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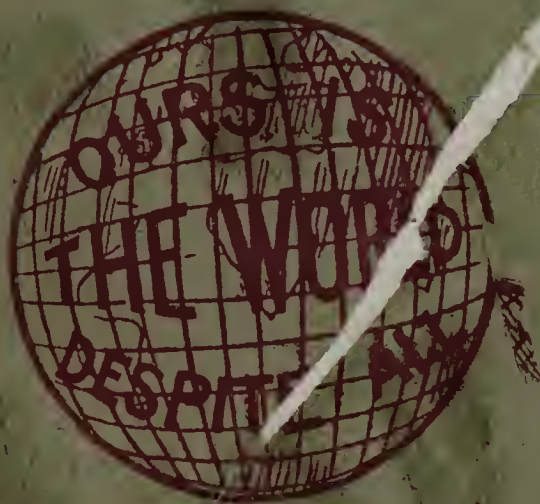


# The Third (Communist) International: Its Aims and Methods.

BY

JAMES CLUNIE.

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# The Third (Communist) International: Its Aims and Methods.

BEING

## A REPORT

BY

**JAMES CLUNIE,**

*Delegate of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain to  
the Third Congress of the Third (Communist)  
International.*

MOSCOW, JUNE—JULY, 1921.

In this Report I shall endeavour to be impartially correct in so far as the psychology of the Communist International is concerned. At the same time I must safeguard the policy of my own organisation by making certain analytical deductions relative to the several findings come to by the Congress and expressed in the thesis on the respective issues. Concerning the fantastic conceptions anent the Russian Republic, the reproduction of which does nobody any good but contrariwise is the means of doing incalculable harm, I prefer to leave these to be expressed by the romanticists and rhetoricians. In issuing this report I feel that I have a twofold duty, i.e., I must be fair to the Third International, and, I must also be straight-forward with my own or-

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ganisation. Such an attitude is imperative to expose the important issues which affect the case of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain as against the Communist Party.

In view of these considerations it might be well that I should briefly state the reasons why the S.L.P. decided to be represented at the World Congress of the Third International. At our last Annual Congress we adopted a platform in keeping with the economics and philosophy of Marxism and therein we expressed a desire to become affiliated to the Third International, as in our view, it was the highest expression of Revolutionary Internationalism.

At the same time we stated that as an organisation we would work to characterise the International as the correct expression of its national revolutionary units. Such a resolution implied our desire for affiliation without compromising on vital questions which affected our national existence. It will be seen therefore, that to vindicate our case for affiliation, consultative or decisive, it was necessary for us to endeavour to be represented at the World Congress in order to state our case. We held certain definite views and pursued a certain policy and therefore it was essential that to find the points of agreement or disagreement we should be willing to put our ideas to the test of examination, criticism, and a final decision by the Congress of the Third International. However, such a course was not followed and here I want to state the reasons of a decision that affected the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, the Anti-Parliamentarian Groups (which Rose Witcop represented from Britain), and also the American Socialist Labour Party. The procedure that all the delegates had to follow on their arrival was perfectly proper; such as the signing of credential forms and so on,

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These I filled in properly in the name of the S.L.P. as its accredited representative. A few days after signing I was informed that my credentials had been turned down by the Credentials Committee. The reason for such a decision in our case was, because we had failed to obey the instruction to join up with the British Communist Party. We were not even accepted as a fraternal organisation. I thereafter attended both the political and industrial congresses as a guest and nothing more. This decision was not made because of me personally, but, because of the attitude taken up by the Party regarding the Question of Communist Unity. Apart from being disallowed the right to speak in the Congress and robbed of a few petty privileges, which at times were a little irritating, I was not in any way embarrassed. I had very good assistance and advice during my stay in Moscow from our good Comrades Peter Petroff and his wife, whose hospitality and real Comradeship I shall appreciably remember. Here I want to convey the fraternal greetings of Comrades Petroff to all their friends in Britain. By their kind assistance I had no difficulty in getting into both Congresses. In fact, my card to the Trade Union Congress permitted me to the tribune, although I preferred the body of the hall. Our reception was not one of hostility, but one tempered by procedure. Personally (nor in the name of the Party) I was not altogether shocked although I then thought and still believe the decision was not right. The 21 conditions had been formulated by the Second Congress and presented to all organisations desiring to become affiliated to the Third International. Because of certain tactics stipulated in the thesis and statutes of that Congress with which we did not approve, it was impossible for us to agree with the 21 Conditions entirely. That

being so we were treated as an outside body and one that had no right to take part in the deliberations of the Congress. The position is somewhat as follows:—

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IS ONLY PREPARED TO RECOGNISE ONE COMMUNIST PARTY IN EACH COUNTRY.

THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY MUST ACCEPT AND PROPAGATE THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

NO MATTER HOW FAULTY THE NATIONAL PARTY MIGHT BE, IT IS LOOKED UPON AS THE NATIONAL EXPRESSION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, AND AN ATTACK MADE UPON THE NATIONAL PARTY IS SIMILAR TO AN ATTACK ON THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

ALL PARTIES DESIRING TO BECOME AFFILIATED TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL MUST ACCEPT THE ENTIRE POSITION LAID DOWN IN ITS THESIS AND STATUTES, AND BECOME A PART OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

What the above position involves I shall endeavour to show further on in my report. Meanwhile we have no cause to be disappointed at being turned down by the Credentials Committee in view of the fact that we have claimed the right to decide our own position in conformity with our principles and as a result have refused to subordinate our case to instructions with which we disagreed. Hence while in Moscow our case seemed to be out of favour and not acceptable. In Britain we have still reason to believe it to be correct. Therefore we again have the right to say that it is always an easy matter to shout with the crowd and sometimes a mark of honour to be unpopular. One redeeming feature is that we were not turned down because we were "Social Patriots," "Opportunists," or "Rightists," but rather because we were too much to the "Left," or even we may come within the scope of the

following statement of Comrade Zinoviev's made in his report to the Executive Committee, "Our Comrades of the 'Left' opposition were no enemies of ours, but merely friends with Sectarian Conceptions, who had not yet fully grasped many of the concrete conditions." Such as, for instance, Affiliation to the Labour Party. However, in the spirit that men have gone to the gallows for an idea, so we may be proud at being turned down by a Credentials Committee in defence of applied principles which we deem to be correct. Having disposed of our own experience I shall now give a short notice of the Credentials Committee report, which was given by Comrade Radek. The figures giving the number of delegates were given as a preliminary statement, as all the credentials had not been received. While writing, I fail to find the final figures in any of my papers.

Up to June 25th at the fourth session of the Congress the Credentials Committee had confirmed 291 credentials with a decisive vote, and 218 with a consultative vote. In addition to that 100 visitors cards had been issued to foreign Comrades. The delegates represented 48 countries. To these must be added delegates from the International Union of Communist Youth and Women Communists from all over the World. So also must be added many of the delegates who were attending the Trades Union Congress in cases where the delegates arrived before the finish of the political Congress. On the whole, as will be seen by the following, the Congress was of world-wide importance and manifested the growing solidarity of the revolutionary workers of all lands.

Countries were grouped according to (1)—The numerical strength of the party; (2)—The political importance of the Country; (3)—Possible developments in the Labour and Communist Move-



ment. Five groups were formed. First group had 40 votes at the Congress, to consist of the following countries:—Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and International of Communist Youth (80,000) members. Second group, 30 votes: England, U.S.A., Poland, The Ukraine, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, and Bulgaria. The two Anglo-Saxon parties were included in this group because of the important development in their respective Countries, although none of them were as yet mass parties. Third group, 20 votes, Spain, Finland, Rumania, Latvia, Switzerland, Hungary, Austria, Holland and Belgium. Fourth group, 10 votes: These were given to Countries with Labour Movements of long-standing, or those Countries where small Communist Movements have been created after the war, e.g., Azerbadjan with Baku (strong Labour Movement of 20 years' standing), Georgia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Denmark, and Luxemburg, Persia and Turkey. Fifth group, 5 votes: South Africa, Iceland, Mexican, Armenian, Argentine, Australian and New Zealand organisations, and the Dutch East India Group. Consultative votes were granted in the case of China, Turkestan, Khiva, Bukhara, and Mongolia. In the case of the official delegation from Japan, a decisive vote was given. The representative character of the Congress may thus be seen by the above allocations and should prove a stimulus to every revolutionary worker.

The principal debates in the Congress arose out of reports which were made by selected speakers. These reports were again embodied in several theses. Apart from certain National questions, such as the position of Italy and Germany, particularly, the Thesis contain the matter and findings which are of most interest to us. These may be classified as follows:—

THESIS.—ON CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

ON THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

ON TACTICS.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR PROBLEMS.

ON THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

I shall now endeavour to give in summarised form the general character of these thesis. In doing so it will be necessary to draw upon certain sources for points bearing upon certain facts. It is also necessary that in dealing with these matters we make perfectly clear what the attitude of the Communist International is regarding certain questions. This I hope to do with due regard to the nature of the case.

