave them a limited time to demolish the old system and the sources of its power. If they want to be masters they must crush the present landowners, capitalists and clergy. Not the small landowners but the farm labourers must carry out the land reform. In the development of Socialism they can proceed step by step, but the acquisition of power must be settled now».

### The German Socialist Revolution.

Germany is surely now in the throes of the second revolution, the equivalent of the Bolshevik revolution which gave all power to the Soviets. The murderers of Eisner and his colleagues, by the reactionaries have hastened the upheaval, the martyrs have not died in vain. The memory of Liebknecht and Luxemburg is also playing its part in the struggle. The Allied Governments who fear and detest Bolshevism, are themselves helping to hasten its advent by the blockade, which is making life intolerable for the German people, and giving to them that courage born of despair which enabled them to plunge forward along the road of adventure which leads to the new civilisation.

Why are the allied capitalists pursuing this course, which for them, is suicidal, though in spite of the present suffering it will ultimately benefit the workers? The allied capitalists are not, we think, united in their policies. Some, no doubt, are intent on squeezing further concessions from Germany by means of the blockade; and in thoroughly crushing her power of economic rivalry, others, those of the most militant temperament, believe it necessary to come to grips with Socialism. They desire a large and extended part of Germany and all the countries east of Germany in order to meet Socialism at every point which it has reached, and to exterminate it ere it spreads to allied countries.

But this very madness of animosity, which shrinks not from an even more horrible and extensive war than that from which we have just emerged, will inevitably hasten the coming of its antithesis—Socialism, the universal brotherhood of mankind.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## Kautsky — Wilson.

«Democrat» Kautsky has found it necessary to take the «super» democrat Wilson under his wing and «explain» his policy. Some workers have dared to assert that Wilson is the representative of American trust king and of American Imperialism, and that the «democratic» League of Nations is nothing better than a dangerous instrument in the hands of bloody Dollar, deprived of all sense of right and wrong.

In this connection Kautsky publishes a brochure for our edification: «The Root of Wilson's policy» In the introduction it says: «Provided the League of Nations is successful in laying the foundation of a new National and International policy, we may look forward to the future with complete security» «To realize this enchanting prospect, two factors are necessary» — says Kautsky, namely, — the Internationally inclined section of the proletariat and the greatness of America and its president Wilson».

About the greatness of America there can of course, be no doubt, so that in order to be able to «look safely towards the future», all we must have is the support of the Internationalists for Wilson. At first perhaps we shall not be able to afford some «infringements of the rights of nations for self-determination», but the League will not delay to put that in order. «Only allow the nation time enough to come to itself again and to overcome the moral consequences of the war, then former enemies will again bring justice into their mutual relations».

This alluring «idyll» was pictured by Kautsky, the «Marxist», at about Christmas 1918, just at the time when the Allies issued as the final victors, and energetically set about dividing the booty».

By what chance, is it that Wilson finds himself thus attired in the garb of chief warrior of the internationally thinking proletariat? This is what Kautsky explains to us in his brochure, basing himself upon the book of a bourgeois German writer, M. I. Bonn, called: «What does Wilson want?» Judging from what Kautsky quotes from this book, the opinion varies very little from the usual arguments of the American hired bourgeois press. This circumstance does not prevent Kautsky, however, from observing that «it is a fine illustration of America's peace and war policy».

We are assured by Bonn in his book, and Kautsky repeats it after him, that «Wilson acts quite sincerely and independently of the Imperialists of this country» Wilson's policy, — according to Kautsky, — corresponds with the traditional policy of America which, in its turn, is founded upon the peculiar conditions of development of the United States, its young social structure, and its complete isolation. According to the opinion of Kautsky, Wilson's policy is nothing whatever to do with the policy of the Imperialists of his country. This sounds crude in the mouth of Kautsky who, however, points out that nowhere as much as in America are Trusts and Finance Capital so highly developed. He adds even that this development offered the first inducement to Imperialism in America. «Owing to all these causes, finance capital developed first of all in America, the Imperialist tendency of which at once came into conflict with the traditional pacific policy of the country».

Later on, Kautsky points to the conquest of Cuba, Portorico, the Philippines, to the fortification of the Panama Canal, the foundation of the Panama Republic, as the essential manifestations of American Capitalism. «The principal aim of this was domination over the Pacific Ocean, and its conversion into an American sea by means of extending American sovereignty from its eastern shores to its west, including China». All this, let it be said, is not particularly pacific. However, the United States rapidly forsook their young and Imperialist illusions, seeing that «Imperialism is but a common tendency, without doubt deeply founded upon economic interests, but which is easily overcome when faced by sufficiently strong resistance».

Kautsky does not tell us from what sources this resistance to an overwhelming finance capital are to be taken. He points out only that, as a result of the overwhelming military expenditure, (from 1912 to 1914 the general sum of expenditure on the Army and Navy grew from 84 million dollars to 314 millions, a mere trifle, of course, for a Power like the United States), the hostility of the American people towards Imperialism has been «growing increasingly».

On the other hand, Kautsky says, American Finance Capital has not yet revealed an untoward attachment for Imperialism also, because railway rolling stock has been a matter of considerably more importance for large American industry than work for the Army. Here Kautsky is making an obvious mistake, for he plainly overlooks the profits of those directly interested in war, namely the ammunition manufacturers, for whom the powerful development of Imperialism is connected with the most alluring prospects. Besides Imperialism has its roots in all capitalist development, in its tendency towards making finance capital a dominating factor. The export of capital, in the form of the means of production, railway rolling stock and so on, is the most characteristic peculiarity of capitalist development. Here we see that America is in no way obliged to renounce its Imperialist tendencies at a time when, as every philistine is capable of seeing, America has converted itself from an agricultural State into an industrial one, and that for this reason its need to export the products of industry will go on increasing. Kautsky refers to the overwhelming number of votes of the «democratic» party in comparison with the «republican» party. The distinction between these two groups however can hardly be established by any other means than by a microscope, and then all that is to be seen is that «democracy» is characterized by a little more hypocrisy and a little more dexterity in deluding the workers. Indeed, Kautsky himself recognizes (though in another place, of course), that «they (both American bourgeois parties) convert themselves ever more and more into plain sets of hunters for soft jobs».

Meanwhile, how do affairs stand with China and the South American Republics? Has America really forsaken its appetites in this direction? Kautsky cleverly evades this question. «The Pan-American» strivings are welcomed by him as the first step towards universal peace, while, for China «the policy of the open door» means nothing less than the advent of a new era!



Just as though military forces were not required to open these, let it be said, half bolted doors and still more military forces to keep them open. What other purpose do these «open doors» serve if not the import of products of American machine construction and steel industry? And this will result in the construction of a railway in China, the foundation of new branches of industry and concession of all kinds. Is it possible that this will be left later on without any protection, in spite of the danger of Chinese revolutionaries and exploitation of foreign competitors? Under whatever ornamental name Imperialist policy may be concealed, the consequences of it will always be robbery, murder and merciless reaction. We have still much to learn from American workers on this account. But for the millions of proletariat, forced for a hungry wage, to spend their lives in excessive hard work, there remains but one conclusion, to fight against all Imperialists and all their servants. For even that glorious abundance of untilled land has become part of the legendary traditions, which Kautsky still imagines to be the master-springs of Wilsonian policy. Then he goes on: «Thus Wilson has conducted an anti-imperialist policy in complete concord with the majority of his people, who elected him for the second time in 1916, and in conformity with the traditions of the country».

It is hardly worth while to pause in detail upon the way Kautsky expounds the motives which caused America to participate in the war. He adheres entirely to Bonns' affirmation who, in the brochure in question, reiterates the statements of the American literary hacks that «Wilson took up a resolute attitude in regard to

unlimited submarine warfare. Wilson resented the equivocal German policy in Mexico» (What would happen with the League of Nations if we ceased to believe in equivocation?) Finally, the Russian February revolution threatened to weaken the Allied Powers. America came forward only to restore the balance of military power and to secure a «just» peace. The peace conditions advanced by Wilson, according to Kautsky's opinion, included «substantially, the demand for the democratization of Germany» seeing that the democratization of foreign states is «a necessary condition and the surest guarantee for the soundness of the League of Nations, of international Courts of Arbitration and of general disarmament» «Only by means of general disarmament, says Kautsky, even referring to Kant on this occasion,—may the different States acquire that mutual trust towards each other, without which real general disarmament is unthinkable».

The November revolution in Germany fulfilled this condition and, moreover, earlier and «more thoroughly than I (Kautsky) supposed». «Democracy abroad may for this reason hold out its hand towards the German people, in full confidence. It has every ground to propose peace to it upon conditions which would make such peace a really permanent one».

One scarcely knows what to be more astonished about, the complete absence of all socialist thought, or the submission with which Kautsky cringes at the feet of Wilson and other «democrats», entreating from them «a just peace».

C. U. RUTGERS.

## The Duty of the Western Proletariat.

Sitting in the train hurrying me to the South I recall the rapid journey I made from Odessa to Petrograd which still more strengthened my feeling of reverence and love towards that martyred people which during two years patiently enduring sufferings and shedding its blood for the sake of establishing a new fraternal community of nations upon the ruins of the old world of anarchy and barbarism which had collapsed under a load of shame brought about by the war.

In the vast stretch of country from the Black Sea to the White Sea one observes many things which arouse genuine sorrow but at the same time one observes also not a few very instructive facts which strengthen our confidence in the future and which may be interesting, enlightening and bring to our side our European comrades who obstinately refuse either to understand us or dare not act.

The young newly restored Ukraine Soviet Republic, which was greeted with great enthusiasm by the masses of workers at last liberated from the oppression of the military chancelleries of Skoropadsky and Franche d'Espere found herself faced by numerous problems, the majority of which have been already solved by her elder sister and protector—socialist Russia. The Ukraine republic must devote all her strength to defend her still precarious existence.

Battalions of the adventurer Petlura at first pushed back by the pressure of the revolutionary soldiers, the regiments of the Tsar's general Denikin, the divisions of the Rumanian king and the Polish bourgeois governments have formed a menacing ring. And while the workers and peasants perceiving the danger threatening the revolution are hurrying into the ranks of the army stopping their work in the fields and leaving every thing to the old people and children, the black gangs of Grigorieff and the «zelony», receiving support in money and ammunition from the agents of the Entente powers, come out of the forests where they have entrenched themselves, blow up food and ammunition trains, plunder villages and towns terrorizing the population, kill Jews in thousands and torture revolutionaries.

Now, owing to the heroic sacrifices of the people who rose in its entirety the military situation which not long ago seemed to be quite hopeless is greatly improving.

After being absent for four months I found that the work of social construction, so grievously hampered in Ukraine by the sudden departure to the front of the most active representatives of the soviet power, has on the contrary achieved wonderful successes in Great Russia. Although the counter revolutionary movement is finally suppressed, the war is

by no means ended. Nine months after the conclusion of the armistice, two months after the signing of the general peace treaty Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson are still compelling the socialist republic to keep some millions of citizens under arms. It is essential for the republic to hold on, to conquer everywhere: in the west, in the east, in the north fighting against the lackeys of imperialism, against the adherents of the old régime, against the white guards of admiral Koltchak, Paderewsky, Haller, Mannerheim and Judenitch. If there will not be an international revolutionary front, if the working class of Western Europe will not rise unanimously, the bourgeois and capitalist oligarchy will not lay down arms until the last drop of blood has been shed by the last revolutionary. Russia, succumbing in this struggle, bleeding and deserted by the European proletariat for whose happiness she fights so desperately, will heroically sacrifice herself till the end.

It seems almost incredible that the Soviet power doomed to such unheard of struggle should day by day extend its grandiose work of social construction.

The simple and calm confidence with which the Petrograd proletariat steadily performs its mission under the immediate danger of the enemy's attacks is one of the rarest and most brilliant examples of human valour. Notwithstanding the assaults of the white guards from Esthonia and Finland, allied detachments from the North, and the English Baltic fleet, notwithstanding the treachery of the Tzarist ex-officers who joined the Red Army in order to betray it, notwithstanding the fierce raids of English airmen dropping bombs on the outskirts of the town which kill dozens of women and children, notwithstanding the severe hunger,—it indefatigably continues to develop its activity.

At the time when fights are taking place almost at the gates of the town, social work on a wide scale is being carried on: the abolition of insanitary quarters, the construction of new roads, drainage work, the arranging of filtering machines, drain pipes etc. Work is carried on with the purpose of adapting bourgeois houses to the needs of workers families. Large municipal gardens are laid out round the town. In every district the institutions of the "Drop of Milk", creches and schools are developing. The magnificent houses built by the aristocracy in the vicinity of woods are converted into children's colonies. Order and discipline is getting gradually introduced by the workshop committees in workshops established on hygienic principles, and reorganised according to the requirements of science. The rights and welfare of the workers, their material and moral requirements are guaranteed by a series of regulations which are realising what exceeds even the boldest dreams of the most advanced workers of Western Europe. The majority of Russian towns are following the example set by great Red Petrograd. Work is going on everywhere, a spirit of courage and confidence reigns everywhere.

For how long, however, will the proletarian government deprived of bread, coal and iron be able alone to hold out under such a terrible pressure? On one side it has to offer resistance to the wolves of reaction constantly raging at the frontiers and from the other side it continues the complicated work of social reconstruction. Being left to fight alone, is it not doomed to destruction? Is it possible that the European communists and socialists can reconcile

themselves to the very thought of such destruction? Do not they understand that a still heavier burden will fall upon their shoulders in the event of imperialism, which after conquering the Russian revolution will rally all its forces, and direct them against its own proletariat? Do they not know amid what floods of blood the world reaction will secure its victory? Have they forgotten that wherever the white guards have been successful even for a short time they massacred thousands and tens of thousands of victims. Surely they have heard of the slaughter which is still being committed by Denikin, Grigorieff, Pellura in the Ukraine, Kolchak in the Ural and Siberia, Mannerheim in Esthonia and Finland. Surely the terrible groans of the peasants and workers who have been cruelly tortured by Tzarist executioners must have reached their ears. Are the European communists and socialists not aware of this? If they are aware of this how is it possible they should be easy in their mind? Do they not understand that in the end they will be responsible for all the terrible crimes. What have they done to avert those crimes?

What has been done hitherto by those who stand at the head of Western proletarian organisations to save the Russian revolution? Nothing. To limit one's activity to writing a few newspaper articles and to saying a few words from the platform—means to do nothing.

The masses of the proletariat, what have they done?—Nothing. To limit their activities to meetings and street demonstration means to do nothing.

They have done nothing and nothing has been achieved.

They have appealed a few times to the governments of the Entente powers to stop the dispatch of troops to Russia. In spite of that Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson continue to send ever new detachments against the bolsheviks and if it has stopped for some time, if it became necessary to send some regiments from Russia back to France, it is due exclusively to the fact that the soldiers themselves, owing to our propaganda and especially to the fact that having understood the real state of things they refused to play the vile role of executioners of their Russian brothers and disobeyed orders calling on them to commit murder.

Hearing that the Bureau of the General Federation of Labour and the administrative committee of the French socialist party are sending their congratulations to the French soldiers and sailors upon their revolt in the Black Sea, that Marcel Cachin from the parliamentary tribune appeals to the soldiers of the eastern expedition corps to disobey orders, I feel that these jests only emphasise still more the cowardice and indecision of the leaders who are not able to foresee events and to direct them, are not capable of displaying revolutionary activity, who can only sanction facts which have taken place on the initiative of the workers themselves. Instead of leading the workers they follow their lead, instead of pushing them forward, they contrive to reduce their strivings to naught.

Alas! Jaures is gone. During the five years that we mourn him, we never felt so keenly as we feel now, how great is the loss of the 31st July 1914. Of all Western socialists he would be the first to understand the incomparable greatness and beauty of the Russian proletarian revolution. His

keen statesman's mind his ardent belief in revolution would have brought him soon to work conjointly with Lenin. Nobody would dare to affirm, even to think that this great man, a man of all unending kindness and high morals, the defender of all the weak, who fought for the liberation of all oppressed nationalities, could even for a moment through narrowmindedness (?) or cowardice become a mute or inactive accomplice of the most terrible crime—the slow strangulation of the people's revolution.

„What I like in you, — said Jules Guede once to Jaures, — is that your words are immediately followed by action“.

Yes, Jaures would have from the beginning revealed the fatal and criminal designs. With the nobility and fearlessness inherent in him he would have courageously stood up between the plundering governments of the Entente powers and the Russian revolution and would have openly called the French people to rise in revolt.

But Jaures is dead and his successors have not yet appeared. We do not delude ourselves. We appeal neither to social traitors who became the servants of the bourgeoisie, nor the false internationalists whose activity is limited to uttering oratorical protests and who are carrying on conversations and arguing with the murderers who are plunging a knife into the throat of the unhappy Russian people. Not to them do we appeal to render protection to the Russian revolution, which is under the menace of being crushed, and neither to the eminent statesmen of the General Federation of Labour. An official American radio received by us with contemptuous irony praises those gentlemen for their prudence which was the result of Clemenceau's gross threats and for the servile complaisance with which they agreed to renounce a general strike which was previously solemnly announced to the whole world. We foresaw all this. This mean capitulation will at any rate open the eyes of the syndicalist masses. They will understand at last that these people who consider it below their dignity to be the leaders of great demonstrations of the masses, as strikes are, do not deserve further confidence. At the moment when the proletariat exerting all its efforts and all its energy will prepare itself not to ordinary demonstrations but to revolt, in other words, to a revolutionary war, it will brand and drive away those leaders who deserted it before the battle and who would undoubtedly become traitors during the battle.

To the proletarian masses and only to them and to the unknown leaders who will tear the revolutionary torch out of the feeble hands of bureaucrats and parliamentarians of European social-democracy do we appeal to kindle the fire.

Is it possible to find a more noble and just battle cry than the protection of the Russian revolution which calls for a movement of emancipation which must involve the overthrow of bourgeois power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prepare the way for the reign of Communism. Enough meetings and peaceful demonstration! Let the workers untiringly prepare themselves for this moment. With this object in view let them create in towns and villages secret organisations, soviets of soldiers, workers and peasants. Let them everywhere seek, obtain and accumulate arms and ammunition. Let them choose commanders belonging to their class. Many sons of

the people were trained by the war to become commanders. Let them form detachments not large, but disciplined and brave. Let them secure the support, at any rate the neutrality of a part of the troops. And going out let every one take with him a revolver and a bomb.

Let them demand everything and they will obtain everything.

Only inconsiderable forces of the Entente powers remained in Russia. Owing to their strenuous efforts the soldiers succeeded in being sent home and we are absolutely certain that the French soldiers who have formed together with us communist groups in South Russia, in Bessarabia and in Roumania will offer the proletarian active support. Nevertheless some of the allied soldiers still remain in Russia and all the time new detachments are arriving. Those who remain and arrive are volunteers, poor unintelligent people who at the beginning do their work without enthusiasm and later on with repulsion. Those who remain and arrive are chiefly the most obedient and the least scrupulous servants of reaction and capital, like the galant ambitious officers who arrived with general Bertelo for the purpose of training organising and urging the unhappy Roumanian peasants to fight the revolution, or those who arrived with general Janen in order to do the same work for Kolchak and Denikin, or with general Nissit in order to form a polish army against the bolsheviks, etc. It is necessary in the first place to demand the immediate recall of all these military detachments all these special missions which are acting against the revolutionary states, against Russia as well as against the Balkan peninsula and Hungary.

Moreover, the European workers must prevail in stopping the further support of the counter-revolutionary and antisemitic troops, the restorers of the knout who are responsible for pogroms and are the executioners of the socialists—Kolchak, Denikin, Mannerheim, Judenitch and other adherents of the old regime against whom, not only the bolsheviks but all Russian socialists, the mensheviks, social democrats and social revolutionaries rebel.

The Entente powers not being able to compell their soldiers to crush the Russian revolution are showering gold upon the bandage adorned with golden shoulder-straps. Through the Russian railway, through the White and the Black sea supplies of ammunition, arms, flying machines, tanks, poison gases, are being sent owing to which they surpass in equipment the worker-peasant Red Army. It would be quite sufficient if the French, English and American dockers, following the example of solidarity displayed by the Italian dockers would refuse to load any kind of war material and, in case of necessity will not hesitate to blow up transports carrying yellow troops.

The counter revolutionary gangs having thus to rely upon their own forces will be soon destroyed by the Red Army. They would have been destroyed a year ago if Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson had not offered the white guards such great assistance.

Thus the civil war would stop and the pacific soviet government, which from the beginning demanded peace, being quite prepared to any sacrifices to achieve it, would demobilise its army. As the consequence, various workers, engineers and specialists, tens of thousands of whom are at the present time

in the ranks of the army would return and occupy the former places at the factories; and at administrative institutions. In order to offer to the Russian revolution the opportunity to begin again the difficult task of reconstruction and to conduct it in normal conditions something more is necessary; it is essential to stop the blockade.

Russia is an agricultural country and her industrial apparatus is hardly developed owing to which she imported great quantities of manufactured goods, exporting hemp, flax, and metal in exchange for corn. For the cultivation of land Russia requires foreign agricultural implements; for the transport of her harvest she requires engines and wagons which are made in our country, in order to restore the industrial apparatus destroyed by the war she requires our machines.

The Entente powers, giving up the idea of conquering Russia entirely by military force, decided to apply the blockade as a means of compelling her to surrender. During eighteen months the Entente powers not only themselves refused to buy from Russia or sell to her, but the virtuous League of Nations this powerful weapon for the oppression of the proletariat, invented by the hypocrite Wilson has prohibited the enemy and neutral states to have any kind of business relation with Russia.

This cruel blockade destroyed the transport, rendered it difficult to supply the population with food, ruined Russian industry and agriculture. Owing to the blockade hundreds of thousands of innocent victims, old people, sick, women and children have pe-

ished of hunger and want. The responsibility for all these victims lies upon European the proletariat who have not averted this. Let the proletariat not increase its guilt by still remaining indifferent. Let them demand and compel the Entente powers immediately to stop the blockade and to start economic relations with Russia not hesitating to apply revolutionary means to achieve this end.

The fate of the revolution, i. e. the future of the working masses of the whole world, the welfare and the regeneration of the whole humanity are in the hands of the Western proletariat.

They are destined either to become mean and contemptible accomplices of a crime — if they will permit the soviet power in Russia and Hungary to be crushed;—for eternal shame will fall on them and they will make more difficult and distant their own liberation,—or forming fighting organisations immediately take the offensive and compel the Entente powers to loosen their clutches and to save Russia and Hungary, achieving that, the triumph of the revolution in these countries should be followed by the triumph of the world revolution.

Jaures, the incomparable leader is gone. The official leaders of the Western social democracy and syndicalism are narrow-minded traitors, and cowards. The proletariat and only the proletariat must make a revolutionary attack. Let the proletariat hasten, for they have already delayed too long.

Jacques Sadoul.

Between Petrograd and Moscow,  
24 th of July 1919.

## Extracts from the Documents of Charles Dumas.

Charles Dumas is, as is known, one of the most prominent representatives of French social-patriotism. Belonging to the extreme right wing of this party, he represents at present, together with Compere-Morel, Adrien Weber, and Alexander Varreine, one of the most frenzied supporters of the policy of intervention in Russian affairs. In spite of this, Cachem and Longuet consider him a good fellow, with whom they are only temporarily at variance. Charles Dumas, during the first months of the war, was secretary to the Minister Jules Guesde (who sold his Marxism for an empty Minister's portfolio), was entrusted with a mission to Russia, which he visited on two different occasions. In Petrograd and Moscow he maintained relations with French agents and certain representatives of the mensheviks and social revolutionaries, but the mission that he had been charged with satisfied him very little and he had other ideas (as indeed had many others) of occupying Noulens' place, in relation to whom he had shown repeated evidences of animosity.

During the searches recently conducted in the offices of the French Consulate General, located in the premises of the Danish Red Cross in Moscow, certain documents were found which, although they come rather late, are of an extremely interesting na-

ture. These papers turned out, for the most part to be copies of communications which Dumas was in the habit of sending to Pichon. In making his hasty departure from Moscow, without troubling, in his hurry, to enquire about the fate of his two secretaries who had been arrested, these papers were placed by him in large sealed envelopes addressed: M. Charles Dumas, Paris, rue François I, N 3, Press Bureau (Maison de la Presse) \*).

On the 2nd of April 1918, Charles Dumas sent a letter to the French Ambassador Noulens who at that time had taken up residence at Vologda, containing the request for the payment of 100,000 roubles for a newspaper. In this letter he reproaches Noulens for his illiberality, for which the latter was, in fact, notorious. "With great reluctance, — he wrote, — you gave me for this purpose forty thousand roubles and afterwards left for me 10,000 rouble, which were found only long after your departure and which I received in Moscow. The result of all this is the fact that the newspaper

\* Pamphleteers, political agents, journalists and police agents had been working in the Press Bureau during the whole time of the war. It represented a Bureau of propaganda of the Foreign office conducting the work of espionage.

being suddenly deprived of all means was obliged to cease publication, after owing money to various people, whilst I personally was deprived of the possibility of settling my engagements". Later on he complains that of the credit of 3 millions francs, released by the Military Committee, only an insignificant part was placed at his disposal. On the 10th of April, Noulens writes to his "dear friend" a letter in reply in which he points out that the reproaches made to him did not surprise him. "As to advancing money to you, while placing certain limits to your proposals, I only made use of the right accorded to me by the Government, authorising me to accept these proposals or decline them. Being favourably disposed towards you and knowing your conscientiousness, I never asked for a detailed explanation and, without reflecting, I endeavoured to meet you: I should have acted much more strictly had I had to decide this or that question on my own account". Later on, the late Ambassador writes: "I am of the opinion that our relations towards certain Russian parties should not induce us to render financial assistance until they are able to afford us real assistance. Further I am inclined to think that the people, who have applied to you in the matter of publishing a newspaper, do not, at the present moment, have any influence whatever on the fate of State". Finally, in his letter to his "dear friend", Noulens points out that he must not exaggerate the importance or the mission with which he had been entrusted. "Being situated so far away from you, I cannot give you more authority than that which I gave you while I was in Petrograd. Provided you had in view any useful designation for funds of some kind, then you should have advised the Consul-General in Moscow, who in my absence, would have requested, instructions from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order to confer with the latter as to the expediency of the proposed expenditure

Dumas is not less dissatisfied with the behaviour of Noulens than he is with the behaviour of the Military Mission against whom he likewise makes a number of accusations. On the 4th. of January 1918, he informs Pichon: "I consider it necessary, on principle, that the direction of our political activities should be left entirely to the Ambassador and competent diplomatic agents. This in no way prevents the Military from being useful in other spheres: on the contrary".

From other documents which will shortly be published in their entirety <sup>\*)</sup>, the activities of Dumas in the matter of intervention in Russian affairs, is to be seen. On the 10th. of April he writes: "If you wish to save the situation, you must undertake immediate and energetic intervention. Putting aside the operations undertaken at Vladivostok, it is absolutely necessary that international troops in a large number should make a descent upon Archangel and the Murman. This is justified by the occupation by the Germans of Finland. Around these allied troops, a purely Russian army of some 200,000, to 300,000 men will concentrate very quickly. It is not worth while occupying ourselves any further with the Bolsheviks. It is possible that in order to save themselves they may seek our friendship, but before us we have

nothing else than a corpse already half decomposed. I must state, as a socialist, that all their activities represent nothing but a denial of socialism, and that at the present moment the vast majority of the Russian workers, who have been deluded by them, are forsaking them. Open elections would at once reveal their loss of all confidence".

"The Allies would betray their democratic and legal principles were they to do anything whatever to save a Government of adventurers at a time when it had become definitely shipwrecked; a government which put a bullet into the head of the Constituent Assembly and, to use the words of Gorky, established "an autocracy of savages". The only consequence of relations with the Bolsheviks would be to separate us from and to weaken all healthy elements of Russian democracy".

Similar to all allied counterrevolutionaries, and in particular to their friend and comrade in the work of destruction, Bertamon, Dumas endeavoured, by the aid of financial means, to bring about the overthrow of Bolshevism. This explains his aversion to a revision of the Brest Treaty.

Whilst maintaining connections with the social-revolutionaries, he had the opportunity to send to the editor of the "Humanite" a manifesto of the Central Committee of the socialist revolutionary Party, composed by a member of the Constituent Assembly Timofeyeff, but at the same time he persistently requested that the name of Timofeyeff should not be published and that the latter should not be compromised. In the same manner he informed about the controversies which took place on the 18th. of May 1918 at the inter-fraction conference, in which the social-revolutionaries, trudovniki, national socialists, internationalist parties, the united Jewish socialist party and the Musselman socialist party took part. On a few occasions he sent declarations of his friends Dan and Erlich. His relations to the mensheviks and social-revolutionaries did not prevent him, after the failure of one-sided fanatic plans, to reproach and discredit them. For instance, he states that the social-revolutionaries were hypnotised by the idea of peace at any price". On the 12th. of January 1918 he writes to Pichon: "Peace for them means the possibility of overthrowing the Bolsheviks. If power were transferred into their hands they with the same haste as Lenin, but worse than he, would do everything in order to free themselves as quickly as possible from the troops. We would perhaps remain if they were in power, but it is possible also that we could and still can with no less success do for the Bolsheviks what I am trying to realize with the means placed at my disposal". He states that the role of the mensheviks would result in nothing else than making the way by which Russia has come down to its present condition still more slippery. This is how he speaks of his friends: "On the 2nd. of July when I left Russia, Tzaretsky said to me: we shall fight against the madness of the maximalists until death. This meant only I am going to the Caucasus. In fact, he left for there together with Tcheidze who has stayed there until now". On the 22nd. of February Dumas reported that a member of the Constituent Assembly had visited him and informed him that the Constituent Assembly, according to all probability, would assemble in Eastern Russia and make an appeal to the people to organize a struggle.

<sup>\*)</sup> Charles Dumas, and his "socialist" mission in Russia. Complete text of original documents with introduction and commentary by A. Gilbeauz. Published by the Moscow Communist International.

At the same time he added: Tchernoff asks you semi-officially whether in that case France and America would be prepared to afford the Constituent Assembly financial and military aid... Soukomin is endeavouring to get to France for the purpose of putting himself in touch with the French Government".

In another communication despatched to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dumas points out the necessity of having important sums sent to him, and praises his friend, the equilibrist of social-opportunism, Huysman. On the 24th of January 1918 he writes: In Stockholm I met Huysman who asked me to insist that the Belgian newspapers published in Holland with French money should cease making violent attacks against him. Personally he was very little affected by these attacks, but it annoyed him

that all this should be done with French money. He was a convinced partizan of the Entente and all attacks affirming the contrary were completely unjust".

The few extracts we have selected will give the reader some idea of the "minor correspondence" of Charles Dumas which, owing to his cowardice, as witnessed by his secretaries and Mile Carlier, instead of destroying he left in one of the fire proof safes in the offices of the French Consulate. All this indicates the role which has been played by the heroes of the Yellow International who on the 4th. of August 1919 sold themselves body and souls for money and decorations after having cynically called revolutionary and consistent internationalists of the Allied states, German agents.

**Henri Gilbeaux:**

## Byron's Prophecy of Moscow.

(An historical Examination).

"Thou standest alone unrivalled, till the fire to come, in which all empires shall expire."  
Byron. 1823. (Vol. 3, page 273).

There are historians who declare history does not repeat itself. But for the third time in the course of one century, we see the horrorstricken faces of those who have reasonably and honestly striven to advance, but who have been checked before the temporary triumph of the ignorant and despised, who are dragging them down again into the mire. Those who have read Herten will never forget the depressed state of mind, almost resembling despair, to which the thinking public were reduced in the bloody June days of 1848, resulting in the triumph of the reaction and the appearance of the Second Empire, and its direct inheritance of the Versailles Constituent Assembly which barbarously suppressed the Paris Commune. Since then half a century has passed, and we now witness attempts, again at Versailles, to suppress this time not only Paris, but the whole world. But in order to find a more concrete analogy in history, one is involuntarily transferred not to a half, but to a century back, for we contemporaries of the Versailles of today, experience the same feelings as our contemporaries—few though they are—of the Holy Alliance. As then, on the pretext of suppressing a military adventure action was taken to extirpate all traces of the French revolution, so now, but with still worse Pharissism, under the pretext of a struggle with militarism, they are striving to destroy another hydro-headed world, social revolution. Then, as now, resound the rejoicings of the conquerors, with the difference that with the exception of a few bold protests from the lands of the conquerors hardly any protests were heard, even on the part of the vanquished and the neutrals. Now, the people have boldly deserted the ranks of the combatants to follow the path to the new order. Amongst the vanquished and even in the camp of the conqueror intoxicated by victory, millions of the masses have become enlightened. Now we hear the loud clear voice of the proletariat, who recognising no divisions of nationality, who

do not shrink from open combat with the powerful enemy; while then, only one voice was raised in merciless stinging protests of the pharissism and treachery of his own class, indignant at the servility of nations, not losing hope of their final liberation. Such is the tenor of one of Byron's last works: "The Age of Bronze", which, if I am not mistaken does not exist in the Russian by reason of the prohibitions of the censor, so usual in the days of not long ago. I read it some time ago, and it then appeared to me that there was much in this work which was adaptable to the present state of affairs, and I was especially struck by those lines which stand at the head of this article. This voice from the distant past, if it is only for the predicting lines on Moscow, is worth our attention now at the present stage of international politics. Impartial English critics regard this poem as one of the best of Byron's satires, and, for a long time, owing to reasons which may be well understood, attempts were made to deprive the great poet of the glory of this poem.

