

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Norway Socialists Join Third

The National Convention of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party, held March 26 in Christiania, voted 281 to 20 to join the Third International and accept the conditions of affiliation. By approving the theses and declarations of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Norwegian Party has rounded out a revolutionary history begun with Kienthal. It was among the first to join with the Russian Bolsheviks in building a new International, and is now a strong link in the family of revolutionary Socialist parties.

* * * *

Louvain Socialists Awakening from Social Patriotic Stupor

The Labor (Socialist) Party of Louvain (Belgium) adopted a resolution by a vote of 2,830 against 2,170 declaring against the principle of national defense, favoring an active Socialist and anti-militarist propaganda in the army and instructing the Socialist Deputies to vote against military appropriations and for the abolition of military service. The action of the Louvain Socialists shows that light is breaking even in the ranks of the Belgian party, steeped in crimes against the best traditions of the revolutionary Socialist movement. The recent approval by the Belgian Socialists of the German reparations decided upon by the Allied prime-ministers was another nail in the coffin of the Second International.

* * * *

Communists Win Municipal Seats in Estonia

With 393 out of 426 districts accounted for in the last municipal elections the reactionary Labor Party increased its number of seats from 69 to 81, the Social-Democrats (Mensheviks) were reduced in representation from 146 to 21; the Independents added 5 to the 22 seats previously held; while the Communists, who were altogether absent in the municipal legislative halls, have obtained 34 mandates. When the struggle assumes a decisive character, the extreme right and left parties increase in adherents while the wavering and middle-of-the-road reformers are discredited and deserted.

* * * *

Swedish Left Socialists Endorse 21 Points

The Socialist Party (Left) held a national convention during Easter week at which it was decided by a vote of 175 to 34 to accept the 21 conditions laid down by the Second Congress of the Third International. The minority withdrew from the convention and is planning to organize an independent Socialist party. The name of the Socialist Party was changed to the Communist Party (Swedish Section, Third International). According to Secretary Ström the referendum on the acceptance of the 21 points resulted in 5,400 votes cast in favor and 1,500 against unconditional affiliation with the Third. The revolutionary elements have parted with the reformists, and the complete orientation of the Swedish Left toward Moscow augurs well for a glorious future for revolutionary Socialism in Sweden.

* * * *

Branting Pleads for a Raise in the King's Wages

Hjalmar Branting succeeded Emile Vandervelde as chairman of the International Socialist Bureau when the duties of the latter as Belgian Minister of State and war propagandist prevented him from exercising his functions as chief executive of the Second International. Branting was the white hope of the old International and, with the removal of the Bureau to Holland, was expected to resuscitate the shattered organization. He was the last person for the job. As an agent of Allied imperialism, as a reformist of the worst caliber, as a social-patriotic member of the Swedish government he was a living example to what depths the leadership of the Second International have fallen.

During a recent debate on the project to increase the court budget by 500,000 kronen, Branting attacked the Left Socialist deputies who opposed the increase. In the course of the discussion on the bill Deputy Wenneström (Left Socialist) reminded Branting that while he was

championing an increase of 25 per cent in the King's salary the wages of the workers were being reduced 25 per cent. The former chairman of the Second International is, it seems, more at home battling in behalf of kings than workers who will be taxed to pay the increase in wages to the underpaid Swedish monarch.

* * * *

Communist Party Formed in Australia

A constituent convention of representatives from the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and I. W. W. organized the Communist Party of Australia. A unification of the Australian Socialist forces has been sought for a number of years. Under the banner of the Third International the Communist Party will jointly with the radical wing in the Labor Party work for the revolutionizing of the Australian labor movement, which should not be a hard task after the experience Australian Labor has had with Hughes and his ilk during the war.

* * * *

Composition of Russian Communist Party

A census of 92,902 Communists distributed in 17 provinces and 144 counties showed, according to a report made at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party held last March, that 82,798 or 89 per cent were men and 10,104 or 11 per cent were women. According to their occupations these members were distributed as follows:

	Number	Per cent
Workers	40,877	44
Clerks, etc.	20,438	22
Peasants	13,935	15
Craftsmen employed in home industries	4,465	5
Intellectuals	5,574	6
Miscellaneous	7,432	8
	92,902	100

The comparative youth of the party membership is indicated by the fact that only 12 per cent of the total membership investigated belonged to the party (Social-Democratic Labor Party) prior to the November, 1917, Revolution. The largest number, 36 per cent, joined from November, 1917, to August, 1919; 30 per cent were added to the movement during the "Party Week" at the end of 1919; 21 per cent joined in August, 1920, and the remaining one per cent gave no date. The great majority of the membership, 87 per cent, have entered the party after the proletarian revolution in 1917 and with only 3½ years of membership they have built a party which presides over the destinies of the Soviet Republic, is challenging world reaction and Socialist reformism alike and is a constant source of inspiration to the class-conscious and revolutionary workers of the world.

* * * *

French Socialists Denounce Threat to Occupy Ruhr

Unlike the Belgian "Socialists" who applauded the imperialist and vindictive reparation decision of the Allied governments, the French Socialists are carrying on an intensive campaign against the designs of the French government on the Ruhr coal mines. "L'Humanité," the official organ of the Socialist Party (French Section of the Communist International) prints a manifesto addressed to the new recruits and old soldiers in which the nature of the imperialist and jingoist schemes of the French capitalists are exposed and the reasons for the proposed occupation of the Ruhr district are explained. The conscripted soldiers are adjured to keep in mind the identity of interest between them and the workers and peasants of France as well as their duty to the workers of the other countries and, in the present crisis, particularly the workers of revolutionary Russia and Germany. From a tiny minority at Zimmerwald, French revolutionary Socialism has under the leadership of Loriot (not Cachin, as the opponents of the Third continually insist) become the controlling element in the Socialist Party. Having banished social patriotism and pacifism from its midst, it has fashioned a proletarian party which is destined to dictate the future history of France.

A. L. T.

The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, June 1, 1921.

No. 5.



Inspiration

Patrioteering in Our Public Schools
The International Lesson of Kronstadt

TEN CENTS A COPY

TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS A YEAR

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, an organ for the Third International, published by the International Educational Association,
80 East 11th Street, New York.

The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, June 1, 1921

No. 5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Class War in Mingo.....	66
Poland and the Allies.....	67
Equality before the Law.....	67
A Model Country.....	68
Anti-Bolshevist Crusaders in the A. F. of L. Convention	68
The International Lesson of Kronstadt.....	70
Class Divisions in France.....	73
The Storm Center of the Com. International	75
Patrioteering in Our Public Schools.....	76
The Third International in Germany and Italy	78
International Notes.....	80

Published by the International Educational Association

BENJAMIN GLASSBERG, Secretary Editorial Board
WALTER M. COOK, Secretary Intern. Educ. Assn.

Editorials

CLASS WAR IN MINGO

To the miners of West Virginia, Colorado and Alabama the class struggle is no academic theory. They may never have heard of the Marxian theory, but again and again they have been active participants in bitter class wars. The most recent illustration of this perennial condition of industrial warfare is to be seen in the Mingo County battles between the miners and company guards which have already caused many deaths. The newspapers talk of riflemen resting on their guns, of sectors, terrain, etc., in the approved military jargon. They realize full well the existence of open warfare in West Virginia.

The average American takes this outbreak rather calmly, as calmly as he takes Southern lynchings. Industrial wars in the mining regions have by this time become an American institution. When the State and the Vigilantes set out to disarm the strikers, but leave the company guards, another name for the Vigilantes, in complete possession of their guns and rifles, his proverbial sense of fair play sees nothing wrong in such a policy.

A few weeks ago we very grandiloquently rebuffed the offer of Soviet Russia to resume trade relations because she does not offer sufficient guarantees for private property and because her government is not the free expression of her people. We hesitate about recognizing Mexico because we want to make sure of the ability of the Obregon regime

to protect life and property and maintain order. But in our own midst we find the existence of conditions, which in the case of Mexico, San Domingo or Hayti would be sufficient cause for intervention in order to give the natives a taste of American order.