## THESIS ON CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

Throughout this thesis one finds the idea of the Communist manifesto of Marx and Engels expressed. The function of the Communist International is to act as the vanguard of the World Proletariat. Theoretically and practically this is correct. Anent the World Class Struggle, national differences are recognised, although they may not always be fully appreciated when their characteristics and requirements are dealt with. In Clause 2 of the General Principles of this thesis we find the following: "There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organisation for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class-struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes the

organisation of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organisation of the respective parties." Such is pure proletarian reasoning and highly commendable to many of our peculiar Communists. As in the particular so in the general sense we find that despite national differences certain fundamental principles must be laid down to apply to all countries. It is just on the application of the General methods to particular countries that the S.L.P., cannot agree with the tactics applied to Britain. I now refer to Labour Party affiliation, which many Communists would like to misrepresent and misconstrue. Such misrepresentation can no longer be tolerated. Communist Election tactics as at Woolwich was a silly error, while at Kirkcaldy it was a contradiction. Revolutionary adaptation is the keynote to the new Communist psychology and there is much to be said for it when properly applied. After all, there is a difference between photography and Revolution. The aim of Communism now as in 1848 is World Revolution. This implies Communist or revolutionary leadership. In Clause 4 of the General Principles we are told that "Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all, it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the World's history. The organisation of the Communist Party is the organisation of Communist leadership in the proletarian revolution. To be a good leader the party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organisational work must be—education, organisation and training of efficient Communist parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement." Again, on the duties



of Communist activity, "The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism." When one reads such matter one almost feels a return to the times when constructive work was important. So unlike the Communist work really mattered. So unlike the Communist intellectuals who smile at the Marxian student and with those who are so carried away with practice that they have no use for the science. Mere adherence to a programme is not sufficient. In itself such merely imposes obligations in the class struggle. The function of the Revolutionary is to participate in every struggle of the Working Class. No fight should be ignored because of its petty character. On the other hand no Communist should occupy an irresponsible position such as, for instance, fomenting "nonsensical Strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in the class struggle." Herein we find that science is knowledge and intelligence and its application is practice and consistency. Communist activity must not take on a mere negative form. Actual contact with the workers must be encouraged. Such institutions as "Educational Boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, Co-operative societies, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers." Anti-militarist activities must be well defined and conducted, consistent with the conditions in each country. "The right of the proletariat to bear arms should be advocated." Those present day members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who were so vehement in their denunciation of the late Harry Quelch with his idea of the "armed nation" will have to swallow a little more to popularise the new case they have accepted. Parties should endeavour to

work legally. All forms of propaganda should be employed. Every incident "from an accident to the ill-treatment of an apprentice," and so on should be noted in the party press. "Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public," e.g., the British "Communist" especially on June 11th, 1921.

Every endeavour must be made to win the masses over to Communism. The activities of the party must be in Conformity with the decisions and under the control of the Communist International. "The instructions and resolutions of the International are binding upon the party and naturally, also upon every party member." Within this form of discipline which certainly is of an obligatory character a certain form of freedom is stipulated to exist within the party itself on questions concerning tactics and form of action. These are, of course, such tactics which are not definitely fixed by the International. The first duty of the Communist is towards his Party and the Communist International. The Communist Party must learn how to consistently adapt itself to changing conditions. It must not become rigidly legal nor stupidly and needlessly illegal. Both forms of activity must be judiciously employed. The preparatory need for illegal work should not be ignored. "On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activity towards the building up of a party organisation which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organisation which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators, wasting their labours in futile superfluous tasks." The little minded fellow who imagines that breaking windows and calling policemen names is all required to create

the machinery required for revolutionary purposes; who whispers the things that ought to be shouted from the house top and bawls out the things that ought to be treated with restraint; in fact a regular busy body at large, should be compelled to make himself scarce until he has been taught something about revolutionary conduct. Mushroom heroic military figures should be taught their place in propaganda. Because after all every little message boy cannot become a Trotsky. Propaganda is of vital importance. "The formation of a Red Army is as yet out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organised army, through the masses under the leadership of the party." The creation of a proletarian revolutionary psychology is of much more importance than mapping out strategic points which may actually be at the opposite end from the scene of action. The essential understanding of a revolutionary is a training in Marxism which fact many of our alleged Communists ignore. We do not require new issues nor fresh exclamations. We have already unduly suffered from these. What we require is Marxism and ever more Marxism and we cannot have Marxism without Marxists. This the S.L.P. has always said and shall continue to say. Organisational activity affects the Party and also the Movement and from the standpoint of the Movement we have given our analysis intentionally more descriptive than critical, meanwhile reserving our judgment.

## **THESIS ON THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.**

This thesis deals mainly with the internal situation of Soviet Russia and most appropriately was dealt with by the ingenious revolutionary



president himself. Lenin, in many of his earlier works (the best of which we know is "Soviets at Work") has pointed out many of the principal tasks of the Russian Soviet Republic. There are many factors which inevitably manifest themselves during a revolution which hitherto are unseen. As Bucharin pointed out in a lecture to delegates of the World Congress of the Comintern, in Moscow, "Experience . . . proved that during the proletarian dictatorship the complete dissolution of the old Capitalist apparatus is a necessary stage in the revolutionary development." This will affect all Capitalist countries although not necessarily in the same way nor in the same degree. Wherever and whenever the final struggle between Capital and Labour takes place we are bound to recognise certain positive changes which, by their very nature will upset the entire social organisation which is about to suffer severe opposition and partial extinction. Such, I suppose, would even take place with world Capitalism in World Revolution itself. With the overthrow of the Capitalist regime, the Capitalists must also be overthrown. That, however is not sufficient. We must be ready to maintain and protect that very new regime which we have set up. As we may find out by our study of tactics this involves the knowledge of adaptation. In our desire to protect the ideological we must not refuse to see the immediately practical. Such is the present problem of the Russian Republic relative to the question of Concessions, internal as well as external. Lenin's arguments in favour of the new economic policy can best be presented by summarising his thesis. In the Congress most of the argument was left to those best able to deal with the matter. A certain division showed itself and was marked by the speeches of Kollantai, who wanted to protect the ideological side of

the Revolution and Trotsky, who argued in favour of the recognition of practical forces as the best means of saving the situation. Theories concerning the impending collapse of Western Capitalism could not decide the matter of Concessions as Capitalism must show by the power which it was able to yield, whether or not it was collapsing. On the question of Concessions Trotsky has always been in agreement with Lenin. To him, "the only point that arose was the practical one of where and in what spheres to grant Concessions."

### WHAT ARE CONCESSIONS?

"In order to buy, say, locomotives, we must pay in timber, but to obtain the timber, we must have saws and other technical appliances. Well!. We say the English Capitalist can receive the timber that he has to receive in a certain forest, let him bring his saws and necessary technical appliances; let him fell the timber, and in return for it he will give us locomotives." As will be seen such concessions leads to exchange between the countries of the Concessionaires and therefore raises the problem of the relationship of Russia to the outside Capitalist States. Internally the changes in the status of the peasantry and the industrial proletariat again raises the question of exchange. Economically and politically the historical status of Russia must be taken into consideration which again raises the question in its practical form, both in the national and international sense.

Lenin wrote in "The Soviets at Work." We, the Bolshevik Party, have convinced Russia We have won Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. And now it is up to us to manage Russia." Such management involves recognition of the practical needs

of the problem. Such was the object of this thesis and such is the most important problem for Russia. Therefore I shall summarise as well as possible the various points contained in the thesis.

“The international position of the R.S.F.S.R. at the present time is characterised by a kind of equilibrium. . . extremely unstable and creating a peculiar situation in world politics.

“On the one hand the World Bourgeoisie is full of hate and animosity towards Soviet Russia and is ready to pounce upon her at any moment in order to strangle her. On the other hand, all the attempts at military intervention . . . ended in failure.

“The conflict of interests between the various Imperialist Countries has become acute and is growing more and more acute every day. The oppression of the hundreds of millions in the nations of the East is greatly gaining in intensity.

“As a result of all this, International Imperialism has proved incapable of strangling Soviet Russia in spite of its superior force. It is therefore compelled to enter into commercial relations with Russia, and to recognise her either fully or partially.”

That position puts Russia in peculiarly though only comparatively strong standing for the moment. Capitalism is still as bitter and hostile to Russia and at the moment, or at any time, strives to find the best means of attack. One counter influence is the growing solidarity of the workers in the Capitalist Countries who would make any serious attack upon Russia impossible. Capitalism stands to-day and has the reactionary labour leaders to thank in a very large measure. The Russian Republic places its faith and confidence in the world's toiling masses.



“The internal political situation of Soviet Russia is such that we have here for the first time in history, only two classes existing side by side, namely; the proletariat brought up for a number of decades on a young, but modern large machine production and a class of peasant smallholders, constituting a vast majority of the population.

“Under the conditions of the actual internal situation in Russia, the chief duty of the moment for her proletariat, as the ruling class, is the correct definition and realisation of the measures which are necessary for assuming the leadership over the peasantry, the establishment of a solid union with it, for a long series of gradual stages toward the transition to a large nationalised machine production in agriculture. This task is especially difficult in Russia both in view of the backwardness of our country and its extreme penury owing to the seven years' Imperialist and Civil Wars.