The Veronne Congress gave Byron the initiative for this work, and the contents deal with Napoleon's dazzling career, ending in the Moscow conflagration and the relations of all the European nations towards him; but above all, it contains a characterisation of the heroes of Veronne and the ruling classes which supported them and urged them on to War. Byron is indignant at the appellation of "Congress", for the recollection of another congress with Franklin and Washington at its head, is still fresh in his mind. Of all the crowned heads sitting at the Congress, he remarks that if Diogenes passed his lantern before their faces, he would not find one honest, human face.

The idea of the "Holy Alliance" he withers with his sarcasm, and of the triple alliance he remarks that: "Out of three blockheads, they imagine they can mould one Napoleon; and continues further,—"The Egyptians were more clever than we are. They rightly kept their

lesser gods in a stable, out fed them better». «And Esop's frogs were more happy than we are; the hooby whom the infuriated gods gave them as king, was mute while urs is all alive».

Alexander I he attests to be a barbarian «with his mask of peace». He pitilessly mocks the English chauvinists. For him, Waterloo is an example of how «even fools are sometimes lucky», and in Wellington, that hero of the ignorant and civilised crowd,—he sees only «a vulture nose, upon which the English think to suspend the whole world».

In acknowledging the coarseness of this joke, he justifies himself by the fact that it is taken from Rolman poet's criticism of Mark Anthony.

But the most astounding lines of all are those in which he lays the whole responsibility of the war at the doors of the rich landowners. Here we have before us a man, not of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but of our own times; a man who is acquainted with the ideas of economic materialism and class morality. Here are a few sarcasms which brighten these astonishing lines: «You won't be seen with those who demand a swift end to the war». But you overstrain yourselves with the cry of—«Down with everything, so long as the price of bread is raised». «You gorge and guzzle yourselves at your dinners, vow and swear your readiness to die for your country, for England». «What do you live for? Why, for rents! To what end are all the sweat, blood and tears of the millions, if not for rents?—«Right and wrong, joy and grief, life's aim, religion—what is it all for? Only for rents, rents, rents!». «You exist to hunt, to vote, and to raise the price of bread».

Such are the greetings with which Byron met the rejoicing statesmen and people, overwhelmed by their victory. But he does not despair: he knows where to expect salvation. Let us not forget that only ten years previously in 1812, on taking his seat in the House of Lords and while still a young man, Byron made his brilliant maiden speech, which horrified his listeners—the landowners so much hated by him. In this speech he stood as the champion of the workers accused of the so-called «workers' riots». This was the first peal of thunder which in ten year's, in twenty year's time, was repeated more powerfully, and which announced the oncoming storm, the revolt of the «First Labour party of our times»,—as Engels says. Involuntarily, one is convinced that had Byron

been a contemporary of the Versailles Conference in place of the Veronne Congress, he would not have altered much in his lashing poem: he would only have multiplied his characteristic of Alexander, and dedicated one to each of the participants of the Versailles Conference; even the rhyme would be the same, except for «per-cents» in the place of «rents». Yes, Byron was not only a poet who hated despots with his whole heart and soul and who was passionately fascinated by the French Revolution, but he was one of the first of those just and far seeing people who lashed the morality of that privileged class, to which they themselves belonged. He was one of the first proclaimers of the birth of another class, with another class morality, which should start the conflagration. And with wonderful, almost miraculous foresight, he connects this with the name of Moscow.

Then Moscow was right in wishing, among others, to erect a monument in honour of the great poet-citizen which his own native country refused to erect \*).

Let the historian of a definite school say what he will, history decidedly repeats itself, and each repetition, increases in accordance to its events. A hundred years ago, Byron was almost the only one who emphatically protested against the conquerors. A train of defeated though not broken thinkers and works protested against the reaction of 1848; Marx appeared and created the International. Now the conquerors are opposed by millions, not only of neutrals and vanquished, but by the conquerors themselves. The world-conflagration of which the great poet dreamed and which should destroy the world reaction, has been started by the world proletariat.

K. TIMIRIASEV,  
Ilnsk Sanatorium.

July 1919.

\* It is well known, that the beautiful statue of Byron by the hand of Sorwaldson, destined for Westminster Abbey, was not allowed to be placed there owing to the intrigues of the clergy. It was afterwards placed in the Cambridge University. How great is the enmity against him up till now, may be deduced from the following incident:—

At a public dinner, Professor Bellon was sitting next to a respectable old lady. The conversation turned on Byron, but his neighbour sternly interrupted him with the words,—«You are a foreigner, and I am an old woman; I consider it my duty to warn you that that name is never mentioned in the presence of a respectable lady».

**EDITORIAL NOTE.** We are pleased to publish the article by comrade K. Timiriasev. At a time when the whole of the English press overflows with misanthropic articles by various hypocrites and renegades of socialism, it is to be hoped that the above article by our learned comrade K. Timiriasev will leave its due impression on British «Public Opinion». K. Timiriasev, whose name is well known in England, has unhesitatingly accepted the Communist programme. In his person we have the embodiment of the «Union of Science with Socialism».

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and the World Revolution.

The numerous „critics“ of the Russian and world bolshevism which is nothing else than the theoretical and practical application of revolutionary marxism try by referring to facts, to „refute“ the greatest movement of the oppressed which was ever known in history. The traitors of socialism selecting n+1 defects of the Soviet mechanism, point to the famine and economic disorganisation of Russia, the incessant civil war and again the famine and economic disorganisation are ready to sing dithyrambs (if they are not singing already) in honour of the same capitalist regime whose grave is being dug by the revolutionary proletariat. After the destructive imperialist war (which, by the way, was directly or indirectly supported by these gentlemen) they try to fall back upon the weariness of the masses. „Things may be still worse, let us wait till the economic situation improves; then, and then, we will support the revolution, — this is the basis of Kautsky and Co's arguments.

In this article we desire to give some example from Russia to throw light upon the stages of development of the world proletariat revolution which conquers notwithstanding the funeral wail of all the „socialist“ jackals of imperialism.

### I. Civil war and the loss incurred by revolution.

When the revolutionary tribunal questioned Charlotte Cordé the murderess of Marat one of the greatest revolutionaries, this woman replied: „I killed him because he spread the fire of civil war all over France and ruined the country“. The counter revolutionary role of the Girondistes and Charlotte Cordé and the revolutionary role of Marat was already quite objectively explained by even slightly impartial historians. The time has not come to write voluminous investigations concerning the role of bolshevism. It is worth while, however, to dwell upon the remarkable fact that all bourgeois and capitalist-socialists beginning with Lloyd George and ending with Kautsky unanimously repeat against the bolsheviks the same accusations which were once brought up by the Girondist Charlotte Cordé against Marat. (they were repeated by the way by the socialist revolutionary Madame Kaplan who attempted to shoot the „tyrant“ Lenin).

In the present case the question concerning the necessity and the inevitability of civil war as well as the explanation that our decrepit opportunists can imagine a revolution without a civil war are of no interest to us. Here we want do dwell upon the question of the economic significance of the revolution.

This question can be presented on purely impartial grounds: is it true that civil war is ruinous? And if it is true what is its economic function? Let us

take first of all the example of the French revolution. There we will really find many indications of violent economic disorganisation. The famine in Paris, complete depreciation of paper money, severance of economic relations between the town and the country and between separate districts of France. Was it even partly the fault of the civil war? Certainly it was. Every revolution breaks old relations and establishes new. This refers to the economic basis as well as to the political superstructure, i. e. in the first place to the state power. And a priori it must be clear that the breaking with the old and the transfer to new productive forms must inevitably influence the process of social labour and become a factor of temporary disorganisation. But abstract social production has two sides: a „technical“ denoting the relations between the individual and nature and economic, denoting the relations between individuals. Concretely, both „sides“ are united, they are indissolubly welded. It is easily understood that the breaking of established relations between men also causes the breaking of established relations between men and nature i. e. interruptions in the process of labour and social reproduction. Let us explain this by an example. In France in the pre-revolutionary period there were feudal productive relations. The peasant worked for the landlord and was connected with him by semi-serf relations. In the towns production was regulated according to the mediaeval manner. The whole process of social labour moved in this established order. It was indissolubly connected with it and welded to it. When the revolution took place these relations broke off. The peasant ceased to obey the landlord, in towns the regulation of production broke down and the whole system of labour was smashed to pieces. As social labour always and everywhere does not exist „generally“ but in its concrete historical forms, the whole course of social production was disorganised until a new labour system was established, the system of bourgeois organisation of labour.

This is one of the forms of „harm“ which is caused by every revolution.

The second type is the immediate loss entailed by civil war. This was the object of regret in 1905 for the Russian liberal Peter Struve who was against the revolt for it entailed the cutting down of telegraph posts, damaging of wagons and the building of barricades.

Let us now pass over to the proletarian revolution.

Here we will easily notice that the economic „harm“ caused by the revolution is incomparably greater than in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. It is not difficult for a Marxist to understand the reason for this. Of course the general ruin and poverty caused by the imperialist war is of very great significance. It cannot even be compared with



the economic loss resulting from civil war, for no civil war can contend against imperialist slaughter. Nevertheless we are obliged to analyse the destructive effect of the revolution.

In the first place it is necessary to analyse what I called the irregularity in the process of reproduction. It is understood that this fact in time of a proletarian revolution effects the economic organism much deeper and wider than during a bourgeois revolution. During a bourgeois revolution a simple replacement of property-owning groups takes place, but the principle of organisation of labour is preserved. During a communist proletarian revolution on the contrary the old system of labour is smashed to the foundation, it is not merely the displacement of the upper strata of society which takes place, but the lowest strata is thrown up, the old system of production is turned upside down. It is understood that during such a smash the social loss will be greater than during a merely superficial change. The transition to fundamentally new forms of production is much more painful and difficult. There is nothing therefore to be wondered at that the severance of connections between capitalists and workmen in the factories (just as the severance of connections between soldiers and generals in imperialist armies in time of revolution otherwise known as "collapse of discipline") causes a fall in the productivity of labour on a national scale. Until a fraternal labour discipline has been established in the place of capitalist discipline and this cannot be done at once, but is the result of a long process, the negative effect of the revolution upon the economic life of the country will continue.

The second form of economic destruction of revolution is the direct loss incurred by civil war. This loss again, is much more considerable during a proletarian revolution because the struggle here is more difficult and stubborn. Moreover, this struggle is more difficult not only because the resistance of the bourgeoisie in every country is much greater than the resistance of the feudal barons, but because this struggle inevitably acquires the character of a class war between the state-organised proletariat and its regular army on the one hand and the regular armies of imperialism on the other. Class war is not simply civil war, it is the highest type of civil war: it is a war between states of different social structure. Technically it is similar to ordinary wars, economically it exhausts a country just as all wars do. The sacredness of this war for the proletariat does not in the least degree alleviate these aspects of it. The harmful influence of class war is still further increased by its prolonged character and the transfer of territories from one hand to the other. Thus even in this instance the loss is much greater than during a bourgeois revolution.

Does it follow from the above that revolution generally is stupid from the point of view of economic reason?

This is a decisive question. Here the repulsive renegacy of Kautsky and Co, their complete denial of revolutionary marxism their prostitution of social science, which they consciously or unconsciously have converted into a simple servant of Lord Capital is revealed.

In fact judging from the great French revolution it is perfectly clear that a person who estimated the

economic role of revolution exclusively from the point of view of economic loss which at a definite stage of development it undoubtedly incurs, understood nothing about that revolution. Such a point of view would be doubly vulgar even for bourgeois historian and economist because even for such a category of person the economic significance of the revolution would not lie in the temporary fall of the productive forces, but on the contrary, it would lie in that it abolishes the obsolete system of production and the decaying political superstructure from the face of the earth and that it raised the productive forces to hitherto unprecedented heights. The economic function of the revolution consists precisely in this. But this final, objective result demands definite losses in production: - and "economic disorganisation" caused by civil war represents this loss.

What was true for the French revolution in the 18th century in this connection is also true for the revolution of the world proletariat, it is true also for the revolution of one of the divisions of this proletariat, the Russian proletariat. The capitalist system of production has outlived its time and the further development of productive forces has become possible only through the abolition of the capitalist regime. But this further development of productive forces is bought at the price of its temporary waste - that is the loss incurred by revolution, the economic harm incurred by civil war. Communism advances productivity with unusual force. The main factors in communist development however, socialist revolution, civil war between proletariat and bourgeoisie, class war between proletarian state against the state organisations of financial capital entails much greater sacrifice than the revolution won by the bourgeoisie 130 years ago.

The Girondists who sought to compromise with the "old order" saw perfectly well "the flames of civil war" (and supported the civil war by fighting on the other side of the barricade) they loved to speak of the disorder into which "the extreme lefts" were reducing the country. But their limited view did not permit them to see the transitory character of this disorder as well as its cleansing significance; that this loss was compensated by the development of productivity was beyond their field of vision. The social patriots, "independents", socialist-revolutionaries, mensheviks etc. suffer from the same blindness in connection with the proletarian revolution. They seek to compromise with capitalism, and in the encroachment on capital which must be abolished they see a senseless civil war which prejudices the possibilities of "real socialism" which, you see, must come about in a "peaceful manner". Meanwhile they themselves support this war fighting together with the whites against the reds. Thus the loss incurred by the revolution emanating from the irregularities of the productive process and the direct material cost of the civil war enters into the loss of productivity of communism.

## II. Universal character of the proletarian revolution and the economic loss of the Russian revolution.

But, say our critics, the soviet authority has existed in Russia for nearly two years, why have the

bolsheviks up till now failed to put their economic relations in order? Why is famine greater in Soviet Russia than in Imperialist France? How is it, that in many branches of production the productivity of labour up till now has not risen, but fallen? Is this not a permanent regress of productivity?

Those who speak like this behave not merely like the greatest scoundrels concealing their cowardice by mocking at the bloody sacrifices of the heroic Russian and Hungarian proletariat, they also forget (because it is now convenient) what they themselves have written preached and said a thousand times. In pre-war marxist or quasi-marxists literature the question of whether a victory of socialism was possible in a single country, was repeatedly raised. Most writers answered this question in the negative, but from this it by no means follows that it is impossible or impermissible to commence a revolution and seize power in a separate country. But many bloody years have passed and the outlines of development have become a thousand times clearer and more distinct since these learned and non-learned socialists wrote these articles. It is clear now that no great war is possible in these times without that war being converted into a world war. In the same way there cannot be a great revolution which would not effect the whole world, rousing the sympathies of the proletariat, calling down upon itself the forces of world imperialism and developing into a world revolution. Marx in one of his most brilliant historical works wrote that the revolutionary party rallies the forces of the counter revolution. In this observation Marx was completely correct (but opportunists will never understand these things, their philistine morality is contained in the commandment: thou shalt not touch the bourgeoisie for they will rise in their wrath and smite you with counter revolution"). With the existence of world production and the connection between its various branches, with the inter-dependence of the various state organised bourgeois groups it is self understood that a war in one country cannot end without a decisive victory of one side of the other in a number of countries. The resistance of the Russian counter revolution, Koltchak, Denikin and Co is particularly stubborn because it has become transformed into a world counter-revolution directly through its English, French, American, Japanese and other allies. It is the foreign reservoir of energy and strength that materially and morally feed the Russian bourgeoisie. We may say, therefore, that the proletariat of that country (or those countries) which first raises the banner of revolt and which has conquered in its own country must inevitably be prepared to make great sacrifices for it is the target for the united force of universal capital. The critics of Russian bolshevism and the Russian Soviet authority start out with the naive impression that the Russian proletarian revolution is a completed process and that nothing remains to be done except to carry out positive organising work and to develop the productive forces etc. As a matter of fact however, the Russian revolution is conducting its struggle for the most elementary principles of its existence, rallying the forces of world counter-revolution and itself developing into the revolution of the world proletariat. Therefore, to regard the economic defects of Soviet Russia from the heights of Olympian greatness or to ascribe these defects to the bolsheviks or to point them out in order to re-

strain the Western European (and American) proletariat from revolt is nothing but the wildest absurdity. Such tactics are to an equal degree stupid and treacherous; stupid because it only prolongs the sufferings incurred by the struggle and increases the waste incurred by the world revolution; treacherous because it assists the world counter revolution the white terror and the horrors and savagery of imperialism. The example of Russia in this connection is particularly convincing. For nearly two years in Russia the Soviet authority can without a doubt record a tremendous organising success in all spheres commencing with the economic and finishing with the army. Nevertheless the productive forces of the country does not grow, on the contrary it falls in spite of the colossal work of organisation. How is this fact to be explained? The fault here lies not with the unproductive war consumption, but is due directly to the seizure of almost all the important sources of raw material and fuel (petroleum, coal and cotton) by the foreign imperialists and native counter-revolution. Until these necessary elements of production are in the hands of the proletariat the growth of the productive forces cannot be even thought of.

But our good critics, the Thomas, Hendersons, Sheidmans and Kautskys, these gentlemen individually and collectively (yellow Bern „international“) support the plundering „League of nations“, the holy alliance of capitalists against the proletariat. They assist the plunderers to deprive the Russian proletariat of the basis of its economic existence and then hypocritically say: „see what little good these Russian bolsheviks have done“.

The same thing applies to the blockade of Russia. The combined action of the seizure of the sources of raw material and fuel and also the blockade deprives us of the possibility of perfecting our socialised industry, certain branches of which are deteriorating. With the most complete organising possibilities it would be impossible to perform this task in the absence of the basic elements of production.

There is no doubt that the curve of our economic development will sharply rise immediately the technical possibilities are present. That depends on the position of our fronts and to a considerable degree on the development of the world revolution.

World revolution under no circumstances can happen as a single and simultaneous act. Those who called upon the workers to wait and abstain from commencing revolution until it has begun in other countries in fact betrayed social revolution for they have postponed social revolution *ad calendas grecas*.

The proper policy is expressed not in the treacherous line of conduct towards the Soviet republic, but in its support and in a speedy organisation of an economic bloc which would unite and supplement the agrarian and industrial sections of the country and would more or less maintain the normal progress of social reproduction, and in this manner neutralise the blockade and render the movement more stable in its struggle against universal capital.

The Russian proletariat has shown not its weakness but its gigantic strength. Fighting literally against the capitalists of the whole world, for besides England, Japan, America, France, Italy, Poland, Germany, Finland etc. even the „neutral“ countries actually con-

ducted war against us. This was recently proved by the discovery of the plot in Petrograd the threads of which were traced to „neutral“ consulates. Constructing a red army, throwing into it nine tenths of its best forces, the working class during two years of power have greatly improved their administrative apparatus in many spheres. It is not its fault that the world revolution has not yet broken the back of at least

one of the great sharks of allied capital. There is only one moral to be drawn from this: not to wimper over or to argue about the weakness of the proletariat as the professional corrupters of the working class do, but firmly and confidently advance to the overthrow of capital, to the dictatorship of labour, to the league of Soviet countries.

N. Boucharine.

## Public Education in Soviet Russia.

(Conclusion).

The revolutionary work of the Commissariat for Public Education follows four principal lines: school reform, the creation of an almost completely new school extension and elementary school system of public education as well as a general administration of not so much the artistic creation of the country as the process of acquainting the masses with the treasures of art and of educating them to artistic work.

The chief place in the sphere of school reforms is occupied by the idea of a Uniform Labour School, according to which all children, independently of their extraction or the financial means of their parents, enter the same school. Lower and middleclass educational institutions exist no longer in Russia. There exists only two grades of the Uniform School: one for children of from 8 to 12 years and the other for young persons of from 13 to 16 years.

In this manner, the class character that belonged to the School of the past has been completely abolished.

It is also understood that the boy or girl of 17 years of age, who has completed the second grade school, is free to enter any other Special Higher School.

It goes without saying, that until this ideal has been realized, i. e. until we have secured the possibility for the mass of the younger Russian generation to pass through all three grades of school, we will have many difficulties and obstacles to overcome.

We must remember that a natural condition to the proper working of the Uniform School is that education is open to all. This principle of general accessibility to the Schools was proclaimed by the People's Commissariat for Education in the decrees on obligatory elementary education, the abolition of all fees to absolutely all schools within the boundaries of the Soviet Republic, the distribution of gratuitous lunches to the scholars, the supply of all primars and school-books by the state, and the distribution of clothes and boots to those of them whose parents were themselves unable to afford them.

At the same time, the state endeavours to widen the circle of boarding-schools and, without in any way trying to dislocate family life endeavours at all events to keep pace with its natural disintegration and, so to speak, without interposing itself to take those children who no longer fit in to the frame. This process has been hastened to a high degree by the impoverishment of the masses by the war.

The attitude of the state towards the tasks undertaken by it is in the highest degree conscientious, but it is hardly necessary to say that the realization of these tasks meets with almost insuperable obstacles.

Let us glance at the State Budget. The general budget of the People's Commissariat for Education during the first half of 1919 reached a sum of six and a half millions which makes up all 13 millions a year, provided that the sum for the current half-year is not exceeded.

Taking into consideration a decrease in the purchasing value of the roubles at 15 times, which more or less corresponds to fact, on an average we shall arrive at an annual budget of the People's Commissariat for Education, calculated on the basis of the old silver rouble and its normal purchasing value, at more than 800 million roubles, as against 280 millions which was the maximum expenditure made under the regime of the Czars. In this manner State expenditure on Education is three times greater than previously. If, however, we calculate at the nominal value of money, we may say that the expenditures of State for Public Education have been augmented 45 times.

Of course, even a State bounty of this kind cannot correspond to actual requirements, if we consider normal development of the school system and the principle of complete, compulsory education for all children of the Russian Republic. It is true of course that the school system is growing fairly quickly in spite of all the annoying conditions of disorganization. At the present time exact figures cannot be given, but in reports submitted up to January of the current year, figures which, at the present time, are of course no longer up to date, 10,000 new schools of the first grade and about 1,000 schools of the second grade are mentioned.

Exact information in regard to the city Kostroma which is, certainly, one of the most favourably situated, is the following.

In 1916 in the elementary town schools there were: 81 teachers and 3600 scholars; in 1917 and 1918 145 teachers and almost 5,000 scholars; in 1918-1919 280 teachers and 6479 scholars. The number of scholars in first grade schools has increased by 79%, and teachers by 245%.

The principal obstacle, however, is not the lack of funds, but the impossibility of purchasing school books, boots and clothes, often the impossibility of

organizing the hot needs to satisfy the purpose for which they are intended.

Almost all the Government branches of Public Education have a surplus of funds for this first half-year, owing, of course, not to the excessiveness of their grant, but to the extreme shortage on the market.

Before the advance of Kolchak and at a time when America entered into flirtation with Soviet Russia, one prominent American social worker entered into consultation with me in regard to the delivery of children's boots and school supplies from America. My conversation with him convinced me that the establishment of commercial relations with America would mean a very rapid development of the Russian school towards the complete achievement of its ideals.

It goes without saying, that together with the general accessibility to and absence of fees for education, the People's Commissariat for Education also realized two other demands not only of socialist but also of liberal pedagogy, namely that the school should be secular and that there should be mixed classes of both sexes.

The abolition of Bible teaching from the school curriculum naturally provoked a little dispute, but not so much as one might have expected. I cannot but mention one extremely characteristic incident. The law permits private teaching of the Gospel by priests in private schools. Now, it is interesting that such teaching is being carried on scarcely anywhere. I will mention another fact which illustrates this incident: in the Galitskiy district of the Kostroma government, according to the information in my possession out of 150 villages with schools, there are only 13 in which private instruction in the Gospel is given.

How is this astounding fall in religious teaching to be explained? It is to be explained by the fact that the priests, in spite of all their orthodox ardour, have refused to teach the peasant children for nothing, whilst the peasants themselves, in spite of all their partiality for the prevailing religion, have refused to pay money for the teaching. We may affirm, therefore, with certainty that the coming generation will grow up completely liberated from all religious prejudices.

Two words about mixed classes. In various parts of Russia various methods of instruction have been followed. The Petrograd method consists firstly in making female educational institutions open to boys and male educational institutions open to girls, secondly, to accept into the lower classes an equal number of both sexes.

The Moscow method of instruction consists in dividing each school in halves and joining the male half to the female. As far as I am able to judge the more circumspect and gradual method of Petrograd has proved to be the more successful and has not called forth that number of reproaches which, at times, as it appears (I base myself on information of Communist parents) are not altogether unfounded.

Much more substantial, however, is the principle of the Labour School. The People's Commissariat for Education has wholly accepted the principle of the labour method for all subjects of general normal education. For the moment I shall not dwell upon this. In this connection the People's Commissariat for Education follows in the steps of up-to-date schools

such as are being formed in Scandinavian countries and in America.

But the People's Commissariat for Education considers it by no means sufficient for the organization of the Labour School merely to introduce the Labour methods of instruction. It attaches a much larger importance to introducing into it the instruction of labour itself.

We have not merely in view lessons of what is known as manual labour, although we do not deny their usefulness in training the hands, eyes and attention.

In introducing the labour principle in the school we have in view rather the idea of the school maintaining itself in proper working order by its own means, namely the work required to keep everything in order, mutual aid in satisfying the petty requirements of the school-fellows, light repairs in the school, work in the garden and in the cultivation of vegetables, the breeding of animals, the preparation of food and so on. All this must serve at one and the same time as a means of amusement, light but serious work and as a means of conveying visible, perceptive lessons. As Doue quite justly observes,—one lesson in the preparation of mere food can serve as the fundament for a whole encyclopaedia of knowledge.

Self-maintenance plays a more or less dominating role in the first grade school: in the second grade school we consider much more important not the inculcation of work in the school, but the inculcation of school in the process of social labour.

We do not mean by this the excursions made to factories, post and telegraph offices, railway centres and so on, such as are being adopted at present by all new schools.

Having all this in view, and wishing always to acquaint children with various kinds of social labour, we consider it necessary that children should be not mere observers of these processes, but should really work for a certain time in each of such branches, making themselves participants in it to the extent of their ability.

All this work must be connected with general scientific fundamentals so that in the end an all round technical education is received.

We are extremely in favour of a polytechnical education up to the age of 17 years. The People's Commissariat for Education tries to avoid specialization up to the age of 16 years, although it recognizes that a not too pronounced specialisation is possible after the age of 14 years.

The main obstacle to school reforms in this well thought out, and for every modern teacher exceedingly desirable direction, is the lack of means of which the Russian market disposes. The second difficulty is the extreme unpreparedness of the teaching staff. Here we are faced, firstly, with a low cultural level of the teachers, artificially fostered under czarism, secondly with the apathy of the teachers, who are as it happens very rarely interested in the labour processes of the industrial life of the country, thirdly, the routine nature of work which has predominated particularly, it would seem, amongst the more highly cultivated section of the teachers, precisely amongst teachers of the second grade school, i. e. the late teachers of the middle educational institutions.

In regard to the first obstacle we are deprived of the possibility of meeting it, and all measures under-

taken by us serve only as palliatives, until the political victory of Russia will have opened up our frontiers.

We conduct the struggle against the second difficulty by giving close attention to reforming the institutions which train new teachers and by means of an innumerable number of practical courses.

With incomplete statistics it is difficult for me to indicate the exact number of such courses over the whole of Russia since the Commissariat has been in existence, but I have in my possession one highly indicative fact: during the summer of last year (for the present year I am still without figures) in one of the so-called northern provinces, comprising only 6 governments, 200 short-term courses were organized. The number of students in Petrograd, working in the second grade, reached two thousand. The general number of teachers who passed through the courses was not less than ten thousand.

These courses are attended with great success even by teachers whose attitude towards reform is apathetic and who have not yet penetrated its significance.

I will mention yet another curious fact: whilst the Kaiser was still in possession of his throne, a German newspaper, which had printed in its entirety the principal parts of our declaration on the Uniform Labour School, states that the Bolsheviks, however strange it may seem were the first to lay down the foundation of a real Public School;—it is true that the newspaper at the same time expressed the doubt as to whether the Bolsheviks would succeed in realizing it. As an organ of the bourgeoisie it did not see the necessity of bringing such a magnificent reform to a satisfactory conclusion.

I wish to state further that the fate of school reform is connected in the closest possible manner with the business of training for school. In point of fact, we shall arrive at a real result only when we receive from the organs of preparatory school education, corresponding preparatory material. The first stone of socialist world conception in the deepest meaning of this word, should be developed in these charming Kindergartens and Clubs with which Soviet Russia is adorning itself at present as with spring flowers.

Up till now the People's Commissariat for Education has been somewhat parsimonious with the preparatory school education, although taking into consideration the almost complete absence of a budget of this kind in the former Ministeries, this parsimoniousness is equal to Tzarist generosity, but, in the future, following the indication of the Conference for preschool education, the Commissariat intends to give the most serious attention to this question.

In the towns and, particularly in the villages, the idea of Kindergarten has been taken up by the population with the greatest interest. In this sphere, and especially in the sphere of Children's clubs and colonies, so many model results have been achieved, that we should not be ashamed of showing them to any American teacher, while at the same time we should have the greatest pleasure in showing them to any sincere socialist.

I cannot pass without mentioning the fact that we have an incomparably better staff for the business of preparing for school than for the schools themselves. I do not wish to say by this that there are very many leading specialists in Russia, there are not, but they

have all come over to us and given us real support much earlier than the teachers.

Besides this, we have had to create a completely new staff of preschool directresses (preceptresses). In my opinion, the Russian intellectual and semi intellectual girl has again performed wonders: during this year we have produced preceptresses insufficiently trained from the point of view of pedagogy, but at any rate imbued with much sincere enthusiasm that it is a pleasure to work with them on this, perhaps, most happy and poetic field of Public Education.

At the other end,—in the sphere of the higher schools—we see something quite different. During the summer of last year, a Commission composed almost entirely of first rate professors, marked out a fairly systematic programme of wide reform of the higher schools. Two conferences of representatives of higher educational institutions, (professors, docents, students) assembled, but unfortunately, without good results.

It seems to me that a complete victory can be claimed for the principle of the Commissariat. Official reports show, without any doubt, to what extent the scruples and conservative arguments of adherents of the old university arrangement have been removed.

Distinguished scholars of European reputation, such as Timiriazev, Mar, Traun, Kury, and others, have shown themselves very sympathetic towards the reform (disagreeing, perhaps, in small details). In the same manner, almost all distinguished representatives of higher technical education have come forward, and nevertheless the matter of school reform in the universities and high education institutions has come to nothing. Energetic work in the field of autonomy of the school, in view of certain apathy evinced on the part of the directors, proved impossible, and the reform is conducted at the present time, somewhat fragmentarily and piecemeal, under the guidance of what is known as a special State Educational Council.

The difficult position of the higher school is made worse by the still considerable non-attendance of students, which is to be explained by the difficult economic conditions of life in all large towns of Russia especially in the capitals. Neither the energetic state aid, wholly unprecedented in any other country besides Soviet Russia, nor the wide opening up of the universities to all citizens who have attained the age of 16 years, has been able to cope with this state of affairs.

However even here we have the best possibilities before us. During this time, 15 higher educational institutions, partly special and partly universities, have been opened. The results in many of them are as yet meagre owing to the above mentioned causes, but the majority of them are healthy. All that has been done in the sphere of the school can be regarded as the planting of seeds which promise a bountiful harvest and which need only to be sprinkled with the life giving water of the real means to their realization,—not money, with which you can buy nothing, but school books and the necessary auxiliaries.

Here all our school reform comes up against the same wall by which the present life of the whole of Russia is confronted. We must, at all costs make a breach in the blockade.

Here as elsewhere those same stars of hope, shine down upon us,— hopes, firstly, for a more or less violent revolution in the Western countries, secondly,—a definite victory over the most important agent of the En-

tente in Russia, General Denikin, which victory, as everything inclines us to believe, will serve, at any rate for America as a signal to put an end to the nonsensical, and, what has come to be for all a wearisome struggle to compel Russia to return to the ways and means of the old regime.

In regard to the importance of the question of school-extension, and the organization of an extremely complex system of school extension, I shall inform the readers in the next number of our journal.

A. LUNACHARSKY.

## Tesniaki—the Bulgarian Communist Party.

On the 25th of June the 22nd Congress took place of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Labour Party (Tesniaki), now a Communist Party which has definitely taken up the position of the 3rd Communist International.