It is notorious that in the mining regions of the United States we have a condition of absolute serfdom. The mine owners, who have acquired their mines in the main through some form of legal robbery, own not only the mines but also everything else in the neighborhood. They own the huts occupied by the miners, they own the stores, the press, the church and the minister, the school and the teacher. It is also the practice of the mine owners to own the government officials, especially the sheriffs and their deputies. In short, every possible precaution is taken to prevent any stray, unwelcome ideas from penetrating into the domain of the coal barons. And the company sheriffs and guards see to it that no pesky agitator wanders into their well-guarded preserves.

As if to prove that law and order do reign in these benighted regions, and that they as well as New York City are the recipients of the benign influence of the judiciary, we find that the courts have nobly come to the rescue of the harrassed coal companies by obligingly handing down a decision which bars any organizer of the United Mine Workers from attempting to persuade a miner from joining the union. According to an injunction issued by the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, no organizer of the Mine Workers may come into certain designated counties and explain the meaning of unionism, because the miners work under an individual agreement in which they promise not to join a union; therefore a union organizer would be attempting to persuade men to break their contract. This decision was in line with the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. v. Mitchell, in which the court held that it was illegal for union organizers to persuade men who worked under anti-union agreements to join the union; that the Hitchman Company was entitled to the good will of its employees and that the pecuniary value of such good will was "incalculably great." It is to be understood that this in no way contradicts the "right" of free speech and assemblage. It is but a necessary regulation of this right to prevent "license" displacing liberty.

The various mine wars, including the present one in Mingo County, have been, at bottom, the result of the efforts of the mine owners to prevent the spread of unionism. They have insisted upon the open shop at all costs. It is but one example of the class struggle inherent in capitalist society. This struggle occasionally flares out in a dramatic battle as at Matewan in May, 1920, or in the deliberate burning of men and children as at Ludlow in 1913,

or in the numerous clashes in the Alabama coal fields. But it is going on all the time—this constant struggle of labor for a larger share in their product and for the building up of a strong union. Opposed to the workers is the economic power of the mine owners, protected by all the force of the state, the courts, the legislatures, and aided by the church and the school. It is an uneven battle, so long as workers face the master class with divided ranks, and without a clear concept of the nature of the struggle they are waging. Labor in West Virginia must realize that the only way out of their condition of wretchedness, of starvation, of enforced unemployment is gaining control of the machinery of the State and using it for the purpose of sweeping away the whole system of private ownership and control of the wealth and resources of the nation.

POLAND AND THE ALLIES

The convenient arrangement which gave the seas to England, and Europe to France, seems to be in danger of breaking down. No imperialist nation can stand still for any great period. England could not stand idly by and watch France and her satellites, especially Poland, grow in influence and Power. To do so would mean that France might become entirely independent of England and in the end be in a position to challenge England's supremacy.

The Silesian question afforded a convenient opportunity for bringing the matter to a head—and the once friendly Allies have almost been rattling the sword in their presen wordy dispute over the Polish coup.

The workers have something to learn from the Polish question, for it illustrates how easily they have been used by the opposing imperialist camps for their special benefit.

During the war the Allies in the secret treaties promised Russia a free hand in Poland with the right to unite the German and Austrian sections with the part already in the Russian Empire. It was thus that they fought for "Polish independence." It mattered not at all to the rulers what promises were made—so long as the Poles could be made to aid Allied Imperialism.

With the coming of the Russian revolution and the disintegration of the Russian armies, the situation changed. The Polish question received a new orientation. A "free Poland" was still the ostensible aim of the Allies, but this time its "freedom" was to be directed by a self-constituted committee of Polish landholders led by Dmowski and Paderewski, and well known for their anti-Semitism, and their love of German Junkerdom. Even Pilsudski, at present the most faithful servant of the French and Polish imperialists, was looked upon with suspicion, because he was believed to be tainted with Socialism and not amenable to Allied dictation.

Following the armistice, it was this element which was forced upon Poland. The Allies, and especially France, posed as the creators, friends and protectors of Poland. These same "friends" had but a short time previous agreed to hand over the whole of Poland

to the tender mercies of the Czar. But now that the possibility of a Workers Republic becoming firmly established loomed on the Eastern horizon. Poland, it was decided must be strengthened for it would be useful as a barrier against "Bolshevism."

France encouraged the Polish imperialists in hoping for the establishment of a swollen eastern boundary, the boundary of 1772. She was encouraged to war on Czecho-Slovakia, another Allied creation. She was allowed to seemingly defy the League of Nations by seizing Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, which her troops under the "insurgent" General Zeligowski are still holding. She was goaded into an invasion of Russia which brought her up as far east as Kiev. Only the determined stand of the workers of France, England, Germany, Belgium and of other countries, prevented the active aid which the Allies managed to give Poland secretly.

The Polish effort to establish a *fait accompli* in Upper Silesia was evidently one too much for the English ruling classes. It seems that it was timed to take place coincidentally with the much heralded French occupation of the Ruhr which was called off temporarily as a result of the German acceptance of the Supreme Council's Reparation demands, as part of the French effort at crippling still further the German industries. The English bourgeoisie however is opposed to any further weakening of Germany or any further strengthening of France and Poland, who now have the largest standing armies in the world.

Very soon it will be decided whether there is to be a peaceful settlement of the Silesian question; whether England and France will agree to allow Korfanty to stay or whether England will find it will suit her purposes better to quietly aid Germany in the attempt to drive the Poles out of Silesia.

It is very likely that the Polish workers will again be summoned to the slaughter in order to defend Poland's "sacred aspirations." It is a question whether the workers and peasants will answer this new call of the imperialists or whether they wrest power out of the hands of their rulers as the Russians have done and bring to an end the role which the French ruling class assigned to them. The Polish workers have had an opportunity, at great expense, to learn the nature of clashing nationalistic ambitions. They are beginning to realize that the workers will benefit in no way by the extension of the nations boundary lines. And the Silesian workers have by this time learned that regardless of whether the Polish or German flag waves over Silesia they will be just as much exploited.

For the workers there is but one solution, the destruction of capitalism the world over and the establishment of workers and peasants Soviets.

"EQUALITY" BEFORE THE LAW.

The law has ever been as useful an instrument in the service of the ruling class as the armed forces. In many respects it is much more serviceable than an army for it enables the ruling class to get all that it wants with the seeming consent of the people, through their representatives. The master class has never failed to utilize the law to the utmost.

During the days of the Enclosure movement, when thousands of peasants were being driven from their little plots, and were forced to wander on the highways in search of something to do, some of them occasionally took to robbing the merchants and lords. Parliament promptly passed a law which declared that any one found on the highways without being able to prove that he was engaged in some form of useful work, was to become the slave for a term of years of the one who apprehended him. Should the "vagrant" later attempt to escape, he was to be a slave for life. This law not only would make the highways somewhat safer, but would also provide a rich source of cheap labor for the nobles. At the same time other laws prevented the farm laborers from uniting for economic purposes, and wages were fixed by the Justices of the Peace, the landowners.

This was possible at a time when Parliament consisted only of representatives of the clergy, nobility and gentry, it might be said. In the United States, where all people are "equal" in the eyes of the law and where the people elect the judges and the legislatures, no class receives any special privileges. At any rate, we are so taught, and the average American worker believes it. When the Lever Act is used to crush his strike while those sections of the Act intended to punish profiteers are declared unconstitutional, he quickly forgets about it if his favorite pitcher wins his game.

A letter written by Samuel Untermeyer to the Attorney-General of New York State protesting against the action of Justice Vernon M. Davis in letting a number of self-confessed building materials dealers off with fines instead of punishing them with prison sentences should bring this matter forcibly to the attention of the workers. In his letter, Untermeyer offers to resign because he feels that the action of the court nullifies the work of the Lockwood Committee. He points out that the men who were let off so easily were men of wealth and political influence who had long been open, persistent, and defiant lawbreakers; that they were shameless profiteers; that two years ago, July 1919, he had filed papers with the District Attorney against some of these very same men, but that no action was taken, and the papers "were reposing peacefully in the sacred archives especially reserved for a favored few who are apparently above and beyond the reach of the criminal law."

Mr. Untermeyer is saying nothing new to be sure. He knows quite as much, for he is a part of the class that is beyond the reach of the law. Why should not the favored few, the capitalist forces, be beyond and above the law? Don't they place the judges on the bench for that purpose? And don't they place their representatives in the legislatures and in Congress to help along?