“The basis for regular mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry in Soviet Russia was created by the epoch of 1917-1921, when the invasion of the Capitalists and Landlords, supported by the world bourgeois democracy (and the social revolutionists and the Mensheviks) created, consolidated, and gave a definite form to the military union between the proletariat and the peasantry for the defence of the Soviet power.” This military bond was made a solid Union by a certain economic tie between these two classes.

“The workers of the State gave the peasants the land and protection from the landlord exploiters, the peasants gave the Workers food in advance up to the time of the re-establishment of the larger industry and production.

“The union between the peasant smallholders

and the proletariat may be quite regular and solid from a Socialist point of view, only when the completely restored transport and larger industry will enable the proletariat to furnish to the peasants all the products which are necessary to them and for the improvement of their farming. Owing to the conditions of extreme penury in the country this could not be achieved at once . . . the bad harvest and lack of fodder in 1920 aggravated the ruin of the peasants and make it unavoidably necessary to pass over to a levy on the farm produce.

“The levy on the farm produce is a transition from and requisition of all the surplus products from the peasant to a regular Socialist exchange of commodities between industry and agriculture.

“The levy on farm produce naturally means the liberty of the peasant to dispose of all surplus remaining to him after the payment of the levy. In so far as the State will not be able to supply the peasants with the products of the Socialist factory in exchange for all this surplus, in so far does the liberty to trade in this surplus inevitably involve the liberty for the development of Capitalism . . . this is not dangerous to Socialism so long as the transport and the larger industry remain in the hands of the proletariat. On the contrary, the development of Capitalism under the control and regulation of the proletarian State (in other words, ‘State’ Capitalism of this peculiar kind) is advantageous and necessary in an extremely ruined and backward peasant smallholder country (naturally only to a certain degree), in so far as it is capable of immediately improving the state of peasant agriculture. This refers even to a greater extent with regard to concessions. Without effecting any de-nationalisation, the Workers’

Government leases out certain mines, forests, oil fields, etc., to foreign capitalists in order to obtain from them supplementary implements and machines, which would enable it to accelerate the restoration of the larger industry in Soviet Russia.

"The food policy of Soviet Russia in 1917-1921 was admittedly very crude. . . . But it was, on the whole, the only policy possible under the given conditions . . . it saved the proletarian dictatorship in the ruined and backward country.

"In the first year (October 1st, 1918, to October 1st, 1919), the State collected 110 million poods of grain; in the second, 220 millions; in the third over 285 millions.

"Now since we have already gained the necessary practical experience, we hope and plan to collect 400 million poods (the amount of the levy is 240 million poods).

It is impossible for the Workers' Government to secure a firm foothold economically unless it is in possession of sufficient stores of food products; only in such case will it ensure the slow, but undeviating restoration of the large industry and create a normal financial system.

"The only material basis of Socialism is in large machine industry which would lead to the reorganisation of agriculture."

To facilitate the industrial growth of Russia the electrification scheme is now in progress and efforts in this direction have been agreeably successful. The scheme itself is well-known and need not be enlarged upon by me. Further, in his thesis Lenin argues that the dictatorship of the proletariat implies participation in the class struggle with new weapons and appropriate methods. One thing we should recognise is that the Soviet Republic has got its industrial



Revolution to work out in the sense that the future growth of Russia lies in the development of technique both in industry and agriculture. How far the economic motives of Capitalism can be held in check by the proletarian State is a matter that time will decide. These are problems for the future to take care of. The system of trading instils the motive of private social property. So must it create the need for political rights and extended liberties which may or may not strengthen the proletarian State. Such ideas can only be speculative, because in so far as Russia is compelled to modify its policy along the lines expressed in the thesis, the actual developments will create ever fresh problems. The industrial development of Russia will undoubtedly be rapid. While that development is taking place as we trust in the control of the proletarian State, Western Capitalism is still working towards its doom. It is the duty of all Revolutionaries throughout the World to see that the improved Russia is not exploited to help prolong World Capitalism instead of being its chief slayer. If Russia can remain the contradiction to a peaceful Capitalism, then the present policy of the Soviet Government will prove as equally far seeing and profound as many of their past policies have been. The future stability of Soviet Russia rests with the World's proletariat. A continued World Capitalism presupposes an internally modified Russia. A collapsed World Capitalism means the definite consolidation of Soviet Russia. With the growth of education in Russia, with industrial development we must look for a peculiar psychology which will create problems of profound importance. All these factors operate, and from time to time demand their own terms. Because of these tendencies the internal problems

of Soviet Russia are also the problems of the World proletariat. The following resolution on Lenin's report was passed by the Congress.

"The Third World Congress of the Communist International having heard Comrade Lenin's report on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party, and having studied the proposed thesis declares: The Third World Congress of the Communist International watches with admiration the four years' struggle of the Russian proletariat for the conquest and the strengthening of its political power. The Congress unanimously approves of the policy of the Russian Communist Party which, from the very commencement could correctly discern any threatening dangers and in accordance with the principles of Revolutionary Marxism, always found a way and means for surmounting them; which, now during a respite in the Civil War, by its change of policy in connection with the peasantry on the question of concessions, and revival of industry, concentrates all the forces of the proletariat directed by the Russian Communist Party for the purpose of retaining in their hands the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, until such time when the Western European proletariat will come to their aid. The World Congress expressed its conviction that it is only thanks to that expedient policy of the Russian Communist Party that Soviet Russia may look upon itself as the first and most important rampart of the World Revolution, and at the same time denounces the treacherous conduct of the Menshevik parties who, with their campaign in all countries against Soviet Russia, and the Russian Communist Party, strengthens capitalist reaction in its struggle against Russia and endeavours to delay the Social Revolution all over the World. The World Congress calls upon the

proletariat of all countries to come over unanimously on the side of the Russian workers and peasants, and respect the events of October, 1917, all over the world.

Long live the struggle for the dictatorship of the Proletariat!

Long live the World Social Revolution!

### TACTICS.

With the Third Communist International the question of tactics is a very important matter. Moreover, the application of the methods decided upon is expected to be applied in the most logical way. A crook may be a tactician, but he can never be a Communist. Just in the same way, any fool can say that he is a Communist and yet Communists are not expected to act foolishly. If tactics mean the logical application of principles to a given set of circumstances, with an immediate motive and an ultimate aim, then such application must be directed and characterised by the positive needs of such principles. In other words, the real significance of a correct control of revolutionary action should and must be measured, not from the self-glorification of a few middle class dilitantes, but in terms of usefulness from the standpoint of the class struggle. In Britain such a problem has not yet been put to the test by the Communist Party. They have not yet made much, if any, effect upon the masses. Most of their numerically modest membership of 6,000 members (I have these figures on good authority), has been drawn from other advanced organisations and does not provide that amount of uniformity in belief and outlook as to ensure the necessary influence for it to become a mass-party. Tactics mean a great deal more than poking fun at 25 per cent. labour leaders. The point is, that at the moment,



that type of leader has the support of the masses and to watch him is impossible, as he acts mostly behind the scenes. What we require is the sense to dump them and we can only do that when we know exactly our attitude towards them. The form that the dumping process is to take comes under the question of tactics. When dealing with this question I shall confine myself almost wholly to the British Movement and conditions. Furthermore we consider that in the interest of the Revolutionary Movement in this country, the time has come when we should know exactly the position of the Communist Party of Great Britain. We know that the Anti-parliamentarians who have joined with the party instead of fighting for their ideas, are certainly not frank about the fact that they have changed their ideas. In many cases the excuse is invariably given that the change has been for the sake of unity. It does not take very profound reasoning to discover that such adaptation can never give unity. The Anti-parliamentarians in their own minds know that they are trying to climb a hill, when really they ought to be rolling down. With the adherents of Labour Party affiliation the case is even worse, especially with the Anti-parliamentarians and maybe in a lesser degree (a very lesser degree), in the case of the honest rank and file, ex-S.L.P'ers; the apostle of revolutionary political action. As we pointed out in "The Socialist," prior to the Leeds Convention, the acceptance of the Anti-parliamentarians of the parliamentary tactics could only be a matter of degree to the acceptance of Labour Party affiliation. So also did we warn the misguided ex-Rank and file S.L.P'ers, who were influenced with the glory that they were wanted inside the Communist party in order to strengthen the Anti-Labour Party affiliation faction. In either case a correct reading of the Thesis and Statutes of the Second Congress

makes it perfectly clear that parliamentarism is accepted as a tactic, and in Britain, the Communist Party had to become affiliated to the British Labour Party and, moreover, even to make certain compromises to get there. Those who in Britain were manipulating the unity business knew that perfectly, despite the fact that the expelled S.L.P'ers in the unofficial manifesto issued from their hysterical Conference at Nottingham. (This purported to be an unofficial S.L.P. Manifesto, and yet more than half of the signatories had no connection with the organisation), argued that they were wise in foreseeing that the Third International would turn down the question of affiliation with the Labour Party. Such wisdom is ruinous to Communist tactics because it was and generally is totally wrong and opportunistic. Tactics must be consistently applied to be useful. In my report I am going to be correct on points even where they seem to be against my own organisation, because even in controversy, it is imperative that one should be just as regards the opposing viewpoint. However, the settled plans must be made known and acted upon. Hence my reason for the above argument. When men change their views they ought to be big enough to openly state what their changed views are. For instance, if I were to ask Sylvia Pankhurst, "Do you believe in Parliamentary Action?" or John S. Clarke, "Do you believe in affiliation to the Labour Party?" In each case the reply, I feel certain, would not be in keeping with the tactics of the Third Communist International. Even if they were it would be a step forward in understanding the new outlook from the viewpoint of the School fairly represented by the above Comrades; and supposing that through the medium of this report we go so far as to put these questions? What then? In the same