Eight hundred delegates were present at the congress, each delegate representing 150 members; consequently, on the 25th of June, the Party counted more than 40 thousand members. The Congress took place at the big theatre «Corona», in the presence of over 4 thousand visitors. The Congress was opened by the oldest member of the Party, the founder and chairman of the Central Committee, Comrade Blagoeff, who is known to Bulgarian Communists by the name of grandfather. He spoke with confidence of the power of the Bulgarian Proletariat and peasantry, of the victory of World Revolution. At his proposal, the Congress stood up and sang the «International» and «You have fallen a victim» in honour of those Russian, German and Hungarian heroes who have fallen in the turbulence of world Revolution in struggle for Communism.

I must confess that I who have lived for 7 or 8 years in Bulgaria and have taken part, since the very beginning of the Russian Revolution, in the many Conferences of the Party and Soviets would never have believed that I was situated in a country occupied by the victorious troops of International reaction. Delegates of the Serbian Communist Party, Turkish socialists, Macedonian and Dobruza socialist organizations, as well as Bulgarian groups of the Russian Communist Party who had arrived from Russia were also present at the congress. The following letter of welcome was brought by the Bulgarian deputies from Russia:

«Comrades delegates and workers! In the name of the Bulgarian section of the Russian Communist Party I am authorized to congratulate you upon the 22nd Congress of the Bulgarian social-democratic Labour Party. We hope that henceforth it will be renamed the Communist Party. In view of the fact that the members of the section are also members of the Russian Communist Party, allow us to congratulate you in the name of the Russian Communist Party».

The reading of this letter was interrupted by applause and cries of «Long Live the mother Russian Communist Party».

After this the Delegate proceeded:

«Comrades delegates, in the resolutions which you will pass at this congress, go resolutely forward along the path already marked out by the Russian Revolution! Be sure of the fraternal aid of the Russian working people in your struggle against the bourgeoisie».

The stage of the theatre was decorated by all possible kinds of mottoes of World Revolution and portraits of its leaders: Comrade Lenin, Trotzky, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Rakolsky and others.

800 delegates! 4,000 guests! What an unprecedented political phenomenon, not only in the history of the Party, but of all other Parties of small Bulgaria, which counts in all a population of not more than four and a half millions! The Party which in 1914 had not more than 3,000 members, in 1919 is an imposing army of 40 thousand members. In his report Comrade Kolaroff spoke of the influence which the Party of Tesniaki has amongst the Bulgarian working classes:

«Under the flag and mottoes of our Party, under the Red Flag of the Proletarian Party, there demonstrated on the 1st of May, along the streets of Bulgarian towns and villages more than 300,000 workers peasants and poor towns folk».)

Up to this time the Bulgarian bourgeoisie which had paid no attention to our Proletarian Party which up to quite recently had been only a small one, this time suddenly changed its attitude. Now, in the person of the National and Democratic Parties, the bourgeoisie became afraid of their Bolsheviks, united with the remaining Bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois parties and carried on a desperate struggle. Whatever our bourgeoisie might do, however, a withered tree brings forth no fruit, and the Proletariat did not become alarmed. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie is doomed to destruction. Neither will any other enemies of the Proletariat, the armies of the Entente which occupy Bulgarian territory, be able to help or save it. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie states quite openly that it is impotent: the following, for instance, are the words uttered by the Minister of the Interior, Moumanoff:

«Nobody is in a position to restore order in the country, and no interior force is capable of compelling the unbridled people of Bulgaria to submit itself to orders and regulations of authority» Besides this, the statements of financiers speak quite plainly of this: «without borrowing from foreign capital, we are unable to do anything» And this is what the Assistant Director of Food supplies, Lieutenant Colonel Nikolaeff, had to say when a delegation of hungry workers and towns people came to him:

«I can do nothing at all. There is no bread. Tell the hungry people that they alone can feed themselves, that all it is necessary to do is to hang no less than 100 millionaires speculators for them to have all they want».

\*) This figure was admitted to be the correct one by the bourgeois newspaper at the time.

## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

In reply to this, the working classes stated through the mouth of its leader, Comrade Kolaroff, on the 25 th of June at the Congress: in that case, transfer power into the hands of the organized working classes; standing beneath the standard of the Communist Party, we declare that only our Party of organized workers and peasants is capable of feeding the hungry people and guaranteeing all the good things of life. Only the dictatorship of the Proletariat, and of the poor peasantry, realized through the Workers Peasants Soviet Power, can save the country from foreign exploitation and further ruinous consequences of disorganisation. Only the dictatorship of the labouring majority can compel everybody to submit to the orders and regulations passed for the benefit of the whole nation, and not a mere handful of robbers, capitalists and ambi-

tious reactionary generals. But woe to you, if you do not voluntarily agree to this, for we will not fear the bayonets of a compromising imperialism upon which you lean. The Proletariat of the whole World is with us and the hour is not distant when the vanguard of World-wide social revolution—the victorious red army—will arrive at the shores of the Danube.

Long Live the Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian Red Armies, bringing peace and order to all working classes of Humanity

Long live the Third International!

Long live the leaders of world wide labouring poor.

We shall be victorious!

DETCHEFF.

# Documents of the International Communist Movement.

## PROGRAMME—DECLARATION

### of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Socialist-„Tiesniaks“, a section of the Communist International).

Resolution adopted on the statement made by Chr. Kabakchieff, on «The problems and programme of the party» by the XXII Conference of the Bulgarian Labour Social-Democratic Party (the First Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party) on the 25, 26, and 27 th. of May 1919 in Sophia.

1. The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labour Party has always followed the principles of revolutionary socialism and the tactics of an independent class struggle. It protested and struggled with all its might against the Balkan wars in 1912-1913 and against Bulgaria's intervention in the world war which was branded by the party as an imperialist war, inside and outside of parliament the party carried on a continual and bold struggle against the criminal, nationalist, plundering policy of the bourgeoisie and monarchism. It voted against the war credits, severed all connections with the Second international, the leading organs and parties of which have betrayed the cause of socialism and sided with the capitalist governments. Participating in the Zimmerwald Conference, the party has proved its international solidarity with the parties and tendencies of international Social-Democracy which remained true to socialism. The party, together with the communist parties of other countries which are following the principles laid down at Zimmerwald, took an active part in the creation of the Communist International which re-united the international revolutionary proletariat.

2. The majority of social-democratic parties have betrayed the principles and tactics of revolutionary socialism. These parties are falsely calling themselves social-democratic parties in order to take advantage of their former authority; thus to delude the masses of workers and lead them astray. Just as Marx and Engels called themselves communists to be distinguished from the bourgeois and petty bourgeois socialists of that time, so now the party representing the revolutionary proletariat, in order to be distinguished from the opportunist and socialist parties which went over to the side of bourgeois counter-revolution, must throw aside the denomination «social-democratic» retained by the parties which sold themselves to the enemies of the labour parties.

But even from a theoretical point of view the denomination «social democratic» is not correct. Firstly because the revolutionary proletariat is now struggling

not for the extension of the rights of bourgeois democracy which had betrayed all democratic traditions and went over to the side of counter-revolution, but for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the sole means by which the proletariat, representing the overwhelming majority of the people, can attain real freedom. Not bourgeois democracy but the dictatorship of the proletariat is the path leading to the victory of socialism. And secondly because although socialism is the first stage into which future society will pass immediately after capitalism, communism is the second, the highest stage of development of future society, it is the historical aim of the working class. Bearing this in mind and following the example of the revolutionary parties of Russia, Germany, Hungary, Austria etc., the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labour Party changes its name and henceforward will call itself the Bulgarian Communist Party (section of the Communist International).

#### II.

The imperialist stage of development of capitalism, the world war and following it the revolution in Russia, Germany, Hungary and Austria have created new conditions for the struggle of the workers. The most important points of these conditions are as follows:

1. The tremendous development of capitalism during the last tens years has attained quite new unprecedented dimensions in the centralisation of capital and concentration of production into capitalist monopolies, which are gaining a firm hold over the most important branches of industry in the home and international markets; in the amalgamation of industrial and banking capital and the development of financial capital, in the sharpening of the struggle between capitalist powers aiming at a new division of colonies and of the world market. During that new stage of development of capitalism, denominated as imperialist, much has changed in the internal situation as well as in the international relationships of capitalist states.

2. Within the states the political power is concentrated in the hands of a group of large capitalists, lan-



downers and bankers who became the owners of large industry, capital, mines, and land. At the same time a multitude of petty owners are reduced to the state of proletarians and those amongst them who still retain their small workshops, small plots of land or shops are completely deprived of their economic independence so that there is not much difference between their position and that of the workers. The class contradictions between the bourgeoisie on one side and the proletariat and the poor toiling masses on the other are getting sharper. In order to suppress the growing discontent and the increasing struggle of the proletariat and the poor classes, the ruling capitalist gang carry out a reactionary internal policy. They sanctify a regime of police and military dictatorship as the last means to maintain the domination of their class.

3. The imperialist stage of the development of capitalism is responsible for the foreign imperialist policy of the capitalist powers. The owners of capitalist monopolies and banks seizing home markets and becoming masters of them strive to become masters of the foreign markets. When the whole world is divided, there begins a competition between the big sharks which are called «The great Powers» for a new division and re-division of the world. Export and investment of capital in the colonies and backward countries increase the interests of the bourgeoisie towards these countries and strengthens its desire to subjugate them economically and politically in order to secure their capital and dividends.

In foreign policy, bourgeois imperialism throws off its mask and its policy of plunder, conquest, subjugation of foreign peoples and lands stands revealed in all its nakedness.

In order to attain these aims in their foreign policy and to support their reactionary home policy, the imperialist governments are developing militarism to enormous dimensions and under the weight of which the peoples are oppressed. Imperialism had sharpened the conflicts between the great powers and at last kindled the fire of a world war.

4. The development of productive forces has greatly advanced in the period of imperialism, the labour necessary for the production of goods becomes socialised, at the same time, however, capital is being centralised in the hands of a small minority of big capitalists and bankers. The contradictions between social production and private appropriation, based upon private property, become sharper. Economic conditions necessary for the transfer of private means of production into the possession of the whole of society are ripening. The proletariat and the masses of the poor standing close to it are the vast majority of the people. The victory of socialism depends entirely upon the class consciousness and the degree of organisation of the working masses.

In spite of the call of the bourgeoisie to maintain «civil peace» the class struggle has strengthened. The terrible sacrifices in human life made by the workers, destruction, poverty, hunger, which are the result of the war, complete political and financial bankruptcy of the capitalist governments, the terrible collapse of the imperialist policy, complete anarchy, the yawning chasm to which humanity was led by capitalism—all this made the conditions of the workers unbearable, has awakened the revolutionary class consciousness and the energy of the workers and stimulated their revolutionary struggle. Revolution has broken out in

Russia, then in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The victory of the social revolution in Russia has clearly pointed the aims and the means of an international revolution of the proletariat.

5. Bulgaria is developing in the general conditions of European imperialism. The difference between her own condition and the condition of great capitalist powers lies in the fact that notwithstanding the greedy appetites of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie striving to subjugate other nations and lands she is herself aimed at as an object for subjugation and exploitation by the big imperialist plunderers. The workers and the poor of Bulgaria are under a double yoke of their own exploiters and foreign robbers. As the result of this their condition is still harder and more stressful than that of other workers.

The world war had accomplished for small and backward nationalities that which imperialism had begun: they were subjugated and converted into colonies. Great capitalist states lay their hands upon the natural wealth and raw materials belonging to the small and backward nationalities, they rob them, make them financially dependant upon them, and deprive them of their political and economic rights.

The people of colonies and semi-colonies are exploited, and this leads to the strengthening of the revolutionary movement. Those movements are supported only by the international revolutionary proletariat, and although these movements have at first a national character, they inevitably lead to a social revolution and their final victory depends upon the final victory of the European social revolution. The liberation of the oppressed nationalities from the yoke of imperialism completely prejudices the privileged position of the great parasitic imperialist states and brings them nearer to a social revolution.

Thus European imperialism leads to the sharpening of class contradictions which are created by the internal development of our country. The war, on one hand, had expedited the accumulation of capital in the hands of the bourgeoisie due to government contracts, speculation and undisguised plunder, and on the other hand it has increased the exploitation of the workers and led to the proletarianisation of a vast number of small peasants and artisans. The tremendous number of war victims, the economic destruction, financial bankruptcy, the complete failure of the policy of national conquest—all this shattered the pillars of the bourgeois-monarchical regime. The discontent and the revolutionary struggle of the masses are spreading and the Bulgarian proletariat is faced with a problem—to stand at the head of this movement in order to closely unite with the European social revolution. The Bulgarian proletariat is stimulated by a twofold interest to carry on a powerful struggle for the victory of socialism: firstly, to liberate itself from economic and political slavery and secondly, to liberate the Bulgarian people from the yoke of European imperialism. Only socialism will realise the brotherhood of nations, only socialism will bring the liberation of nations and unity between the oppressed nationalities.

### III.

The world war has commenced the era of socialist revolutions. In this period the programme-maximum of the revolutionary social-democracy acquires supreme and immediate practical importance in the struggle of the international proletariat. The revolutions in

Russia and other countries have clearly indicated to the proletariat the new means of revolutionary struggle; political strikes leading up to armed insurrections. The experience drawn from these revolutions dictated the definite and exact contents of the programme-maximum. The Bulgarian Communist Party therefore declares that it is striving to realise the following aims:

### 1. A socialist soviet republic.

The revolutionary proletariat is carrying on a struggle in order to seize the political power, to expropriate the means of production and to transfer them from private ownership into the possession of the whole society, and to realise socialism.

The proletariat cannot take political power into its own hands and realise its ideals while a capitalist state is in existence. The State is now an organisation which supports the domination of the bourgeoisie and oppresses and exploits the workers and the poor classes. This State based upon parliament, bureaucracy and militarism must be destroyed and in its place must be established a new State based upon the autonomy of the workers and poor classes which would find its expression in the soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers deputies, upon the arming of the people which would find its expression in the militia and the Red army. Thus, the State formerly an apparatus for the oppression and exploitation of the majority of the people will become an apparatus for their political liberation and break the chains of their economic slavery.

Disguising itself in the mask of democracy, the capitalist State supports the power and the privileges of a minority belonging to the propertied class over a vast majority of the exploited toiling masses deprived of their rights. Even in republic, the bourgeois actually conduct a regime of police and military dictatorship. The parliament and the constitutional-parliamentary regime becomes the medium of that dictatorship. The revolutionary proletariat, seizing political power and supported by the soviets and the militia establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, which will give real freedom to the vast majority of the people. The dictatorship of the revolutionary classes will crush the resistance which the propertied, counter-revolutionary minority will offer to the new regime.

With the realisation of socialism all class difference and classes themselves will disappear, the state as an apparatus of oppression will disappear as well, and it will be converted into an organisation for the regulation of production and distribution of goods. A socialist Soviet republic realises the sovereignty of the people, it endows the working masses with the legislative, executive and judicial power. All the organs of the old regime, from the government, parliament, bureaucracy, police and militarism to the provincial and local autonomies are replaced by a new soviet organisation which establishes new local and central, political, economic and cultural institutions. The Soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers, deputies are the organs for the realisation of revolutionary power and socialism. The participation of all men and women, engaged in production in the election of the soviets and the right to recall the deputies at any moment guarantees to the people a direct and constant control and its direct participation in the administration.

The Socialist Soviet republic of Bulgaria enters into a friendly alliance with the neighbouring peoples in order to create a Balkan Socialist Federated Soviet republic which will be a part of the European and World Socialist Federated Soviet Republic which will realise a union between all the nations and a lasting peace.

### 2. Militia and the red army.

The bourgeoisie applies all means of oppression and begins a civil war in order to maintain power and to preserve its privileges. Therefore, the victory of a social revolution can only be attained on the condition of disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the revolutionary classes. The workers and the poor classes must be supplied with arms. The revolutionary classes applying armed force will seize the power into their hands, crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, crush the counter-revolution within and without the country and thus secure their domination and the final victory of socialism.

The militia is organised upon the following principles: all the workers and poor peasants able to use arms are supplied with arms. An active part of the militia becomes the Red Army which is organised as a permanent force for the purpose of defending the revolution against counter-revolutionary attempts and plots. The military commanders must be elected, disciplinary committees organised, and court tribunals chosen from amongst the soldiers. The militia men must undergo a short, periodical military training. Military training must be combined with the physical training of the young people in schools.

### 3. The expropriation and socialisation of the means of production and distribution of goods.

The economic and political strength of the capitalist class was due to their possession of means of production and distribution of goods. The first task of the victorious proletariat is to expropriate all the means of production and distribution from the capitalist class and to make them the property of the whole society. Thus the proletariat will deprive the capitalists of the source of their strength and will lay the foundation of a new socialist society.

The revolutionary proletariat seizing political power, immediately begins to expropriate and socialise all those means of production and distribution where the process of concentration is most advanced and conditions are favourable for collective production.

After that the proletariat concentrates its attention upon small production. Nothing can be expropriated from the artisan as he possesses nothing except a few hand working tools. But wage labour in small industry as in industry in general will be abolished and then the small artisan who now only manages to secure a bare existence by the intense exploitation of wage labour, will have no alternative but to abandon individual production with hand tools and substitute it by cooperative labour in modern mills and factories which are the common property of the whole society. This will raise the productivity of labour enormously and greatly improve the welfare of the present petty artisan.

The land is the basic fund of production and, therefore so long as private property of land is in existence no serious steps can be taken towards socialisation.

The victorious proletariat will abolish private property in land and declare it the property of the whole society, all workers and toiling masses. Before everything else it will expropriate large estates. Large estates will be transformed into social enterprises and the land will be cultivated by the most improved implements. Thus will the foundation be laid for model farms which will play a significant part by influencing the owners of small and middle sized farms to adopt the collective method of ownership and cultivation of the ground. The abolition of wage labour in agriculture will be made easy by the expropriation of big and middle sized landowners.

The revolutionary proletariat will not deprive the petty landowners of the land, which cannot offer them even a tolerable existence, but will exert its utmost efforts and apply all possible means, for the purpose of organising the collective ownership and cultivation of the land by machinery, in the most efficient way. This will raise the productivity of agricultural labour and will greatly improve the material condition of the broad masses of agriculturalists.

The organisation of social ownership, production and consumption of products can be realised by introducing labour control over the production and distribution of products which can be realised by trade and other economic organisations of the working class gradually taking into their hands the management and administration of the socialised enterprises. On the other hand, the organisation of collective production is impossible without the abolition of wage labour and the introduction of obligatory labour for all able-bodied members of the society.

In order to satisfy the pressing need of the suffering masses, the most important task of the new revolutionary power will be to confiscate all food and raw materials necessary to feed and clothe the people and to organise their distribution with the aid of workers organisations.

#### 4. The protection of labour of the worker and the poor masses.

The development of capitalist cartels, trusts and syndicates as well as the amalgamations of employers for the struggle against the workers, makes the struggle of the workers harder, and diminishes the successes of the workers' trade organisations. The bourgeoisie takes advantage of its dominant position and neutralises those reforms which were gained by the workers through so-called Labour legislation. Only by seizing political power, will the workers be able in a short time to realise actual protection of labour on a wide scale, such protection which could not be realised up till now after 10 years of struggle. The principles of protection of labour are as follows: the introduction of a normal working day, the prohibition of work for children and youths and night work, sufficient time for rest at the end of each week, the insurance of workers in industry, agriculture, trade and transport in case of unemployment, accidents, diseases, old age, invalidity, and death, workers' control over the application of labour regulations.

#### 5. The satisfaction of need by houses of the homeless people.

It is necessary to expropriate all the big house proprietors allowing them the necessary apartments for their personal and their family's use. All unhygienic houses must be abandoned and the population of the crowded workers' districts must be transferred into the big houses of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to pay attention that the towns and villages should be kept in good order, that new hygienic houses should be built for the homeless population out of social funds. The working class elects district and urban committees which satisfy the demands of workers for houses in contact with the local and central organs of soviet power.

#### 6. Obligatory and full scientific and labour education of the young people of both sexes at the expense of the state.

The aim of education is the harmonious mental and physical development of the human being and to prepare the young generation by means of a labour education to be able to participate in the process of production and to avail themselves of science, art and all other blessings of culture.

#### 7. The separation of church from state.

#### 8. The annulment of state loans, the liberation of the toiling classes from taxes and the transfer of all taxes upon the propertied class until complete socialisation is achieved.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE:

*The present document was sent to us from Bulgaria through a special delegate.*

*The significance of this document is very great indeed. The leading workers and their parties of various countries arrive at the same conclusion, and accept the Communist programme.*

*We recollect the information supplied by delegates at the 1st Congress of the Communist International at Moscow to the effect that as far back as a year ago, the individual circles of leading socialists assembled almost simultaneously in Hungary, Switzerland and Germany and drew up a new programme of action. The remarkable thing is that in every case this was a Communist programme. In simple terms, in an unsophisticated form the leading workers wrote down the new gospel for the emancipation of the world proletariat: the Communist programme.*

*Our Bulgarian comrades have the advantage of possessing a powerful organised Labour Party of the so-called "Narrow" (Teshlaks); this party, which has been in existence for a few years has long ago broken with the opportunists and is loyal to the banner of revolutionary Marxism. Here the workers are not obliged to grope in the dark. They have a leader in the shape of the Bulgarian Communist Party. And this will of course facilitate the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.*

*In Russia and in Germany, in Hungary and in Austria, in Bulgaria and Italy, in France and Switzerland, wherever workers live and struggle the Communist Party grows and gathers strength.*

*It may be truly said:*

*"A host immense arises  
Of endless, countless forces"*

*Our programme has been written with blood drawn from the hearts of the workers. Our business is to triumph...*

*We send ardent fraternal greetings to our old friends, the Bulgarian Teshlak Communists. We shall watch their struggle against the bourgeoisie with love and anxiety. We are convinced that the Bulgarian proletariat will not only achieve its victory and establish a Bulgarian Soviet Republic, but will also become the vanguard detachment in the struggle for the Soviet Republic for the whole Balkan Peninsula.*

**G. ZINOVIEV.**

## DOWN WITH INTERVENTION.

### The last message of Karl Liebknecht.

To the workers and soldiers of the Allied countries.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! From under the blows of the world war, amidst the ruin which has been created by Tzarist Imperialist society—the Russian Proletariat erected its State—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers. This was created in spite of an attitude of misconception, hatred and calumny. This republic presents the greatest basis for that universal social order, the creation of which is at the present time the historic task of the International Proletariat. The Russian revolution was to an unprecedented degree the cause of the proletariat of the whole world becoming more revolutionary; Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already in the throes of revolution; revolution is awakening in Germany. But there are obstacles in the way of the victory of the German proletariat. The mass of the German people are with us, the power of the accursed enemies of the working class has collapsed; but they are nevertheless making all attempts to deceive the people, with a view of protracting the hour of the liberation of the German people. The robbery and violence of German Imperialism in Russia, as well as the recent Brest-Litovsk peace and the Bucharest peace have consolidated and strengthened the Imperialists of the Allied countries;—and this is the reason why the German Government are endeavouring to avert the Allied attack upon Socialist Russia for the purpose of retaining power. You have no doubt heard how Wilhelm II, who, now that Tzarism has perished, is the representative of the basest form of reaction,—a few days ago made use of intervention in the affairs of proletarian Russia by the Allied Empires for the purpose of raising a new war agitation amongst the working masses. We must not permit our ignoble enemies to make use of any democratic means and institutions for their purpose; the proletariat of the Allied countries must allow no such thing to occur. We know that you have already raised your voice to protest against the machinations of your governments, but the danger is growing ever greater and greater. A united front of world Imperialism against the proletariat is being realised, in the first instance, in the struggle against the Russian Soviet Republic. This is what I warn you against. The proletariat of the world must not allow the flame of the Socialist Revolution to be extinguished, or all its hopes and all its powers will perish. The failure of the Russian Socialist Republic will be the defeat of the proletariat of the whole world. Friends, comrades, brothers arise against your rulers! Long live the Russian workers, soldiers and peasants! Long live the Revolution of the French, English and American proletariat! Long live the liberation of the workers of all countries from the infernal chasm of war, exploitation and slavery!

*EDITORIAL NOTE: We reprint the famous appeal sent out by the now-to-be-forgotten Karl Liebknecht immediately upon his release from penal servitude. This appeal may be justly looked upon as the last testament of Karl Liebknecht to the workers of the Allied countries.*

### Appeal of the French socialists.

«L'Humanite» dated June 24th published the following appeal of the French Socialist Party.

«Workers and Peasants of France!

In spite of the numerous protests of your party and labour organisations, in spite of the daily struggle put up by our press and of the frequent questions in parliament put by our deputies, the French Government, together with its Allies is continuing to carry on war against the workers and the revolution. It is now two years that our soldiers, our sailors and our money is being used to the end of stifling the proletariat of Russia and Hungary. Our rulers have formed an Alliance with the disgruntled adventurers of the overthrown regime and our financial means are used to support Sablin at Archangel, Denikin in the Kuban and Kolchak in Siberia.

French troops and Allied detachments are stationed at Archangel. The British fleet is bombarding the Russian Baltic shores. The French fleet is operating in the Black Sea; and although the French landing at Odessa was temporary, nevertheless a great tract of territory is being occupied by Allied troops without legal right and without war having been proclaimed. A new Holy Alliance is holding Russia and Hungary under a stringent blockade. Owing to this abominable system, millions of people, old men, women and children are doomed to starvation, to slow extermination through the one fault only that they live in a country where labour is making attempts to liberate itself and to replace capitalist anarchy. The Entente cannot forgive the Russian and Hungarian proletariat for having broken its shackles, and for desiring to introduce the system of society, which international socialism has been proclaiming for nearly three quarters of a century. The Allies know that with the victory of the proletariat in their countries their last hour will strike and an end will come to capitalist domination.

This explains the continuation of the state of siege. Demobilisation is delayed. A war for caste interests is beginning. We see that France, the same France which in 1793 warded against the monarchist coalition, striving to overthrow it,—is to-day at the head of the reactionary coalition, having forgotten its revolutionary past and the treachery of Russian Tzarism. The Socialist party calls upon and implores the French people not to allow the stifling of the workers and of the revolution. Should these be defeated at the price of new victims, then the reactionary wave will also drown our hopes of liberation, will cause the delay of socialism in France and in the whole world, will destroy the miserable freedoms that we do enjoy and will put the republic to shame by a new Versailles, such as she has already mourned and wept over on a previous occasion.

Workers and peasants of France!

Will you allow such a crime to be committed? The Socialist party appeals to you to-day to put up a stru-

gle. In England the organised workers threaten to stop work in the event of the British Authorities failing to withdraw British troops from Russia. The Italian Socialist Party proposes simultaneous demonstrations of protest of the proletariat of England, France and Italy.

Comrades, Worker-Socialists! be ready to the call of your class organisations to protest against the criminal intervention, an intervention which was condemned even by those socialists who do not follow the bolsheviks; strain all your propaganda efforts, distribute our appeals, our pamphlets and newspapers, come to our meetings. You, the nation of France, you who have ever stood at the head of revolutionary battles, it is still possible for you to save the Workers, Revolution and thus assure your own liberation. Your silence, your inactivity makes you the aiders and abettors of the executioners of the revolution.

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**EDITORIAL NOTE:** *In publishing this document we do not in the least deceive ourselves as to the extent of the readiness of the present majority of the French Socialist Party to take part in the struggle, not verbally but actually, against the intervention of the highway robber imperialists into the affairs of Soviet Russia. This document indisputably proves only one thing: if this is what is written even by the representatives of the official majority of the French Socialist Party, there is little doubt but that the French workers and soldiers are actually beginning a serious revolutionary fight against the imperialists.*

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## An appeal to the workers of the Allied countries.

Comrades and Brothers!

It will soon be two years that the Russian proletariat supported by the soldier and peasant masses has broken all connection with that economic-financial trust which in the accepted diplomatic language of the International robbers is called the «Entente». Before the face of the whole world the Russian proletariat proclaimed that it will no longer take part in that League of Nations which is no more than a limited company for the exploitation of small, weak nationalities; that it is anxious to put a stop to the monstrous fratricidal laughter which has drowned our fields and homes in blood and which has smothered the palaces and mansions of the whole of Europe in gold.

From the moment that the Russian proletariat dared to break its chains that were fastened upon the masses by the Russian Tzar and the International Stock Exchange, from that moment it earned sworn and ruthless enmity of the bourgeoisie of our countries. The Allies, in fear of the great social power latent in the Russian revolution, begin their counter revolutionary activity immediately after the February revolution. General Korniloff, as is well known, enjoyed the particular love and sympathy of the Allied missions and embassies. From the days of the October revolution this love to the counter revolutionary General has tur-

ned into an ardent passion for the Russian monarchy, and for the Blackhundred party.

Korniloff, Kaledin, Krassnoff, Denikin and Kolchak—the leaders of the Russian Vandée have become the favourite heroes of your bourgeoisie and of your Governments. Beginning with the October days, not a single counter revolutionary demonstration or rising had taken place in Russia but was actively participated in by your Governments. The undying Russian revolution has been fighting successfully against the internal counter revolution and its foreign supporters, has undauntedly and heroically repulsed the attack of the bandits hired with Allied money, and your Governments made one more step forward: they have decided to send troops to Russia to intervene in our internal affairs and to re-establish order. And at this period the Allies defeated Germany. The audacity and rapacity which have been stemmed for a long time have broken through with unrestrained force: the champions of right and justice have entered upon the international arena in the manner of the most vulgar filibusters, striving to enslave the German people for ever.

The mask that hid the repulsive faces of the knights of the high road, fell to the ground, and the blindness of you were convinced how brazenly and dishonestly your rulers deceived you, and how you were deceived by those socialists and those Trade Union leaders, who assured you that the war is being carried on in the name of re-establishment of right and justice; that it is a war against barbarity etc. All this verbiage was thrown aside as soon as the enemy was defeated and the real aim of the war,—the robbery and subjection of the weak unprotected nations—was achieved. The butchers of the League of Nations dealt with unprecedented cynicism and incredible cruelty with whole nations, countries and territories. The whole world with its innumerable population became the object of an auction deal and of division, and over the table of this bacchanalia of rapacity, cupidity, base passions and desires was heard the hue and cry raised against the Russian proletariat by the literary quacks of the dominant classes; a desperate hue and cry of: crucify him, crucify him!

In its mortal fear before the approaching social revolution the «Allies» concentrated the whole attention of their diplomatic combinations and swindling transactions upon the strangulation of Soviet Russia. Your Governments are at the back of the Polish nationalists and reactionaries, egging on the Polish nation, now intoxicated with victory, to military operations against Russia; your Allied diplomats have been instrumental in moving against us the Roumanian feudal lords, those classical reactionaries, who irrigate every yard of the Roumanian and Russian territory they occupy with the blood of workers and peasants. Your Governments have organised the Estonian, Lithuanian and Lettish White Guards and have sent the whole of this bourgeois-landlord rabble against the Russian workers and peasants; Paris directs the policy of the Finnish bourgeoisie, who have transferred their support of German Imperialism to that of the Allied. Your Governments have openly and cynically occupied Archangel. Paris give a blessing to Kolchak, Denikin and other capitalist Generals to irrigate the fields and meadows of Great Russia with the hot blood of the Russian workers; the League of Nations which has been created by your Governments recognised that hangman Kulkich as a worthy member of their arcopagus; your rights disappointed with the

defeats of their agents, have now invested their sympathies and capitals with a new pretender to power—Denikin; and finally, your Governments, these champions of right and justice as your yellow, hired press called them in a fit of abandoned servility, are the inspirers of the White officer conspiracies and White guard risings, which are at the present time taking place in Russia. The «Allies» are stifling not us alone; they have also applied themselves to the noble task of stifling Soviet Hungary. In short, they have occupied the place of International gentlemen and garroters of liberty, that became vacant with the death of Tzarism.

You see that Paris has become the centre of world reaction; that some Paris, the streets of which are irrigated with the blood of working men, and that Versailles, the town of Thiers and of the infuriated French bourgeoisie, has become the place of execution. All the old fetishes have been consumed in the fire of war and revolution. «The champions of Right» have before our very eyes turned into worthy descendants of those heroes, citizens of Versailles who under the leadership of Thiers shot upon the streets of Paris in the bloody week of 1871 over 30,000 men, women and children. Your Governments, your bourgeoisie is now thrice guilty of the same crime, because they have been instrumental in pressing upon the German people a monstrous peace, dooming the country to terrible slavery and the German people to extermination; they are thrice guilty because, in conjunction with Tzarist-landlord Russia, they murder and mutilate hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants; all this is done with the one aim of crushing the Russian Commune, just as the citizens of Versailles formerly crushed the Paris commune; they are three times as guilty as were the citizens of Versailles because they throw themselves with rabid fury and hatred upon the slightest manifestation of proletarian activity; they take all care to prevent the proletariat from breaking its chains, and they immediately send arms and troops to help the bourgeoisie of any country, which like Hungary, suffered the misfortune of having been checkmated by its working class.