A MODEL COUNTRY

"Finland, a Model State," so runs a headline in the New York Times. Then follows a long account of the glories of Finland written by the politician-educator-editor, Mr. John H. Finley. One always suspected as much when the United States recognized it.

What are the necessary ingredients for a

"model" country? The formula is very simple, judging from Finland. Let Russia and Mexico take note. First, it is required that about 20,000 or so Socialists be murdered, the Reds of course, not the Yellows. A mistake in this case would be unfortunate. Then imprison about 30,000 or more of those who are active in the labor unions so that all the leaders will have been done away with. For methods of prison treatment Horthy may be consulted. Next the Socialist and Labor press must be destroyed and the editors imprisoned. A network of spies must be built up to prevent the spread of any ideas that might prove injurious to the "public welfare." Labor and Socialist schools must be closed, and the public schools must be used for the inculcating of "patriotism."

Such a recipe is bound to work—for the moment—and receive the blessings of America. Mr. Finley, who has done his little bit to make New York a "model" State by affirming the expulsion of teachers known to be radical, is undoubtedly capable of certifying to Finland being a "model country."

ANTI-BOLSHEVIST CRUSADERS IN THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

To the uninitiated onlooker the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor that is to be held in June must be the scene of momentous decisions and startling developments. America is in the midst of an industrial crisis that has thrown millions out of employment. Practically every important labor group in the country has been brought into open conflict with its employers who hastened to utilize the favorable situation to cut down wages, lengthen hours, and force the adoption of the open shop. Almost every European country has seen revolutionary working class uprisings of greater or lesser consequence during the past year. The whole nation, in so far as it thinks at all, is vitally concerned in questions of peace and war, and even the most conservative are agitated over programs of international disarmament. It would seem that there is enough material of vital interest to the working class of this country to keep a convention healthily busy for a number of months. As a matter of fact, these problems disturb the gentlemen who are to meet in Denver not at all. There is only one important question before the A. F. of L. Shall, or shall not Samuel Gompers be the next president of the American Federation of Labor?

Important enough, surely. For Samuel Gompers truly represents the spirit and the essence of American organized labor, that spirit that answers every injustice from its masters with pleas for fair play, and submits patiently to one indignity after indignity from its courts and its legislatures, in the name of Americanism. His is the spirit that allows corrupt labor representatives to trade their unions into the hands of their enemies, that creates interfactional disputes, that make labor solidarity an unknown quantity in A. F. of L. organizations. It is the spirit that took hold of radical after radical and Socialist after Socialist, of the Johnstons and the Hayes, of the Moyers, and turned them into "sensible" trade union leaders.

Unfortunately, however, the opposition that threat-

ens Samuel Gompers is anything but revolutionary. Though it is clever enough to operate with extremely radical phrases to catch the sympathy of those who are dissatisfied with the inability of the organization to meet the present crisis with a bolder front. There is John L. Lewis, the president of the miners, a good republican and an arch-reactionary, whose only real objection to the present incumbent of the coveted presidency is that the latter is still too radical in his views. There is talk also of a dark horse to be sprung at the last moment by the railway workers who are bitter, because Gompers, whom they had foresightedly elected to the position of honorary presidency in their Plumb Plan League, has covertly attacked their government ownership plan. There are also other groups that harbor more or less serious grievances against the Grand Old Man, who are ready to support an opposition candidate, without inquiring too closely into his views, provided only that he stands a reasonable chance of being elected.

These groups, little as they have in common, are prepared, in view of their own impotence, to hand over the control of the opposition movement to the so-called Indianapolis crowd, a conglomeration of Knights of Columbus and Militia of Christ men, whose chief objection to Gompers, aside from his "radicalism" lies in the fact that he is a Jew. These gentlemen succeeded, several years ago, in electing two of their men into the Executive Committee, but up to this time there have been no evidences of a revolution in the very placid life of the A. F. of L. family. The truth of the matter is, that after all, Gompers is the most intelligent and the most efficient of the reactionary knaves who are fighting for the job, and in the end fear of their common and most dangerous foe, the radicalization of the American labor movement, will lead these gentlemen to think twice before they invoke a specter that will not down.

This fight against Gompers as the head of the American Federation of Labor is not of recent origin. For years the Socialist Party waged open war against him, with a conspicuous lack of success. By its method of boring from within it succeeded in boring men into good positions, who thereupon took up their duties as trade unionists so seriously, that they soon forgot that they had been elected for the express purpose of overthrowing the very machine of which the clever Gompers had soon made them an integral part. As good trade unionists they soon felt the necessity of delivering the goods to the rank and file that had elected them. To accomplish this laudable end they were constrained to sustain amicable relations with the very men whom they had sworn to oust. Whenever it was possible strong socialist minorities organized themselves in reactionary unions for agitation purposes, minorities that might have done useful and effective work had they concentrated less upon the winning of important offices and more upon the education of the rank and file, had they made it their business to teach the membership not that a socialist official is more honest than any other, but that their only hope for better conditions lay in the overthrow of capitalism by the working class.

So the great Socialist crusade against Gomerism

in the A. F. of L., so auspiciously begun, simply petered out. As Max Hayes, one of the White Hopes, to whom the Socialist movement looked for salvation recently said in the "Cleveland Citizen," Excepting a few occasions, the Socialists made no organized attempt to get the G. O. M., said decapitation schemes being either hatched out by disgruntled or ambitious brothers for themselves or friends on the conservative inside, and the Socialists were picked as "goats" to feel out the opposition sentiment, and not infrequently the talk was so much superheated atmosphere."

The June convention will concern itself not at all with the socialist enemies of former days. For Gompers and his worthy opponents alike have found a foe more dangerous and more deadly to their own ambitions. The restlessness that is taking hold of the membership, its vociferously expressed dissatisfaction with its leaders, aimless and headless as it may be, is a more potent force than any candidate that was ever put into the arena by the Indianapolis crowd, or by any other group. Gompers knows it. They all know it. And for this reason the Denver convention will put itself unmistakably on record as unqualifiedly opposed to bolshevism and radicalism in whatever shape or guise it may present itself.

No one knows better than we how far the membership of America's great body of organized labor stands behind the international revolutionary labor movement. But the ground has been ploughed, and the seed must be planted, by a strong, revolutionary and class conscious movement that not only knows what it wants, but is willing to work for it in the strongholds of American labor. Mr. Gompers has overreached himself. In his enthusiasm over the fray, he has given to the term "Bolshevism" a significance, that is far from repugnant to the worker whom it was supposed to terrify. The rank and file has lost its fear of revolutionary phrases. Let us make the most of it.

To the Communist Parties of all Countries

Dear Comrades:—

The Executive of the Comintern in conjunction with the Secretariat of the Womens Section of the Comintern are calling an International Conference of women workers in conjunction with the forthcoming III. Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. The Conference must prepare experimental work among women on an international scale, to define of women workers in the various countries as dictated by the international situation, and also the methods and form of work among women in connection with the fundamental task of the Communist International, viz., the unification of the proletarian forces including women workers for hastening the process of capturing the Dictatorship of the Working Class. The Executive Council of the International Secretariat for work among women therefore asks you to send delegates to the above mentioned conference. It is recommended delegates should bring with them reports in writing of the work done among women. The following is the proposed agenda for the conference:

I. The participation of women in the struggle for the capture and the strengthening of the Dictatorship of the working class; II. Methods, forms of work of the Communist Parties among women; III. The participation of women workers in the economic struggle and economic construction; IV. The International Secretariat for work among women and its problems; V. An International Congress of women organizers. With Communist greetings, The Executive Council of the Comintern, The Secretariat for work among women.

The International Lesson of Kronstadt

By KARL RADEK

When on March 2nd the tidings reached across the frontier that the sailors at Kronstadt rose in revolt against the Soviet government, the White Guard Press of the whole world raised a shout of great joy. "The Kronstadt sailors who had carried the revolution to every nook and corner of Russia, who had been the bitterest opponents of the bourgeoisie, these sailors have now broken away from Soviet Russia, who is there now to fall back upon?" So argued the various mouth-pieces of the Russian counter-revolution, some of which were already figuring out the number of days left for Soviet Russia to live.