spirit we have to note rapid changes in many Comrades very well exemplified in speeches made by W. Gallacher at the Second Congress of the Third International. Lenin had rebuked him in his "Left Wing Communism: An infantile disorder," because of certain Anti-parliamentarian arguments which Gallacher had used in a letter which appeared in the "Workers' Dreadnought." Gallacher, while making his confession of faith at the Second Congress, said he took his "(Lenin's) rebuke as a child takes the rebuke of a father." A perfectly manly thing to do. However, evidently he was prone to err as in the same Congress he commenced a speech as follows: "I am very sorry to have to state that the Third International is also on the way to become opportunist. Looking for ways and means of raising the spirit of revolt in the masses, it thinks of participating in parliamentary elections." Then he returned and informed a conference in Glasgow (this conference had a strong physical force and anti-parliamentarian tendency) that they would have to adopt parliamentary action as a tactic. This change of Gallacher's is typical and that is why I cite it. In another debate he again said: "Regarding the programme which was read here concerning the forming of a united Communist Party, the fact must be revealed that the Communists of England who are now marching under the banner of the English Communist Party are holding on with one hand to the Third International and with the other to the Second. They have not decisively adopted the platform of the Third International. The British Socialist Party is also considered to be a party, and at the same time it is affiliated to the British Labour Party. . . . There is a contradiction in this, and good ground for putting the question whether the B.S.P. can really be considered a Communist Party." These along with



other arguments were used in debates affecting this question of tactics where the B.S.P. case, as argued by William MacLaine and others, and supported by Lenin, was approved and adopted by the Congress. The proposition put by Zinoviev was ultimately carried in favour of Labour Party affiliation by 48 against 24 votes. The object of my citations is to show that certain changes have been made and that these should be presented in accordance with the thesis on tactics. It won't do for one Communist who has come from the ranks of the reformists to suggest that the programme of the Communist Party is similar to that of the Labour Party, while the one who has come from the Anarchists or the S.L.P. says that the tactics of Labour Party affiliation is only incidental and of secondary importance. I therefore assert that the following is clear and obligatory in certain conditions:—

Firstly—THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IS PLEDGED TO PARTICIPATE IN PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

Secondly.—THAT IT IS ALSO COMMITTED TO SEEK AFFILIATION TO THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY, AND TO WORK WITH A VIEW OF BEING ACCEPTED INTO THAT PARTY.

Thirdly.—THAT IT IS EXPECTED TO ASSIST THE LABOUR PARTY INTO POWER WHEREVER ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE (UNLESS, OF COURSE, A COMMUNIST CANDIDATE IS IN THE FIELD), WITH A VIEW OF STRAINING THE CLASS STRUGGLE TO NARROWER LIMITS OF ACTION.

According to Zinoviev, the Second Congress had to combat the "Left" opposition on two questions; Parliamentarism and Labour Party affiliation. The latter question was discussed for two days. "Our English Comrades were practically unanimous in their objection" to participation in the Labour Party. It was considered that in England where

the mass movement was growing, it was the duty of the Communists to permeate mass organisations with the ideas of Communism. This referred to the Labour Party and the trade unions. We said to them, "You must organise yourselves there; you must combat the trade union bureaucracy and reformist Socialist policies within the trade unions; you must succeed in permeating these organisations with the 'spirit of Communism.'" On the question of parliamentarism it was decided "that Communists must not leave unutilised the weapon of revolutionary parliamentarism." Even if we grant that freedom of criticism is demanded inside the Labour Party, there is still the question of the Labour Party Constitution to consider. In that case affiliation would, of course, involve many of the things that Lenin has pointed out in his book on Left Wing Communism; namely, assisting the Labour Party into power if only to prove its inability to free the masses from Capitalism. However, it is not within the scope of this report to deal with this matter, although it certainly requires to be worked out in an intelligible manner. The point to be noted is that these two forms of tactics are considered important by the Third International, and they must now become subjects for Communist propagandists to popularise them.

At the Third Congress complaint was made that the British Communist Party had failed to take advantage of the recent miners' strike and the conditions it gave rise to. This complaint was confirmed by references to the party paper "The Communist," a copy of which was displayed by Radek to the Congress. This copy, dated June 11th, was mainly pictures and filled with matter of no interest to the International. While reading through the report of the proceedings of the Second Congress, I found references to numbers

which, must have given hopes for a party of at least 100,000 this year, instead of a mere 6,000, and I could appreciate Radek's feelings while he was replying to the English delegation on the tactics debate. Whatever we may say regarding the Communists in this country, the Russian Communists are earnestly and modestly striving to see World Communism established. Lenin, Trotsky, Radek, Zinoviev, Lunacharsky and many others, while in Congress showed a good example in the way of hard work. They certainly have a right to complain where the movement is over-rated. Radek argued that in regard to the British Comrades "from their party press, one cannot observe the slightest appearance of real activity on the part of their party in relation to the miners' strike. . . . It is most deplorable that such a young party as the English Party, with such insignificant activity and brief experience, should come up here and declare that everything is well with them. . . . When we tell you, get to the masses and you reply that Lloyd George also has a small party, I consider it a most intolerable situation."

Realities always present their proofs. It was impossible for the Communist Party of Great Britain to influence the workers during the miners' strike because they had nothing to offer. They had no uniform policy. Nothing but slogans and caricatures. Their press was as different from the press of the Third International as night from day. The reason is not far to seek. The one is Marxist while the other is not. The whole spirit of the Third International is revolutionary Marxism. Both theoretical and practical. One of the best examples of applied Marxism in Britain required by the Third International was the work of John MacLean with the Glasgow unemployed last winter. Communist policy must have



sufficient scope and profundity to embrace all the activities of the masses. Above everything it must be proletarian in appearance and aspiration. Our Marxism must be applied in terms of British conditions before we can ever hope to give results. The question of tactics then is of paramount importance and I shall now summarise the thesis on this important matter.

“In every country bourgeois democracy has removed its mask in the old States as well as in the new ones that have risen out of the imperialistic ruins. White Guards and dictatorial powers of the Government in England against the miners’ strike (this we looked upon as a lock-out. J.C.), Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy, Pinkertons, ejection of Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-law in the United States, White terror in Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, Finland, Hungary and the Balkan States, Communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the Working Class with the consequence of the economic chaos to lengthen working hours and reduce wages.”

“What may be expected is not the waning of the star of the world revolution, not the ebb of its waves, but on the contrary; the aggravation of social antagonism and social struggles, and the transition to open Civil War.”

“In view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence on the most important portions of the working class, in short, the leadership of the Struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International.”

In spite of the acuteness of that struggle the masses have not yet been won over to Communism. This fact imposes upon all Revolutionaries

the task of winning over these masses. Mere propaganda is not sufficient.

“In the first year of its existence the Communist International called upon the Communist parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilise every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organisation of the proletariat: free press, the right of association and the bourgeois institutions, however worthless they may be, forging them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering ground for Communism.”

“The English Communist Movement has fallen short of becoming the party of the masses as yet, despite the Concentration of its forces.” In view of “the possibility of a Labour and Liberal victory at the next General Election,” it is the duty of the British Communist Movement to become the party of the masses by permeating all the mass movements of the Working Class by utilising all its “Concrete Manifestations” and directing all its activities in a Revolutionary direction.. Here the reference to “Concrete Manifestations” obviously refers to affiliation to the Labour Party and the creation of Communist nuclei within the trade unions.

While the Communists are expected to participate in parliamentary action the object of such work is not simply for the purpose of merely offering harmless criticism but to create that revolutionary atmosphere and by constructive work of real importance reflect its usefulness to the Workers.

All partial demands of the Working Class must be properly understood by the Communists. These demands should be explained to the workers from the viewpoint of Communist Economics or philosophy. Adventuresome or spy-hole methods must be discredited. It is both harmful and re-

actionary. By co-ordinated action and a properly constructed uniform policy, any future recurrence of "Black Friday," which caused ex-Communist Williams to think aloud, for once in his life, should provide a field for the Revolutionary movement to come in and take the position in hand.

"The development of the Communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy."

"The entire propaganda and agitation. . . . of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under Capitalism. . . . This conception must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life."

To attack Capitalism through the medium of all the present struggles of the Working Class is simply a form of political action in the industrial field. This position is somewhat different from the advocates of social solidarity which finds expression in Whitleyism and which the "Concrete Manifestation" of the British Mass Movement approves. Here in the advocacy of the proletarian demands, quite irrespective of the possibility of the Capitalist Class, or the Capitalist system for that matter, to grant them we find the proper interpretation which should be given to partial struggles, e.g., the Miners' Struggle. When John MacLean came out with his fighting miners' programme which appeared in his paper, "The Vanguard," he argued, quite consistently, that presenting Capitalism with impossible demands was an historic means of irritating and helping to smash Capitalism. "The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the Working Masses are incompatible with the exis-



tence of Capitalist society. Therefore, the Struggle, even for these very modest demands is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism."