Comrades, brothers!

We, the representatives of the Russian proletariat, organised in Trade Unions, appeal to you for assistance! The Russian Trade Unions have always fought in the front ranks and they are extremely sensitive to the blows which are being dealt Soviet Russia by your Governments, your rulers and the rapacious League of Nations. Is it possible that you, workers of England, France, Italy and the United States will continue to allow your blood to be used for the purpose of extinguishing the ever-spreading fire of the social revolution? Is it possible that the international robbers of the League of Nations and the thrice branded descendants of the citizens of Versailles will be allowed to continue unpunished to weave their reactionary nets and to stifle the International proletarian revolution?

Great are the sufferings and great are the ordeals of the Russian proletariat. We are being starved, the hirelings of your bourgeoisie have surrounded us in an iron ring; the tentacles of the international counter-revolution are reaching towards our necks; but our sincere belief in the cause of the proletarian revolution maintains our power and supports our courage and enthusiasm. We know that the social revolution has long ago overstepped the borders of Russia and that its terrible phantom stalks all over the world. With profound faith and hope we await your assistance in the leading

lines of the International socialist front. We believe in you, our hopes are turned towards you, for we know, that your proletarian hearts beat in unison with ours.

Onward with your help to the Russian proletariat and Soviet Russia!

Comrades!

Down with Imperialist robbers!

To the lamp posts with the Interventionists!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Long live the International Soviet Republic!

The presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions: *M. Tomsky, U. Lutovinoff, N. Glaboff, A. Losovsky, V. Shmidt, F. Osov, F. Rudzutak.*

**To the workers, soldiers and sailors of England, France, Italy, America, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia and Serbia.**

We, the workers of the city of Petrograd, have re-elected our Soviet at a critical moment. The re-election has taken place at a time when the troops of your Governments menaced our city and when, thanks to the blockade organised by your Governments, we suffer incredible torments of hunger. In spite of all this the workers of Petrograd remained at their posts. Hundreds of thousands of the Petrograd workers have taken part in the re-election of our Soviets. To-day this newly elected Soviet has assembled for the first time. Thousands of delegates from workers, red army soldiers, sailor, employees and all other labourers, and labour organisations of the city of Petrograd have assembled at our Conference. We hereby, unanimously, declare to you: we remain, as hitherto, in favour of the of the Soviet Government, of the Government of Workers and Peasants. We shall fight for the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie, for the victory of socialism with our last breath.

At this solemn moment we appeal to you, comrades; we put to you the following question: what is the purpose of your Governments' crusade against our city, why are our villages being razed to the ground, for what crime are our brothers and fathers being shot, for what reason have we been condemned to the torments of starvation? All the information concerning the terrors alleged to reign at Petrograd, are spread by the hired press of your countries, and is sheer base fiction. We are suffering the torments of starvation, we work our fingers to the bones, but there is perfect proletarian discipline and perfect proletarian order in our city. We are resisting the enemies, who have surrounded us on all sides; but we are erecting step by step a new labour state. Our only guilt before the bourgeoisie of your countries consists only in that we were the first to raise the red flag, that we were first to drive out the Tzar and the bourgeoisie, that for nearly two years, we hold the Government power in our hands, that we have given the land to the peasants, and the works and factories to the workers. Your Governments hate us for having made public the secret treaties concluded by them with the Tzar. Your Governments hate our city for having been first to raise the banner of proletarian revolution.

We make an especial appeal to the workers and soldiers of Esthonia and of Finland. It is now two years that you are being deceived. You are told that we intend to seize Finland and Esthonia. That is not

true. At a Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of workers and Peasants Deputies held at Moscow, our representative Comrade Zinoviev made a public declaration on behalf of the whole of the soviet Government to the effect that our troops have been given official directions not to cross the frontiers of either Finland or Esthonia. The Central Executive Committee is the supreme organ of the Soviet Government, of the whole of Russia. A declaration made by it bears an official character. We are assured, comrades, that the moment is drawing near, when you will be able to free yourselves from the yoke of your bourgeoisie. The Governments of your countries are doing all that is possible to draw near their own ruin. We do not wish to go to war against you, war is being provoked by your Governments.

Comrades, how long will you suffer your Governments to supply these white Guard braves with arms, money, officers and food?

Detachments of English, French, Italian and Serbian soldiers are fighting us at the Murmansk. Swedish White Guard detachments attack us on the Narva front. Along the whole frontier of Esthonia and Finland we have been fought and are being fought by troops sent against us by the Finnish and Esthonian Governments. Your Governments send to our city of Petrograd their agents and spies. These scoundrels are instrumental in causing explosions at Petrograd; they shower bags full of gold to bribe traitors from the midst of the Russians. The white Guard Government of Finland is making air raids upon our villages and stations.

In spite of all that we do not and never will surrender. We are confident, comrades, that the red banner will be victorious in your countries as well. We look upon the strike, which has been appointed for the 21 July as the first harbinger. We are confident that the workers and soldiers of France, England, America, Italy and other countries will not suffer the bankers and landlords to use them asgendarmes, as executioners of our Great Labour Revolution.

Your Governments tell you, that they do not intervene in Russian affairs. That is a downright lie! Your Governments have acknowledged as rightful ruler of Russia, the despicable executioner and assassin Kolchak against whom at the present time, all the Ural and Siberian workers and peasants are rising. Your Governments are squandering millions to assist the Tzarist Generals, to reconstitute Monarchy in Russia. Your Governments supply the Russian counter-revolutionaries with all that they need, from tanks to spies. Your Governments have given new life to the Denikin bands, who at Ekaterinoslav and at Kharkoff have butchered and hanged many thousands of workers, whose one guilt was that they were, workers. Your Governments are responsible for the brutality of those executioners, who previous to abandoning the city of Perm, burned thousands of our imprisoned Red Army soldiers. Your Governments carry the responsibility for the starvation which reigns in our country.

Arise, comrades, put an end to the greatest crimes, which are committed by your Governments; stretch forth a brotherly hand to the workers of all countries; do all in your power to put an end to the assistance rendered to the Russian Counter-revolutionaries. We send you brotherly greeting and together with you we exclaim: Long live the International Labour Revolution!

*Petrograd Soviet of Workers and  
Red Army Deputies.*

## Resolution passed at Petrograd meetings.

Fifteen meetings took place on the 20nd July at Petrograd. At some of them 12 to 15 thousand men were present. At all meetings the following resolution was unanimously passed amidst of extraordinary enthusiasm.

«On the initiative of the Italian Communists an international political strike was appointed for the 21st July to take place in Italy, France, England and other countries. Part of the German workers will, in all probability, participate in this strike as well. The strike is to take place under the war cry of support of the Hussian and Hungarian Republics: «Down with Intervention in Russia and Hungarian affairs», «Down with the assistance to Russian and Hungarian counter-revolutionaries», «Long live the Universal Soviet-Governments». This is the banner under which the International political strike is to take place. The workers of Petrograd joyfully greet the French, English and Italian workers, who are making the first steps towards an organised, planned proletarian struggle upon an international scale. The workers of Petrograd are confident that the 21 July strike will be the beginning of an armed struggle of the International proletariat for an International Soviet Government. Comrades, we are experiencing the greatest difficulties. We are compelled to carry on civil war with the counter-revolutionary bands, who are generously assisted by your Imperialist Governments. We are in the clutches of famine, for the bourgeoisie of your countries has surrounded Russia in an iron ring of a hunger blockade. Only you are able to ameliorate our condition. Your Governments who have become International gendarmes and executioners of the people must be overthrown. The last decisive fight is approaching; the fight between Labour and capital. The workers of all countries are calling upon the culprits of the four years war to answer for the starvation of innocent women and children, and for having turned the world into hell.

Down with the bourgeoisie! Long live the revolt of the workers of the world!

Long live the International Soviet Government!  
Long live the Communist International!

## An open letter to Fridrich Adler.

For the past few months, information which at first seemed to us incredible reaches us concerning your activity. You, Friderich Adler appear to be in the lines of active fighters against the Austrian labour-communists. You, Friderich Adler appear to be a party to all the crimes perpetrated against the Austrian working class by Renner, Bauer and Company.

I picture to myself the atmosphere and circumstances under which you made your historical attack upon Count Stuerk. Just as lightning cuts the overhanging clouds, so in those bleak days did your shot cut the political clouds which were hanging over the heads of the Austrian and International working class. I recollect an article which I, an emigrant at that time happened to have written in connection with your attack upon Count Stuerk. «Fridrich Adler saved the honour of the Austrian working class», I wrote in my article, which appeared in the contemporary number of the «Communist». Our party and our tendency at that time

defended you from the attacks of your quondam friends, the Russian mensheviks, who appreciated your deed much in the same way as did the literary hired hacks of the contemporary reactionary «Arbeiter Zeitung».

You recollect very well yourself the comment of the Austrian and German Social patriots upon your attempt. Your party friends significantly pointed finger to forehead and explained away your attack by your alleged mental instability. But the workers understood you. You became a favourite hero of the Russian workers. You were compared with the never-to-be-forgotten Karl Liebknecht.

Since the beginning of our, Russian, revolution not a single large conference took place at Petrograd or Moscow, but which despatched ardent greetings to you. When you were sentenced to death millions of Russian workers protested against that sentence. The finest of the Russian people's palaces, the best labour quarters of the Russian workers were named in honour of Friedrich Adler. You were elected honorary president at our historic Conventions. The day of your liberation from prison was a festival for the Petrograd and Moscow workers. We looked forward for your release from prison anxiously. At last you were liberated, and what happened? You did not fall into the open embrace of the proletarians who are rising against their oppressors, but into the embrace of the traitors of the working class, who grouped themselves around such men as Renner.

At the Moscow Conference of the III International that took place in March I listened to a report made by the representative of the Austrian workers-communists. Your position was described by that comrade to the Congress. The voice of the speaker, an old worker in the Austrian proletarian movement, was redolent with love to you. He spoke of the period, when after your attack, the Vienna workers began to look upon you as their leader; he told us how, with baited breath, the proletariat of Vienna awaited the moment when the prison doors will be opened before you. At last you were free. The Vienna proletariat never doubted for a minute, that their favourite leader will appear in their midst and stand at the head of those proletarians, who are ready to storm the fortress of capitalism. Alas! You were liberated, but you appeared in the ranks of the oppressors of the working class...

The Vienna delegate told us how the sentiment of ardent attachment of the Vienna proletariat towards you, changed at first to a feeling of perplexity, then to one of expectation and finally to one of wrath,—of a rightful, noble wrath against a man who failed to justify the hopes of the oppressed class.

Not so long ago I had a conversation with a certain group of Petrograd communist workers, who work at the Vasiliev Island, one of the best working class quarters of Petrograd. Upon having learned of the position which you take up at the present time, these Workers, directors of dozens of Petrograd factories, full of indignation, tore tablets which were inscribed with the name of Friedrich Adler off the streets; they came to our Soviet with a demand that the road which a year ago was named in honour of Friedrich Adler, should now be renamed into the prospect of the Austrian communists; almost with tears in their eyes, they said: «Friedrich Adler has betrayed the Austrian proletariat; he is not with us, he is against us».

Our friends, the Austrian communists, inform us,

that, mildly speaking, you take upon yourself rather risky commissions for the Renner—Austerlitz limited Company. When it becomes necessary for the bourgeoisie and their hangers-on to disarm the red guard military troops it is you who are sent to persuade the Red Army soldiers, alleging that it is in the interests of the working class to down arms. You seem to be, apparently, something like a «special» commissioner in the employ of the social traitors most hated by the Austrian working class. You, citizen Adler went to Berne; we shall not be surprised if you will now go to Lucerne and will there run errands, so to speak, for the Sheidemanns, the Renaudels and the Vandervelds. You will help the capitalist agents to confuse the workers, alleging that a resurrection of the Labour International is taking place at Berne and at Lucerne, whilst what is taking place there in reality is the revival of a Yellow, treacherous «International» of the agents of the bourgeoisie. You have not devoted your best powers to the struggle against the Austrian capitalists and feudal lords, who, in your country, in reality remain masters of the position. You have given your best powers to the struggle against the communist workers, who are attempting to realise what Engels and Marx taught us.

If there is any country in the world where conditions have become ripe for a proletarian revolution, that country is, of course, Austria. Your attempt to intimidate the Vienna workers, alleging that should they arise against the social traitors, they will be left without bread by the Entente, was utterly false. You are perfectly well aware of the fact that the Austrian workers are starving now just the same. It is impossible for you not to know that the Imperialist war has doomed almost the whole world to starvation. It is impossible for you not to be aware that an Alliance between socialist Austria, Soviet Hungary and Soviet Russia would be unconquerable, and that with the victory of the Soviet Government in Austria there would be no bread question for the Austrian workers. By intimidating the Austrian workers by the Entente, you actually play the part of an agent of the Entente.

Beside you, at Budapest, lives and struggles the Hungarian proletariat, who has seized the Government power from the hands of the Hungarian Bourgeoisie. Instead of assisting them with all the power at your command, instead of following their steps, you prefer to trip them up, to fight against them. You have made friends with that Government which expels from Vienna the representatives of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. No greater ignominy could you draw upon your head.

But we are deeply confident that the heroic Austrian proletariat will surmount all obstacles. With their leaders, if the latter desire so, *without* the leaders, if these lag behind the masses, in spite of the leaders, if they persist in their delusions. This is what the Austrian working class will say. It will walk over all the «living corpses»; it will take the government power into its hands, it will establish a Soviet Republic in Austria.

Forward, comrades, Austrian communists. The greater the vacillation and uncertainty evinced by the former leaders, the greater the difficulties upon your road,—the greater will your services be, and the greater will be the love of the Communist International towards you.

July 21 1919. Petrograd.

G. ZINOVIEV.



# Correspondence of the „Communist International“

## A letter from Bohemia.

In spite of the growing repressions the revolutionary movement is developing in Tchecho-Slovakia.

All the proletarian elements among the Czechs and the Slovaks are organising. Conferences and meetings are arranged at factories and works; leaflets, pamphlets and appeals are published. There have even appeared two illegal communist newspapers: the «Proletarian Army» which is published in the Czech language and is distributed almost exclusively among the Czech White Guard troops, and «The Red Gazette», published in the Slovak language and is distributed at the front and in the towns among the Slovak working masses. A strong agitation is also carried on among the prisoners of war of the white guard Army.

This work has already given considerable results; the retreat of the Czech army is principally attributed to the agitation, the army is entirely disorganised and has fled leaving all behind.

In the German part of Czechia, occupied by Czech troops, the Germans have proclaimed an amalgamation with German Austria and have formed a Provisional Government, which refuses to acknowledge the Kramarje Government at Prague. The communist movement is successfully developing among the German population in Czechia, especially in the labour centres.

The majority of the population of Tchecho-Slovakia is hostile to the Czech Government. Dissatisfaction is especially ripe with regard to the activity of various Government administrations which are completely in the hands of Tchecho-Slovaks. Generally speaking the mutual relations of these two nationalities is very strained; for instance, Slovaks mobilised by the Tchechs, disperse.

The attitude of the magyars, inhabiting Slovak towns, towards the Czech Government is of a varying character; the bourgeoisie sympathises with it while it is cordially hated by the proletariat. There were even cases of open insurrection by the Magyar workers against the Government of Prague. This took place on the occasion of the retreat of the Czech White Guard Army at Munch. One thousand Magyar Workers made an attack upon the Czech rear, which it defeated.

The following political parties legally exist at the present time in Czechia. The Tchecho-Slovak Social democratic party (Autonomists), the Social democratic party (centralists), the Bohemian Socialist Party (National Socialists), the National Revolutionary Party (agrarian), the National democratic Party (Young Chechs); this latter has amalgamated with the Progres-

sive State Party (the so-called «realists», with Masaryk at its head). There is also a National Party (Clerical). All these parties support the Government.

There are at the present time three currents to be noticed in the Tchecho-Slovak Social Democracy; the right wing, led by Medratch and Gudetz has split and has formed a party of its own which is subsidised by the Government; the centre with Soukoup, Niemetz and others at its head, who are part of the Government; the left wing is in opposition to the Government, but so far has not left the party.

The Government parties support the Entente and endeavour by all the means at their disposal to assist the latter attempt to stifle the proletarian revolution.

On paper, the social democratic party protests against the attack upon Soviet Russia, and have persuaded the soldiers to refrain from taking part in the attack, limiting themselves to the defence of the frontiers of the Tchecho-Slovak Republic.

The programme of the «labour» parties, of the Social democratic (autonomists), the Bohemian Social Democratic (centralists) and the Bohemian Socialist Party are all thoroughly imbued with menshevik and nationalist-chauvinist spirit. They have deeply sunk in opportunism; their attitude to Bolshevism is one of negation, and they dream of gaining the majority of seats in Parliament by means of general franchise and in this manner to attain Government power. Their attitude to the Soviet order is one of indifference and they consider proletarian dictatorship superfluous. At the present time the wide masses of the workers and of the landless peasantry undoubtedly sympathise with communism, but so far they are neither united nor organised.

The Government patronises these three parties, whilst it regards the left social democrats unfavourably. The Government fights the spreading of communist ideas by all means in its power; there is a strict censorship instituted, whilst criticism of Government measures in the press and at meetings is forbidden and is punishable by law. On the question of foreign policy the Government is entirely under the control of the Entente.

In certain localities, especially where the influence of the left elements of the social Democratic parties is predominant Soviets have been formed. The Government recognises these but demands that they act within the limits set by the law. Recently a special Government regulation was issued in this connection. The significance of this is so far of a moral character.

only. Nevertheless, the bourgeois parties are generally very anxious over the fact of the existence of the Soviets and are making every possible attempt to effect their dissolution.

The above description of the three Social Democratic parties is only to be supplemented by the fact that these parties follow the II International and present to the masses all questions concerning the world revolution from a rather biased compromist point of view.

The several mass demonstrations which had taken place were mainly directed against the high cost of living. At one of the demonstrations the workers carried in front of the procession a number of gibbets. Passing the boulevards and stopping in front of restaurants the crowd detained various profiteers and compelled them to give a solemn promise to the effect that they will not raise the prices on food products and on textile goods. In cases where any individual profiteer refused to give the required oath—he was led to the gibet and a rope was thrown upon his neck; the effect of this was that the required oath was immediately given. These demonstrations, however, partly bore a political character. Their effect was immediate. The Council of Ministers decided upon an energetic struggle against speculation; shops were closed down, a general stock-taking was organised, and fixed prices were installed. Besides this, the import of food stuffs from America was also increased.

The members of the three socialist Parties as well as part of the troops participated in the demonstration. At some of the meetings held in protest against the high cost of living soldiers even appeared as speakers. Cries to the effect of «Death to the profiteers» and such like were proclaimed. Generally speaking the troops sympathised with this movement, whilst the bourgeoisie treated it, of course, in a very hostile manner, and raised a cry purporting the Communists to be responsible for the looting of the shops.

Speaking of the temper of the troops it is necessary first of all to point out that in this respect there exists a sharp difference between the soldiers of the Czech regiments of the late Austrian Army and the Legionaries.

The Czech troops which formerly composed part of the Austrian Army are dissatisfied with their position; desertion is spreading; discipline has broken down, demoralisation is growing; and there have been cases of robbery and thieving. There is thoroughly reliable evidence to this in the form of the orders which have been issued to the regiments; these orders have been discovered by the Hungarian Red Army. Altogether the detachments of the late Austrian Army are not considered as reliable by the Government.

The Government leans on the Czech Legions which have been organised by the French and Italians and which are fighting chiefly at the front. The dominating spirit is nationalist chauvinist and there is a sharply expressed hostility existing between the Magyars and the Germans.

Another mainstay of the Government is the so-called «Sokol» organisations which supply a contingent of volunteers; these are sent to the front and into the gendarmerie force.

Hostility between the soldiers and the officers is observed in all parts of the army, but it is especially strong in what formerly constituted the Austrian regiments. There are special officer organisations in all the army detachments.

In Slovakia the whole of the male population ranging

from the ages of 18 to 42 is mobilised; the former members of the Legions are mobilised to the age of 45. This mobilisation took place only after the defeat of the Czech army on the Hungarian front. During the war against Soviet Hungary many detachments refused to fight. They were arrested by the Legionaries and despatched to the rear. There were also cases of mass surrender. About 8,000 soldiers fled through the Carpathian mountains into Galicia where they were disarmed and interned by the Poles.

The majority of the professional classes who form a considerable part of the Czech socialist Party (Nationalist Socialists) support the Government and are distinguished by that petty-bourgeois ideology which is characteristic of this class. Their sympathies do not lie in the direction of a socialist revolution. The rural professional classes (teachers) belong to the Czechoslovak Democratic Social Party; their theories also are greatly tinged with petty-bourgeois ideology. The greatest influence however over the wide masses of the professional classes is wielded by the National Democratic (Young Czechs) Party.

A very strong propaganda is being carried on against Bolshevism. The bourgeois press strives at all costs to discredit the principle of the Soviet form of Government. This press represents the Bolsheviks as thieves, robbers and assassins, asserting that bolshevism will exist only so long as there will be opportunities for looting. Special anti-bolshevist propaganda classes are arranged in the army; these have a special staff of agitators who work among the soldiers as well as among the labour masses. A vast amount of money is expended upon this propaganda not only by the bourgeois parties but also by the Government. A huge quantity of pamphlets directed against Communism are issued periodically.

The Government however has no great faith in the power of these «idealistic» means. Fearing the spread of Bolshevist ideas the Government limits the freedom of assembly as far as the labour parties are concerned; these are allowed to arrange meetings and conferences only with the permission of the Government administration whilst the bourgeois parties enjoy complete freedom of press and assembly. The fact must also be mentioned that the Government has developed an entire system of espionage.

In spite of all this, as we have already said, the Communists work indefatigably. Recently, apart from the current literature consisting of leaflets, newspapers etc., the following books were also published: «The Communist Manifesto», «The Communist Programme» by Bukharine, and «The Truth about Soviet Russia» by Cpt. Sidoul.

The trade unions are almost entirely in the hands of the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, but even in them an interest in the Communist movement is observed lately to have awakened.

At the present moment the economic position of Czechia is very difficult; it would be impossible for the Czech Government to maintain its power and to issue even the small ration that is now being given, without the assistance of American food supplies. Transport is disorganised, the railway traffic is irregular, depending upon the military authorities. Many works are at a standstill owing to the lack of fuel and raw material, in spite of the fact that there is a good stock of coal; the Government exports coal and sugar abroad for the purposes of maintaining the normal

value of Czech currency Unemployment is rife to a enormous extent. There is a great shortage of articles of primary necessity. White flour is being sold by the profiteers at the rate of 5 krone per kilogram, pork at 40 krone per kilogram, lard 60 krone per kilogram, fresh butter 60 krone per kilogram. There is no petroleum at all. The rate of pay in industry generally

vacillates from ten to forty krone a day, agricultural labourers receive from 5 to 10 krone a day, whilst government officials receive from 300 to 500 krone per month. It is enough to consider these rates and compare them with the above mentioned prices to be persuaded that the vast majority of the population is doomed to an existence of starvation.

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## The Revolutionary Movement in Italy.

(Extract from a letter).

...Little doubt can be entertained by a direct observer that Italy is on the eve of revolution. The sailors who were once the most ardent supporter of war with Austria and Germany have now turned revolutionary. The fighting spirit is spreading daily also amongst the working masses. The number of the members of the Confederation of Labour has increased after the declaration of the armistice from 300,000 to 1,100,000; the circulation of «Avanti» («Forward») has increased from 70,000 to 300,000 copies. In many localities of

central and south Italy Soviets have been proclaimed. Even the moderate elements, those who in 1905 were in favour of Italy participating in the war, are now against the Dynasty and dream of organising, by means of the parliamentarian socialists, an «easy» revolution, in the spirit of Kerensky. Very well, let them do so! The Labour masses of Italy will not stop half way; they will conduct the revolution to a finish, to the complete victory of the proletariat and of the middle peasantry.

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# From the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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## Boycott of the Yellow International.

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

The second Congress of the „International“ was fixed for the first of August in the City of Lucerne. The social traitors of all countries do everything in their power to make this Congress conspicuous. The Congress is represented as a great labour festival: The stage managers of the approaching Lucerne comedy endeavour to stage the convention with as much pomp and circumstance as the French imperialists stage their festivity in Paris in connection with the „victory“ over the German and their own people.

The bourgeoisie and its agents not only wish to vanquish the working class but they also mock and deride it. The attempt to represent the Lucerne Congress as a revival of the labour International can be called nothing else but an attempt to deride the workers.

Indeed! Who convened the Congress? It is convened by those parties, those men who, beginning with the first days of the war in 1914 have entirely given themselves over to the disposal of „their“ imperialist governments. Those same Scheidemanns and Renaudells, Vanderveldes and Huismans, Hyndmans and Hendersons who clamoured during four years, for „war to the end“ for „National defense“, these men who have given their blessings—one party to General Hindenburg, another to General Foch, these men helped the bourgeoisie to exterminate the flower of the working class! These are the men who wish to revive the labour International.

These men are equally guilty before the workers of all countries. These men, these Scheidemanns and Renaudells are bound by a mutual pledge. They are obliged mutually to rehabilitate each other, they are obliged to represent the affair in such a light pretending that nothing extraordinary has taken place in the International during the period of four and half years of war. From the point of view of these gentry, socialism passed through no crisis and is not passing through any crisis at the present time. There were only a few insignificant „misunderstandings“ which have however, cost the lives of many millions of working men. Now that the Versailles peace is signed, it is also possible for the lackeys to make up their quarrel. The more farsighted of the social traitors prophesied as

long ago as 1915 that the moment will arrive when the German social chauvinists will be able to grant an amnesty to the French social chauvinists, and vice versa. As far back as 1915 Karl Kautzky developed an entire theory on mutual amnesty. Now this long expected moment has arrived for the priests of the bankrupt second International. These gentry are about to forgive their mutual sins at Lucerne: they are about to proclaim a general amnesty, to proclaim their own innocence, to throw dust into the eyes of the workers of other countries,—alleging the 2-nd International to have been reestablished.

Who will come to Lucerne? What parties will be represented there? The organisers of the Lucerne Congress consider it self understood that the official German social democratic party will be a desirable guest at this Congress. We ask, is it possible for the workers of all countries to forget that it was this very official German social democracy that inspired the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg?

The English and French social chauvinist party will be equally desirable guests. But is it possible for the workers to forget that this Thomas these Vanderveldes, during the whole period of the war, have been running errands for the kings and bankers, and that at the present time these gentry are acknowledged imperialist agents?

The programme and platform of the approaching Lucerne convention has in its main features been drawn at the Berne Conference at the beginning of the present year! The social traitors have fully approved of the idea of the notorious „League of Nations“, which has appeared before the eyes of the workers of all countries, as a League of murderers, as garroters and suppressors of nations.

Commissioned by the Berne Conference, the present organisers of the Lucerne Congress have appeared before Clemanceau, Pichon, Lloyd George and Wilson to intercede for the „democratisation“ of this famous League of Nations. It is understood that these clowns were only treated with contempt, they were not allowed further than the antechamber and they were sent to continue the only kind of „work“ for which they are fit,—the work of inveigling the proletariat of all countries into the nets of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is growing with miraculous speed in all countries of Europe and America. What are the official social democratic parties that have now convened their Congress at Lucerne doing at the present time? These official thoroughly putrescent parties are stifling the labour movement with all the power at their disposal. In France and Germany, Austria and England, everywhere, this old official social democracy acts the part of suppresser of railway strikes and of the strikes and risings of all other categories of workers.

The imperialist Governments of the Allied countries have instigated a crusade against the Russian and Hungarian proletariat who have taken the government power of their respective countries into their own hands. All honest workers of the Allied countries expressed great indignation at this crusade, and are ready to rise against their governments with arms in their hands. Yet what is the part played by the official social traitors in this affair? The social chauvinists of Germany as well as of France, of Austria as well as of England, are making all attempts to weaken the protests of the workers. In actual reality they are assisting Kolchak, the Rumanian landlords, and all the other garroters and oppressors of the Hungarian and Russian revolutions.

The 2-nd International died on the 4-th August 1914 at the moment when the German and French social democratic parties voted in favour of war credits and went over to the side of their government. The 2-nd International is not to be resuscitated. „A stinking corpse” is what Rosa Luxemburg as long ago as 1905 called the official German social democracy. The whole of the 2-nd International has now become a stinking corpse of this kind; a corpse that must speedily be interred, so that it may not contaminate the surrounding atmosphere.

A new International fraternity of labour arose upon the ruins of the Second International, this is the III Communist International. All that is honest, strong and able amongst the workers to carry on the struggle—all these have joined the ranks of the III International. Approximately 20 parties took part in the inaugural Congress of the III Communist International. Only four months have passed since the III International has been established at Moscow, during which the following new parties joined the III International.

The Italian Labour Party; the Serbian Revolutionary social democrats; our Swedish and Norwegian comrades; the Bulgarian workers; the left wing of the American Party and many other American and European labour organisations. The struggle is fermenting all over the world. The huge strikes that are shaking Italy to its foundation, are a pledge of the near approach of the liberation of the Italian proletariat. The political strike that was appointed in a few of the Allied countries for the 23 July as a protest against intervention in Russian and Hungarian affairs is only the harbinger of a number of international fights, which will inevitably end in the victory of the world proletariat over International Capitalism.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International passed a unanimous resolution to appeal to the labour organisation of the whole world to boycott the forthcoming base and ludicrous comedy which is to take place at Lucerne. Not one single self-respecting labourer, not one honest Labour organisation will take part in the mask-trade held for the entertainment of stock exchange kings for whom the yellow „socialists” will play, so to speak, the part of concubines in this Swiss town of Lucerne.

The workers of all countries will upon that day make a demonstration in whatever form most convenient to them against the yellow „international”, and they will declare their loyalty to the ideas of Communism, as predicted by Marx and Engels.

Comrades and workers, come out upon this day into the streets, throw into the face of the lackeys of capitalism your contempt and hatred to these servants of imperialism; form demonstrations in favour of those principles which were fought for by Karl Liebknecht; rally your forces under the banner of the Third Communist International.

Vives vocal all the live, all those fit to struggle, all those who hate the yoke of the bourgeoisie, all those who love real freedom, all those who are ready to fight for the abolition of the capitalist order—the Third International calls into its ranks.

President of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International

G. Zinovieff.

## To the Workers of the Allied Countries.

The International Strike was called off—long Live the International Strike!

With bated breath the leading workers of all countries awaited the 21st of July. For this day in Italy, in France, in England and in a few other countries an international political strike in support of the Hungarian and Russian revolutions and demanding non-intervention of the Imperialist Governments into Hungarian and Russian affairs, was arranged. A number of official socialist organisations seemed to support this strike. The French Confederation General Du Travail, the official party headquarters in France, seemed to be in favour of this strike. But these organisations would not be true to themselves, had they not with their customary vacillation and half-heartedness betrayed the working class at the last moment.

— Seeing that the official socialists of England and France are in favour of a political strike, the more reason there is to presume that the working class of England and France will go still further, and are in all probability inclined towards direct action.

This is how the leading worker communists looked upon events.

The worst has taken place. The official elements of socialism have deceived the workers for the moment pretending to be in favour of the general strike; they have in this manner gained the certain confidence of the workers; they took the engagement into their own hands, and as soon as the affair reached a climax they gave a counter parole which resulted in the calling off of the strike.

We, as yet, lack detailed information on what has taken place on the 21st July in the countries mentioned. There is no doubt whatever that the heroic Italian proletariat has again proved at its height. Hundreds of thousands of Italian workers have entered into a heroic struggle with the Italian imperialists. In a few Italian towns the affair reached the stage of direct insurrection. There is no force in the world strong enough to restrain this great struggle between labour and capital.

In France there is reason to believe that the notorious collaboration between the Imperialist Government and the French socialist traitors has again taken place. The Imperialist French Government declared its readiness to grant an amnesty to certain categories of political criminals. At the same time the French Imperialist Government resorted to the most draconian terrorist measures against the planned strike. Whilst the social traitors true to their tactics, called upon the workers to postpone the strike, that is to say, the social traitors did what most suited the French bourgeoisie.

The strike of the 21st July was called off. The social traitors inscribed one more act of treason upon the roll of their monstrous crimes committed against the working class of all countries, since 1914. The strike has been called off, at least in some of the countries where it was planned. The result of this is new preparations for an attack by the Allied Imperialists upon the heroic Soviet Republic of Hungary.

At Chigirin the counter revolutionary landlord self-instituted Government assembled intending to re-establish the feudal bourgeois regime in Hungary. The Chigirin counter revolutionary band, it is understood of course, will come to the assistance of the Government of Clemenceau. The French Imperialists assisted by all the means in their power the expropriated migrants who were exiled and fled from Hungary. The sword of a planned political strike detained Clemenceau and his followers for a while from an attack upon Red Budapest. At the present moment this crusade is being prepared with fresh force, and if the heroes, the Hungarian Proletarians, who have liberated their country from the yoke of capitalism, will now be overwhelmed by the whiteguard birds, responsibility for this will fall upon the heads of the French social traitors who have called off the strike of the 21st July.