The suppression of the sailors revolt in itself does not diminish the significance of this event. It is of great importance to gain a clear conception of the nature of the Kronstadt revolt in order to understand not only the present situation in Russia but also to get some light on one of the most important problems of the world revolution in general, namely, the problem of the relations between the Communist Party and the proletarian masses, in other words the problem of the dictatorship: party dictatorship or class dictatorship, as some erroneously state it.

The Uprising

The Kronstadt revolt was undoubtedly more than a local event, although it naturally had its own local features. The disaffection of the sailors was due mainly to their opposition to the regime of discipline and order imposed upon them by the Soviet government.

The sailors of Kronstadt played an important part during the revolution of 1905 and 1917 in the work of destroying the government apparatus. Owing to the reckless nature of the sailor, and owing to the fact that there is a high percentage of skilled workers among them, they were enabled to become an important revolutionary factor. But during the last three years, the revolutionary proletarian elements in the fleet were extremely weakened. Thousands upon thousands of fighters in all army corps, in all the Soviet institutions on work of defense as well as of reconstruction, were recruited from the old Kronstadt sailors. The insignificant number of old comrades who had remained at Kronstadt, occupied commanding posts and formed the Communist apparatus of the fleet, and it was just against those that the new crew rebelled. From where were these new crews recruited? Finland and the Baltic provinces are no longer in the hands of Soviet Russia, and these new sailors could be recruited only from the South of Russia and from the Black Sea coast. Thus the majority of the sailors manning the fleet consists of peasants from the Ukraine.

On the whole it may be said that this revolt was in the first place the expression of the discontent of the Ukrainian peasant. Following the termination of the

White Guard fronts, the sailors went home in great numbers on furlough. They learned that there was no direct danger threatening from the White Guards and at the same time they heard complaints coming from all sides about the Government requisitions of food products. In the Ukraine they learned about the relentless struggle carried on by the Soviet Government against Machnov and his band, who under the flag of anarchism were committing pillage and arson among the population, and disturbing railway traffic. Some of these sailors never returned from their furlough, others joined the Machnov crowd.

But the Kronstadt sailor is a revolutionist at heart. He does not stand for the return of the White Guard general, the landowner, or the capitalist. He did not regard his protest against the burdens imposed upon the peasantry by the revolution and against the discipline and order demanded by it, of a counter-revolutionary nature. On the contrary, he regarded his opposition in the light of furthering the October revolution. "We brought about the revolution," "we proclaimed the motto of All the Power to the Soviets." The Soviets therefore should exercise power, they should represent the masses as a whole, and not the Communist Party alone, as is the case to-day. We must create a *real Soviet power*. While this state of mind prevailed an extensive discussion within the Communist Party was started upon all the questions that had accumulated during the three years of the civil war and had stirred up the ranks of the party. In the Communist press and at Communist gatherings it was publicly stated that during the long period of struggle the organism of Soviet Russia had become affected with parasitic bureaucratic elements. The necessity of clearing the Communist Party from careerists and place-seekers, was brought to light. All this of course reached Kronstadt and the peasant psychology of the sailors somewhat transformed by the lies circulated in the navy, assimilated all this and formed a distorted conception of the situation in Soviet Russia. This conception comprised all the tendencies of anarchism which tends in opposition to every form of centralisation and bureaucracy; it also contains the Socialist Revolutionary which regards the peasantry as the foremost revolutionary force, and lastly also the syndicalist tendencies demanding that the worker like the peasants should be the absolute owner of the products produced by his labor.

The Kronstadt rebels felt that they were not alone in this matter. They heard extremely exaggerated reports of peasant movements from the Russian White Guard papers published in Finland; they heard about the poverty prevailing in Petrograd and about strikes; they heard of the keen disappointment of the workers everywhere at the absence of an improvement in their conditions at the conclusion of the war. It

was in this atmosphere that the organizations of the socialist revolutionists of the Right Wing as well as of the Left, of the Anarchist and individual Mensheviks were carrying on their activity. Above all in the back-ground, unseen by the sailors, were the avowed counter-revolutionists and the monarchistic conspiracy of the Artillery officer Koslovsky.

Eventually the sailors having risen against the Soviet Government realized that they would have to pay dearly for it, and therefore, came out in open mutiny. The Soviet Government could not tolerate such a situation for long. Troops, under the leadership of the Storm Battalion of Red Cadets, sent to Kronstadt by the Party Conference, which was in session in Moscow at the time, marched at night across the already cracking ice of the Gulf of Finland. The resistance was very stubborn, but not so stubborn as it might have been in view of the weapons at the disposal of Kronstadt. Not only was the faith of the sailors in the possibilities of success shaken, but also their confidence in the justice of their cause. The latter became more obvious as the counter-revolution, hitherto concealed in the background became more and more exposed to the light of day.

Thus, Kronstadt was taken in one assault. As the fallen victims were being taken to their graves, White Guard newspapers arrived in Russia, from Paris, Berlin, and Prague, which proved how right was the Soviet Government in regarding the mutiny at Kronstadt, not as the beginning of a third revolution, but as an attempt of a new counter-revolution.

The New Plan of the Counter-Revolution

When the Russian counter-revolutionaries heard of the mutiny in Kronstadt, they forgot the chasm that divided them from Kronstadt.

With unusual insight and clearness, they saw the significance of the Kronstadt events. Miliukov's organ "Posledini Novosti," and "Obtchee Delo," the organ of Bourtzev, both declared their convictions and resolve to support, not only the Kronstadt sailors, but immediately to draw up a plan of tactics based on the acceptance of the Kronstadt slogans. The tactical plan developed in these papers consisted in the recognition that every counter-revolutionary attack, which openly operates with the forces of the Allies, or with representatives of the old regime, of the junkers and the capitalists, is doomed to failure. The masses, they say, do not believe in the honesty of the intentions of the Allies. They know perfectly well that when the Allies set their forces against Soviet Russia they do so in order to convert Russia into their colony. They, and particularly Miliukov, are convinced that the defeat of Denikin, and Koltchak and the others, were due to the fact, that as representatives of the Russian junkers, they repelled the peasants.

Miliukov's first conclusion therefore, in which he is energetically supported by Savinkov, is that the counter-revolutionary movement in Russia can only be successful when it springs from within and appears to be free from feudal tendencies. Miliukov however, on the basis of the Kronstadt events draws yet another conclusion. He recognized that the demand for the Constituent Assembly has no attractions, either for

the peasant, the workman, or the Red Armist. The sailors in Kronstadt rose with the slogan *real Soviets*, but this was accompanied with the slogan "Down with the Communists." For this latter slogan Miliukov is prepared to pay the price of accepting the slogan for a real Soviet Government: *for, in the event of the fall of the Communist Party, there falls also the only power in Soviet Russia, which has led the struggle against world capital, and the only power, which is capable now, providing it has peace, to carry out the economic re-construction of the country, and the only power, as the greatest section of the revolutionary proletariat and peasant masses, to guide the ship through the rocks and secure the ultimate aim of the revolution.*

Soviets without Communists will represent the wavering, disunited, and exhausted workers, and they will be compelled to allow the bourgeois forces, which the Communist Soviet Government bents to its service and over which it keeps a strong control, to operate without any control at all. The counter-revolutionary emigrés will return to Russia and will fill all the administrative departments of these non-Party-Soviets, and in fact, take complete power in their hand. Then, the time will come when this seizure of power will be clothed in the juridical forms that the counter-revolution will regard necessary. Miliukov's organ in a dispute with a doctrinaire Socialist Revolutionary goes so far as to defend the Soviets, not only as organs of administrations, but also as organs of State power. "The Soviets are not merely consultative or legislative organs, but the organ of State power as a whole, only *as such* can they take the place of the State power of the Bolsheviks, only as such can they be the starting point for the building up of a regular organization in the provinces, which can maintain contact with the people. It is of course, understood that after they have performed this temporary function, they will be re-elected" (issue of March 18th). Miliukov, the founder and leader of the ideas of the liberal Cadet Party, this blind, doctrinaire, West European parliamentarian, understands that the defeat of the Communist Party of Russia will destroy the only power which enables Soviet Russia to be a great world factor for revolution, and that without the dictatorship of the Communist Party, Soviet Russia will fall a victim to the counter-revolution. He thus bases the counter-revolution on the one and certain point, i. e. the destruction of the Communist Party of Russia.