The chief travail of the worker at the moment is unemployment. Unemployment, as all revolutionaries should know is the unused reserve labour-power of the workers. The problem strikes at the very heart of Capitalism and it cannot be solved without Capitalism being smashed. Communist tactics on this question are very instructive and should be a "Bull's Eye" to aspirants of armed insurrection (ideologically, of course, because these pioneers are usually without anything more effective than a philosophical treatise on the notion) who as a rule want action to be taken when the masses are most indifferent. The Unemployment Army should be lead by the revolutionaries assisted by a definite programme.

"By uniting the Unemployed with the proletarian Vanguards in the Struggle for the Social Revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable the entire mass to actively support under favourable circumstances the Struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive:—in a word, this entire mass from a reserve army of industry will be transformed into an active army of the revolution." So unlike our labour leaders who usually most respectfully inform the Capitalist Class the best ways and means of getting out of their troubles and, also the best and most efficient dope with which to chloroform the masses of workers. How they lead up to a point whereat the Government gives them the hint that in the event of extreme action being taken by the masses

they, as honourable members of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, apart from the fact that they by their office (the only means whereby many of them could ever attain such a status), now occupy the esteemed position of being "Intellectuals," would, despite the fact, be obliged to occupy rooms in such places as Dartmoor and Peterhead. Then there is a change in the procedure and the Government in the name of the Capitalist Constitutional State goes ahead with its business in connection with their own problems.

All phases of the Class Struggle must be utilised and extended. In almost every Capitalist country extraordinary State organs are being set up in order to attack the rising revolutionary workers. These are the extremes of the Class Struggle. All semblance of physical force should be overshadowed. The proletariat has now reached a stage in its existence when all the power should be diverted into its hands. The Social pacifists throughout the world have not shown their willingness to grapple with a decadent social system in a revolutionary way, but they certainly do show a willingness to compromise with it, in order that it may be restored. "The function of the Communist International is to wage relentless war against the Second and Second and a Half Internationals, and in the industrial side against the Amsterdam International. The Communist International is the only organisation of the World proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles." In Britain these principles have yet to be defined and placed before the working class for acceptance. The psychology of the Communist International as expressed in its theses on tactics clearly points to the fact

that the chief struggle of the Communist Party is to achieve the political power of the proletariat. Such an aim involves both constructive and destructive methods and it is ruinous for one to be mistaken for the other by those who pretend to be their advocates.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR PROBLEMS.

“Generally speaking the free trade system is destructive. It breaks up old nationalities and carries the antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word the system of commercial freedom hastens the Social Revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone. . . . I am in favour of Free Trade.”  
Marx, on Free Trade.

This thesis is a very important and instructive document. In itself it forms the subject of very careful study. Here we are not so much concerned with the tactics of the International, but rather with the development of the revolutionary tendencies in Capitalism itself. Although at the same time it must be pointed out that the conclusions drawn implied the necessity of the Communist parties to carefully watch all the phases of world development, and, if possible, correctly interpret them in terms of the class struggle, and thereby instruct the masses as to their actual meaning and consummation.. Two aspects of the development of world Capitalism are worthy of attention; the condition of Capitalism just prior to 1914 and its condition to-day. The changed position should be noticed under the following heads.

Prior to 1914, Capitalism was developing along the lines of normal growth or, in other words, following the trend of economic evolution. Th



chief Capitalist powers were becoming stronger and stronger, while International commercial relations were becoming more and more strained. The result of these strained relations culminated in the world war.

Since the Armistice Capitalism has been struggling to stabilise its position economically. Both National and International commercial relations were upset. New economic standards were required. Until to-day, our main problem is to understand if and how far Capitalism is again getting its bearings.

Between these two periods, as the thesis points out, great revolutionary upheavals took place in almost every country in the world. The most important of these was the overthrow of the Czarist regime in March, 1917, which gave rise to the November Bolshevik victory in the same year.

Accompanying these upheavals, it is stated that certain sectional defeats have been experienced. the following are mentioned. "The Red Army offensive near Warsaw in August, 1920; The Movement of the Italian proletariat in September, 1920; and the uprising of the German workers in March, 1921." The following questions are then put. "Is it true that the bourgeoisie is about to restore the Social balance which has been upset by the war? Is there any ground to suppose that the period of political upheaval and of class-wars is going to be superseded by a new epoch of restoration and Capitalist development? Does not this necessitate revision of programme or tactics of the Communist International?"

These are questions of scientific value. One could almost classify Capitalism in three forms on this question.

Capitalism in its normal pre-war condition.

Capitalism in the midst of chaos immediately following the Armistice.

Capitalism in its endeavour to establish new economic standards by its general attack on wages and its endeavours to reduce costs, and thereby stabilise itself.

All these positions would create the need for appropriate tactics. The reasoning of the thesis is admirable, and many of the points are worthy of reproduction, although I trust that the whole thing will be available at an early moment for all workers to peruse. As interference by me would reduce the value of the reasoning, I shall now give a number of cohesive selected paragraphs.

“The high tide of Capitalism was reached in the two decades preceding the war. The intervals of prosperity were superseded by periods of depression of comparatively short-lived duration and intensity. The general trend was that of an upward curve: the Capitalist countries were growing rich. Having scoured the world’s market through their trusts, castels and consor-tiums the masters of world Capitalism well realised that this mad growth of Capitalism will finally strike a dead wall, confining the limits of the capacity of the market created by themselves. They, therefore, tried to get out of the difficulty by a surgical method. In place of a lengthy period of economic depression which was to follow and result in wholesale destruction of productive resources, the bloody crisis of the world war was ushered in to serve the same purpose.”

“But the war proved not only extremely destructive in its methods, but also of an unexpectedly long duration. . . . it weakened, shattered, and undermined the fundamental apparatus of European production. . . . gave an impetus to the Capitalist development of the United States, and quickened the aggrandisement of Japan. . . . the centre of gravity of

world industry was shifted from Europe to America."

"The outbreaks of the Imperialist war coincided with the industrial crisis which had its origin in America (1913), and began to hover menacingly over Europe. . . . the war played the part of a solid customer ever in want of goods. . . . Millions of people not engaged in production but in work of destruction, were continuously using up necessities of life at ever increasing prices. . . . The feverish boom accompanied by an unusual rise of prices and fantastic dividends, while in reality none of the basic branches of industry, anywhere in Europe approached the pre-war level."

"By means of a continuous derangement of the economic system, accumulation of inflated capital, depreciation of currency (speculative instead of economic restoration), the bourgeois Government, in league with the banking Combines and industrial trusts, succeeded in putting off the economic crisis till the moment when the political crisis, consequent upon the demobilisation and the first squaring of accounts, was somewhat allayed. . . . The crisis financial, commercial and industrial began in March, 1920 Japan saw the beginning of it in the month of April. In the United States it opened by a slight fall in prices in January. Then it passed on to England, France and Italy (in April). It reached the Neutral countries of Europe, then Germany, and extended to all the countries involved in the Capitalist sphere of influence during the second half of 1920."

"The present European crisis is one of under-production. It is the form in which destitution reacts against the striving to produce trade and resume life on the usual Capitalist level. . . . the devastation of those countries which had



been involved in the war (England, Germany,, America, France, etc.), led to the economic disorganisation of the Neutral countries (reference to small Neutral countries, etc.,) as well. Their debts have increased; their currency exchange has dropped. The crisis spares them no blows

## THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

“The development of the United States during the war proceeded in an opposite direction, in a certain sense to that of Europe. The part played by the United States in the war was chiefly that of a salesman. . . . To-day, most of the countries of Europe are dependent on America not only for their petroleum and corn, but also for their coal. . . . Having been in debt prior to the war, the United States is now the world's creditor, concentrating within its coffers about one half of the world's gold reserve, and, continually augmenting its treasury. The dominating part played by the pound sterling in the world's financial market has now been taken over by the American dollar. . . . devastated Europe as a competitor of America is not in a position to regain its pre-war role in the world's market, the American market as well, can preserve only an insignificant part of its former position in Europe as a customer. . . . The crisis in the United States, resulting from the decline of Europe signifies the beginning of a profound and lasting economic disorganisation ”

“Japan also took advantage of the war in order to extend its influence in the world's market. Her development has been of a much more limited scope than that of the United States. . . . South America, Canada, Australia, China and Egypt, which used to export raw

materials in their turn, took advantage of the rupture in International relations for the development of their home industries. But the world crisis has now involved these countries as well."

"The world market is in a state of disorganisation. Europe wants American products for which, however, it can give nothing in return. . . . The gold standard has been destroyed and the world market has been deprived of its general exchange medium. The only way by which the restoration of the gold standard could be achieved would be by getting the export to exceed the import. But this is just what devastated Europe is not in a position to do."