The second result emanating from the success of the traitors in calling off the strike of the 21st July is the new crusade of the English Imperialists upon Red Petrograd. «Petrograd must be taken!», exclaims the «Times» the leading organ of the English Imperialists. And should the Petrograd workers once more have to withstand the attack of counter revolutionary forces, the responsibility for this will rest on those social traitors who caused the calling off of the strike of 21st July.

Workers, you are deceived! You are betrayed at every step by those parties and those organisations of the 2nd International who still dare to speak in your name. That happened everywhere and at all times. In January 1919 when the Berlin Proletariat led by our immortal Karl Liebknecht, made a rising against the capitalist government; the social traitors and the «centre» leaders guided by Kautsky, called off this great rising, caused disorganisation in the ranks of the struggling workers, taking upon themselves the part of honest brokers between the workers and the capitalists. Just as in January 1919 the German bourgeoisie at Berlin utilised for their purposes the socialists of the «centre» against the rebel workers, just so in July 1919 the Paris bourgeoisie utilised the socialists of the «centre» against the Paris proletariat.

Comrades! We are nevertheless fully confident that the seed which has been sown on the 21st July will bear splendid fruit. No one can deprive us of the great idea of international struggle of labour against capital. The latest act of treason of the official socialists once more opens our eyes to the fact that the 2nd International represents a bourgeois agency, and that until we have entirely broken with the traitors of the labour cause, it is not possible for us to make a single step forward.

The Hungarian workers, we are fully confident, will also upon this occasion cope with the rapacious attack which is being prepared upon them. The proletarian Russian Republic will be able to defend itself, both against the blockade of the French Imperialists in the Black Sea, as well as against the attack of the

Russian counter revolutionaries upon all fronts who are supported by the bourgeoisie of England and France.

The Italian Government hypocritically declared that it will no longer interfere in the inner affairs of Russia and Hungary. Similar verbal assurances are made both by the English and French Governments. The official social traitors assent to everything that is said by their masters the bankers, and also attempt to assure us that no intervention is intended.

Comrades, that is untrue!

Intervention of the Imperialist Governments of the Allied countries into the affairs of Hungary and Russia is taking place and in a cynical form at that. The French capitalists hire Serbian and Rumanian braves to organise a crusade against Budapest with their assistance. The French and English Imperialist Governments supply the bandits,—the Czarist generals Denikin and Kolchak,—with milliards of money, with tanks and officers, and all that is required by these offal of Tzarist reaction in their fight of exterminating the working class and the peasantry. You are well enough aware of the fact that although the Versailles Treaty has been signed each one of the Imperialist Governments however, retains a knife in its hands. At Fiume the French are fighting the Italians and hundreds of killed and wounded of both sides prove that the Imperialist Governments are ready once again to break out into a fight at any moment. The Greeks are fighting the Turks. The creation of the notorious League of Nations has not prevented the weaving at the present minute of new intrigues, the conclusion of new secret treaties, the preparation for new war and bloodshed. Only a victorious universal proletarian revolution can free us for ever from

the terrors of war and of capitalism.

The idea of an International Political strike,—a strike which will of course, ultimately merge into an International armed rising against the Imperialist governments,—this idea will not die. The vanguard of the International proletariat will take the cause of the hands of those who on the 21st July commit the thousand and first act of treason, and will make the International political strike the question of the day. The working class of England, France and other countries will benefit from the experience of the 21 July. The workers of the leading countries will prepare a new attack and on this occasion will depend only upon their own forces, only upon the forces of those proletarians who are aware and agreed upon the necessity of breaking with the traitors from the III International and they will come under the banner of the III International.

Let the bourgeoisie triumph temporarily, let it rub its hands with glee on the occasion of its success in having once again with the assistance of the III International called off the political strike. We are confident that their triumph will be of short duration.

The International political strike has been defeated by the social traitors. Long live the International political strike organised by the workers against the bourgeoisie and against the social traitors!

President of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International.

G. ZINOVIEV.

24 July 1919.

## The Fifth Anniversary of the Murder of Jaures.

Radio telegrams of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to comrade Loriot the representative of the French workers.

To-day is the fifth anniversary of that important day when, by the hand of their agent Villaine, the French bourgeoisie brutally murdered the valiant tribune of the French workers, Jean Jaures. The murder of Jaures was not only a triumph for the French bourgeoisie but also for the Russian bourgeoisie.

The investigation that followed did not establish with any degree of exactness what role the Paris Embassy of the Russian Tzar played in the assassination of Jaures. But the investigation of course, never put before itself the problem of finding the actual culprits of this monstrous crime. On the contrary the aim of the investigation was to cover the trail of those guilty of the murder of Jaures. The investigation was conducted in such a manner as to give an opportunity to the court,—consisting of class antagonists, to acquit the murderers of Jaures; this was attained by the agents of the French capitalists.

At the same time there is not the least doubt that the Tzarist bands and Russian monarchist bourgeoisie not only sympathised with the murder of Jaures, but were to a certain extent the inspirers of this base assassination. The Miliukoffs and the Sazonoffs who are now being patronised by the Paris Stock Exchange breathed

with a sense of relief when they heard, on the 1st of August that Jean Jaures,—this fiery antagonist of the reactionary Franco-Russian Alliance, this passionate enemy of the Imperialist slaughter,—was no more.

To-day, when the workers of the world are marking the sad date of the 5th anniversary of the death of the favourite hero of the French proletariat we recollect what Jaures said shortly before his death. You remember, comrade Loriot, the speech made at a public conference at Vaise, near Lyons, by the diseased Jaures four days before his death. At that time the outlines of the approaching Imperialist slaughter were already clearly drawn. The inevitability of the war, which the bourgeoisie of both coalitions had been preparing for five years, was quite clear to Jaures. In this remarkable speech,—Jaures' swan song,—the late tribune said the following.

«Citizens! The note which Austria sent to Serbia is full of menace. Germany declares, through her ambassadors, that she is ready to act in solidarity with Austria... The question, however is not only of the alliance between Austria and Germany,—the secret treaty between France and Tzarist Russia, the essential points of which are well known, came to the fore... At the pro-

at time a time pregnant with dangers to all of us and to all countries there is no need to search long for the culprits of the war... When we, French socialists, insisted that an armed violent penetration into Morocco will open in Europe an era of collisions, seizures and conflicts we were railed at for being bad Frenchmen. This is our, French, part of responsibility for this war. This becomes the clearer when we remember that the Bosnia Herzegovian question served as a pretext for the struggle between Austria and Serbia, and that when Austria annexed Bosnia Herzegovina, we, Frenchmen, had neither right nor power to protest against this... for the reason that we were occupied with Morocco, for the reason that we justified the sins of others, we endeavoured to attain in this manner absolution for our own sins...

Our Minister for Foreign Affairs said to Austria at that time:

«We will cede you Bosnia-Herzegovina on condition that you cede to us Morocco»...

And we said to Italy:

«You may walk into Tripoli; to the same length to which I will occupy Morocco. You may steal in at the other end of the street, whilst I am stealing in this».

It seems that these two short dialogues, in the opinion of Jaures, giving the essence of the foreign policy of such «great» Empires as France, Austria, Italy,—are sufficiently eloquent...

But let us go on.

«Russia will be anxious to stand up for the Serbians», Jaures continues, «and most likely she will say.

«The soul of the great Slavonic people cannot be reconciled to any form of violence perpetrated upon the small slavonic Serbian nation».

Very well! But who dealt Serbia a stab in the heart? When in 1877 Russia intervened in the Balkan events and when she created a so-called «independent» Bulgaria, intending to put her hand upon her,—Tzarist Russia said at that time to Austria; grant me freedom of action and I will entrust you with the administration of Bosnia Herzegovina...

At the time of the famous audience between the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tzarist Russia said to Austria: «I will allow you to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina upon condition that you will allow me to obtain an outlet into the Black Sea, near Constantinopol.

Summing up, Jaures, literally said the following: «The French colonial policy, which stood in fear of Tzarist Russia, the violent will of Austria,—this is what operated in the creation of that terrible condition, in which we now find ourselves».

And he draws the following practical conclusion:

«Citizens! Should the atom of war break out all we socialists must take care as soon as possible to save ourselves from the crime which is being perpetrated by the ruling classes»<sup>1)</sup>...

These were the prophetic words of Jaures. But hardly has Jaures had time to close his eyes in eternity, but his despicable epigons came over to the side of the French bourgeoisie, whom they continue to serve faithfully, and loyally until the present time. Jean Jaures was a passionate hater of the violent Franco-Russian Alliance, that is to say the Alliance between the French Plutocracy and the Russian Czar and the Russian bourgeoisie.

<sup>1)</sup> This speech was published in a separate pamphlet in Paris: «Les causes de la guerre. Discours de Jean Jaures, Impression de la Federation de la France».

The French social traitors who cynically assert that the precepts of Jaures are sacred to them, in reality continue to act in the traditions of the reactionary Franco-Russian Alliance. For the support of Kolchak, the support of Sazanoff, Savinkoff, of Maklakoff and Tchaikofsky, this is but the continuation though under somewhat different circumstances, of the same violent alliance between the bandits of French capital and the Russian capitalist robbers exiled from Russia.

The French bourgeoisie, the instigator and inspirer of the murder of Jaures is now playing the part of the most reactionary of international Imperialists. She is organising an open crusade against Red Hungary and Worker Peasant Russia. She is working so openly that she has declared the assassin Villaine to be her hero whom she has acquitted, which in its turn was a challenge to the French working class. But we are confident that the French proletariat will remain loyal to the best tradition of Jaures. The blood of Jaures has welded the front ranks of the French Labour Internationalists. The unveiling of the monument of Jaures at Paris served as an opportunity for the first mass demonstration of the French workers in honour of the Russian proletarian Revolution and in honour of Proletarian Dictatorship.

The Russian workers erected a monument to Jean Jaures a year ago in their Red Capital of Moscow.

Had the hands of Clemenceau and Pichon been quite free, we are confident that they would, in answer to this, erect on the Champ Elisee, memorials to Nicholas Romanoff and Gregory Rasputin... Men who have acquitted Villaine are not far from such cynicism.

Jaures taught the French workers to detest Russian Czarism. Jaures considered it as one of the most important problems of his life to expose the reactionary Alliance between the French bourgeoisie and Russian Plutocracy. The preaching of Jaures has penetrated deeply into the hearts of the French workers. The seeds sown by Jaures, we are confident, will soon yield a rich harvest. The French workers unite more closely every day. They now see clearly,—the war was brought to a finish, French capital gained a complete victory, French Imperialism pressed upon the German people the Versailles peace worthy of robbers. With what result? Has it become easier for the French worker to live, has the French peasant become richer, is it possible for the French soldier to breathe easier? No, a thousand times no! As of old, the bourgeoisie is wallowing in luxury, whilst tens of millions of workers are doomed, just as they were before, to eke out a miserable existence.

Proletarian World Revolution is inevitable. This is quite clear at the present time to those who wish to look upon current events with clear and open eyes.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends in your person, Comrade Loriot, fraternal greetings to the French working class, to the toiling peasantry, to the honest soldiers and sailors of your country. The memory of your leader Jean Jaures is sacredly revered by the class conscious workers of all countries. Eternal memory and eternal glory to Jean Jaures! Long live the Proletarian Revolution in the whole World!

President of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International,

G. ZINOVIEV.

31st July 1919.



# To the Proletariat of all the World.

Comrades!

A great act of treason has been committed. The Soviet Government of Hungary has fallen under the pressure of the Imperialist robbers and the monstrous treason of the social traitors. The leaders of the 2nd International who supported the Imperialist slaughter, have caused the International strike of protest to be called off. The Imperialist braves headed by Cleméau and Wilson, have reached the extreme stage of insolence. The ultimatum presented by them reads as follows:—  
«Overthrow the Soviet Government and we shall leave you in peace».

All the baseness of the former social democratic party became here apparent. This party swore to be loyal to proletarian dictatorship. It signed an agreement with the Hungarian Communist Party. Moreover, it amalgamated with this party. It declared at solemn conventions, at Soviet Conferences, at Party conventions, that it will fight for Communism and for the revolution to the last drop of its blood. Having amalgamated with the Communists it joined the 3rd International.

The brand of Cain is now on the forehead of this Party. It betrayed the proletariat, the revolution, the glorious party of the Hungarian Communists; it betrayed the International. Entering into a secret agreement with the Versailles murderers, as well as with their own counter revolutionaries; drawing their strength from the gold of the Imperialists, and depending upon the bayonets of the executioners it overthrew the Government of the Communist Proletariat. These «true socialists» have now reestablished private property. Each of the empires composing the League of Nations is sending a regiment to support them. Peidel, the executioner of the workers, this Hungarian Noske is at the head of the Government.

The treacherous nature of the social patriots betrayed itself. Just as in Germany the Scheidemanns and the adherents of Kautsky drowned the proletarian revolution in blood; just as the Russian «socialist revolutionaries» and mensheviks objectively assisted the Czarist generals, just as the Berne Yellow International is selling the working class to the rapacious «League

of Nations»,—just so have the Hungarian social traitors given the pride of the world proletariat, the Hungaria Soviet, to be torn to pieces.

Provocators and executioners hired by capitalism have no place in the 3rd International!

Let them go to the 2nd, to the Brantings and the Thomas, to the Noskes and to the Kautskys!

The Communist International, deploring the fall of Soviet Hungary and the death of her glorious leader Tibor Samuelli, appeals to the proletariat of the whole world to rally the closer around the Communist banner, to strengthen the onslaught upon the fortress of capitalism.

The great historical contest of the present moment is bound to sustain great victories as well as cruel defeats. But the terrible experience of Finland and Siberia have proved to us that those countries which had a Soviet Government will never afford a durable victory to the counter revolution. Every country is being swept by a wave of insurrections. Our ultimate victory is as inevitable as the ruin of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors!

The Communist International appeals to the Hungarian proletariat for courage, virility and endurance. To work, comrades! Organise immediately an illegal Communist party! The bloody lesson of Hungary has taught the world proletariat that there can be no compromise, no coalition with the social traitors! The opportunist prostitute leaders should be swept away! New men must be called upon to head the movement. The working class will find these men in its own midst. For it is the working class, and not their enemies, who are destined to emerge victorious.

Soviet Hungary is dead!—Long live Soviet Hungary!  
Long live the Hungarian Communist Party!  
Long live the revolution of the workers of the world!  
Long live Communism!

President by the Executive Committee  
of the Communist International,

G. ZINOVIEV.

Moscow, August 5th 1919.

# Heroes and Martyrs of the Proletarian Revolution.

*Under this heading we shall publish information concerning those of our fighters, who have perished for the cause of Proletarian Revolution.*

*The bourgeoisie metes out an equally ruthless treatment to all fighters for the proletarian revolution in Germany as well as in America, in France as well as in England. The brutality of the bourgeois savages in Finland as well as in those parts of Russia, where the white Guards were temporarily victorious, surpasses all description. Tens of thousands of our best brothers fell victims to the bourgeois white terror of 1917—1919.*

*We must gather with love and reverence all information concerning the life, the struggle and also the death of our comrades tortured to death. The memory of these fighters will never fade.*

*In this number we give detailed information concerning Comrade Levine, the leader of the Bavarian Communists, who was shot by the social-democratic executioners for calling upon the workers to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie.*

THE EDITORS.

## EUGENE LEVINE.

The brutal assassination by the Bavarian white Guards and social traitors of the leader of the Munich communists, Comrade Levine, evoked a storm of indignation amongst the working masses of the whole of Germany.

Comrade Eugene Levine Nissin, who was of Russian origin, was executed at Munich on the 5th June 1919, in accordance with the court martial sentence confirmed by the Bavarian Social Democratic Government.

Fearing the demonstration of popular anger, the Bavarian Government, who, like a criminal attempted hastily to cover the trails of its crime, made haste on the very next day following the execution secretly to bury Comrade Levine. Count Pezzilezi, the Counsel for the Defendant, made futile attempts to learn in advance from the Government authorities of the place and date of the burial. Only a few hours prior to the actual burial which took place on the 6th July, was he informed that the body of the murdered man would be interred at 2 p. m. at the Scheibling Cemetery near Munich; a promise was exacted from him not to speak of this except to a few relatives and nearest friends of the deceased. Only a few persons were present at the funeral; the late Minister for Public Maintenance, Unterleitner, was the only person who was allowed to say a few words over the grave, concerning the personality of the fallen hero of the revolution.

The news concerning this new feat of the saviours of the bourgeois fatherland, however, spread very rapidly all over Germany. On the very next day after the execution, the workers of Berlin began to organise

meetings, passing vigorous resolutions of protest against the outrageous murder committed by the Government of social traitors. On the same day, that is to say, on Friday June 7th, a plenary sitting took place of the Berlin Soviet of workers and Soldiers Deputies, where a proposal of our Communist comrades was accepted—to declare a one day's strike in protest against the execution of Comrade Levine.

Doctor Rosenfeld, one of the defenders of Comrade Levine, related at this sitting how the executed communist hero was tried. The court martial made all attempts possible, by distorting facts, to dishonour the accused. Thus, the public prosecutor accused him of cowardice on the grounds that he did not come out to defend the Soviet Republic with arms. It has been indisputably established at the court that Comrade Levine was deprived of the possibility of taking a personal part in the armed rising. "If you doubt my courage," said he, turning to the public prosecutor, "I invite you to be present at my execution; you will see how I can die for Communism. All the accusations made against comrade Levine,—he was by the way accused of the murder of hostages,—were refuted in the court; and in spite of all this the court passed a sentence of death," said Doctor Rosenfeld, "this is exclusively to be explained by the fact that the Munich military circles thirsted for the blood of this great revolutionary, and awaited his death with unconcealed impatience."

Council for the Defence hoped that the Bavarian Government half of whom were socialists of the right wing, will not agree to confirm this juridically entirely

unjustified sentence. But this hope was not justified... The treatment meted out to comrade Leviné, all the time from the moment of his arrest until the moment of his death, was, according to the words of Dr. Rosenfeld, most outrageous. The same outrageous treatment was shown by the «socialist» Government of Bavaria to the wife of Comrade Levine, who is languishing in prison until the present time, although no kind of accusation was brought against her.

Dr. Rosenfeld's description made a powerful impression, and the meeting was altogether in such a state of agitation, that it was decided to postpone all current business until the following session, and after passing the above mentioned resolutions concerning the 24 hour's strike, the conference dispersed.

Three resolutions were put before the meeting: the resolution of the Communists, of the Independents, and of the Right wing Socialists. Unfortunately, the complete text of the Communist resolution is not known to us. This resolution pointed out that the sentence of the Munich court in trial throws an ineradicable shame upon the counter revolutionaries and upon the traitorous Socialists, with whose blessings the executioners perpetrated their ignoble deed. We were successful in receiving the resolution of the lukewarm «Independents» which we quote here fully:

«The plenary sitting of the Berlin Soviet of workers and Soldiers Deputies reveres with a sense of mourning and respect the memory of the brave fighter for freedom, Eugene Leviné, who fell a victim of brutal class legal proceedings and counter revolution. The sitting of the Soviet remembers with gratitude all those who have given their lives and freedom in the struggle for the proletarian cause and socialism.

The plenary sitting expresses its profound indignation that the death sentence on Leviné was carried out; it sees in this a new proof of the hatred which reaction entertains towards the revolutionary proletariat. With a feeling of the greatest indignation the sitting of the Soviet especially emphasizes the fact that this first political death sentence passed after 1848 was carried out by a Socialist Government. The Conference expresses its contempt for the socialist Government which has degraded itself to the role of counter revolutionary agents, and it calls upon the proletariat not to follow these traitors of socialism.

The plenary sitting makes an earnest appeal to the German working class to strain all its efforts and to arise in a closely united single front against the counter revolution and against those Governments who have become meek tools in the hands of rabid enemies of the revolution and of socialism. The Counter revolution, thirsting for the blood of the workers, will be able to avert the last decisive fight against reactionary capitalism by any kind of provocation.

The plenary sitting of the Soviet solemnly vows before the silent corpses of the brutally murdered Rosa Luxemburg, and Leviné, that it will do all in its power to rouse the working masses behind the Soviet and to lead them to battle in the defence of the revolution and of socialism.

On the evening of the same day a number of meetings took place all over Berlin. The meeting of the employees of the 6th electoral district Conference deserves special notice. Opening the Conference, at which over 300 delegates were present, the president, Comrade Lied, said:

«We are today overwhelmed by a sentiment of mourn-

ning and indignation. Egged on by the bourgeoisie the soldiers continue the brutal persecution of the revolutionary fighters. Yesterday Eugene Leviné fell a victim to the bloodthirsty military dictatorship. He fought for the working class, he suffered and died for us. This man of supreme nobility and chrysal purity of soul perished. Open hearted and courageous to the last moment, he fell for us. The responsibility for this brutal murder falls upon the present Government which calls itself «Socialist». Their hands are steeped in blood; in the blood of the fighters of the revolution. Leviné, Leibknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Yogiches, and many another of our best comrades have fallen their victims. It is terrible to think of the losses yet likely to come. It is possible that we shall have to live through more than one such bloody bath. It is characteristic that the murderers of Leibknecht and Luxemburg and the sailors,—the over lieutenants Yogel and Marlow are enjoying freedom, whilst the fighters for revolution are being shot and hurled into prison.

... Let us then make a solemn promise that undaunted we shall strive to attain revolutionary socialism, remembering the covenant of our fallen heroes. This is the best way of paying due reverence to their memory. We to those upon whose heads the storm of anger and indignation that they have accumulated in the masses during the time of their domination will be wreaked. The proletariat will become clearer sighted every day. It will not allow itself to be deprived a second time of its victory».

Those present heard the speech delivered by Comrade Lied, standing.

The twenty four hour strike of protest proclaimed by the Berlin Soviet passed off most successfully. At three o'clock in the afternoon the tramway service was stopped. Towards the evening the strikers enforced the cessation of the omnibus traffic which was still working. At 11 o'clock the air service and underground railway employees decided to join the strike and upon the following morning the whole of the city traffic was stopped. The strike was also joined by the workers and employees of almost all the Berlin industrial enterprises, by a considerable part of the railway workers of the suburban and district railways, by the workers of railway workshops and of electric stations, by all the employees of the district railway Administration as well as by all the post and telegraph workers. The working masses preserved a most stringent discipline in spite of the fact that motor lorries containing armed defenders of order, careered the town with undisguised provocative aims.

The organ of the «Independents» «The Freiheit» wrote the following on 8th June concerning the strike.

«The one day strike which was decided with rare unanimity by the Berlin Soviet and which was carried out by the labour masses, truthfully expressed the unbounded indignation which the murder of Leviné has roused amongst the labour masses.

The decisive and unanimous condemnation of this political murder was expressed in the close union, unwitnessed for a long time, of the whole of the proletariat without distinction of parties. The masses feel instinctively that this death sentence was prompted not only by hatred to one personality, but also by an attitude of hostility towards an entire system, and by a desire to deal a severe blow to the whole of the socialist movement.

This explains why the execution of Leviné hitherto

down only to a small circle of workers, roused this tremendous tempest of indignation. The verdict of the Munich court martial and its ratification by the Government, the majority of which consists of socialists, has proved with extreme clarity that the danger of unrestrained reaction is approaching ever nearer.

... The conduct of the Bavarian Government is indeed monstrous, for in spite of the complete legal and actual baselessness of the verdict, it was confirmed and executed.

This brutal infringement of socialist principles was answered by all the workers of Berlin without distinction of political tendencies, by a menacing warning to reaction and to those who, without authority, act in the name of the proletariat, and aid and abet the counter revolution. Let them remember that this is the final warning; let them bethink themselves before it is too late.

The protest was not confined to Berlin. On the 9th of June, a mass meeting which ended in a street demonstration took place at Hanover. At the meeting a resolution was passed demanding the resignation and expulsion from the party of all the leaders implicated in this affair, the abolition of military and extraordinary courts, and the repeal of martial law. At Vienna on the 7th June the Labour Commune of the Socialist Students Group passed the following resolution:

«We, student socialists of the higher educational institutions of Vienna, have learned with great indignation of the murder of Leviné. We protest against the revolutionary parasites of the socialist majority who having allowed this crime, continue to call themselves socialists.

We protest against the unprincipled secret Bavarian and Prussian legal proceedings; we demand the immediate liberation of Toller, and proclaim our complete solidarity with the German workers who have proclaimed a struggle against the big game Government and against the terror of the dominating military cliques.

To appease public anger and to exculpate himself, Scheidemann hastened to publish in the newspapers the fact that he desired to prevent the execution of comrade Leviné, and to that end he sent to Hoffman, the Bavarian prime minister, the following telegram:

«Although I am neither able nor intend to take official steps, I appeal to you as a personal favour, to postpone the execution of the sentence on Leviné and Toller till personal negotiations between you and myself».

Hoffman also hastened to reply to this communication declaring that at the time of the Leviné trial he was on his vacation in Switzerland, and immediately upon the receipt of Scheidemann's telegram he gave telegraphic directions to suspend the execution of the sentence until his arrival at Munich; this telegram however was received too late.

The attempt of the ministers to excuse themselves by ignorance however was not successful. The well known member of the Independent Party, Hasse, proved that two days before the execution he sent a telegram to Hoffman and the Bavarian minister of Justice, Muller-Meningen, where he requested him on behalf of the various political parties not to confirm nor to execute a single political death sentence.

Whatever the executioners who have murdered Leviné say or write at the present time, and whatever their grand protectors do, the confidence of the wide masses towards the socialist Government, has been shaken for ever. This is also evidenced by the fact that simultaneously with the mass protest against the execution of comrade Leviné and immediately upon it, a great movement arose in favour of another Munich Communist comrade Ernest Toller; we have already seen that the Vienna students demanded his liberation; a similar demand was put forward by the socialist students of Berlin and Charlottenburg to the national conference and to the Bavarian Landtag. The fate of comrade Toller agitated the wide masses of working class circles. It must be noticed here that the brutal treatment of comrade Leviné was in no way an exceptional occurrence: the official number of victims of the revolution who fell at Munich during the week from April 30 to May 8th is an eloquent testimony of the bloodthirstiness of the Bavarian democrats. Altogether 557 men were killed, 303 wounded, and 186 shot by court martial. Of the whole number only 145 men were killed in open battle.

Yes, comrade Lied is right; the outlook of the proletariat is getting clearer every day. The inexorable course of historical development makes ever clearer to the working class the wide chasm which separates its interests, views and aspirations from the real striving of the compromisers who, using the name of the proletariat as a screen, support the class domination of the enemies of the proletariat. The united mass demonstrations of the workers, welded by the blood which was shed by their true leader, was only one of the first distant peals of thunder of the approaching proletarian revolutionary tempest.

## Biographical Notes on Comrade Uritzky.

(On the anniversary of his death).

Moisei Solomonovitch Uritzky was born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 1873 in a small town called Cherkass in the government of Kiev, on the banks of the River Dneiper. His parents were merchants. There was a large patriarchal family. The interests of the family were limited to religious rites and trade. When the boy was three years of age his father was drowned in the river. The boy was left in the care of his mother and his elder sister. Young Uritzky up to the age of 13 was engaged in sharpening his mind in the subtleties and intricacies of the Talmud. His sole recreation during these years was his proximity to Nature. The boy spent his leisure hours on the banks of the beautiful Dneiper. In this we must see the source of that kindness of disposition which distinguished his whole life.

The interests of Uritzky's sister were inclined in a different direction. She perceived in due time the brilliant abilities of her younger brother and it was her passionate desire to acquaint him with Russia culture. In this she was quite successful. At the age of 13 Uritzky, against the will of his mother, began eagerly to study the Russian language, putting into this the whole of his youthful ardour. He passed his examinations brilliantly, and in spite of the 5% norm attached to Jews in Russia, he entered the Cherkass preparatory college.

Having finished this college he went to a townlet called Bell-Tzerkoff, where he finished the college brilliantly. Notwithstanding the fact that during all this time he was compelled to support himself, Uritzky left the college with exceptional knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian literature.

Upon finishing his studies Uritzky entered the juridical faculty of the Kiev University.

At this time he was already the founder of student circles who adhere to the social democratic programme.

At the age of 24 he finished the University and en-

rolled as a volunteer in one of the infantry regiments. His service was not of long duration... On the third day he was arrested, and accused of belonging to the social democratic organisation.

From this time the remainder of Uritzky's life passed in exile and prison.

At first he was sent to the Yakutzk region, where he spent five years. At this time he contracted tuberculosis from which he suffered for the remainder of his life.

Upon his return to Russia he settled in Petrograd and devoted himself entirely to party work. But in the beginning of 1906, he was again arrested, and this time he was sent to the Vologda region, and later on to that of Archanget.

At this time his disease assumed a very painful character, so that even the Czarist officials found it possible to substitute the exile to Siberia by a compulsory departure abroad.

The war found comrade Uritzky in Germany. He left for Stockholm and then for Copenhagen.

The first news concerning the Russian revolution brought comrade Uritzky back to Russia after long years of struggle and exile.

Here his tempestuous activity full of fire and vigour was exercised in public.

Comrade Uritzky belongs to that type of men who lead no private life of their own. Every hour, every minute of his life was devoted to the cause of the revolution, to the cause of universal justice and right. At the same time he was a man of peculiarly romantic pliability and kindness. Even his enemies do not refute this.

A brave fighter, a loyal soldier of the International, has been killed. Killed at his post... The hero and great worker for the cause of the revolution that comrade Uritzky was, could die no other death.

## Personal Reminiscences.

I made his acquaintance in 1901.

Shortly before my deportation from prison to exile I was given leave to see my people at Kiev.

At the request of the local Red Cross Association I delivered a lecture in the benefit of the Society. Both lecturer and hearers including E. Tasic and V. Vodevosov were taken under cossack escort to the Lukianov prison.

When we looked round, we found that it was a peculiar kind of prison: the doors of the cells were never locked. Walks in common were taken daily, during which the time was occupied alternately in sport and in lectures on scientific socialism. At night we all sat near the window and entertained ourselves with singing and recitation. There was a commune in the prison so that even official rations and all that was sent by the families of the imprisoned went into the common kettle. The commune also arranged the purchases in the market at common expense; it also managed the kitchen with the entire staff of non-political prisoners. The attitude of the non-politicals towards the commune was one of adoration, as the latter was responsible for putting an end to fighting and quarrelling and even cursing.

How did the miracle of the transformation of the Lukianovka into a commune come about? The fact of the matter was that the prison was administered not so much by its authorised governor as by the elder of the political prisoners — Moisei Solomonevitch Uritzky.

At that time he wore a large black beard, and was in the habit of constantly sucking at a little pipe. Phlegmatic, imperturbable, greatly resembling a boat-swain, he walked about the prison with his characteristic clumsy gait of a young bear; he knew everything, managed everything, overawed everybody, patronised some and was an unpleasant but indisputable authority to others.

He domineered the prison officials by his quiet force and the exercise of his spiritual greatness.

Years passed by. During this time we were both in exile, both of us became emigrants.

A left menshevik comrade Uritzky was a sincere and ardent revolutionary and socialist. Under his seeming coolness there was concealed a giant faith in the cause of the working class.

He was apt to sneer at all kinds of pathos and eloquence on the sublime and beautiful; he prided himself upon his sobriety and even liked to display it with a tinge of cynicism, as it were. But in reality he himself was an idealist of the purest water. Life outside the labour movement did not exist for him. The only reason why his great political passion did not overflow was that this passion was directed to one single aim in a systematised orderly manner; thanks to this his passion was manifested only in activity and in an extraordinary useful activity at that.

His logic was inexorable. With the war of 1914 he took the road of internationalism, and he sought no

middle course; like Trotzky and Tchitcherine at Yoffe he quickly understood and felt the utter impossibility of retaining even the least shred of a connection with the pre-war mensheviks, and he therefore broke with the Martoff group who failed to see this.

Even before the war, together with his political nearest friend, L. D. Trotzky, he stood nearer to the bolsheviks than to the mensheviks.

After a long parting we met once more at Berlin in 1913; the same story was repeated here all over again. I had absolutely no luck with my lecture. The Russian Colony at Berlin invited me to read a couple of lectures before them, but the Berlin police arrested me, detained me for a short period in prison, and sent me out of Prussia, deprived of rights of re-entry. Once again Uritzky proved a godsend. He not only had a perfect command of my language, but he had connections everywhere which he set in motion in order to create a government scandal over my arrest. Once more I admired calm ironic sneer, with which he spoke to the examining magistrate, to the bourgeois journalist, „gave direction“ to our company in the consultation with Karl Leibknecht who was always interested in the above petty but characteristic fact.