In peasant Russia, after the destruction of the Communist Party, the peasantry in the Soviets will consolidate itself, as a conservative bourgeois class, and all other things will be added later.

Lessons of Kronstadt Mutiny

The tactical plan of the Russian counter-revolution to overthrow the Soviet Government by rousing the petty bourgeois, peasant, and semi-proletarian masses against the Communist Party, under the cry of securing a "genuine Soviet government" by means of a "third revolution," will fail. The Communist Party of Russia is sufficiently able, sufficiently elastic, and sufficiently bound with the masses to thwart this plan.

The fact however, that the Russian counter-revolu-

tion, in its struggle for power, has had to employ the slogan of Soviets in order to get support against the Communist Party, is one of world historical importance. When the proletariat of Western Europe in their solidarity with Soviet Russia, as the hub of the world Revolution, say to themselves: "My country, right or wrong," when it refuses to be influenced in its relation to the Communist Party of Russia by tales either of its "terrorism," or its opportunism, it, in this way, expresses its great revolutionary instinct. It understands that here it is not a question of the extent to which communism is actually being carried out in Russia, whether communism can be rapidly introduced, or whether it can be introduced in an isolated agricultural country, but it is a question of Russia having been torn out of the hands of the European counter-revolution, and that hundreds of millions of peasants and the economic forces of the greatest country in Europe are not being employed in the military and economic service of capitalism which is now fighting for its very existence, but in the service of the world proletariat struggling for a new economic system. And the world proletariat understands that under these conditions the Communist Party is right when it retains power in its hands. Whatever the Communist Party does will be judged by history from the standpoint of the manner it has served this purpose; this may mean either the application of terroristic measures, at the moment when the enemy is attacking, for the purpose of gathering all the resources of the country to defeat the counter-revolution, or to make concessions to the petty bourgeois elements in order to sever them from the bearers of counter-revolution, the junkers and the capitalists. This is what the advanced guard of the proletariat when its revolutionary instinct has grasped, and they see now how correct were those who said that you cannot support the Russian Revolution and at the same time combat the Russian Communist Party. The attempt of the Hilferdings, Dittmanns, Longuets, and Bauers, to distinguish between Soviet Russia, the Russian Revolution, and the Communist Party, in the light of the stand taken by the Russian counter-revolution during the Kronstadt affair, is a deception and at best a piece of self deception. "Long live the Russian Revolution," "Long live Soviet Russia," "Down with the Russian Communists and the Dictators of Moscow," echo the Tzarist minister of Finance, Kokovtzev, Dardanelles Miliukov, the Paris Bourse, and General Wrangel; and they add: "If the Communist Party of Russia is beaten, the counter-revolution can afford for a little while to wrap itself in the mantle of the Soviets." In the light of this, the Hilferdings, the Dittmanns, the Bauers, and the Longuets, and all the heroes of the Second and a Half International, prove themselves to be, not the Right Wing of the Revolutionary Working Class Movement, but the Left Wing of the capitalist counter-revolution. The future historian of this great struggle for the freedom of the world proletariat will record the fact that on the day, on which the Russian Communists filled the breaches in the defences of Petrograd with their bodies, caused by the Kronstadt mutiny, the "Freiheit" referred to Zinoviev as "the corrupter of the Russian Proletariat"; that

Mons. Longuet like Herr Bauer, expressed his sympathy, not with the Communists, who were forming a defence to Petrograd of their bodies on the ice in the Gulf of Finland, but with the misguided tools of world reaction in Kronstadt.

The Kronstadt events compel the West European proletariat to draw still further conclusions. They are weighing up our differences with the section of the Communist movement which believes that the Russian Dictatorship of the Communist Party must be opposed by the dictatorship of the masses; of the whole of the working class. The Laufenbergs and Wolfheims (former leaders of the German Communist Labor Party), who in 1919, believed they could oppose the idea of the Dictatorship of the Communist Party by the idea of the dictatorship of the masses, have now avowedly gone into the camp of the counter-revolution. In their last pamphlet "Moscow and the German Revolution" they frankly express themselves as opponents, not only of the Russian Communist Party, but also of Soviet Russia, by denouncing the Soviet Government to the German labor masses as a bad edition of Tzarism. They are now regarded by the Communist elements in Germany, with whom they have up till now maintained a spiritual bond, as counter-revolutionaries. This process can only be brought to a definite end when all the sections of the Communist International see not only the Russian aspect of the events of Kronstadt, and the tactics of the Russian counter-revolution, but also the international aspect. The peculiar Russian feature of these events lies in the fact that the proletarian stratum in Russian society is smaller than in Western Europe, that the petty bourgeois stratum in Russia is greater than in England or Germany, and for that reason, its influence upon the working class in Russia is greater than it is in Western Europe; for that reason the possibilities of petty bourgeois hesitation and wavering of the working class is greater in Russia than in the West of Europe. The struggle in Western Europe will be far more severe because the bourgeoisie there is far better organized than was the Russian bourgeoisie. The food difficulties will be ten times greater than they are in Russia and conditions will arise in which the broad labor masses will waver when they will begin to think of capitulating to the bourgeoisie, and when the dictatorship of the proletariat will only be able to maintain itself in the form of the steelhearted advanced vanguard, the Communist Party. Just as the declaration of the "Centre" that it is in favor of dictatorship, but against terror, is nothing else than a declaration to the effect that these elements are not prepared to use every means to secure the victory of the masses, and that they are prepared to betray it each time a difficult situation arises, so is the cry in favor of dictatorship of the whole working class as against the dictatorship of the Communist Party proof that these elements are only prepared to fight as long as the backward elements of the working class remain at their post, that is, as long as the struggle is easy, when there will be no need to starve, to freeze or to bleed. In our pamphlet "The Dictatorship of the Working class and the Communist Party," written in the summer of 1919 against Laufenberg and Wolfheim, we wrote "under

no circumstances will the Communist Party dissolve after the seizure of power. It will closely bind its members, the best representatives of the Dictatorship, and decide with them what measures have to be carried out in the organs of power of the proletariat. The Communist Party, as a concentrated power, will march in advance of the masses and its organs, in order to preserve the dictatorship. *For the proletariat is not secured once and for all in one blow. Until ultimate victory it must be won anew every day.* The labor masses, which to-day are divided into sections, varying stages of fighting fitness, must, in the process of the advancing proletarian revolution, be imbued with the determination to fight, in order that the existence of a proletarian dictatorship be at all possible. But this "unity" is only relative. There will always be a section of the proletariat, which during the establishment of the dictatorship, will be hostile, or will idly stand aside, and the masses, which on the day of victory, will celebrate, in the days of difficulty, in the days of setbacks,—will waver, will doubt the possibility of ultimate victory and will think of surrender. The proletarian revolution does not bring any immediate relief from poverty. Under certain circumstances it will bring a change for the worse in the position of the proletariat, and for this reason, it is necessary to have a strong, centralized Communist Party, which, as the strong arm of the proletariat, must be determined for a certain period, if the conditions of the struggle do not improve, and the temper of the masses does not rise, to retain power as a Party representing the revolutionary minority. Naturally, if the majority of the working class is imbued with the false hope that it will be able to live better in the chains of capitalist slavery, than by struggling for its freedom and will exhibit active hostility to the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party will not be able to maintain its position; but it must remain at its post and

endeavour to hold it. The conditions will then improve. The working class will again rally round the Party and it will be able to lead the struggle to ultimate victory. The emancipation of the working class can only be the task of the fighting majority of the proletariat. But in the struggle for emancipation, circumstances may arise in which *the revolutionary minority of the working class must take the whole burden of the struggle upon its own shoulders*, in which dictatorship of the proletariat must temporarily take the form of the dictatorship of the Communist Party. That was the position at one time in Russia."