"The re-appearance of Russia on the world's market is not going to produce any appreciable changes in it: Russia's means of production have been always completely dependent upon the industrial conditions of the rest of the world, and this dependence particularly with regard to the allied countries. There could be no question of setting up any new branches of industry which were needed to prevent the general decay caused by the wear and tear of machinery and equipment of a country completely exhausted during three years' of incessant civil war. In addition to this, hundreds and thousands of our best proletarian elements, comprising a great number of skilled workers had to be recruited for the Red Army. Under these conditions, surrounded by the iron ring of the blockade, carrying on incessant wars and suffering from the heritage of an industrial collapse, no other regime could have maintained the economic life of the country and create such conditions as would permit its centralised administration. There is no denying, however, that the Struggle against World Imperialism was carried on at the price of the progressive diminution of

the productive resources of industry in various branches. Now since the blockade has relaxed and the relations between town and country are becoming more regular, the Soviet power has been enabled for the first time, to gradually and steadily direct the country upon the road to economic prosperity in a centralised manner."

(From this point the theses examined certain phenomena which must be read in the original form to be fully appreciated. As it affects data and deductions which I am not efficient enough to protect, I have decided to leave them unquoted. I am more anxious to make known the general theoretical character of the theses for propaganda purposes to the working class. We shall leave the expert points to the expert examiners, and take up the points again in their general form.—J. C.)

"The ebb and flow of the gigantic army of the unemployed, some of whom are unattached to any class, while others possess only partial class attachments, form a striking illustration of the disintegration of Capitalist production, and represent a constant menace to the bourgeois order.

"The economic crisis has come down upon the proletariat at a terrific rate. The falling of wages began to exceed the fall of prices. The number of unemployed and semi-employed has reached such dimensions as have never been equalled in Capitalist history. . . . the instability of the conditions of life reflecting the instability of the economic conditions, nationally and internationally, is, to-day, the most revolutionary factor of social development.

"It is absolutely beyond dispute that the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power has been temporarily halted and its tempo delayed. . . . But it is an undoubted mark of our time, that the curve of the Capitalist evolution



proceeds through temporary rises constantly downwards, while the curve of revolution proceeds through some vacillations constantly upwards. . . . So long as Capitalism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany Capitalism in its agony, as was the case in its youth and maturity.

“ No matter whether the revolutionary movement in the near future is going to proceed at a rapid or protracted rate, the Communist Party must, in either case, be the party of action. Taking advantage of every breathing space offered in order to appreciate the experience of the preceding phase of the struggle, the Communist Party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and of practical activity, in such a way as to move the hindrances in the way of the proletariat, and lead it on to the Socialist Revolution.”

Such reasoning is refreshing after all that we have suffered from the “ Crack Pot ” experts during the last 18 months.

Long live the Proletarian Revolution !

## **THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS.**

This thesis deals with one of the most important aspects of the whole position of the Third International, and therefore should in itself form the subject matter for very careful study on the part of all revolutionary workers.. Regarding the organic connection between the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, certain factors relative to the class struggle must be recognised very thoroughly by every revolutionary who pins his faith to the importance of

industrial organisation and organised industrial economic power, as being the basis upon which any Social Revolution can be built. With them, the principal factor in the class struggle is the industrial consolidation of working class political power. With the Third International, the principal factor in the class struggle is the struggle for political power itself. This, in itself, constitutes a reversal of the position held by the Industrial Unionist (of both the rigid and the flexible school), and has already affected the Workshop Committee and Shop Stewards' position, although the effects are different in the one instance than in the other. Industrial Unionism implies the acceptance of certain fundamental principles, while struggle for power can, in many cases, be covered over by mere platform declarations. At the Red Trade Union Congress this was shown by the arguments of the "Left" bodies as against orthodox views. For instance, Williams of the American (I.W.W.) argued, "that a revolution must be clearly economic in character, while the Comintern was aiming at a political Revolution." He was then arguing for mutual relationship between the Internationals and against political domination. In contrast, we should place the less studious remarks of Tom Mann. "Amsterdam and the Trade Unions are the oil which lubricates the Capitalist machine. . . . The destruction of parliament and Capitalism; such are the aims of the Red Trade Union International. This can only be done by an alliance with the Comintern. (The Communist International.) The English workers are beginning to reject their trade union fakirs and bourgeois lackeys. This Red Trade Union International is the revolutionary staff of the working class." Unfortunately the voice of the W.I.I.U. was not heard at the Congress, so we cannot place their arguments against both the above. The above

sentiments, coming from Tom Mann, irritate mixed feelings within us, and, his future conduct should be interesting. He is now in charge of the R.T.U.I. in Britain, and the man at the helm has always a good deal to do with the safe landing of the ship.

In furtherance of making the principal features of the above thesis clear before I classify the main aspects, I now give the resolution which was moved at the Congress dealing with this important matter.

### RESOLUTION

**On the question of the relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.**

Proposed by Rosmer and Mann.

“ Recognising that the struggle between labour and capital in all capitalist countries is assuming an exceptionally fierce, merciless, and decisive character, as the result of the Imperialist War and the world crisis, and that the process of this struggle is confronting the masses of the working class with the necessity of removing the control of the bourgeoisie of the means of production and consequently of political power,, we believe that this can only be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist State—that in the struggle for preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the whole of the capitalist world has already reached a significant stage of centralisation and co-ordination in their national and international organisations, both political and economic, and, are taking the defensive and offensive against the proletariat—that the logic of the present class war demands the greatest co-ordination of working class forces, and that their revolutionary fight should be bound by a similar close



contact with each other, and organise co-ordination of all the different forms of workers' revolutionary movements, especially the Third Comintern and the Red Trade Union International, the Communist Parties and the Red Trade Unions of every country.—That decisive steps should be taken to ensure an unbroken communication between local communist parties and Red Trade Unions."

The Congresses :

(1.)—Decide to take the necessary steps to consolidate the revolutionary Trade Unions into a single fighting organisation, with only one international general staff—the Red Trade Union International.

(2.)—To establish as close relations as possible with the Third Communist International, the vanguard of the international revolutionary movement, on the basis of mutual representation on all the Executive Committees of both Internationals, common meetings, etc.

(3.)—This co-ordination must be organic and of an active character, and must lead the way to a common preparation and fulfilment of revolutionary activities, on a national and international scale.

(4.)—The Congress emphatically declares the necessity of establishing a single revolutionary Trade Union organisation and the establishment of a real and close co-ordination between Red Trade Unions and Communist Parties in carrying out the instructions of both Congresses.

The above resolution does not make clear one important point: namely, which is to be the predominant faction, but in the general debates and in the constitution of the Communist (political) International, it is very definite that the supreme controlling force lies in its hands. This, of course, does not involve servile domination and should

not be interpreted in that manner. The organic connection is a perfectly logical one in an International sense. It is only when it comes down to its national forms, and, where the practicability of the working connection is tested that the trouble begins to arise. That connection may be set down as follows.

The Third Communist International (or Comintern) acts as the predominant power over the Red Trade Union International, in the sense that the chief function of the International proletariat is the struggle for political power by means of Revolution, while separately both these Internationals act as the governing bodies over each respective international movement. Co-existent with the above position in every country, the Communist Party acts as the predominant factor over the sections of the R.T.U.I., on the grounds that the chief aim of the working class is the struggle for political power by means of revolution. While these parties are each allowed to function separately within their respective spheres.

The theses is very clear on this point. Referring to the trade unions it says that, "Their principal object, however, must be the organisation of the proletarian mass fight against Capitalism and for the proletarian Revolution."

"In order to achieve this end the Communist together with sympathising elements must organise Communist factions within the trade unions, which must be completely under the control of the Communist party." The tactics here must refer to the struggle for power as well as to the post-revolutionary period. This forces one to define where political action begins and how wide is its scope. It also raises the problem as to how far the political party could control, without the industrial power of the workers being behind it, and

even determining its character. In Britain no political party can exist without the approval of the industrial workers. Either as a party in power or one struggling for power. The question then, is, how far the political party can influence for the purpose of control, the industrial movement.

Instead of the industrial being a correlation of and subordinate to the political movement, we still believe that the political movement can only express the conscious recognition of the industrial power of labour.

This raises a question which the British workers must thrash out for themselves. At the moment, my chief purpose is to try and bring out the actual position of the Revolutionary, Political, and Industrial Communist Internationals.

The four chief questions decided by these Congresses as concerning the trade unions, were somewhat as follows:—

(A.) The relationship between the Red Trade Union International to the Comintern.

(B.) The policy of the R.T.U.I. towards working within the trades unions.

(C.) The theoretical and practical impossibility of neutrality towards the bourgeoisie.

(D.) The inseparable character of economic and political problems in the Class struggle, and the triumph of the proletarian power.

(A.) 'The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, that clearly recognised the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the Capitalist yoke, and consciously accepted the Communist programme.'

"The trades unions represent mass organisations of the proletariat which develops into organisation uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry; they include not only the con-



scious Communists, but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who, through the lessons taught by their life's experience, are gradually educated to understand Communism."

(b.) "Important developments are taking place in the British trade union movement which is becoming more and more revolutionary . . . the party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great trade unions."