All the time he maintained the same quiet confidence and wonderful organising ability. During the war Uritzky lived in Copenhagen where he played an important role, but he developed his great and calm organising ability to still greater dimensions during our glorious revolution in Russia.

At first, he joined the so-called inter-regional organisation. Here he introduced order; and the complete amalgamation of this organisation with the bolsheviks, was entirely due to him. With the approach of the 25th of October, Uritzky's influence grew ever greater at the bolshevist headquarters.

Few people know the truly gigantic role that was played by the Revolutionary Military Committee at Petrograd approximately from October the 20th until the middle of November. The culminating point of this superhuman work of organisation were the days and nights from the 24th to the end of the month. During all these days and nights comrade Uritzky never slept. He was surrounded by a group of people also possessed of great force and endurance. Yet these people were overcome by fatigue, were put on part duty, and were substituted by other men, whilst Uritzky, his eyes red with sleeplessness, yet calm and smiling as ever, remained at his post in his armchair, where all threads met, and from whence directions issued to the as yet unorganised but mighty revolutionary organisation.

At that time I considered comrade Uritzky's activity a marvel of working capacity, self-command and penetration. And even now I still consider this page of his life something in the nature of a miracle, but this page was not the last; and even its exclusive brilliance was not overshadowed by the following pages. One of the most alarming moments following

the victory of the 25th October and the subsequent victories all over Russia was that in which the question of the attitude of the Soviet Government to the approaching convention of the Constituent Assembly had to be decided. A first class diplomat was required to solve this question, one able to combine an iron will with the required diplomatic skill. Only one name was mentioned; Uritzky was appointed candidate unanimsly.

It was indeed an interesting sight to see our „Commissary for the Constituent Assembly“ in these stormy days. I quite understand the keen hatred of all those „democrats“, who had eloquent phrases ever ready on their lips concerning right and freedom, etc towards this stout little man who looked upon them from out the little black rims of his glasses with ironic coolness, and who was able with his sober smile alone to disperse all their illusions; whose every gesture embodied the domination of revolutionary force over revolutionary phrase.

When during the first and also the last days of the Constituent Assembly at the stormy socialist revolutionary meetings Chernoff made solemn speeches and the „noble assembly“ attempted to prove that they represent the real power of the country,—Uritzky, with the same clumsy gait of a young bear, just as at Lukianovka, with the smiling impeturbability, walked about the Taurida Palace and once more he was everywhere, knew everything, and inspired some with calm confidence and others with complete hopelessness.

„There is something fatalistic in Uritzky“, said one of the right socialists revolutionaries to me on meeting me in a passage on that memorable day.

The Constituent Assembly was liquidated, but a new and more stormy and difficult event arose,—Brest.

Uritzky was a hot opponent of peace with Germany. The embodiment of coolness, he spoke with his customary smile:— „Is it not better to die with honour?“

Uritzky met the nervousness of some of the left communists by calmly repeating: „Party discipline first of all“. And that was no empty phrase for him.

The German February offensive began.

The Council of People's Commissaries, compelled to leave, entrusted comrade Zinoyev with the responsibility of taking charge of Petrograd, which was then in a critical position.

„You will find it very difficult“, said Lenin to those who remained, „but you have Uritzky with you“. And this, of course, was a great consolation.

From that moment began a clever and heroic struggle between comrade Uritzky and the Petrograd counter revolution and speculation

What a number of imprecations, what accusations fell upon his head at that time. He was terrible. He instilled terror into people's hearts not only by his inexorableness but also by his vigilance. Uniting in his hands both the Extraordinary Commission, and the Commissariat for the Interior and taking a leading part in foreign affairs, he was the greatest enemy at Petrograd of Imperialist thieves and robbers of all kind and description. They knew perfectly well what a great enemy he was to them. He was also greatly hated by the petty bourgeoisie to whom at that time he represented the embodiment of bolshevik terror.

But we who stood near him knew how magnanimous he was and how well he could combine indispensable ruthlessness with kindness. Without being in the least sentimental, his kindness could yet be said to be limitless. We know that his labour was not only hard and thankless but also painful.

Comrade Uritzky suffered much at his post, but we never heard a complaint from this strong man. He was the embodiment of discipline and revolutionary duty.

They have killed him. They have indeed dealt us a well-aimed blow. They have selected one of the cleverest and strongest of their enemies, one of the cleverest and strongest friends of the working class.

To kill Lenin and Uritzky would signify much more than to gain the greatest victory at the front.

The death of comrade Uritzky has made a breach in our ranks that it is difficult to fill. But Lenin is recovering, and we shall endeavour to replace our irreplaceable comrade Uritzky by a tenfold increase of our efforts.

**N. Lunacharsky.**



# Reports of the delegates on the 1-st Congress of the Communist International.

## Comrade Rutger's Report

(HOLLAND).

Speaking of Holland it is necessary first of all to establish the fact that it is ten years now since an official split has taken place between the Second International and the ideas of the III International.

The Dutch revolutionary movement is a child of the Russian revolution conceived in the bloody year of 1905; at that time we established the «Tribune» and we were excluded from the old social-democratic party for carrying on our agitation. This was called «freedom of the press!» At that period we were in close contact with our Russian comrades, we then entertained hopes that the Russian method of struggle will penetrate into Germany through Western Europe. The huge demonstrations that took place at Berlin supported these hopes. But the party bureaucrats led by Kautsky succeeded in discrediting the tactics of the popular movement and to transform it into a tactic of mere self defence. This led not to revolution but to the world war, with the victory of the German reaction reflecting itself, of course, upon Holland.

It is true that the young party,—at that time Social Democratic, now communist,—did not allow itself to be misled, but it was not in a position to develop a mass movement.

Theoretically and politically, however, the Dutch movement served to elucidate both the Imperialist attitude as well as the future socialist tactics; the writings and speeches of Lenin, Zinoviev and Kameniev, were well known to the readers of the «Tribune», whilst the Dutch comrades, such as Roland Holst, Horten, Pannekuk, van Ravestage, Vinkop and others were the old friends of many Russian communists.

In Holland itself the young revolutionary party were compelled to carry on a stubborn struggle against the opportunists, led by Truijstra; on many occasions the president of the party Vinkop was forcibly removed from the conferences. The syndicalist transport workers took our part and formed a guard for us consisting of 6 foot giants.

Spiritually we stood close to the syndicalist elements of the Dutch Labour movement, and when the world war broke out our party with one anarchist group and in conjunction with the syndicalists formed a revolutionary committee which demanded immediate demobilisation and protested against the rapacious Government food policy. Gradually having acquired influence over the masses, the party succeeded in directing the nationalist movement into a revolutionary channel.

It is a well known fact that a few such mass demonstrations have taken place in Holland, and in the resulting collisions between the troops and the demonstrators there were a number of casualties. The women's demonstration which took place on the occasion of the

anniversary of the Russian revolution, was dispersed by the police; on that occasion comrade Roland Holst was wounded.

As soon as the German revolution broke out demonstrations took place in Holland; there were a number of killed and wounded. The bourgeoisie became panic stricken; all important buildings were protected with sand-bags and in the evenings the troops were held in readiness. At the first moment it looked as if the Truijstra party intended to join us, but the rapidly convened special congress of the social traitors decided that it is also possible to attain all the desired improvements in a peaceful manner. This led to the movement being temporarily stopped.

At the same time, however, it became known that certain parts of the army refused to fire at the workers, and that this has rendered the army unreliable to the capitalists. The Communist party established illegal soldiers councils in various army detachments.

At the present time, however, Holland finds herself in a difficult position; she is altogether enslaved by England. Formerly the Dutch bourgeoisie entirely depended upon Germany as far as their plans for the further exploitation of colonies were concerned. But since Germany no longer exists as a capitalist country, only one hope remains to the Dutch capitalists: to subject themselves to England to such an extent as to compell John Bull to utilise for his colonies the services of the Dutch exploiters, repaying them, of course, with a certain part of the booty. And it is of course, understood that the lion's share of the output of the colonies is in the future to belong to England. As a result of this a period of the greatest reaction is facing Holland. Just as Finland and Poland were used in the struggle against the Russian proletariat, so will Holland be led against the Eastern proletariat. Under these circumstances her dependence upon England and upon the Entente will be so great that she will serve as an instrument for the suppression of Revolutionary Germany.

The Dutch proletariat is faced with a difficult task and our party is well aware of the forthcoming complications. We are in need of international support and we welcome the first Communist conference. The best means of propaganda are represented by events in revolutionary countries and for this reason we take the greatest care to maintain international communication. It is most desirable that this conference come to a practical conclusion with regard to the means of struggle, which we are going to carry on in conjunction with the colonial black and yellow proletariats.

We are faced with a very difficult task and we require great force. Only under conditions of straining all our forces may we hope for victory.



## Comrade Rakovsky's Report.

(BULGARIA).

I should like to give certain supplementary information on behalf of the Balkan Federation which has been established in 1915 and which unites the Roumanian, Serbian, Greek and part of the Bulgarian («Tessuako») parties.

At the time of its coming into existence, prior to the Zimmerwald conference this Federation declared its firm intention to fight against the war; it worked in this direction all the time. The Roumanian party gradually developed communist tendencies and began to call itself communist accordingly. Events are developing favorably in Roumania as far as revolution is concerned; a great deal depends on the successful activity of the Red Army; closer contact with the Red Army will no doubt give a strong impetus to the revolutionary movement. Important events have taken place particularly during the last two weeks; soldiers have refused to take part in monarchist demonstrations as a result of which armed conflicts arose. If it is impossible to foretell exactly when the revolution will break out; there is no doubt, however, that the development of events in Roumania all tend in a revolutionary direction.

The Bulgarian, i. e. that tendency known by the name of «Tessuako», has remained from the beginning of the war true to its class point of view and its agitation and propaganda contributed to the fall of German Imperialism; its influence which the economic conditions in Bulgaria favoured is continually growing.

Unfortunately the Bulgarian party abandoned its class point of view which it had adopted at the beginning of the war. Everybody remembers how courageously and consistently the Serbian party behaved when its deputies refused to vote the war credits and how in the most difficult moments it made a highly consistent declaration, which guided them in their activity. Everybody remembers also what position comrades Katzlerowitch took up at Kierthal. In the course of time however, comrade Katzlerowitch, like comrade Popowitch,—the official and leading representative of the party, went over to the social patriots particularly after their stay in Stockholm. It is a great pity that the party which at the beginning of the war occupied such a brave and irreproachable position should have fallen into social patriotic tendencies.

## Report of Comrade Milkitch.

(SERBIA).

My Comrades. In my report on the labour movement in Serbia I will briefly explain the position of the Serbian proletariat. Comrade Rakovsky in his report to-day on the position in the Balkans and on the position of the Socialist parties in those countries, unfortunately declared that during the war the Serbian Socialist party abandoned its revolutionary and international position and went over to the opposition and nationalist side. This declaration compells me to give you at to-day's sitting the following explanation in order that the comrades present at this historic conference may not depart with a bad and undeserved opinion of the Serbian proletariat. I feel the more compelled to make this explanation because I have been working for eighteen years, that is from the establishment of our party, in the Serbian labour movement and have occupied all the honorary position which this proletariat party could offer to its members.

It is not true that the Serbian Socialist party abandoned its previous revolutionary position. The opinions expressed by comrades Katzlerowitch and Popowitch in Stockholm were not the opinions of our party, or the opinions of our working class. It is sufficient to recall by what means these two comrades went to Stockholm.

When Serbia in the autumn of 1915 was occupied by Austria and Bulgaria, not only the members of the party, but even the members of the presidium were

dispersed over Europe, Asia and Africa) in countries under the power of neutral and belligerent Governments and our party as an organisation ceased to exist. For this simple reason nobody from that time actually had any mandate to speak in the name of the party and until the return of our comrades there was nobody who had the authority to give such mandates.

Comrades Katzlerowitch and Popowitch were sent to Stockholm by two members of the presidium who were at that time in Belgrave. These two comrades, however, broadly declared that they, in no way, associated themselves with the position taken up by comrades Katzlerowitch and Popowitch in Stockholm.

In order to show you that this is not my own personal opinion I can fortunately refer to a witness in whom no doubt you will have more faith than in me and of whom comrades Trotsky and Rakovsky can give a most favourable opinion. This witness is comrade Dragisha Lapchewitch.

His opinion of the International, of our party, of the position taken up by Katzlerowitch and Popowitch is the following which he wrote to me from Belgrave on the 22 April 1917:

It affords me great pleasure that you confirm the opinion which I have for long held that these gentleman socialists in Europe are worse than the bourgeois

In a post card of the 5 November 1917 comrade Dragisha Laptchewitch writes to me:

I will not go to any conference for the simple reason that our party organisation which could carry any resolution defining its attitude, control the work of the delegates, and to whom the latter could give any reports, does not exist.

In his post card of the 12 May 1918 he states:

It was a great mistake for Katzlerowitch and Popowitch to go to Stockholm; it would have been much better for the party and for internal organisation if they had not done this or if they had not expressed their opinions and taken this responsibility upon themselves, when our party could not have had the possibility of expressing its own opinions.

Finally on the 7 June he writes the following:

I will not go to Stockholm for two reasons—a practical and a reason on principle. On principle, in order not to have any business with the party which has lost its socialism; in order not to fight for peace, but to conduct an international struggle against war.

Further:

Katzlerowitch and Popowitch were deluged by Timotich and Yanowitch, but these latter most loudly protested against the opinion expressed by the delegates.

I could submit many more analogous examples not only from comrade Laptchewitch, but also from many other influential members of the Serbian Labour Party, but I do not think it necessary. It will be sufficient to recall to your mind a recent fact in order to prove to you that the Serbian Socialist Party did not betray its glorious revolutionary position.

1) The Serbian Socialist party not only refused to enter the new Government or the Yugo-Slav state, but even condemned the position of the Croatian Socialist Party which delegated one of its members to the new chamber. On this occasion it declared that a socialist in a bourgeois ministry is the same as a capitalist minister and that the party should repudiate him.

2) Our party did not participate in the Berne Conference. This is of great significance.

Taking these facts into consideration, I can assure you that the Serbian proletariat has not been trained for either opportunist or nationalist action, and that it will be, as it has been up till now true to pure revolutionary international activity. It will march with the international revolutionary proletariat and will soon establish its Soviet and Socialist Republic and in this manner take its place in the great Communist International Soviet Republic. For these reasons I think that I am right in saying that the Serbian proletariat will unite in spirit with the III Proletarian International.

## Comrade M. Freilich's Report.

(EASTERN GALICIA).

The labour movement in Galicia already in the year 1889 under the influence of the International Socialist Congress which took place in that year in Paris, had assumed an organised character, which subsequently led to the formation of the social-democratic party, and which from the very beginning entered upon the road of revolutionary propaganda. In the following year the Galician Labour centres began to look upon the 1st May as a labour festival, and later on all their economic and political activity was of a socialist character. During the first decade following the establishment of the II International, however it never reached the stage of serious fighting activity. The conference at Brno at which a socialist programme was formed for Austria, resulted subsequently in the formation in Galicia of three national parties; namely the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Democratic Party), the U. S. P. (the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party) and the Z. P. S. (the Jewish Zionist Socialist Democratic Party). The first to organise was the P. P. S. with Ignatius Dashinsky, Dr. Herman Dapond and Dr. Herman Liberman at its head; the strongest party of the town proletariat, in which capacity it remained until the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy. Its example was followed by the comparatively weaker U. S. P., which continued to remain insignificant and whose influence was almost equally distributed over town and country. Among the Jewish proletariat which joined the P. P. S. a serious separatist movement

began to manifest itself in 1906; this was on the one hand the result of antisemitism, and on the other of a consistent striving to follow the example of other parties which grouped themselves in nationalities. It is necessary to mention here that the Austrian constitution did not recognise the Jews as an independent nationality, and in view of the fact that the P. P. S., owing to this circumstance, refused to acknowledge the independence of the organised Jewish proletariat, many prominent members left this party and gradually drew after them the majority of the Jewish proletariat who feared a split. In this manner in 1908 the Z. S. P. was completely transformed into an independent party recognised by the II International. The Socialist parties which existed illegally at the end of the last century, preached revolutionary struggle to the workers, with the end of attaining the various socialist postulates, such as, for instance, general franchise, an eight hour working day, old age insurance, etc., etc. General franchise was always the first demand; its attainment, as the leaders of the party insisted, meant the realisation by the proletariat of a minimum programme by parliamentary means which would subsequently lead to the realisation of the maximum programme. In 1899 the institution of the 5th Curé was attained; this gave the workers and peasants a chance of entering parliament, although the entry into the andt g became still more inaccessible. The Vienna parliamentary election returned Dashinsky for Galicia. Deminsky joined a

club consisting of 10 social democratic deputies. In 1904 the first huge strike took place in Galicia, in which the masons of the town of Lvov and the workers of the Borislav petroleum district played the principal part. In 1905 the mighty movement began which embraced the whole of Austria and the purpose of which was the attainment of electoral reforms for the Austrian Reichstag; in furthering this movement Social Democracy made use of all the means it had at its disposal and on the 25th November of the same year declared a general one day strike all over Austria; this strike passed off everywhere most successfully. In certain localities in Austria as well as in Galicia collisions and hand to hand fighting took place; on such occasions the workers proved by their courageous and manly activity that the masses are capable of great feats of valour, provided the leaders succeed in persuading them that they are fighting for an important revolutionary cause. In 1907 the first elections took place on the basis of universal, equal, secret and direct suffrage which brought great success to the leaders, but which ended in a cruel disappointment to the workers. Out of 89 Social Democratic deputies elected in the Reichstag, thanks to the stoical self sacrifice of the Austrian workers, six represented Galicia; namely four from the P. P. S. and two from the U. S. P. It is necessary to point out that the six were returned by Eastern Galicia, whilst in Western Galicia all the candidates of the P. P. S. with Dashinsky at its head were defeated in spite of the fact that Western Galicia is practically a Polish country and that the local social democrats made every attempt to outvie the remaining Polish parties in nationalism. In Eastern Galicia the mandates were distributed in the following manner: Dr Diamond and Gudek for Lvov—Dr. Liberman for Przemysl; Marochovsky for Stry;—all these were from the P. P. S. The rural districts returned the following: Vitvek for Drogobitch-Borislav-Turki; Ortoimchuk from the U. S. P. for Tarnopol—Zbarazh. The victory of the P. P. S. in the urban districts is mainly to be explained by the fact that the Jewish proletariat, in the name of socialist solidarity, decided not to put forward a separate candidate, and in consequence gave all their votes for the P. P. S. During the election campaigns all the candidates agitated for a most ruthless fight against the Government and the bourgeois parties, but all this lasted only until the moment they crossed the parliamentary threshold, following which, by means of the most shameful compromises, they soon acquired the nickname of His Royal Imperial Highness's social democrats. The proletariat experienced the greatest disillusionment, and instead of the enthusiasm which reigned during and a short time after the elections, there began a period of the complete sobering of the masses, which finally ended in indifference.

It is true that at the time of the second elections which took place in 1911 almost the same people were returned; but these elections were not accompanied by that enthusiasm which was observed in 1907. The success of the members returned is to be explained mainly by the political regrouping which took place at that time and in consequence of which the petty-bourgeois masses voted for the social democrats, rightly acknowledging them to be the defenders of their interests.

Generally speaking, the seven years parliamentary activity, prior to the war, of the more numerous fraction of the Austrian parliament (which called itself social democratic) was devoid either of brilliance or success;

and it is questionable whether they will play part in the history of the proletarian revolution. C to the leaders' treacherous conduct during the 4 1/2 of slaughter, ignominy and deceit had become int to such an extent that the wide masses, alarmed tide arose to a struggle for the true ideas of the tariat; the more so that upon the fall of the impo fortress of Central Europe the leaders of the s democratic movement, by their flight into the car the social-chauvinists, proved their treachery to working masses but too clearly. November 1st opened a new era in what formerly constituted Aust Hungary; from this time onwards Galicia, being largest crown territory of Austria, becomes an import factor. Here, just as all over Austria, the conflicts followed between nationalities upon the collapse of monarchy, led to a war between the Polish Lin gentry and the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and Ruthenia nationalists on the other. The leaders of P. P. S. were on the side of the Polish Imperialists, leaders of the U. S. P. on the side of the Ukrainian, by the proclamation of certain patriotic war cries th involved their constituencies into a new slaught In the meantime the wide masses of the proletariat weary of the 4 1/2 years of war, gladly welcoming cessation, threw away their arms. Unfortunately th was not a single revolutionary party able to expl. to the masses what catastrophic consequences i likely to result from such action and also able to pr vent the bourgeoisie of both camps remaining arm whilst the proletariat remained unarmed. Only than to this circumstance was it possible for a split int two fighting camps to take place in both of whic a reign of execution begin. In Eastern Galicia th nationalist Ruthenian Government, at first, succeeded with the aid of regular troops and of a volunteer army gathered from the collapsed Austrian army, to organis a certain fighting force and to get a hold upon th country. During the first weeks of their domination, however, they were already compelled to cede to th Poles two of the most important towns—Lvov and Przemysl; the most conspicuous leaders of the Ruthenian nationalist policy, were stranded in these towns, and arrested by the Poles. On the other side, the Ukrainian Government resorted to similar measures with regard to the Polish political leaders living in East Galicia. Isolated from the principal centres o the country, deprived of an administrative apparatus the rulers of Galicia wandered about their country as if in a desert. At first they made Tarnopol their residence, later on it was transferred to Stanislavov where they eked out a miserable existence. Both the Government formed under the name of the Nationa Secretariat as well as the parliament now called the National Rada proved entirely incompetent in legisla tion and have instituted with the aid of Austrian laws and regulations a system in the new state, where every town had its own law, or better to say, of its own kind of lawlessness. All the towns were protected by the institution of martial law, under which was impossible to leave a town without a permit, none were allowed to leave their house after 7 p. m. issue of permits, apart from the usual and at thir insurmountable difficulties, was connected with abuse; one of its forms is the thriving state of under the name of Red Cross contributions. often happened, however, that does not guarantee its own

mentally he is detained at the next station by the rads who inform him that the document which he signed with all the necessary formality is invalid; of course, was done for the purpose of receiving a bribe. This system is accentuated by the circumstance that the corruption begins from the top of the Government ladder, with the heads of the Government themselves, who intentionally created situations favourable to this kind of corruption. It is impossible to enumerate all the numerous facts to illustrate the political morality of the present rulers, but I cannot refrain from pointing out the following crime, in view of the fact that it has a sharp bearing on the principal axis of the economic life of the country; the crime question is connected with the Drogobitch-Bornaviv petroleum basin. The band of criminals who are here in the Rada are responsible for the institution of a special petroleum Commission with the social traitor Vitic at its head, and having usurped for its own advantage the exclusive right of administering the colossal reserves of crude petroleum, of refined kerosin, paraffin and candles that distribute these treasures of the country for bribes exclusively to speculators, who for a waggon-load of paraffin, for instance, which at Drogobitch costs 40,000 Kronas sells at Tarnopol for not less than half a million; this is done quite openly, in broad daylight so to speak, and with the assent of the Government. By the way, this deplorable condition of things had along with the negative consequences led also to advantage, as consequences to the proletariat. The proletariat became persuaded that it is impossible to remain indifferent to politics, and became active accordingly.

Party activity was everywhere revived, and although social democracy was possessed of few active elements, the necessity of a thorough revision of the programme and especially of party tactics was generally felt. Guided by the former divisions the parties began once more to group themselves in nationalities; at this time, however, the erstwhile might, P. P. S. persecuted by the Ruthenian Government, could not reach its former height the more so that the economically more prosperous part of the workers sympathized with the cross-frontier Polish bourgeois Government. The U. S. P. which formerly also was a weak party had now almost entirely merged into the dominant nationalism, and only the Z. S. P. developed a wide organizing activity which embraced the whole of the country. Soviets of workers deputies were established to which the Government was compelled to concede a certain influence on the course of events, steps were taken towards the amalgamation of the two kindred parties. In December of last year a certain progress could already have been noticed, this progress was accentuated by the fact that we began the publication of a weekly newspaper called the "Red Flag". At the same time the Committee of the party elected a more stable committee which was entrusted with all the necessary conspirative work. This small Committee consisting of 5 members delegated one comrade to Budapest whence, after the conference that took place in the first days of January with the representatives of the local Central Committee, returned to the establishment of a corresponding connection with Russia to establish relations there with leading elements of the Soviet Government. Upon the return of this delegate from Budapest a party conference which had its sitting on the 18 and 19th of February with the participation of numerous

delegates from almost every part of the country. These fortnightly sittings were devoted almost exclusively to questions of programme and tactics. A permanent Committee was elected for the purpose of a thorough discussion and elaboration of the corresponding resolutions. These commissions evinced two strongly opposing currents, of which one was in favour of strict proletarian dictatorship in the shape of workers and peasants Soviets and consequently for a complete rupture with parliamentarism; whilst the other adhered to bourgeois parliamentarism as a more suitable means and one which in the opinion of the representatives of this current will also bring the proletariat to its goal although at a slower pace. Under such a state of disagreement no amalgamation could of course take place, each party passing its own separate resolution; in view of the fact that the right wing received a majority in the commission, we who remained in the minority submitted our resolution to the plenary sitting of the committee and here to the great confusion of our opponents were proved in the majority. The conduct of the communist party which resulted in a proposal to declare the sitting closed in view of the fact that the sitting was engaged in questions of tactics, gave rise to ridiculous rumours the result of which was the entry into the town of government troops; our club premises were surrounded by these troops, officers accompanied by soldiers and political officials penetrated into the hall where the conference was held; these entered the room just at the moment when the voting was to take place on the resolutions. Taking advantage of the confusion which ensued, the presiding menshevik took a second vote and, as evidently, a few delegates failed to understand which resolution was to be voted for first, their voting led in the end to the moderate resolution receiving a majority of two votes. But even this resolution is to the effect that the workers and peasants Soviets represent the nucleus for the establishment of the whole future Government of the country. At this conference a central Committee was elected, including the present writer, and this Committee recommended conspirative work.

Generally speaking we are still living through a period of organization and are striving towards the formation of a common communist party, divided into three national sections: Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish. These three sections must be united by the common party committees and by an Executive Bureau common for the whole country. Besides this, the small committee made it its task to unite the already existing labour Soviets and at the first opportunity to appoint in these a new general election. Directed by the above named Committee the present writer undertook a tour of the country and had a chance of witnessing everywhere a feverish activity in the communist direction. The old Social Democratic leaders are no longer recognised. An enthusiastic desire reigns everywhere, arms in hand to drive out the savages and to proclaim a Soviet Republic in Eastern Galicia whose geographical frontier is marked by the river Sava as far as Zbrudge. The political construction as well as the ethnographic composition of the country make a union with Poland impossible. The Ruthenians of which the rural population is exclusively composed have no right to claim a dominant position over the population of the towns which consists of Jews and Poles. The Soviet Government would wipe such nationalist elements from the face of the earth.

In conclusion I will declare on behalf of the Communist party of Eastern Galicia the fact of our joining the III International; we acknowledge as indisputably obligatory all the decisions and resolutions which were accepted at the Moscow Convention from the 2nd to the 6th March 1919; we entertain the hope that we will prove useful members of the new proletarian family. It is superfluous to give the particular reason

of our leaving the II International for even at the Berne conference we expressed our contempt for the betrayers of the working class. In connection with the representation of our party on the Executive Bureau we ask you to temporarily consider the undersigned as the representatives until our Central Committee is in a position to appoint permanent representatives.

## Report of Comrade Yalymoff.

(THE EAST).

I speak in the name of the Central Bureau of the Musselman Communist organisation renamed the Central Bureau of the Communist Organisations of Eastern Nations. This organisation unites communist workers of the non-Russian nationalities of Turkestan: the Bashkirs, the Tartars of the Volga, Kurgizstan, the Caucasian hillmen and emigrant communist groups from Turkey, Persia, Azerbeidjan, Boukhara and Georgia. In conformity with these various national organisations attached to the Central Bureau there are sections of Tartars, Bashkirs, Kurghis, Hillmen Turkestanese, Azerbeidjane and other.

Without including Azerbeidjan, Georgia, Turkey and Boukhara there are in the remaining regions of the central Bureau not less than 30,000,000 non-Russian population. At the present moment the Central Bureau unites in these territories not less than ten thousand organised Musselman workers and peasants. This is without mentioning the tremendous moral influence wielded by the central Bureau over the musselman labouring masses or the sympathy towards communism entertained by the Musselman Red Army men who to the number of not less than 50,000 are conducting war side by side with the Russian Red Army men on the east and south fronts against Krasnoff and Denikin, Kolchak and Dutoff. The comparative smallness of numbers of organised workers centering round the Central Bureau is explained in the first place by the cultural backwardness of the Eastern peoples only recently emancipated from slavery and secondly by the fact that the territory of these peoples from the Caucasus to Kazan and from Ufa to Tashkent is a theatre of war of the emancipated proletarian peoples against the rapacious Imperialists and their white Guard agents. All this renders systematic socialist work very difficult.

I will not speak of the atrocities committed by Georgian white guards and their allies the Georgian menshevik party headed by Tzrettell, who on two occasions fired upon labour meetings in Typhlis in January of last year; dispersed the Georgian communist party and imprisoned its leader. All that the traitors Sheidemann and Ebert have done in Germany was long ago done by the Georgian Menshevik party. Neither will I speak of the atrocities committed by the Turkestan right Socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks who played the part

of executioners of our comrades in the hands of the English Imperialists. It was they who shot our tried comrades Djuaparidze and Shauman, Kurganoff and Petroff. Neither will I dwell on the horrors committed by these same right Socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks, members of the Constituent Assembly who shot hundreds of workers and peasants, and thrust the eyes out of our Musselman comrades. All these facts are known to all and have on a number of occasions been published in the press.

In spite of these incredible conditions of labour the Central Bureau remained undaunted and continued its Socialist work hand in hand with the Russian Communist party. In order to describe the activity of the Central Bureau it is worth remarking that the leading communist elements in the East from among whom the Central Bureau was organised in December last, — for the ten months from January to November 1918, issued four million copies of newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets in the Tartar, Turkish, and Kurghiz languages. From December of last year to January of this year when these leading elements united in the Central Bureau in Moscow alone the Central Bureau issued more than 2,000,000 of newspapers, pamphlets and manifestos in the Arab, Persia, Tartar, Azerbeidjan, Tadjik, Uzbek, Kurghiz and Kalmyk languages. At the present time the Central Bureau and its local organisation publish fifteen newspapers, including the Central organs, «Etche» (in Tartar) and «Engis». With the moral support which the Russian communist party render the Central Bureau communism will grow in the East and the oppressed peoples of the East will rally round Soviet Russia in their struggle against Imperialism. I will not attempt to prove to you the great significance which the awakening of the East has for the growing revolutionary labour movement in the west. The East is the source of sustenance of world Imperialism. If the East rises and stretches forth its hand to the socialist world — Imperialism will be surrounded and the hour of the triumph of world socialism will have struck. For this reason the Central Bureau regards it as its fundamental duty to arouse the peoples of the East. For that reason I exclaim: Long live the revolutionary alliance of the oppressed peoples of the East with the Socialist workers of Russia and Europe.

# Reports and chronicle.

## England.

### The Leader's Treachery.

At the beginning of May a meeting took place in London of the Executive Committee of the «Triple Alliance». Amongst other questions on the agenda stood the highly interesting question of principle; should the trade unions participate in politics? Can a strike become an instrument of political struggle? The question is an old one, but it is also an eternally new one. For the English proletariat this question is of exceedingly great importance at the present moment, seeing that life itself, despite the will of their leaders, despite the will of the proletarian masses themselves, is drawing the workers into political strife. To stand apart from political struggle is unthinkable.

This question has been brought to the front by the political movement of the transport workers. This «political movement» consists in that the transport workers moved a resolution of protest at their conference against intervention. The Executive Committee of the transport workers' trade union applied to the Executive Committee of the «Triple Alliance» for support of its protest and demanded that a declaration be sent to the Government (in the name of all three unions) to the effect that if the Government remained as usual deaf to the declarations and demands of the workers, a strike of protest might result as a consequence.

The bourgeois press raised a dreadful wail on account of this «political offensive». What!—cries the «Times», «Daily Mail» «Morning Post»—do the workers wish to act against Parliament? They are destroying our glorious parliamentary democratic traditions! They present to the Government purely political demands, quite forgetting that they have nothing whatever to do with politics. And so on and so on. This noble indignation is quite natural. Never before have the English trade unions concerned themselves with politics, only the parliamentary fraction, the «British Labour Party» represented the workers in the political field!

After long and heated debates (a detailed report of which we have unfortunately not received), the Executive Committee resolved:—to adhere to the resolution of the Transport workers Conference; to declare to the Government that following upon the resolution of protest, a strike of protest might take place in the near future; immediately to call upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to convene a national trade union congress to consider the question of a national general strike of protest against intervention and compulsory military service.