We are convinced that the Kronstadt events will teach those communist elements who have not sufficiently appreciated the role of the Party in the revolution, the real conclusions of the resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International on this question. It is not sufficient however for the principle that the proletarian party must retain power in its own hand when the petty bourgeois counter-revolution in the form of the dissatisfaction of the workers, advances against it to be accepted. It must be understood that however much the Communist Party must rely upon the masses of the workers in order to secure victory, conditions may arise even in Western Europe, in which the vanguard will have to retain power in its own hands for some time. It must be understood that under all circumstances the Communist Party is the soul of the Revolution, and the backbone of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

The struggle which the Communist Party is at present conducting in order to strengthen its influence among the as yet non-Communist working masses, the struggle which it is conducting to awaken the initiative of these masses, is the culmination of its iron determination at all cost to maintain power. This determination should serve as an example for the Communists in other countries. The greatest lesson of the Kronstadt events is its international lesson.

Class Divisions in France

By ISAAC A. HOURWICH

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia it was generally accepted as a fact that the proletariat constitutes the majority of the population of every capitalistic country. The present writer, in a number of articles, challenged this belief and showed, on the basis of the United States census returns, that the proletariat, including hired farm help, constituted in 1900 but 44.6 per cent. of all "persons engaged in gainful occupations," while the industrial wage-earners alone numbered but 34.8 per cent. of all bread-winners. An analysis of the later census figures by Prof. Alvin H. Hansen, of the University of Minnesota, showed little change in 1910. The industrial wage-earners still constituted but 38.2 per cent. of the total number of bread-winners.

Is the United States in an exceptional condition? What is the situation in the European countries where the socialist movement has made greater strides than

in the United States? In the present article we shall examine the results of the French census in 1911.

In the following table the whole "active" French population is classified substantially along the same lines as the population of the United States is classified. The French definition of the "active" population differs from the American definition of "persons engaged in gainful occupations" in that the wives of farmers, small traders, and independent artisans are counted as "active" persons, whereas the American census of occupations includes among bread-winners only those married women who are personally proprietors of the farm or business, or who are paid for their labor or services. The American census statistics, however, are not quite consistent, because they classify farmers' unmarried daughters as farm laborers. Furthermore, the French census makes no distinction between farm laborers and farmers' children helping on the farm.

The Active Population of France in 1911*

Classes	Male		Total
	Thousands	Thousands	
Farmers	2,873	2,347	5,220
Farm laborers	2,403	890	3,293
Business men	1,660	1,546	3,206
Professional:			
Employers	122	34	156
Salaried	269	119	388
Public officials	279	168	447
Administrative personnel, agents and salesmen...	840	339	1,179
Industrial wage-earners...	3,754	1,446	5,200
Servants	155	757	912
	12,355	7,646	20,001
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Farmers	23.3	30.7	26.1
Farm laborers	19.5	11.6	16.5
Business men	13.4	20.2	16.0
Professional:			
Employers	1.0	0.4	0.8
Salaried	2.2	1.6	1.9
Public officials	2.3	2.2	2.2
Administrative personnel, agents and salesmen...	6.8	4.4	5.9
Industrial wage-earners...	30.3	19.0	26.0
Servants	1.2	9.9	4.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

It appears from the preceding table that the industrial proletariat in France at the census of 1911 represented 26 per cent. of the total active population. Among the males that ratio was slightly higher, viz., 30.3 per cent. If the farm laborers are added to the industrial wage-earners the aggregate number will reach about one half (49.8) of the active population. But as stated above, this number would include farmers' sons who are not proletarians and expect in the course of time to become farmers. This fact clearly appears from the comparative distribution of farmers and farm laborers by age, as shown in the following table:

Age	Number (thousands)		Per cent.		Total
	Farmers	Laborers	Farmers	Laborers	
Under 20 years	3	772	0.4	99.6	100.0
20 to 24 "	38	232	10.5	89.5	100.0
25 to 29 "	166	304	35.3	64.7	100.0
30 to 34 "	262	209	55.6	44.4	100.0
35 to 39 "	307	159	65.9	34.1	100.0
40 and over	2092	632	76.6	23.4	100.0
Total*.....	2868	2399	54.1	45.9	100.0

The preceding figures show that the ratio of proprietors to laborers among persons engaged in farming increases with age. Of the young men under 30 years the majority are described as "laborers," above the age of 30 years the majority have become proprietors.

* This table does not include those who were registered by the census as unemployed, because the wage-earners in that report were not segregated from the administrative personnel, etc., but the total number of unemployed amounted only to 140,000 males and 69,000 females, which represented in all 1 per cent of the active population, and may, therefore, be disregarded for the purposes of this table.

* The discrepancy between the numbers in this and the preceding tables is due to the fact that a small number of farmers and laborers are not reported.

Of those who have reached the age of 40, less than one-fourth (23.4) have remained laborers, while three-fourths have become proprietors. It may be assumed that there are farmers' sons or laborers who have married farmers' daughters. This assumption can be corroborated by a comparison of single and married men among the proprietors and "laborers" in agriculture, as shown in the following table:

Number (Thousands)	Single	Married	Total
Farmers	219	2,654	2,873
Farm laborers.....	1,566	836	2,402
Total.....	1,785	3,490	5,275
	Per cent.	Per cent.	
Farmers	7.6	92.4	100.0
Farm laborers.....	65.2	34.8	100.0
Total.....	33.7	66.3	100.0
	Per cent. Distribution by Classes		
Farmers	12.2	76.0	54.2
Farm laborers.....	87.8	24.0	45.8
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

The preceding figures show that whereas two-thirds of males engaged in farming were married the percentage of single and married was quite different among proprietors and laborers; of the farm laborers two-thirds were single, the proprietors were nearly all married, and conversely, of the married men more than three-fourths were proprietors, whereas of the single men seven-eighths were laborers. To estimate accurately how many of those described as "laborers" were genuine hired workers and how many were farmers' sons helping on parental farms, is impossible. It may be assumed that 836,000 hired "laborers" were wage-earners; we may go still further and assume that all those described as "laborers" who are above the age of 30, were wage-earners, whether married or not,—this amounts to another 100,000 males. How many of those under the age of 30 were farmers' sons it is difficult to estimate. Though we may assume that all farm laborers under the age of 20 are members of farmers' families and that among those between the ages of 20 and 30 the ratio of wage-earners to members of family was the same as the ratio of farm laborers to farmers above the age of 30, the number of wage-earners between the ages of 20 and 30 will be less than 200,000. On this basis the number of wage-earners in agriculture may be estimated at 1,200,000. In this manner the agricultural wage-earners together with the industrial proletariat will represent about 40 per cent. of all bread-winners.

In order to compare the class divisions of the French population with those of the United States, the males alone must be considered, because statistical classification of the family population of the United States, as has been explained above, is not the same. In order further to eliminate most of the farmers' sons who are not wage-earners, we shall consider only those persons who are above the age of 20 in France and above the age of 21 in the United States. The comparative figures are shown in the table next following:

Classes	France 1911		United States 1900 Per cent.
	Thousands	Per cent.	
Farmers	2,870	26.9	27.4
Farm laborers	1,631	15.3	8.9
Businessmen	1,653	15.5	9.1
Professional	618	5.7	4.4
Administrative personnel, agents, salesmen	685	6.4	7.2
Industrial wage earners	3,092	29.0	36.4
Servants	129	1.2	0.8
Unclassified	—	—	5.8
Total.....	10,678	100.0	100.0

The preceding comparison shows that the ratio of the industrial proletariat to all bread-winners was higher in the United States in 1900 than in France in 1911. On the other hand the ratio of farmers' sons and agricultural wage-earners was higher in France than in the United States. This fact shows that the movement from the farm to the city had progressed further in the United States than in France. The ratio of business men is much higher in France than in the United States. But this is largely due to the fact that the United States census statistics of occupations of 5.8 per cent. were not described with sufficient clearness to permit of their classifications as wage-earners or proprietors. A part of them were probably proprietors, so that the difference in the ratio of

business men in France of 1911 and the United States of 1910 was not as large as may appear from the preceding figures.