Any other policy but boring from within and the setting up of Communist nuclei within the unions would be incompatible with the entire policy of the International, although the question afforded ground for, if not important, at least lengthy discussion at the Trade Union Congress. Neutrality is simply social pacifism, and tantamount to a refusal to recognise and participate in the class struggle. The Labour Party political adherents to the rights of the Constitutional State, and the labour leader who embraces "Whitleyism," are typical apostles of neutrality. These same types characterise the Amsterdam International whose chief work is the consolidation of World Capitalism.

(c.) "At the present moment the Amsterdam International Trade Union Association represents the chief support of International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight against the wrong idea of non-political and non-party character of the trade unions, cannot fight successfully against this Capitalist fortress." (Reference to Organised World Capitalism.—J.C.),

(d.) "Economics and politics are closely connected together. . . . There is not a single important question of political life which does not concern not only the Labour Party, but also the trade unions and vice-versa."

This aspect of the question caused quite a lot

of talk at the Congresses, although we fail to see why. The chief point in the connection between economic and political questions is not so much in the question of, is there a connection? but rather, that the connection is inevitably created by Capitalism itself. The main point is that of how far, and in what way, the economic problems give rise to their political reflects, and vice-versa, and what is the nature of the relationship. British Industrial History is crammed with proofs of the mutual character (or in other words, economic and political character) of the class struggle, and one has only to profoundly examine the recent miners' settlement and connect it with the principles of "Whitleyism," the attitude of the Government, and the economic forces that led up to the dispute in March, to find the best evidence of this connection between economic and political movements. How to approach and place them is our chief problem. Another important aspect of the inter-relation of the entire structure of the Communist International is that, to participate in any part or sphere of its work involves the acceptance of the whole movement. Unions which accept the Red Trade Union International must also accept the Third (Communist) International. This relationship has far-reaching effects and increases the immediate task of those who have the work in hand of winning over the masses now in the trade unions. However, as it may be the policy of working within the unions for the purpose of these unions finding revolutionary political expression is not altogether new to this country, as it approaches the policy of the old Social Democratic Federation (recently revived, but, oh! so different), which believed in revolutionising the trade unions. Was not Harry Quelch a keen advocate of this kind of policy, and, was he not the pet aversion of some of the very men who then tried

to denounce him, and who now accept a similar policy as modern? Yet, withal, Quelch was opposed to joining the Labour Party, and yet Labour Party affiliation, now being the corollary of the boring from within policy, is accepted piecemeal by these persons, too. As I have pointed out in my article on Tactics, it is not a crime to change an opinion, but we want to know exactly what the changed viewpoint amounts to. The issue is clear and perfectly consistent from the standpoint of the Third International, and therefore should be intelligible to all, so as one can be able to say: "I agree and accept this," or that "I cannot agree to accept this." That is bound to be the standpoint of the "Left" elements in Britain which have not been accepted by the Third International. We are either right or wrong, and it is a matter for us to decide. The acceptance of the entire position of the Third International imposes upon the acceptor the duty and responsibility of frankly and openly advocating its policy. With us it is not a matter of propounding views, imposed upon us, but rather the acceptance or non-acceptance of tactics and methods based upon the interpretation of economic and political developments, according to our knowledge of them in terms of our own conditions. Whatever our interpretation imposes upon us we must be able to direct our activities for the Social Revolution. I shall now summarise the programme attached to the above theses.

### **PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITY.**

"The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is direct action of revolutionary masses and their organisation against Capitalism. . . . Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the



State; boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Here it should be pointed out that this paragraph refers to the world situation and need not wholly apply to any one country.

"It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union to an organisation of trade unions on the struggle of production. 'One union for one enterprise'—this is the militant motto in the organisational structure.

"Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the Revolution.

"The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party casting aside the broad, non-party rank and file workers should be severely condemned. This would be only a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meeting, as well as committee of action and their rank and file members.

"The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee, is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of enterprise."

This demand is familiar to us and has already been before the British Trade Union Congress. With this difference that unemployment can only be abolished by "social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat." This difference is all

important. The lock-out takes on the form of direct action on the part of the employers.

“The economic struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labour conditions to a much higher degree compared with pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most revolutionary resistance.

“Trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions, not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious Capitalists of different nations but solely from that of the preservation and the defence of the living labour force.”

We fully appreciate the argument here, and recent economic development in Britain and the wages struggle it has brought about, has shown how far such an attitude can be successful. The composite character of the struggle points in the direction that improvement in the conditions of the masses cannot be won wherever the economic conditions are adverse, which imposes the need for the total overthrow of the Capitalist system of production. Mutual relations between Capital and Labour should be severely denounced. Revolutionary unity is imperative. “Therefore the unity of action, and the organic connection between the Communist Party and the Trade Unions is the preliminary condition leading to success in the struggle against Capitalism.”

## ADDENDUM.

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In drawing up a statement which is to be presented in the form of a report, certain very definite points have to be taken into consideration. Especially is this the case in regard to the Congress of the Third Communist International. Here I had to take the position of the "Left" Revolutionary Marxists in Britain into consideration. A position which was excluded at the above mentioned Congress. Owing to the absolute exclusion of that faction, its viewpoint was not debated because it had already been considered and after a thorough debate had been turned down at the Second Congress. This viewpoint, as is now fairly well-known, was the expression of the tactics of Anti-Parliamentarianism and also affiliation to the British Labour Party. These two questions not having been raised, it would have been out of place for me to have developed them at any great length in my report. On the other hand, if I had contented myself with giving a series of articles directed from the standpoint of the Socialist Labour Party, I would have presented an argumentative document useful only for its critical qualities if it had possessed any. In view of these considerations I was compelled by the very nature of my task to endeavour to issue a report which would correctly convey what the Third Communist International stands for. Unless we are willing to study with a view of finding out exactly what any particular organisation stands for, then, we can never know where we ourselves stand. Hence there is always the scientific need for correct understanding. Although a few individuals come



together and say, " We are the British section of the Third Communist International," it by no means follows that there is any kindred relationship at all. So also it may be said that we do not study the position of the Independent Labour Party by simply trying to sling mud at Ramsay Macdonald. What counts is the viewpoint, the policy and outlook of the organisation. The same applies to the Third Communist International, whose tactics and policy I have endeavoured to correctly interpret in my report. Now, I feel justified in drawing certain conclusions in order to compare the position of the S.L.P. with the Communist Party of Great Britain. And, on the point of Revolutionary Marxism, it may be said that the S.L.P. represents the position of advanced Marxism in Britain. We do not feel that conditions have altered in this country to justify departure from the position which the advanced bodies have taken up during recent years. Only changes in the class struggle are justified when the forces of history seek to impose them. Without these forces operating we are compelled to study the function of organisations in the light of present conditions. Let us take the position of the three outstanding parties before the Third International was organised—the I.L.P., B.S.P. and S.L.P. These organisations represented three distinct trends in the British Working Class Movement. The aim of the three organisations was the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. Each adopted different tactics.

The I.L.P. aspires to the political power of Labour and the reformation of society through political administration. . It works with the trade unions and the Labour Party towards that end.

The B.S.P. also aspired to the political power

of Labour for the revolutionary overthrow of Capitalism by wielding such political power. It worked within the trade unions and the Labour Party for the purpose of revolutionising these organisations.

The S.L.P. stood for the industrial power of Labour by means of Industrial Unionism and Revolutionary Political Action as a necessary corollary to the attainment of such power. Within the unions it opposed the idea of Craft Unionism and was opposed to affiliation with the Labour Party.

The above classification is very brief, as it must needs be in an addendum. It is clear, however, that the viewpoints of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P., is simply a difference arising out of theory, while the S.L.P. started from an entirely different point. If we now compare the S.L.P. and the B.S.P., we find that the S.L.P. stood for the industrial power of Labour by means of actual ownership through the industrial unions. That the political weapon was only useful to aid the attaining of such power and as a denominator of its progress. That with Industrial Power a proletarian administrative or political superstructure would inevitably be set up. Therefore, logically it was opposed to the I.L.P. and the Labour Party, because these were simply reformist political organisations. For Industrial power the masses were to be found within the industries, and a revolutionary industrial mass would never cast a reformist parliamentary shadow. The B.S.P. approached the problem from a different viewpoint. It believed in revolutionising the minds of the workers within the unions for the purpose of using these organisations to attain political power. With the will of the Working Class for Social Revolution, then the political

power could be used to establish Socialism through revolutionary measures. Hence the B.S.P., functioning simply as a party, fought within the Labour Party to further its ideas.

By the above comparisons it may now be clear where the three bodies which I have chosen stood before the creation of the Third International.

The I.L.P. and the B.S.P. were more akin than the B.S.P. and the S.L.P.

Now we are in a position to classify and place the tactics and policy enforced upon the Communist Party of Great Britain and the tactics and policy of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, as these organisations now stand.

The industrial policy of the Communist Party is the formation of Communist nuclei within the trade unions. The function of these bodies is the propagation of the principles of Communism and the need for the political power of the Working Class. These Communist nuclei or Workers' Committees are to be composed of workers within the industries organised for the purpose of capturing control of the unions by their activities in the interests of the masses. They are simply political weapons for the achievement of political power and are subordinate to the Communist Party. Here we fail to find a constructive industrial policy for the workers to adopt.