This resolution is not only a recognition in principle of the expediency of participation of the trade unions in political struggle, (this of course was inevitable) but it is in itself a political movement of first rate importance... There is no doubt whatever that if an English

Trade Union Congress were convened, the Congress would by a large majority declare in favour of a general strike.

The congress however was not convened. The Parliamentary fraction of the Labour Party, having received official notice of the resolution of the Executive Committee of the «Triple Alliance» decided... as a preliminary to enter into negotiations with representatives of the Government. *This decision alone is proof of treachery.*

A delegation with Bunning (a member of the Executive Committee of the Berne Conference) at its head, visited Bonar Law.

To all the questions of the delegation, Bonar Law gave evasive answers. To a question relative to Russia Bonar Law replied; we do not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. We leave it to the Russian people themselves to decide the fate of their own country, we give only moral support to our friends (i. e. Koltchak and Denikin). In regard to compulsory military service Bonar Law stated; I can say nothing definite. Stuart Bunning pointed out that if the Government needs an army, would it not be better to enrol volunteers than to conscript soldiers. Bonar Law answered; we shall not succeed in drawing into the ranks of the army a sufficient number of volunteers despite all allurements and promises. In that case, said Stuart Bunning, perhaps you will raise the wages of the volunteers. «We shall consider that proposal» answered Bonar Law.

«The evasive replies» of the representative of the Government fully satisfied Messrs. Bunning, Adams and tutti quanti, and they decided to postpone the convocation of the trade union congress for an indefinite period.

In this way an exceedingly important resolution of the Executive Committee of the «Triple Alliance» was set aside. In this manner the first general political strike in England was nipped in the bud.

### The police strike.

At the beginning of May the police and prison warders trade union presented the following demand to the Government:—to increase the rate of wages, reduction of the working day to eight hours, recognition of the trade union («right of coalition») and the reinstatement of Constable Speakman dismissed for having undertaken active work of organization in the trade union. The chief of the police Macredy and the Minister for Home affairs Short stated that the Government was prepared to partly satisfy the first two demands of the police, but that it could not recognize the union and could not reinstate the dismissed Speakman; that if the police and the prison warders should declare a strike, they would be dismissed immediately and deprived of their pension. «Police service,—state the representatives of the Government,—is not ordinary

wage labour, but a duty to society and the State. Consequently there can be no question whatever of any kind of trade union or any kind of strike.

The general strike of the police was under preparation for a whole month. At the end of May the question of strike was put to a general ballot of all the members of the police and prison warder trade union. Out of 48,863 police, 44,539 voted in favour of a strike, and only 4,324 against it.

The Government endeavoured to avert the strike by all means in its power. At one moment it reminded the police of their duties, and at the next it began to use threats. During the strike in London, soldiers were brought out, and the chief of the police Maccready stated repeatedly: «We have laid in supplies for you, friends, of a sufficient quantity of machine guns and armoured automobiles». What a magnificent, unprecedented spectacle this would have been; the suppression of the rebel police!

During the last days of May in London, in the celebrated Hyde Park, a peaceful demonstration of the police took place,—a very imposing demonstration, a preliminary review of forces, something of the kind of a general demonstration.

The London bourgeoisie were horrified at this peaceful demonstration.

On the 30th May, having convinced themselves that the measures undertaken by them would lead to no good results, Maccready and Short decided to leave for Paris by aeroplane, to visit Lloyd George. This visit of Ministers to Paris by aeroplane (which had only been talked about and then for some reason or other put off) alarmed the London bourgeoisie still more, for once Ministers take to flying, it means that business is bad.

On the 1st of June, during the day, it became known that more than 90% of the police had voted in favour of an immediate strike. The strike was to have started on the morning of the 2nd of June. But in the evening another peaceful demonstration was organized in Hyde Park, still more magnificent and imposing than the first. All the London police took part in this demonstration; not one policeman remained at his post. Women-police were posted on the streets. According to the statements of the «Daily News» this demonstration was one of the largest and at the same time most orderly that London has ever seen.

The demonstration ended with a magnificent meeting. Twelve platforms were set up in Hyde Park on which many orators spoke. The meetings lasted long after midnight. It was one of the most disquieting nights that the London bourgeoisie has ever experienced.

But if the London bourgeoisie had known what was being spoken by the leaders of English trade unionism at the many thousand police meeting in Hyde Park, it would not have alarmed itself, on the contrary it would have gone quietly to sleep.

The «Leaders» of English trade unionism put a stop to the general strike of the police. This thousand and first piece of treachery in the part of the old leaders! The strike of the police is postponed for an indefinite period.

Hayes, the secretary of the police and prison warders trade union stated that «as we are strong, as 44 thousand out of 48 thousand expressed themselves in favour of a strike, as the «Triple Alliance» has promised us every support,—as the police in which the Government was relying in their struggle against us, are, in fact, on our side, we find, taking all into consideration, that the strike is unnecessary. Once we are so strong, what does the Government matter to us, for sooner or later they will be forced to satisfy our demands».

«Why should we strike at present?»—pathetically cries Mr. Hayes. «Let us wait. Why declare a strike just when the Government is waiting for it, when the Government has already taken necessary measures, and his machine guns and armoured motor cars waiting for us? Let us wait for the present. We can declare a strike later when we think proper. We will go on strike when the «Triple Alliance» succeeds in declaring a general political strike».

The president of the London Trades Council, Carmichael, laid before the police in the following theory:

«The «Triple Alliance» is prepared to accept us (the police trade union) as a fourth member... Within three years our organization will be so strong that without any special difficulty we shall be able to obtain nationalization of the most important branches of industry... At the same time, we shall succeed in making the Labour Party the largest party in Parliament, and we shall have a Workers' Government. You see, therefore that we can manage without a revolution...»

This popular exposition of one of the most widely spread theories of the social-traitors is calculated only for a semi-class conscious and naive audience.

«Of course»,—adds Mr. Carmichael,—«if this plan is not realized then we shall not stop at revolution...» But this afterthought does not go well with the preceding part of the speech.

On the 2nd of June, leaving his house in the morning, full of disquietening forebodings, the London bourgeoisie was surprised and gratified at seeing the police at their posts, congratulating himself that «thank Godness» everything was put alright again.

The «Leaders» had served up a pleasant surprise for the bourgeoisie, by having betrayed the interests of the workers for the thousand and first time.

A. M.

From the Editors. In number 3 of the Communist International the English chronicle was signed by mistake with the initial «F» instead of «A. M.».

## ===== America. =====

### „Conspiracies“

In March an attempt was made on Wilson's life; .. May explosives were despatched through the post to various „eminent citizens“; finally, at the beginning of June, there was an „anarchist bomb-plot“. Ten explosions in ten different towns in one evening!...

We have every grounds for believing that all this,—the post packets in May, the „conspiracy“ in June, and even the attempt on Wilson's life,—was nothing else than government provocation.

During the night of the 2nd—3rd of June an attempt was made in Washington,—by certain unknown persons,—to blow up the house of the Minister of

Justice, A. Mitchell Palmer. The bomb was placed at the entrance to the house. „Fortunately”,—reports the Washington correspondent of the „Daily News”,—Mr. Mitchell and his wife were on the top floor and managed to save themselves. One man, whose name is unknown, was killed by the bomb, and it is supposed by the police that it was the anarchist who laid the bomb. His body was torn to pieces. One piece of the bomb flew across the window into the apartment of the Norwegian Ambassador, Brin, where a baby was asleep in a cradle. At the entrance of the house of the Minister of Justice, an extract from an anarchist proclamation was found. This proclamation contains, amongst other things, the following:

„...plain and simple. Everything possible is done by those in power to prevent the spread of world revolution. But it is no longer possible to defer the solution of the social question. The class war has started, and it can finish only by the victory of the proletariat. We throw down a challenge to the „democratic” leaders of our autocratic „republic”. The shedding of blood is inevitable. We shall kill because it is necessary. We shall destroy, because only destruction can give freedom”.

The proclamation ends with the words: „Long live the social revolution. Group of anarchist-fighters”.

The „Daily News” draws the attention of the readers to the „foreign” un-English construction of the phrases in this „document”. It is clear that the authors of this document are not Americans”. We are faced here with the struggle between immigrants from Eastern Europe, who do not understand the spirit of Anglo-Saxon democracy (!), on the one side, and the pure Americans on the other”.

On the same night of the 2nd and 3rd of June, bombs exploded in one of the churches in Philadelphia, in

the house of the member of Congress at Newtonville (near Boston), in Pittsburg and in a number of other places. *Altogether a total of 67 bombs.* And altogether only 5 persons killed: 3 „anarchists”, and two servants. All the „eminent citizens”, for whom the bombs were alleged to be destined, by some miracle were saved. This is the finest proof that here we have to deal not with an anarchist conspiracy, but with a conspiracy of the Government.

As was to be expected, the bourgeois American press did not fail to make good use of this „anarchist conspiracy”. The police likewise were not slow to make the most of it. Wholesale arrests, raids, the suppression of syndicalist and socialist organizations,—that was the answer of the Washington Government to „anarchist terror”.

### The strike movement.

Our information regarding the strike movement in America is of a fragmentary, disjointed kind. At the beginning of June in New England (the five north-eastern States), 80 thousand tailors went on strike. About the same time, a strike of telegraphists started simultaneously in the extreme north-east and in the extreme south-west, which threatened to convert itself into a general strike. The strike of dock labourers in New York took place about the same period.

The American bourgeois press expresses the fear that the strike movement in Canada may spread to the United States. „Do not let us forget,—writes the „New York World”, the non-official newspaper of Wilson, that the same conditions and causes which brought about the movement in Canada, also prevail in our towns”.

## The Revolutionary Movement in Canada.

For more than two months already *serious disturbances amongst the workers* have been continuing in Canada without cessation.

At the beginning of May, in the town of Winnipeg (the capital of Manitoba), the postal servants went on strike after having presented to the Government a number of economic demands (reduction of the working day, introduction of the English week, increase in the rates of pay etc.). The Government stated that it was agreed in principle to compromise and to a certain extent to satisfy the workers' demands, but that it would not tolerate strikes in Government institutions, such as the Post Office. All participants of the strike are to be considered as dismissed and their posts will be occupied by „loyal citizens”.

Out of sympathy to the post office servants, the telegraphists, waiters, servants and workers of all municipal institutions and establishments, and after them, the building and transport workers etc. went on strike. Life in Winnipeg came to a complete standstill. A general sympathy strike is quite a new phenomenon; something which has never before taken place in Canada.

Similar incidents as those which took place in Winnipeg also took place in a number of other Canadian

towns. In Toronto after having presented to their employers demands of a purely economic nature, the workers of the metal industry went on strike and when the employers, in answer to this strike, declared a lock-out, *a general sympathy strike broke out.*

From Winnipeg and Toronto,—these two principal centres,—the strike movement spread north and west, embracing all the more or less important towns, without distinction of their branch of industry. Following upon Toronto, a general sympathy strike broke out in Vancouver, and afterwards in Victoria, Brandon, Quebec, Ottawa etc. etc. At the beginning of June the strike had assumed a national character.

In proportion as the movement grew numerically, it underwent a change in character. From a general strike of sympathy it transformed itself into a *general political strike* into a general strike of protest against capitalism in general. Further, from the very beginning it was quite apparent that sympathy was by no means the chief motive of the movement, and that the masses of the workers were guided by something much more serious and profound than this purely ideological movement of sympathy.

In the „Daily News” of the 2nd of June we find an



article which is devoted to Canadian events. The tone of this article is very disquieting, the conclusions to which its author is led in his assurances to the readers that the world revolution is something with a very practical meaning (this is in a bourgeois London newspaper!) do not leave any doubt whatsoever that in Canada we are, in fact, dealing not with a simple strike, but with a very serious and profound revolutionary movement. The bourgeois English press directs our attention, chiefly, to the two following characteristic traits of the Canadian movement; 1) the strike took possession of the very lowest stratum of the working class, as well as the very highest. Usually, in the good old pre-war times, the highest and the lowest levels of the working class stood apart from any social movement and 2) the strike took place under revolutionary «bolshevik» motives. We have already stated that this general strike of sympathy transformed into a general political strike. When this «transformation» had become an accomplished fact, revolutionary political motives were soon found, formulated and suggested to the movement by the workers themselves. «Nationalization of industry», «workers' Control», and the most important, the all embracing, the one that overshadows all the remaining motives «One Big Union».

The «Times» in its leading article of the 4th of June points out that «what is taking place at present in Canada, and what goes on in the name of general strike is, in reality, revolution, and that the struggle for One Big Union is, in fact, a struggle for Proletarian dictatorship. It is remarkable that not so much the movement itself as this «bolshevik» motto, «One Big Union»—is what inspires the bourgeoisie and the Government with such alarm. The motto, under which the movement is proceeding, is more dangerous for the bourgeoisie than the movement itself. They can suppress the movement, but the motto secrets many awful possibilities, it is pregnant with many awful consequences for the bourgeoisie».

But the most remarkable thing in the Canadian movement is that after having converted itself from an economic movement into a purely political movement, it acquired, at the same time, a «bolshevik-soviet» character, converted itself into a purely soviet movement in favour of the soviets.

From the very beginning strike committees stood at the head of the strike movement in each town. When the purely political, revolutionary bolshevik character of the movement became more defined, all the old leaders of the Canadian trade union movement left the strike committees. Their posts were occupied by new leaders whom the movement itself had brought to the front.

In Winnipeg, and indeed in other towns, thanks to the general strike, life was completely detracted from its usual channels. The normal, regular delivery of food products into the town was obstructed. Thanks to the strike of the clerks, the distributing apparatus was disorganized. Thanks to the strike (or more correctly the lock-out) of the police (from 198 policemen in

Manitoba, only 9 remained after the others had been dismissed) the administrative apparatus was disorganized. And so on and so on. In a word, complete anarchy reigned. The town officials lost their heads... The Government hastened to place against the organized power of the workers some kind of their own organized power. It could not rely on a single policeman or soldier, in view of the fact that the semi-demobilized soldiers proved to be on the side of the workers. The only thing that remained for it (the Government) to do was to form a detachment of strike-breakers out of the dregs of society, ruffians and professional hooligans and similar elements. From various refuse of society they got together some kind of «Committee of citizens» and «Civil militia». But these two organizations brought into the already disorganized channels of life still greater anarchy and chaos.

It was necessary to put forward on the scene some kind of «organizing basis». And it was the strike committee that came forward as this «basis». It took power into its own hands. It undertook all those social functions which in times of «peace» are fulfilled by a democratically elected municipality and a number of other functions, created by the new abnormal position and which had proved to be beyond the forces of the municipality.

First of all the strike committee began by organizing the food supply and distribution. Further it took upon itself all the administrative organizing functions connected with this, and further revealed, according to the statement of the correspondent of the «Daily News» unusual administrative ability. It succeeded in completely demolishing the Governmental strike-breakers' «citizens' militia», which it substituted by its own workers' militia... The staff of the strike committee, in proportion as its activities became more extensive, was filled gradually by delegates from the workers' organizations, and in this manner the strike committee converted itself into a soviet of workers deputies.

The correspondent of the «Daily News» states that «under Soviet authority in Winnipeg complete order is being maintained, there are no excesses, and there has not been even a single case of violence». The correspondent points to only one unfortunate incident; «The Soviet of workers' deputies issued a decree for the suppression of the bourgeois press as a punitive measure for the latter's slander of the strike committee and for having spread false reports. This decree however was put into effect «without an excess whatever».

In Vancouver a soviet was created similar to that in Winnipeg. In Sydney (Nova Scotia) a Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies has been elected. «The soldiers,—writes the Daily News, everywhere support the strikers».

Our information in regard to the Canadian movement ends with the 7th of June. In regard to the further development of the movement, which is assuming ever greater proportions, we shall inform the reader in the next number of the «Communist International».

A. M.

## France.

So far it is impossible to state anything definite as to how the International "Allied" strike, fixed for the 21st of July, passed off. On the one hand, the mere fact of the strike having been fixed in advance for an exact and definite date should be a considerable obstacle to the success of this mass demonstration. On the other, the social-opportunists of the Confédération Générale du Travail by restricting themselves to verbal threats against the Government, have zealously set about the task of hindering the action of the workers. It is possible, of course,—at least, it appears so, at the moment of writing these lines,—that the movement may break out again in the near future, despite the intentions of the labour "leaders", who do nothing but betray the interests of the proletariat.

The June strikes were an eloquent proof of the revolutionary energy of the masses, and the unchanging cowardice of the opportunists. These strikes were organized against the will of the C. G. T. During the first days of June 500,000 workers in Paris went on strike, including 50,000 metal workers. The railway servants, workers in waggon and aviation factories etc, etc, all went on strike. The strike spread to the suburbs of Paris, being particularly powerful in Saint Denis, Billancourt and Boulogne. The stations of the town railways were occupied by soldiers. At Saint Denis, on the rue Avenue de Paris, a magnificent demonstration was organized, in which sixty thousands workers took part. The local authorities, fearing lest a conflict with the police should give rise to a general conflagration, proposed to the latter not to interfere in the demonstration.

The character of these strikes was, at one and the same time, industrial and political. A few organizations stood on purely trade union ground. For instance, a resolution regarding the prolongation of the strike, accepted unanimously by a meeting of the employees of the Paris and Northern and Southern Railways, which took place in the école Huisgen, ends with an appeal to the "patriotism" and the "conscience of the Authorities".

But in spite of this, these strikes, in which shop assistants of some of the large warehouses, such as for instance "Printemps", and the employees of the "Journal Officiel" also took part, bore also a political character. The majority of the workers took advantage of the occasion to make economic demands, and at the same time demanded of the Government to renounce the policy of intervention.

Meanwhile the Government doubled the severity

of the censorship, and both in the newspaper articles and in published resolutions, systematically and unsparringly eliminated everything that dealt with the political side of the movement.

The movement also spread into the provinces and the departments of the Oure and the Pas de Calais were very strongly affected. The strike was, in the fullest sense of the word, a general strike in the coal district. On this occasion, for the first time, there were no traces of that separatism which previously distinguished the miners of the various regions: Pas de Calais, Carmeaux, Lois district, Monceaux, Gara, Erot, Mert-Meselle etc.; on this occasion complete solidarity was evinced by the miners.

Apart from the renegades Gio and Blaid, who during the period of these strikes, played the very same role which they have been playing ever since the 1th of August 1914, the members of the Socialist Party again gave proof of their treachery to the interests of the working class. For instance, the Paris municipal councilor Fiancette, one of the principal representatives of the centre of the Socialist Party, who has fought during all recent Conferences of the Party in favour of unity and who stood up against schism, addressed a letter to the president of the Municipal Council, in which he insisted upon the necessity of arriving at a compromise between the transport workers and the railway companies. This step on the part of Fiancette delighted even that extreme Imperialist newspaper the "Echo de Paris", which pointed out that the letter was impregnated with a spirit of "laudable moderation".

The representatives of the Centre and the social-opportunists continue as formerly to conduct the same miserable policy of compromises. It turns out that the social-opportunist Jean Longuet, upon his own initiative, travelled not long ago, together with Ramsay Macdonald and Baxton to Italy and Switzerland, in order to try and persuade the comrades of the socialist parties of these two countries to withdraw their decision about resigning from the Second International. Meanwhile, a certain social-opportunist Maieras, the deputy for the Department of the Seine, even had the insolence to assert that the founding of the Third International was only a "diplomatic step" on the part of Lenin, a threat directed against the Second International, and that Comrade Lenin is entirely preoccupied with thoughts as to how to effect his re-admittance into it.

*André Cartier.*

## The Lucerne Acrobats.

The following is the report of the first session of the Yellow International taken from the Berliner „Vovaerts“ of the 3rd of August 1919.

The International Conference began on Friday the 1st of August in a preliminary session at which it was resolved to elect two Commissions. It was decided that one of these Commissions should occupy itself with the restoration of the International and the other with the question of the organization of the International. Further the latter commission will also occupy itself with questions dealing with reports from various countries and the socialist press, whilst the former of these two commissions will also have to engage itself on the question of the political movement of the working class, i. e. occupy itself with the problem, democracy or dictatorship.

The meetings of the Conference take place in the Lucerne Kursaal. About 40 delegates took part in the proceedings. France is the country which is the most represented. At present there are no German independent socialists at the Conference, and America, German Austria and Poland have not yet sent their representatives. The official parties of Switzerland and Italy have declined to participate in the Conference as they desire to adhere to the Moscow International. From Italy only the reformist Canepo has arrived.

The first meeting, which took place on Friday, was opened by Henderson with a long speech in which at first he described in general outlines the present political, economic and social world crisis which is threatening the whole of civilization with ruin. The Government raises a loud voice in its demand for an increase in production. Against an increase of production we can of course have nothing to say, but such increase in production must not be to the advantage of those who produce nothing.

It is absolutely necessary to subject the principal points of the peace treaty to an immediate and final revision.

We demand an immediate convocation of the League of Nations in order to investigate the conditions of peace in the spirit of the fundamental principles of the working class. At the present time, the League of Nations is probably nothing better than an instrument in the hands of a victorious coalition. There can be no question of the satisfactory working of the League of Nations so long as Germany, Russia, Hungary and other countries are excluded from it. The Peace treaty contains a number of serious economic injustices, concealed annexations and indemnities, which have been hidden in an external form of indemnification for loss; it sanctions the further existence of an intolerable militarism.

After this Henderson made a sharp protest against the reactionary policy of the Entente in relation to Russia and he expressed himself decisively against all form of armed intervention.

„Despite all difference of opinion, at present existing inside of the International in relation to the Soviets, „said he,“ we all unanimously protest against this intervention, and demand that the position of

affairs in Russia should be investigated by a special commission of the International, the results of whose work should be brought to the general knowledge of the people. The question of world finance must also be regulated in the interests of the working class“. (General applause). After this, the order of work before the Conference was put before the delegates for discussion. It was resolved to postpone the next sitting of the Conference until Tuesday or Wednesday in order to allow the commissions time for preliminary work.

In the after dinner sitting, the report of the secretary was heard.

Cachen (Paris) complained that the work of the Bureau was conducted with insufficient energy and frankness, particularly in connection with the Peace Treaty. The work of the International must be directed not to the League of Nations but to the people themselves. If we do not act more energetically our work will lose all connection with the work of the masses.

Macedonald (England): We shall not achieve anything by purely negative protests. We are faced with the question of the further existence of the 2nd International. All states and peoples have undergone moral bankruptcy. Not one among the Governments has a political programme worked out for the near future. Our isolated acts bear a character of complete wastefulness and we have not even system in our ideas. We must first of all make sure of our moral authority. The war has flung a challenge into the face of democracy, the very foundations of which are tottering. The International must find a way out between revolution which follows every war and which is incompatible with plain democracy, and the schism which during a period of revolution threatens the whole of civilization with ruin. (Here something is missing in the report)

Trelstra (Holland) makes a sharp attack on the diplomatic policy of the Executive Committee. Many reproaches have been made in regard to certain socialist parties owing to their want of energy when the war broke out, but there are also other socialist parties which are not less deserving of reproach, in view of their passivity now when the war has finished and peace has been concluded. We made a mistake in not relying for our work upon the forces that have been raised from the masses, and in having followed a false line of diplomatic subtlety. Our defeat is evident. In Berne it was resolved to turn the 1st of May holiday into a demonstration of the Proletariat in favour of peace. What became of it was that the demonstration was restricted to the proclamation of some insignificant manifesto. We must not forget the fact that the 2nd International has a competitor by its side. We have no reason for making continual attacks upon the Bolsheviks. The attacks would have some sense were we all revolutionary socialists ourselves. What we should have done was to demand passports for ourselves. It was necessary

to organize a number of powerful demonstrations in France for this purpose. If we had travelled to Russia and Hungary it would not have been with the intention of stalling revolution, but of preserving social revolution from error. During a period of revolution, mere parliamentary democracy is insufficient in order to satisfy the proletariat, we must come forward with a clear, positive programme, which demonstrates our will to live and work and our understanding of the necessity of revolutionary struggle. (General applause).

Vells (Germany): we must not look back, but ahead, to the Future. We have to atone for the sins committed by the rulers of former Germany. If democracy really exists, then even in peace times it must be strong enough to prevent further wars. The International was too weak to bring about a realization of the Wilson programme. England and the United States at present dominate the whole world. In these countries decisive battle must take place between capital and Labour; the proletariat of these countries must take up the struggle on behalf of countries which are subjugated and of their working classes. Whoever thinks that world revolution spreads from one country to another without intermediary stages is mistaken for there are countries in which the necessary conditions for revolution do not exist. But the untiring struggle of the International will create these conditions and bring about a revision of the peace Treaty; a peace treaty which Germany cannot carry out and which deprives us of the possibility to exist. We German socialists, have no intention of reconciling socialism with the policy of the bourgeoisie, but we are also unable, for the present, to realize socialism, seeing that the majority of the people of Germany do not want it. The League of Nations without Germany and Russia is a parody.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE.

We have reprinted this report verbatim from the Scheidemann *«Vorwärts»* which is friendly disposed towards the Lucerne Congress.

This report shows in the clearest possible manner that the Second International has irremediably perished. Its corpse is worm-eaten and decaying...

Let us begin with the Congress itself... In Berne the social compromisers decided to convene for the 1st of August a *«world Congress»*. A great deal of noise was made about it. Preparations were made to organize the celebrations on an unprecedented scale. What has been the result? Altogether, about 40 persons came together, and they for the most part *«dead souls»*. The Italian proletariat which is in a ferment of revolutionary battle was represented by some unfortunate reformist Canepo whom not one single worker had elected. Poland was represented by the chauvinist Kossof, ky. Even the Swiss party, up to now fairly moderate, refused to participate in the Lucerne comedy.

Instead of a magnificent Congress all that resulted was a wretched fallowing *«Conference»* consisting of forty persons. And this in spite of the fact that the bourgeoisie of all countries stroglly patronised the Lucerne Conference, freely issued passports and so on.

The spiritual features of the Conference! Is it not clear from every line of the *«Vorwaerts»* report, that we are dealing here only with two species; either frank charlatans or people who have got themselves into a complete muddle and cannot distinguish the forest from the trees.

*«It is absolutely necessary,—states the chairman of this honorable assembly,—that the chief points of the Peace treaty should be subjected to an immediate and final revision. And therefore—therefore... we demand an immediate convocation of an assembly of the League of Nations».*

This is plain tomfoolery.

This is as much as saying that in order to fight against Monarchy somebody in 1917 had called for the convocation of an assembly of kings: the Bloody Nicholas, the executioner Wilhelm, etc... That in order to combat prostitution,—to demand an assembly of all the owners of brothels.

These 40 Lucerne acrobats moreover, almost came to blows. It has become known through German telegrams that the Alsace social-traitor Grumbach almost engaged in a hand to hand scuffle with the socialist-scoundrel Vells. Independent Kautzkians demanded the exclusion of the Scheidemanns, who politely retorted with a reiteration of the same demand. That is how these people who expect that they should be taken seriously propose to restore the International...

The speech made by Troelstra is particularly typical. Troelstra is a well known opportunist fox. Troelstra well knows where the moss grows green. And if he has stated that *«during a period of revolution, mere parliamentary democracy is not sufficient»* it means that the working masses of Europe have shown the door in an unambiguous manner to social-traitors. *«Our defeat is evident... we must not forget that the 2-nd International has a competitor by its side (i. e. the 3-rd International)... we have no reason to make continual attacks upon the bolsheviks».* Such are the dismal notes which arise from the most experienced, skillful and by no means stupid leaders of a ruined 2-nd International. They feel that they are going to be flattened between the hammer and the anvil. They begin to understand that the ground is slipping away from under their feet.

We are not aware of the text of the resolutions passed at Lucerne. But apparently, Troelstra won. And this has given the spineless *«independants»* of the *«Frelne»* cause to celebrate a victory and to declare, that at Lucerne the 2-nd International... is in favour of Communism.

Of course, this is ridiculous. Inborn qualities are not eradicated in that way. One is inclined to smile at the amusing spectacle of opportunists, who wise in experience and crowned with grey hairs, like Troelstra, Henderson and Macdonald are compelled to walk the tight-rope, and nervously anticipate the moment when they will slip and fall... It is quite impossible to take these people seriously.

The Second International is dying. We have heard its death-song at Lucerne. It is dead, may it rest in peace...

The funeral cortege files slowly past... Forward,—to new decisive victories beneath the standard of the Communist International!

G. Z.

# Bibliography.

## The Father of Communism on the Workers Revolution.

(P. L. Lavroff: The Paris Commune 18th March 1871 Petrograd 1919).

Together with Mikailofsky P. L. Lavroff is the founder of Russian Communism, of that kind of Communism which formed the ideological basis of the Social-revolutionary Party, which has played such an unfortunate role in the history of our revolution.

Not long ago a book was brought before the public by the Publishing Office «Colossus» by N. L. Lavroff, entitled The Paris Commune 18th March 1871 (Petrograd 1919) written by him in 1879. As is known, the Commune of Paris was the first attempt in the History of the World at Proletarian Dictatorship, the second stage of which is the Soviet Republic in Russia, destined, as it would seem, to act the part of forerunner of an epoch of Soviet government over all the World.

The statesmen who in 1917 started the World Socialist Revolution never cease making references to the Commune of Paris. This heroic struggle of the French Proletariat, who, as the immortal expression of Marx says, «stormed heaven» still serves as a source of inspiration to the workers of Russia, who, after the Paris Communists, are the first victoriously to set up the Red Flag in their country.

The appreciation of the author of «Historical Letters» of the historical attempt of the Paris Commune is exceedingly instructive, for with Lavroff we have none of that obsequiousness before the fetiches «democracy» «public will» and so on, such as is manifested by his disciples, —at least in words.

For this reason the review of Lavroff's book that we are about to present is of considerable interest. Lavroff points out the necessity of conducting unrelenting warfare against the Old World.

«Against the routine and for this reason, just the most stubborn powers of History, the Revolutionary Party could struggle successfully only by means of the most resolute and rapid action, foreign to all compromise, fully conscious of its own powers and strivings and admitting of no wavering. But for this, however, the necessary fundamental conditions did not exist».

Lavroff recognizes with great justice that the characteristic trait of the Commune is that it was a Workers' Revolution. He quotes the words of Arne:

«A revolution has burst forth that had not been foreseen by a single advocate, deputy, journalist or general. Their places were occupied by hand labourer from Citiseaux, book binders, cooks and so on (76)».

People who call themselves guardians of the intellectual heritage of Lavroff preach compromise between class antagonists during an epoch of Civil War. Lavroff, on the contrary, fully perceives the utopia of all compromise in an epoch of revolutionary crisis.

«Thoughts of compromise occupied the minds of the majority...»

«Just as though compromise were possible between a rebellious proletariat and the representatives of Liberalism and Radicalism, persons who were almost offended at the mere idea of carrying on negotiations with any shop-keeper, hand labourer, without authorization» (80).

At a meeting with the Central Committee, the «tigers» of to-day, —Clemenceau,—stated:

«Paris has no right to revolt against France and it must accept unreservedly the authority of the Assembly. But one way out of this hopeless position exists for the Committee, and that is to give place to the Assembly of Deputies and Maires, which has resolved to obtain from the Assembly what Paris requires».

This is almost the same as what we heard from the Mensheviks during the first days after the October revolution.

Lavroff's appreciation of the ability of the Commune is also highly interesting:

«One would have thought,—says he,—that the execution of their first task, that of administrating the town, would turn out worst of all, in view of the fact that the workers and journalists were faced with a matter which, as was usually considered, required long and continued practice».

But the contrary happened

«As administrators and organizers of the management of a large town, the representatives of the Paris Commune proved to be, not only not worse but even superior to the representatives of the usual official routine, despite the fact that it was necessary to satisfy the daily requirements of a population of one and a half million under conditions of complete disorganization of the ministries and departments, for, of course, Thiers had endeavoured not to leave one of them standing (89)».

«The workers and petty-official proletariat at once proved themselves competent to carry on all these branches of public service which had to supply the daily wants of society and which up to this time had always been considered as the monopoly of people who had grown up amongst chancellery traditions and who belonged to the ruling classes (91)».

Lavroff quotes the words of Arne:

«There were no police, and there were no judges, nor was there one single crime committed... Each took care of his own safety and the safety of all (91)».

It is not merely the evidence of partizans of the Commune that is like this.

When the President of the Committee of Enquiry asked the Chief of the Police, Claude, as to whether the number of crimes had increased at the beginning of 1871, the latter answered positively that from January to the 31th of March it had «decreased»; in regard to the per...

he Commune he had unwillingly to admit that an increase in the number of crimes could not be proved (92).