In the French occupation statistics professional men were also classified into proprietors and salaried men. There is no such classification in the American occupation statistics. The number of professional men above the age of 20 who were engaged on a salary by private employers amounted in 1911 to 228,000 persons which represented 2.1 per cent. of the total male population of the same age. If that number likewise be added to the Proletariat it will increase the ratio of the proletariat to 31.1 per cent. The number of hired farm laborers above the age of 20 has been estimated at 1,200,000 which represents 11.2 per cent. of the total number of bread-winners. If this number be likewise included in the proletariat, the total French proletariat will reach 42.3 per cent, which is still short of a majority. To be sure, this was 10 years ago. But as we know, from the example of the United States the ratio of the proletariat to the total population could not have increased very much during the past 10 years. From 1900 to 1910 the relative number of the proletariat of the United States increased by 10.7 per cent. If the same ratio be applied to France, its proletariat cannot represent to-day more than 45 per cent. of all adult males, which is still short of a majority.

The Storm Center of the Comm. International

By JOHN KIM

(Concluded.)

10. This point demands a stubborn fight against the Amsterdam International of the yellow labor unions.

The effectiveness of this agitation will grow in proportion to the strength of the newly created Red Labor Union International which is a counterpart to the yellow Amsterdam International. We consider that this is one of the most difficult requirements, on which there is a division of opinion among the Communists themselves. They all agree that the yellow labor International should be defeated, but they do not fully agree on the methods to be employed. However, we shall return to this point later in another connection.

11. This point requires a most searching control over the parliamentary groups and the elimination of unreliable elements therefrom.

In view of the havoc worked by the treacherous conduct of the parliamentary representatives of the Second International during the war, the above requirement is amply justified. People still have more reverence for those placed in conspicuous positions. Therefore, the conduct of the parliamentary representatives should be free from blemish.

12. The principle of democratic centralization is emphasized.

Undoubtedly this point will create much discussion. Its application will differ with each country. No communist will deny the necessity of enforcing strong discipline among the party members. However, not

all communists will agree that the method of appointment will always work best. Appointed party committees, appointed executives, appointed editors, appointed delegates may break the party discipline and infringe the regulations which their very appointment was intended to guard against. But in general, the principle of centralization of power is sound and should be applied to organizations requiring quick decision and immediate action.

13. This paragraph requires periodical expulsion of unreliable members from the party.

We venture to suggest that this clause will be the hardest to apply. It will not be always easy to prove beyond reasonable doubt that this or that person is a heretic or has violated the party principles. A trial by a membership body will always be necessary and without a verdict of the majority elimination of members by mere executive order will tend to disrupt the party organization. It would be better to prolong the trial period and not to admit candidates to membership unless they are thoroughly tested for their loyalty to the principles and to the party organization.

14. This clause requires every possible assistance to the Soviet Republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. It is urged that Communist parties induce the workers to refuse to transport military equipment intended for fighting the Soviet republics, etc.

Obviously, such a propaganda is imperative because the counter-revolutionary forces are applying their propaganda to fool the workers and to induce them to fight against their own interests.

15. This clause demands the change of the programs of the organizations desiring to affiliate with the Third International in compliance with Communist principles.

Any other requirement would be illogical.

16. This clause lays down the principle that binding resolutions and directions of the Third International should be formulated only on general questions, leaving the local and national peculiarities to the solution of the respective national Communist parties.

This requirement is highly commendable, for otherwise instead of 21 points the Communist International would need 121 points to meet all the local exigencies of the various national organizations.

17. This clause demands the adoption of the name Communist Party by all former Socialist or Social-Democratic Parties if they desire to affiliate with the Third International.

The name is very essential in this case. The theory of the class struggle was expounded first by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels under the name of Communism. The Communist Manifesto has survived 70 years, and stands today as strong as ever. On the other hand, the various socialist parties with their endless demands, whether minimum or maximum, have undergone numerous changes and have succumbed to the temptations of the capitalist reformers and imperialists. Therefore, it is essential that the name "Communist" should supplant the discredited name "Socialist."

18. This clause demands that all the leading organs of the press of every party publish all the important documents of the Communist International, which is an obvious necessity.

19. This clause demands that extraordinary conventions be convened by the parties desiring to affiliate with the Third International, in order that the membership of these organizations may be acquainted with the resolutions adopted by the Second Congress.

This demand requires no comment.

20. In this clause the Third International insists that not less than two-thirds of the membership of

the central party institutions should consist of individuals who have made an open declaration of their adherence to the Communist principles prior to the Second Congress of the Third International. Exceptions are permitted only with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Third International which also reserves the right to make exceptions with regard to the representatives of the Center mentioned in clause 7.

These requirements sound somewhat bureaucratic. By the time a national party is ready to affiliate, the International may have had its Third Congress with perhaps different resolutions on certain points. Then again, the process of educating the leaders is as difficult as that of educating the general membership. Why should then the membership be penalized by objecting to its affiliation in case its executive committees have been slow in grasping the new principles. However, exceptions are permissible and naturally the Executive Committee will exercise its judgment in passing upon each concrete case.

21. Clause 21 stipulates that members who reject the above conditions and the theses of the Third International are liable to expulsion.

It would appear then that the American judges are demanding from the workers complete surrender to capital and loyalty to captains of industry. On the other hand, the Third International demands from its supporters loyalty to communism and to communist leaders. Time will show whose appeal will find stronger echo.

This clause makes the other clauses effective and consequently is indispensable.

The spirit of the above points is such as to compel every affiliated party to work for social revolution and to safeguard the unity of thought and action, things which were lacking in the Second International with its loose form of organization, and its incoherent tactics. As time goes on, the number of these points may be reduced, their working may become more polished, but we venture to say that their substance will stand.

Patrioteering in Our Public Schools

By SCHMALHAUSEN

Patriotism is the primitive emotion of self-glorification erected into a sham philosophy of nationalism.

The State (meaning a political clique temporarily in control of the machinery of governmental repression and coercion) is assumed to be a mystic power, in every way superior to the collectivity which it is presumed to represent.

By a process of loose believing and thinking, we come to look upon the State as "ours." A madman's delusion!

The State belongs to those who own the wealth and industries of the nation. Then representatives occupy the strategic positions of legislative, executive and judicial control. The plain people occupy no such positions. The State is in no honest sense theirs.

It is easy to understand why the plutocratic citizenry encourage State-worship. Their interests, economic and psychologic, are inseparable from the

destiny of the State. In a very simple and literal sense, the patriotism of the plutocrats is the essence of real patriotism.

The plain people (the vast mass of the propertyless) have no "State." Their duty it is to share the burdens, not the privileges and the strategic positions, of the State. The only group in modern society which honestly typifies the consciousness-of-kind of the plain people is *The Class*.

The only reason why the State (usually referred to as the Nation) is not simply alluded to as the property of the Upper Class is because so straightforward a reference would at a stroke reveal the sinister division in modern society—the existence of classes in irreconcilable opposition.

As at present constituted (judged by the laws of Profit and Prestige), the Nation is the property and plaything of a manipulating class. That class attempts

to hide this truth from the common people by tabooing the specific and significant term, Class, and by popularizing the general and mystical designation, Nation (or State).

Our educational system, the plutocratic State in miniature, is charged with the duty of perpetuating the upper class mythology of nationalism. Nationalism is the pretence of unanimity and singleness of interest among the social classes. Nothing but pretence!

The most critical time for inculcating this sham conception of the State is, of course, during a period of war (or the preparation for war). The patriotism of the plutocratic State is then automatically instilled as the only loyalty of a law-abiding citizen.

Those who have a good eye for contradictions must be amused by the spectacle of an upper class and its hired employes straining every nerve to impart their brand of patriotism to a lower class that (for reasons never published by the upper class) is apparently in dire need of an allegiance that should be natural and spontaneous, but is somehow or other artificial and forced.

It is not difficult to explain why the intensest patriotism wells up naturally in the hearts of those who are especially privileged! Let us frankly acknowledge that the perfect patriot (in a society torn by class struggles) cannot be found among the proletariat.

The plutocracy as a whole yielded up its heart and soul (though not its income and control) to the patriotic requirements of the State. It never occurred to official spokesmen to inaugurate campaigns of patriotic enlightenment among those whose historic privilege it is to control the State. Campaigns of patriotic enlightenment seem to have been necessary only among that peculiarly detached section of society whose struggle for control has not yet brought the State within its grasp.