So far, it can only mean that it acts as the industrial corollary for political power. It acts as the industrial organisation of a negative force to Capitalism, and will form the bulwark of power behind the political power of the Working Class. Its weakness would lie in the fact that it lacked proper co-ordinated industrial power sufficient to control industry and administer the productive processes. As a fighting force within the unions it would require to have a policy superior to that of the orthodox craft unions, and this would en-



tail an independence free from the domination of the political Communist Party to participate in the class struggles within the workshop. Without a constructive policy and without actual participation in the every-day struggles of the masses these nuclei can only act as means of propaganda for the propagation of general principles. It is always a difficult matter to impose new forms unless the need for them arises from economic development. So will it be well-nigh impossible to control the industrial units within the unions by the political party. Unless the members of these units are simply acting as a driving force within the craft unions for a political revolution. If the unions can be transformed into revolutionary units to find expression in revolutionary political power then it should also be possible for the same organised power to find expression in the form of ownership of the forces of industry. This is exactly where the constructive policy is required and where freedom to develop is essential. To imagine a political party aiming at power without economic power is sheer nonsense. Therefore economic power must take on the form of ownership by the workers within the industries. The workers must be taught the principles of actual industrial and administrative control within the workshops, as economic power is the principal form of power in any advanced Capitalist society.

We are entitled to argue, then, that owing to the insubordinate position of the industrial function of the Communist Party to the political faction, that it can only act as a political force operating for the purpose of attaining political power by the masses. Logically, this position excludes the cardinal point of industrial unionism which holds to the prime need for control within the workshops. It is a reversal of the industrial position and a

confirmation of the policy which, with very little variation, has been advocated by the revolutionary political Marxists since the days of the old Social Democratic Federation. Therefore it is incorrect for ex-S.L.P'ers to argue that this is something modern. It certainly is not a step forward on their part, but a compromising step backwards.

By subordinating the industrial organisation the greater responsibility lies with the political party. Here we find that still greater compromises have been made by the professing "Left" elements who have gone into the Communist Party.

The political policy of the Communist Party throws upon them the responsibility of getting control of the political machinery of the country. This undoubtedly imposes upon them the duty of taking part in Parliamentary, Municipal, and other kinds of elections. Again the function of the Communist cannot be simply of a negative character, but it must show actual sympathy with the masses, by being able to offer some kind of a programme for their acceptance. In many instances, such a programme would come into conflict with the I.L.P. and the Labour Party, because the commitments of the Communist Party logically imposes practical participation in the trials of the workers in all their struggles. So this struggle again raises the question of getting the support of the masses. Between the Reformist and the Revolutionaries a conflict goes on as to which method is to be adopted. The Reformist being the stronger at the moment, the Communists, the little minority, the problem of participation within mass parties raises itself. Here again we find that the political policy of the Communists is a very difficult one to work out. They desire to affiliate with the Labour Party, nationally and locally. As a secondary consideration they must support

these parties. To be consistent, no other way is open to them. They must also conform to the Constitution of the Labour Party, even although they are granted the right to freely criticise within the party. This imposes acceptance of the Constitution entirely. To say that the policy of Labour Party affiliation is a new policy, is a need of the times, is so much tosh. Within this party we have several elements and as many viewpoints, and there is no justification for a revolutionary body with a distinct policy being desirous of becoming affiliated to it.

So we may now safely say that the industrial and political methods of the Communist Party of Great Britain are both as old as any Socialist Party that has been born during the last forty years.

Unless we are prepared to discuss and decide on the question of the prime need for industrial power of the Working Class as the driving force in Revolutionary progress, with political action acting merely in a subservient manner, or primarily aiming at political power, and thereafter to dispossess the Capitalist Class, we are confronted with problems that raise other aspects of the Communist psychology which are purely controversial.

Apart from the political philosophy of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which is not tremendously different from that of the Independent Labour Party, there is only the question of tactics, and maybe conceptions of historical development. Commenting on the Wallhead-McManus debate, Thomas Johnston, editor of the Scottish "Forward" failed to find anything between the I.L.P. and the C.P.G.B. to quarrel over, with the exception of the use of violence. Yet, strange to say, it was Wallhead, of the I.L.P.



who said, that with power he would favour arming the proletariat, while McManus, of the C.P.G.B. simply theorised round the point. We ourselves feel that not the Communists but the Labour Party will require a military dictatorship, and they will require it because they will lack the necessary industrial power to enforce any change. If such a course is not followed then the only other course is Compromise and Coalition with the Capitalist Class. The Labourist-Radicals won't shout "Force" from the house tops. They'll use it and enforce it ruthlessly if need be.

So we find that in order to defend the propagation of Revolutionary Marxist principles, we have yet to be definite in our ideas and pronounced in our declarations.

The Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain does not boast about being a party of exclusive standing, but claims to represent the logical needs of the masses as these needs are dictated by the class struggle and the historical development of Capitalism. To retrogress and argue that such retrogression is something new is tantamount to a repudiation of the needs of the Social Revolutionary Movement. To us, the needs of the Working Class are clear and well-marked. Long views are always useful and necessary, the lessons taught by the modification which is taking place in Russia to-day, all point to the impossibility of imposing a changed system of society from the top. In Russia there is no Communism and the people are not Communists, and for many reasons the political dictatorship, necessary as it may have been up to now, has been undermined because of the impoverished condition of the economic resources and means of production. With the growth of Capitalism in Russia, the proletariat will be driven more and more to study revolutionary progress

from the industrial side. These things point to the absurdity of the Third International imposing its psychological outlook upon the rest of the countries whose conditions dictate otherwise. Needless to say, historical development will enforce changes upon Russia which again will react upon the International Revolutionary Movement, and, then we may have an International which will express the needs of all the nations as their joint manifestations. Immediately Capitalism gains a footing in Russia that country may fall behind the modernised Industrial Countries, and must ultimately resolve into the position of fully justifying the need for properly co-ordinated industrial organisation. The position of Revolutionary Marxism is, therefore, clear in terms of the actual needs of the class struggle.

Revolutionary Marxism in Britain, as represented by the S.L.P., stands for the following:—

The industrial unity of the Working Class and the thorough systematised economic control of the productive processes. Where wealth is produced, there the power of Labour lies.

Revolutionary Political Action, in order to wrest that power from the Capitalist Class, and as a means of fomenting and registering the growing revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

The education of the Working Class into all the needs of the Revolutionary Movement. The propagation of the principles and methods of application of the Marxian theory.

Because we feel the need for a definite Revolutionary Marxist Movement in Great Britain: A Movement with a clear and co-ordinated policy, we are independent of and opposed to all Reformist organisations.

Now, I feel satisfied that I have represented what I set out to explain accurately, as far as my knowledge allows, and trust that my labours in this little work may be useful.

JAMES CLUNIE.





Reference to Resolution on pp 41, 42—This resolution was quoted from "Moscow," which appeared daily while the Congresses were in session. I have now to reproduce the version as re-cast in Committee in the following, for which I am indebted to The "Reds" in Congress, by J. T. Murphy:

The following resolution then became the declaration of the Congress:—

"Whereas the struggle between Labour and Capital in all capitalist countries has assumed, as a result of the world war and crisis, an exceptionally acute, inviolable, and decisive character;

"Whereas in the process of the struggle every day the labouring masses realise ever more clearly the necessity for eliminating the bourgeoisie from the administration of industry, and consequently from political power;

"Whereas the above result can be obtained solely by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system;

"Whereas in the struggle to preserve the bourgeois dictatorship all the ruling classes have already succeeded in consolidating and concentrating to a high degree their national and international organisations, political as well as economic, and making a solid front of all the bourgeois forces, both defensive and offensive, against the onrush of the proletariat;

"Whereas the logic of the class struggle demands the greatest consolidation of the proletarian forces in the revolutionary struggle, and consequently means that there should be the closest

contact and organic connection between the different forms of the revolutionary labour movement, and particularly between the Third (Communist) International and the Red Trade Union International, as well as between the Communist Parties and The Red Trade Unions within their respective countries ;

“Therefore this Congress resolves—

- (1) To take all the necessary steps for bringing together in the most energetic manner all the Trade Unions into one united fighting organisation with one international centre: The Red Trade Union International.
- (2) To establish the closest possible contact with the Third (Communist) International, as the vanguard of the Revolutionary Labour Movement in all parts of the world, on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.
- (3) That the above connection should have an organic and business character, and be expressed in the joint preparation of revolutionary actions and in the concerted manner of their realisation both on a national and international scale.
- (4) That it is imperative for every country to strive to unite the revolutionary trade union organisations, and for the establishment of close everyday contact between the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party, for the carrying out of the decisions of both Congresses.”

Received of the Treasurer of the  
County of [illegible] the sum of [illegible]  
for [illegible]

By the order of the Board of Supervisors  
[illegible]

Witness my hand and the seal of the County of [illegible]  
this [illegible] day of [illegible] 1873

[illegible]

[illegible]



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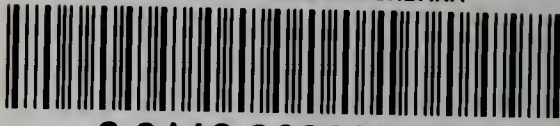








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