Exceedingly instructive for us is the letter published of the first military administrator of the Rüssel Commune, dated the 9th of May, relating to the disorganization of military affairs in the Commune:

"I no longer consider myself competent to bear the responsibility of commander at a time when everybody orders and nobody obeys. When it became necessary to organize the artillery, the Central Artillery Committee deliberated, but failed to arrive at any conclusions... I wanted to assist in the centralization of arms, the requisition of horses, prosecution of deserters... The Commune deliberated but decided nothing... The Central Committee of the Federation almost forced its assistance upon the military administration... I accepted this aid... Since that time the Central Committee has been deliberating, but has not yet managed to act. In the meantime, the enemy has made an attack upon Fort Izzy, an attack carried out at random and in a trifling manner, for which I would have punished him, had I had at my disposal the least military force... Yesterday, at a time when all should be at work or in battle, there was an assembly of the Legion Commanders... From this assembly a project has resulted whereas it is men that we want, a statement of principles is offered us when action is required. I would not hesitate to take reprisals and yesterday, while the Legion Commanders were assembled, a detachment waited at the door ready to shoot them. I do not wish, however to take upon myself the initiative for energetic measures, to take upon myself to inflict such a detestable punishment which it is nevertheless necessary to perform, if we are to drag organization, obedience and victory out of the chaos...

There are two ways open before me: one is to remove the obstacles which prevent me from acting, and the other is, to retire altogether. The obstacles I cannot remove, because those obstacles are you and your weakness: I do not wish to lay my hands on the public authority: I shall retire and have the honour to request for myself a cell in the tower of Mazas (104).

**Proper organization and administration is what was lacking:**

"Unsettled, disorganized, foreign to the most elementary and most necessary elements of military discipline in a besieged town, yet standing, right up to the end, under the Red flag of Revolution, side by side with the French proletariat, possessed of that furia francese which is scarcely to be met with by any other nation (105).

"Organized disorganization,—is how the member of the Commune Rastoul, during the assembly of the 25th of April christened the military administration.

"The first and last assembly of the Military Council in besieged Paris took place on the 17th of May. The Versailles entered Paris on the 21st. All defence was left to personal initiative.

"If only the slightest general plan had been observed,— writes Lissagare (358) in the large means of defence placed at their disposal, if only Montmartre and the Pantheon had met the enemy with cross fire, the troops of the Versailles would have been routed at Paris.

**On the 22nd of May Delecloux published the following proclamation:**

"Down with militarism... Make way for the people, for soldiers with empty hands. The hour of Revolutionary war has struck... The people know nothing of learned manoeuvres, but with a weapon in its hand, and the stone of the street under its feet, it is not afraid of any strategic schools. To arms, citizens, the Comrade relies on you, rely on the Communes.

"When the Minister of War condemns all discipline,— writes Lissagare, in connection with this declaration (346),—there is still somebody who wants to obey. If he abandons all method there is still somebody who wants to deliberate. Here we have hundreds of people who refuse to leave the streets; decline to turn their attention to the agony of a neighbouring quarter; remain immobile to the end, waiting for an army to come and take them by force.

"On the following day, without battle, without siege, even without desperate protest, they take Montmartre,— this impregnable fortress,— writes Lissagare (363),—where a few hundred resolute men might have held at bay the whole army of the Versailles.

Layruff quotes the words of the moderate liberal Flo in regard to the terror of the conquerors:

"Religious wars during the last valois, Bartholomew night, the epoch of terror, are child's play compared with this. During the last weeks in May, 17,000 corpses of Federal insurgents were picked up... About the 15th of June the slaughter was still continuing (107).

Layruff is of the opinion that the weak side of the Commune consisted in its inability to introduce an economic basis under the political power won by the Proletariat, seeing that political freedom becomes a fiction once you have capitalist exploitation:

"As Milliere and Vergorelli stated, it was necessary to bring about equality by economic means, then alone would it have been possible to realize political freedom for all. As long as there was economic inequality which weighed over the majority, it was possible neither to put correctly nor to decide satisfactorily the numerous questions which related to freedom of assembly, proper election of representatives, relations of administrators and those under their control, personal autonomy in groups, of groups as wide political bodies, and the autonomy and federation of the Commune in view of the political unity of France (109).

**In order for the revolution to have been successful a powerful revolutionary Party was necessary:**

"In order that a revolution of this kind might be achieved it was necessary that the principal lines of the revolution and the importance for it of an economic basis should have been worked out in advance: it was necessary that, from amongst the proletariat and those groups of the more secured classes which sympathized with it, a Party should have been organized in advance, which had decided to act according to this plan: it was necessary that from the moment of the first outburst it should have placed at the head of the movement representatives of its way of thinking, men conscious of their revolutionary mission and prepared to take upon themselves responsibility for a step in which consisted much iniquity and uncertainty, men whose attitude towards the particular problems of the revolution was quite definite; it was necessary that these persons should be sufficiently numerous in the new Government, and amongst themselves sufficiently well agreed, in order to defend their plan before comrades who had not yet adapted themselves to the idea of the proletariat's struggle against the dominating forces of the old society; it was necessary that the majority of the revolutionary Government, placed at the head through its partisans, should have come before the victorious proletariat with a fixed programme, not forcing upon the masses a phantastic constitution by decrees which were incomprehensible to them, but by attracting the masses of the people towards their programme by such an understanding of their interests as would permit of the programme proposed by the new Government being adopted by the masses from the very first minute, as their own ideal, desires, ambitions only expressed clearly, pungently, systematically, definitely, and for this reason permit of the programme being realized immediately. The representatives of the Proletariat in the Government should have been the most powerful group, the most definite in its theoretic programme of a new constitution, the most resolute in its practical measures. Only then would it have been able to triumph over the routine of partisans of the traditional policy, over the inevitable absence of all political understanding on the part of the masses which always follows those who show the least hesitation in ideas and actions.

**Such a Party did not exist at the time of the Commune and that was one of the reasons of its fall but such**

a Party does exist in the Russian Revolution, and it is called the Communist Party.

Further, the people of the Commune were a new people of socialist tendencies, who had not worked out a definite plan of action, were uncertain of themselves, and for this reason unable to continue any system of new measures, corresponding to the new problems of social revolution (119).

But the logic of the struggle brought the people of the Commune to recognize those principles which have been entirely realized in the Russian Revolution.

At least, in No 2 of his journal *The People's Friend* (*L'ami du Peuple*) of the 24th of April 1871, Lavroff states, amongst other things:

«It is necessary to completely destroy the old government edifice and to reconstruct it according to a plan on the basis of justice and science...

Only work must be rewarded and those who do not work have no right to live or at least no right to participate in public life... Upon those principles the very existence of the Commune is based.

Thus the communards foresaw the inevitability of depriving exploiters of electoral rights as has been put into practice by the Russian Proletariat.

Lavroff continually points out that attempts at compromise had the only result of benefiting the enemies of the Commune:

«The masons make an important demonstration in favour of a cessation of the sanguinary strife. All these attempts have a demoralizing influence upon the population of Paris, which continues to find in them the source of hope for a peaceful conclusion of a conflict which the enemies of Paris have decided to finish in a bloody settlement at all costs, and for this reason those attempts weakened the energy of their own military measures in Paris. They acted still more demoralizingly by overshadowing in the eyes of the rebellious and, for the moment, victorious Proletariat, the menacing fact that the Proletariat could only have enemies amongst the bourgeoisie, seeing that all compromise with the bourgeoisie would always be either deception on the part of the bourgeoisie or concession on the part of the proletariat of its fundamental requirements (135-6).

In the meantime the Bourgeoisie had refused to work in the Commune.

«The whole element of partizans of the old order retired from the Council of the Commune and by doing so recognized it as the movement of the Proletariat, as a revolution which admits of no bargaining (138).

Krutsky, however, still continues to contrast the pure democracy of the Commune with the dictatorship of the Soviet Republic.

Lavroff puts the question in regard to the expediency of the violence of the workers over a hostile minority of exploiters.

«There were many elements in Paris hostile to the Commune, and the whole wealthy population belonged to those elements; to what extent could the wide liberty recognized by the Revolution of the 18th of March be reconciled with the necessity of restraining and suppressing these elements which had they been given complete liberty might have caused the Commune considerable damage, owing to their material influence? (140).

And he answers this question in the affirmative.

«If the Revolution which had frankly declared itself to be the revolution of the proletariat had immediately

organized itself in a Commune of the sort, accepting into its circle those who had come forward in favour of social revolution, with a view to absolutely removing all the elements hostile to the working proletariat, then it would have removed all questions as to differences between military and civil power, would also have renounced all pretensions towards an equality of rights as citizens, a Paris divided up into different castes. If the Commune was not the result of election made by the inhabitants of the traditional feudal bourgeois town, consisting of these elements, at any rate it consisted of representatives of the working classes who had decided to suppress the dominant classes, having placed this as the first task before the elected, and subjecting all other tasks of organization to this fundamental task of the struggle of labour against Capital, then there would have been no cause for discussion as to the dictatorship of the Council of the Commune, as to the obligatory full powers which they had to fulfil. Millere was quite right in saying that all revolutions are dictatorships, i. e. precisely because it is the revolution itself, also a denial of former legality and the maintenance of a new social programme by force (111).

Thus, Lavroff regards as a loss to the Commune the fact that it did not recognize its real nature, which was dictatorship of the proletariat, that it dealt too lightly with the bourgeoisie, that it troubled itself too much with the pretensions of the bourgeoisie to an equality of rights with the workers.

But dictatorship of a victorious party applied only to elements hostile to the new order, among the victors themselves, cannot be any question of dictatorship.

«If therefore the revolutionary outlook brought to the head of the movement people educated in the sphere of workers' societies, placed, from a point of view of influence, in complete dependence on the workers' groups and unable to place their determination against the opinion of the widely organized workers' party, then such persons in themselves are of no consequence and can do nothing; they are of consequence only as intermediaries through which the party expresses its opinions, the party which brought them to the front and which is represented by them to this extent; they become inevitably the executors of the Party's programme, delegates with obligatory authority. They can present to the Party a programme of action under new circumstances; they are even obliged to do this, if a favorable moment has accidentally allowed them to reflect and study more deeply and thoroughly questions which the majority is unable to occupy themselves with to a sufficient extent; but nevertheless, they will not be in a position to realize this programme as their own plan, but as the programme of a party which formulates its demands in a more or less complete manner. The enforcement of their power as regards their partizans here again is not possible; they are not really dictators, but delegates. Nevertheless dictatorship belongs to the victorious majority in relation to the defeated enemies of the revolution. All legality which has limited the privileges of the latter is turned into something of revolutionary dictatorship and only in the name of new revolutionary principles, in view of certain advantage to the new revolutionary constitution should new rights for the defeated be brought into existence by means of a treaty or legislation. In order that the new society might exist, in order for it to struggle against internal enemies, for it to develop its principles, it must somehow or other secure itself from those who, still living in the same locality, were and have remained enemies to its principles (142-143).

Dictatorship, the severe revolutionary violence over partizans of the old order is, *ultima ratio*; victory is a revolution.

In this manner, on the day following the victorious revolution, there inevitably arises the necessity for measures of constraint towards the hostile element. The necessity of dictatorial measures against enemies of the new or-

seeing that within the new constitution the armed element will be the less present the better (140); the party has been organized and prepared in advance, and the closer its material, intellectual and moral connection with the delegates placed by it at the head of the movement (143).

Further, amongst the leaders of the Commune by means all understood what the revolution required them, and even partisans of revolutionary measures lifted their action to the sphere of politics.

Paris, as the commune of the emancipated working proletariat, requires revolutionary, i.e. dictatorial measures in relation to enemies of the new constitution. The majority of the Commune, in the name of revolutionary traditions, were in favour of the latter measures, not noticing that they would all be quite powerless so long as Paris would remain a political commune containing various castes, where the mass of material means would remain in the hands of a hostile bourgeoisie. The minority on the other hand in the name of the principles of freedom and equality, fought against all kind of dictatorship, whatever form it might take, forgetting that equality can be established only by means of economic revolution, of revolutionary dictatorship and that it was no use to talk about freedom until equality had been established.

The Commune should also have deprived its moral enemies of the freedom of the press:

It must have been obvious that in a besieged city, during war it was quite impossible to allow a press to exist that was systematically slandering the leaders of the war and the soldiers of the commune.

And Lavroff quotes the words of Arne:

A besieged town cannot permit that in its midst the desire for its fall be expressed, that the soldiers which defend it be called upon to revolt and that the enemy be informed as to the movement of the troops. But such was the position in Paris under the Commune (147).

The Commune to its misfortune was unable to rid itself of the ideology of liberal legality.

And for this reason the Commune and the Committee for Public Safety whilst still uncertain about their right to do so, had to prohibit hostile newspapers in spite of the principle of the freedom of speech; in close rebellious assemblies in spite of the principle of the freedom of assembly, to make searches in order to take away weapons from hostile national guards; it was necessary to arrest without warrant and to maintain under arrest in secret, it was necessary to make appeals to the good citizens with requests concerning secret police and as to denunciation against secret enemies of the old constitutions.

It is natural, therefore, that the struggle against the internal enemy proved to be weak.

Under the difficult circumstances through which the Commune had to pass,—writes Malin,—the organization of a good political police force was exceedingly important. This was the business of the Committee for Public Safety, the whole power of which was concentrated in the hands of Perle and Rigo, but this business was greatly beyond their power. There was no kind of organizational service whatsoever. But they wanted to put into practice an untimely political despotism, they arrested right and left without ever catching the really dangerous people. In the meantime those who desired to overthrow the Commune by means of an internal insurrection, plotted and almost organized an army of malcontents in Paris... First the delegates of Safety knew nothing at all... Not one of the commanders was taken... The Commune was indeed in this case of a skillful, political, prudent, even though severe supervision, whereas it had only a police real. (149).

And this is what Arne writes:

The real agents of Versailles evaded pursuit or, being captured were released the day after, without anybody knowing by whom or how... (149)

In regard to how far from the truth are statements relating to the alleged brutality of the members of the Commune, is proved by a statement of Arthur Arne's concerning one of the most «terrible» of the members of the Commune, namely Deleclooz, who with tears in his eyes pleaded with the enraged national guard for the life of a captured Versailles gendarme, repeating «Don't let us imitate our enemy, do not let us destroy helpless prisoners»; Deleclooz was supported in this, as far as Arne remembers, by the still more «terrible» member of the Commune, the ferocious Felix Pia.

I have never seen,—says Arthur Arne in regard to the Commune,—an assembly of people who possessed such instinctive or conscious aversion to the shedding of blood, such an unconquerable antipathy to capital punishment.

Lavroff points out very opportunely that during the tragic days of the downfall of the Commune 64 hasten out of a total of 260 lost their lives, whereas the Versailles slaughtered tens of thousands of the inhabitants of Paris (153).

Nothing was done by the Commune in order to establish connections with the workers of other countries. Lavroff quotes the words of Lissagore:

All over Europe the working class was eagerly absorbing the news from Paris. Its heart beat at one with the great town which had become its capital. It organized meetings, processions and addresses. Its newspapers, for the most part poor, bravely struggled against the slander of the bourgeois press. The duty of the delegation was to hold out its hand to this valuable ally. It did nothing of the kind (157).

Lavroff points out that the Commune was faced with a difficulty that is common to all proletarian revolution—namely, the necessity of forming a new society by the aid of people who had been brought up in the atmosphere of the old society.

People do not change and are not regenerated all in one day, they do not change their habits whenever required. Let us repeat the words of Arthur Arne (III, 95). It must never be forgotten that people who are engaged in building a new society, who endeavour to lay its foundations, have been born and educated in the present society, that its traditions, examples and education have laid the basis on which only we can cut ourselves away from with difficulty (161).

Nevertheless, during the two and a half months of its existence, the Commune radically destroyed the illusion that only the wealthy and educated are capable of guiding the State.

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first organization of a society at the head of which stood Frankel, Varlenne, Pendi and other manual workers, and with all their mistakes, with all the imperfection of administration the Commune, proved that the working class can provide persons for the administration of public affairs, who minister them in no way worse than mental workers who hitherto have considered administration as their specialty... Compared with the decrees issued by Parliament and Ministries, filled with political people carelessly educated and trained, one can hardly maintain that legislature of the Commune deserves censure: bookbinders, locksmiths, jewelers proved to be just as suitable for business as the pupils of the various lycées and schools who had grown up in the atmosphere of business men and politicians. The Paris Commune, during its short



ence, finally destroyed the illusion that bourgeois upbringing gives any kind of superiority in the management of public affairs,—an illusion that, on the day following victory, the proletariat, in spite of all, will always have need of the intelligent defeated bourgeoisie and will always have to place at its head those against whom it revolted (163).

The bourgeoisie itself understood this character of the Commune and forsook it in spite of the formal equality of rights that had been reserved for it.

«All the members elected by it immediately forsook the town Council as soon as they perceived that they would not dispose of the forces of the town and for this reason the question about «public liquidation» is only a question of time (168).

The social workers of the Commune, however, gave way to their class enemy on the understanding of the irreconcilability of the antagonism that divided them,—they continued to dream of compromise.

In view of this the «internationalists» Jourdan and Varlen came to a stop before the Treasury seals;—Jourdan avowed that the Commune was not concerned with private property, and he used all his efforts in order that his financial operations should not frighten creditors, i. e., the bourgeoisie. In view of this the internationalist Longuet affirmed in the «Official Gazette» that social strife did not exist in Paris, one of the first questions of which was that of its political autonomy. All the socialists preached unity, compromise, although they could not but know that this compromise was impossible. This preaching hindered the questions of social revolution from being put in the proper manner, demoralized the masses with the hope of compromise and had as a result,—the illusion that the energetic measures of defence were not necessary. Only at the very end of the second siege did the idea of the impossibility of compromise begin to sink in and voices were raised from amongst the masses affirming that «he who talks about compromise is a traitor» (170).

Lavroff emphasizes, in contrast to the illusions of the communards that a Government of social revolution must exclude from the workers-Commune all elements hostile to the proletariat.

«Autonomy of groups and their federations is important as an autonomy of groups which have realized economic equality and which are organized for its support and defence as well as the exclusion of all elements hostile to the working class, or such elements as have not adhered to the new constitution (172).

The Commune took only the first steps along the path of social revolution.

«This was a matter instituted at the demand of members of the International in the Council of the Commune, «the Commission of Labour, Industry and Exchange», in which Malon, Frankel, Taillet, Dupon, Avrial, took part (172).

«But internal and external enemies did not allow it sufficient time for this purpose and the only means of possible success, under the circumstances were: for their representatives to come before the organized labour groups with a ready made, thought out plan (even though incomplete) of an economic change and organization of labour, industry and exchange, a rapid consideration of it by the labour groups and the introduction by the Commune of these revolutionary measures as the starting point of the Proletarian revolution, and later, a gradual, slow, thoroughly thought out revision of this temporary revolutionary legislature by the labour organization when the latter had succeeded in consolidating its victory (173).

Lavroff, as we see, took into consideration inevitable mistakes which must occur in the realization of the new social ideal, but he was not afraid of them,—he knew that having consolidated their power the working class would be able to rectify them.

But the struggle with Versailles prevented the work of reorganization to develop.

«All was absorbed by cares for the daily struggle against the sanguinary internal enemy, against thousands of petty obstacles and difficulties which arose owing to the Paris Commune being full of enemies of the proletariat, and because Paris was isolated from the outside world: engulfed in petty conflicts of enteries disputing for influences.

Indeed, even the Communards themselves hardly understood the tasks dictated to it by the moment.

«The motto of proletarian dictatorship is derived by cries which arise from all sides about a political Commune, as though real freedom of the proletariat possible without radical economic change: as though solidarity in the life of the Commune could be realized as long as the severe struggle between Capital and Labour remained.

The Communards had no solid theoretical basis and this, according to Lavroff's opinion, was not the least of the reasons for its overthrow.

«Nevertheless, a revolution which is being performed in the name of great social ideas is inspired, even in the heat of the combat, of elucidation of its fundamental principles, and around the falling victims or the conquering standard bearers a reminder and elucidation of the real idea of the bloody battle, of its inevitable problems, capable of bringing new strength to the battle and making it more fertile for the future (179—180).

Summing up Lavroff states:

«We ought to be surprised, not that the Commune was unable to maintain itself, and that in general it did little, but that it lasted so long and did so much (18).

The importance of the Commune as regards coming social revolution despite its overthrow immeasurable.

«The Paris Commune,—states Lavroff,—as an idea as a «new revolution» has left indelible traces in the history of socialist thought but its most glorious page in human history will remain the tens of thousands of unnamed and forgotten heroes and heroines, of martyrs, who fought and perished on the barricades; during the 20th to 28th of May, suffered and perished on prisons, in towns in New Caledonia, its blood and sufferings fertilized the earth from which will spring the coming victorious social revolution» (189—190).

Lavroff explains further the colossal historical importance of the workers' revolution, although its first attempt was doomed to failure:

«At the present time there are no religious, nations or political grounds on which the labouring Proletariat could and might have a moral right for bargaining with the dominant classes or with any section of them. As only, historical combinations will allow the proletariat even a temporary victory, it must first of all accomplish an economic revolution. However inadequate and unstable the first attempt at the new order might be, the mere fact that it is accomplished consecutively and resolutely will be in itself an important gain. The artillery of the proletariat is the socialist ideas. If the victory of the proletariat is consolidated, it will have sufficient time to improve this first attempt, side by side with reform or less peaceful. Nothing is a matter

the first moment of its existence; everything has to pass through various phases of development before it arrives at maturity; but real revolutions place the basis to a new organic type, and the process of development into a new type has nothing whatever in common with the development of the old. Even though the revolution of the proletariat be suppressed, the stock given to the very foundations of the old economic constitution, even temporarily, cannot remain without important consequences. After a revolution against representatives of the old constitution, the old social forms may be followed, as formerly, by Caesar dictators and even by restorations. But not one restored Stuart or Bourbonne, not one of the new Cromwells or Napoleons is able to restore the past as it was before. Each restoration will bear in itself the traces of an accomplished revolution and the embryos of new revolutions in the same direction as the first. An overthrown, even temporarily overthrown system of property and monopoly cannot be restored exactly as it was before it had been shaken by a real revolution of the proletariat, and after its repair it will still bear in it which will inevitably lead to its destruction. The matter is not one of short and severe measures but one of terror or love towards enemies. The matter is one of real measures. Arthur Arne very truly said (11159) - neither force nor moderation make principles. One must do what is necessary. That is all. «At a moment when historical combinations permit the workers of any country to subdue, even temporarily, their enemies and take command of the course of events, the workers must accomplish an economic revolution and consolidate it as far as possible by those measures which are found expedient, whatever those measures may be. Everything else must be made dependent of the principal task.

In the meantime the leaders of the Paris communards were not in a position to systematically and consciously lead the movement.

«But they lacked agreement amongst themselves, they lacked selfconfidence, proper knowledge and a general programme. At a moment of real conflict a party without a programme is powerless. It may conquer, may stand at the helm of the movement, but it will never be in a position to guide it. When it is necessary to act, and there are no people who, in virtue of their more advanced and more courageous ideas, could point out a new path of action, it is inevitable and fatal that actions must be accomplished according to the old prepared, customary routine methods. At a decisive moment the masses always follow the standard upon which the most definite programme the clearest and most definite aims are inscribed; the masses follow those who are ready and do not hesitate. (215).

It was precisely this clear and definite consciousness of their aims, firmness and resoluteness that the Communards lacked. The compromisers and peace-makers were no small hindrance to the revolution and were a drag on its victorious progress.

«And there were peace-makers, as we have seen, who wished to do away with the struggle of the workers' uprising; and there were bourgeois who whilst remaining in the other camp, expressed their sympathy with the Commune and censured the actions of the Versailles government. But what was the result of the activities of these peace-makers, of these sympathizers? Some of them proved to be either traitors or open enemies of the Paris Commune, whilst others were its most dangerous friends. Owing to their conciliatory and their demoralizing activities, the malres and blunders of Paris gave the Versailles the possibility to recuperate, to form an army which at the first moment had been completely demoralized. In the moment of danger and serious struggle these offshoots were not to be found in Paris, and later on their names adorned the welcome to an army which committed the horrors of bloody weeks.

On their consciences, on the conscience of those names at present figure so brilliantly in the most radical newspapers of Paris, lies the responsibility for this bloody weeks. Their conciliatory attempts, their utopian hopes, paralysed the activity of the Paris revolution in the very days when quick decision, unrelenting energy of action alone might have assured the victory of a movement which was as unexpected to the majority of those who took part in it as it was to its antagonists, and which only by rapid development, the energy of its expansion and decision at a moment of demoralization of its enemies could win for itself the sympathy of a France that was still too astonished to be able to really appreciate its significance (222-223).

We recommend to the attention of those who bemoan the horrors of civil war, its bloodshed and the stern paths of revolution, the following truly inspired page from Lavruff

«Let them also look attentively at the history of the Paris Commune. Did their representatives wish for blood? Did they not resort to all possible means to waive the conflict by peaceful means? From the 19th of March to the 21st of May, as we have seen, not one head fell, not one drop of blood was shed of the internal enemies of the Commune. Did the Commune win much from this? Do the so-called historians, publicists and orators of the opposition party give any consideration whatsoever to this pacific feeling, these conciliatory attempts which lasted so long and so persistently? Has not the Commune remained inseparably connected in the minds of its enemies with sudden decisions never put into practice, with outbursts of passion which took place before any kind of organized constitution was established in Paris, or during the last hours of desperate struggle of the Commune's existence? The desire for a peaceful issue, the aversion to violent measures, to sanguinary catastrophes is completely natural to all thinking people, the more so seeing that bloodshed always irritates society while it never facilitates the solution of social questions. But history has always placed and always will bring us face to face with interests, aberrations, convictions which cannot be reconciled and all attempts to reconcile which will tend only to increase the number of victims and not to decrease it. In certain historical moments human passions cannot be restrained. The irritation called forth by the past is too intense.

«If our enemies defend interests or convictions from which, in all probability they are unable to withdraw by pacific means, it is those people who prize human life and blood who must endeavour to organize the possibility of rapid and resolute victory and afterwards act as quickly and as energetically as possible to suppress enemies seeing that only in this manner is it possible to arrive at a minimum of inevitable sacrifices and a minimum of bloodshed. In the present system of social construction, the advantages which the dominating minority dispose of are too considerable for even the slightest hope to exist, in the coming social struggle, for a voluntary concession of these advantages: they will cling to them with their last ounce of strength. We must know and prepare for this. Indeed has it ever happened that a dominating class of society yielded its domination without having first defended it with their blood? Was it possible to expect that the Versailles Assembly would yield even to the most modest demands of Paris unless it was forced to do so? Was it possible to expect that an assembly of the dullest and most obstinate representatives of the most backward parts of France would understand the demands of the Paris proletariat? Was it not Versailles that started the struggle? And if the violent and bloody struggle was in-

ie, would there not have been fewer victims had it been conducted energetically and rapidly from the very beginning? If Versailles had been taken on the 20th of March, if after the victory of the Parisians (it was then possible) and after a radical economic change emissaries from Paris would have appeared in the towns of France with an appeal to the poor, and a Convention had been rapidly called together, which had relied on the armed Commune of the whole of France,—is it possible that more blood could have been spilt in order to carry out the decrees of such convention than was spilt during the bloody week? Every change that is accomplished in the name of progressive ideas it is more advantageous to accomplish by means of attacking the enemy than by defending oneself. The imagination of opponents, as well as the imagination of outside observers, as yet unaffected by the movement, must be struck by the energy and rapidity of the actions of supporters of the new order before the convictions of the latter can represent the logical facts and moral truth to those who still hesitate. As we are convinced that between us and our enemies there can be no peace, and that they cannot voluntarily yield to us that which we demand, and we are convinced that the future of humanity depends upon the success of what we have, then in the name of humanity and in order to reduce the number of inevitable victims to a minimum we must attack courageously rapidly and resolutely precisely because we are struggling for the future of humanity. (227).

It is interesting to quote the appreciation which L'v'ff makes of the Commune in his letters to Stakenschneider in 1872 and published in the journal 'The Voice of the Post' in September 1916. From these letters we perceive what great historical importance L'v'ff ascribes to the Commune in spite of all the errors which he recognized were made by it. On the 12th of July 1872 he wrote:

You put such demands to the defenders of the Commune that it is impossible to fulfill. How can you expect that the actions of men in the height of a storm, when all illusion of arbitrary activity disappears, should give proof of correctness, justice and prudence. All that it is possible to ask is this: ought they to have thrown themselves and to have thrown others into the current, the course of which exceeded all personally calculated influence? ought they to have refrained?

And this is what we read in the letter of the 17th of July:

«Regarding the Communards, whom you attack so strongly in your long letter, I will describe to you the position of two of them: one was a minister of the Commune, who had hundreds of thousands in his hands; I go to him sometimes on Sunday morning to his garret where he sleeps, and works amongst various chemical paraphernalia and carries on correspondence with distant countries. All the week he is hard at work at the factory and for this reason it is impossible to see him. The other, a late commander of a detachment which defended Paris, is lying ill from old wounds; the last time I was with him he told me that being no longer able to pay for his room he would have to pass the days and nights walking through the streets. He also had large sums of money in his hands. You may think as you like, but for me these people are worthy of respect; they had good and strong convictions; they did for it what they were able to, without any egoistic calculations and despite the blows of fate they resolutely follow the path which their conviction indicated to them. Ought they to have acted as they did? Let him decide who has always acted as he should, and has always seen clearly how he ought to act under the most complicated circumstances.»

L'v'ff possessed an understanding of the elements of historical development,—an understanding which

people who call themselves his disciples have not inherited from him. It is very important to observe that L'v'ff pointed out the same mistakes in the activities of the Communards as Marx and Engels pointed out. On the 5th April 1871 Marx wrote to Kugelmann.

«They ought to have gone to Versailles the moment that Vinet and with him the reactionary part of the Paris national guard fled from Paris. The moment was neglected owing to scrupulousness. They did not want to start civil war just as though that monster: Thiers had not already started it by his attempt to disarm Paris. Second mistake: the Central Committee laid down its authority in order to make way for the Commune too soon. Again thanks to a sense of honour which was almost suspicious.»

In his 'Appeal of the General Council of the International Workmen's Society on the Civil War in France 1871' Marx points out that the mistake of the Communards consists in that they did not at once attack the counter-revolution, personified in the Versailles National Assembly.

«But owing to aversion to civil war by which Paris was threatened, the Central Committee maintained a strictly defensive position, paid no heed to the insolent attacks of the National Assembly, nor to the unasked for interference of the executive power into its affairs, nor to the ring of soldiers that was encircling the town and its suburbs. And then Thiers began the civil war.»

The Commune did nothing to struggle against counter-revolution inside of Paris itself.

«Not only did the police not disarm and arrest, as they should have done, but they opened the doors of Paris in order that they might escape to Versailles. «The partisans of order» were not only left in peace, they were also given the possibility to reinforce themselves at many strong points in the heart of Paris itself. This condescension on the part of the Central Committee, this form of action of armed workers so unnatural to the morals of the party of order was accepted by it as an admission of impotence by the workers.»

Marx points out that the radical mistake of the Communards was that they did not forestall the Versailles, did not themselves go to the «Chamber of Landowners».

«The Central Committee, in obstinately refusing to conduct civil war, begun by Thiers in his night expedition against Montmartre, made a fatal error; it was necessary to go at once to Versailles—Versailles at that time had not sufficient means for defence,—and once for all make an end of the conspiracies of Thiers and his Chamber of landowners. Instead of this, «the Party of order» was again permitted to try its strength at the elections to the Commune on the 26th of March.»

As we see, Marx considers the mistake to be that, owing to a false respect for «democracy», the workers of Paris gave their enemies the possibility to participate in the elections to the Commune.

It is to this, as we have seen, that L'v'ff points. In 1873 Engels as well, in an article published by him in an Italian magazine, and directed against the followers of Proudhane, the autonomists wrote:

«Revolution is, undoubtedly, the most authoritative thing possible. Revolution is an act in which one part of the population forces its will upon another part, by means of muskets, bayonets, cannons, that is to say, by exceedingly authoritative means. The victorious party is of

necessity compelled to maintain its domination by means of the fear with which its arms inspire its reactionaries. If the Paris Commune had not relied upon the authority of an armed people, against the bourgeoisie, is it possible that it could have lasted longer than a day. Are we not right, on the contrary, in censuring the Commune for having made too little use of its authority.

Proletarian revolution is possible only in the form of proletarian dictatorship against the bourgeoisie.—state Marx and Engels basing themselves upon the attempt of the Paris Commune. To this conclusion after having considered the same

events, Lavroff, the representative of a... conception of history, also arrives. The necessity of an iron proletarian dictatorship, the relentless suppression of exploiters and their exclusion from the Workers' Commune, undented courage and resolution in the attainment of the programme of the Proletarian party,—all this was understood by one of the spiritual fathers of contemporary Communism but,—alas,—how little admissible are all these truths to the understanding of those pitiful individuals who have taken up their position under the standard of a Constituent Assembly and of democracy,—in one line together with Koltchak against Proletarian Revolution.

V. BISTRIANSKY.

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