There is the perfect patriotism of the plutocrat (who controls the State and, therefore, enhances his class when he "fights" for the nation) and there is the perfect patriotism of the proletarian. This latter is a comparatively recent contribution to civilized values. In the course of the evolution of the State, it is destined to supplant the former. The patriotism which springs inevitably from the consciences of the plain people and attaches itself to ideals that promise a genuine amelioration of their hard lot is the kind of patriotism that will increasingly gain the attention of the mass of mankind. Every other kind of patriotism will be known for what it is: a species of self-destruction in behalf of irrelevant "ideals".

Our school system distinguished itself during the period of America's participation in the Great War by assassinating the patriotism of the proletariat and super-imposing the patriotism of the plutocracy. Unquestioning obedience to authority was the command of the ruling class. Those teachers whose intellectual attitude toward life did not permit so drastic a surrender to coercive patriotism were severely dealt with; persecution, suspension, dismissal, the spirit of the inquisition, a systematic reign of terror—these were the conventional methods and devices employed by an outraged plutocracy against the spokesmen of the new order.

The patrioteering in our public schools went so far as to jeopardize the whole historic underpinning of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances. Teachers who held an "unpopular" point of view in relation to the war were dismissed. An attitude of mind, a theory of things, a hypothetical point of view in a hypothetical situation, a mere belief, any one of these was considered sufficient cause for dismissal.

Any teacher who, as part of his activities outside the class room, perpetrated the folly of writing in criticism of governmental authority or of educational authority was dismissed.

The patriotism of plutocracy thrives on the ignorance of its victims. It perverts the facts of history, because without such perversion its bloated myths would die of malnutrition. It caters to the most primitive instincts, because without such prostitution of human nature its schemes of aggrandizement could not be realized. This is the brand of patriotism that is the arch foe of science and humane fellowship.

What is the plutocrats fear? Socialism! They haven't the courage to express it in so many words, because they know that the philosophy of Socialism has captured the allegiance of the greater portion of civilized mankind. They screen their opposition to radicalism in general behind the bogey of Bolshevism. Nothing could serve their reactionary purposes more adequately than this newly discovered opportunity to launch their attacks upon the critical-minded by screaming, Bolshevik!

Teachers have been terrified into an unholy silence. Their hearts beat in tune with the marvelous procession of an awakened proletariat. Unorganized, disorganized, timid and insecure, the radical teachers are in a desperate plight. The passionate truth locked within their souls cries out for liberation.

To whom shall the public schools belong? How much longer shall the younger generation be brought up on lies? How much longer before the common people appreciate *the revolutionary function of education?*

Verily, these are the momentous days that try one's soul.

Which shall it be: the patriotism of the plutocracy or the patriotism of the proletariat? No question can be more profoundly significant.

350,000 Tchech and Slovak Socialists Go with Moscow

The experiences of the Tchecho-Slovak workers with their "Socialist" Government during the past two years and the clarifying process which has been going on within the Socialist movement has led the Congress of the Socialist Party (Left) to join the Third International. The name of the party was changed to Communist, and the 21 conditions of affiliation were approved by a vote of 562 to 7. The party claims a membership of 350,000 and represents a powerful link in the revolutionary movement of Central Europe.

Tchech Socialism is not of recent origin. With Allied imperialism no longer able to give sufficient material support to their vassal states, with the government of the "Socialist" Tusar thoroughly discredited among the masses, the Tchecho-Slovak party of militant Socialism should be in a position to challenge the bourgeoisie for political supremacy in the not very distant future.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By Alexander Trachtenberg

French Party Adopts New Constitution

A committee has been at work since the Tours Congress revising the constitution of the party which was made necessary by the division of the Socialist forces. Until the present the party continued under the name Socialist, though the dissident Longuet-Renaudel faction claimed that name. The new constitution which was ratified by a special party convention on April 17, changed the name of the party to "Communist Party, French Section of the Communist International." The new name is to apply with the beginning of next year. The objects of the party are defined as favoring "international action of the workers, the political and economic organization of the workers into a class party for the conquest of power from the bourgeoisie, the socialization of the means of production and exchange, leading to the transformation of the present capitalist society into a communist society."

The principle of centralization has been brought into the various organs of the party and the national committee has been given more powers. The parliamentary fraction has been made more responsible to the party. The national committee is to supervise the activities of the deputies. A representative of the committee is to sit with the parliamentary group. Important matters are to be taken up in joint sessions between the deputies and the national committee. Each deputy must give fifty days for propaganda work for the federation which elected him and fifty days under the direction of the national committee. It was also proposed that the deputies be taxed 250 francs a year for the party, but that was turned down by the convention.

The parliamentary groups have been the nests of reformist Socialism and have on numerous occasions discredited the party by their activities in parliament. Consumed like the other Socialist parties with the desire to control larger numbers of seats after each election, the party closed its eyes to the records of its candidates. Beginning with Millerand's entry into the cabinet down through its experiences with Briand, Viviani, Guesde, Sembat, Thomas, Varrere and his stalwart forty social-patriotic deputies, Renaudel et tutti quanti, the party had to pay dearly for the failure to exercise a control over its elected officials which was characteristic of the period of the Second International and which contributed greatly to its undoing. The parliamentary fractions were kingdoms unto themselves, and instead of their functioning as agencies of the party for the advancement of the movement, the party was subordinated to them, and in the case of many deputies it merely existed as an apparatus to secure their elections and insure their continuance in office. Even in the United States where the Socialist Party has had only a taste of parliamentarism through its representatives in a few city and state legislatures and in Congress it came to grief largely because of the emphasis upon this feature of Socialist activity and because of the failure to exercise sufficient control over its elected officials. Gross violations of party platforms and principles, total disregard of party discipline and the refusal to consider the wishes of the membership was the rule rather than the exception with our elected officials.

The parties uniting under the banner of the Third International are adopting different tactics regarding parliamentary action and their elected public officials. Considering parliamentary action not as a thing in itself and not as the most important function of the Socialist movement but subordinating it rather to the general purpose of the movement and keeping good watch over its spokesmen from the tribunes of legislative halls, the parties of the Third International will not suffer the indignities which the parties of the Second International experienced and will win back to political action the workers who have come to look upon it with disfavor because of the past performances of some of our parliamentarists.

South-African Socialists Merge and Join Third

The divergent Socialist groups of South Africa have

heeded the call of the Third International for unity of all revolutionary Socialist elements in each country and have laid the foundation for a United Communist Party at a joint conference held last month at Johannesburg. The conference made a careful study of the 21 conditions of affiliation which were set forth by the Second Congress of the Communist International, and voted to accept them. Having in mind the clause providing for the adaptation of the Communist movement of each country to the specific politico-economic conditions of that country, the delegates interpreted Point 3 as not being at the present moment fully applicable in South Africa and explained Point 7 as meaning a repudiation of reformism within the Socialist movement. The conference agreed that the emphasis on reforms tended to neutralize the revolutionary character of the movement and to delude the workers from the paths of the class struggle. "The International," the militant organ of the South-African International Socialist League, expresses great hopes for a strong Communist movement in South Africa.

Before unity could actually be perfected, the South-African Socialists dispatched two of their members as delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International which will begin June 3rd at Moscow. Their arrival at the Soviet capital has already been reported.

Communist Party Formed in Spain

Since the return of the Spanish Socialist delegation to Russia a split in the party became imminent. Prof. de los Rios who headed the delegation came back determined to oppose affiliation with the Third International on the basis of the 21 conditions. Comrade Rios wanted complete autonomy for the Spanish movement and was willing to allow a platonic alliance of the party with Moscow. He was also opposed to the emphasis which the Communist International put on the principle of proletarian dictatorship and stressed in his report "the contempt in which the notion of liberty and democracy" were "held by Russian leaders."

While the Socialist delegates travelled to Russia, Spanish "democracy" inaugurated a campaign of fiendish persecution of the labor unions which called forth a protest and an appeal for aid from the conservative Amsterdam Trade Union International. A former member of the Cortes and professor of jurisprudence at the University of Granada, Comrade de los Rios, has failed to properly evaluate the class struggle which has been raging in Barcelona, Madrid and other industrial centers. His report on the trip to Russia has been very properly made use of by reactionary forces in his and other European countries and by Samuel Gompers in this country (see May issue of American Federationist).

The Spanish Socialist Party has been joining and withdrawing from the Third International during the past two years. The return of the delegation to Russia brought the matter to a head. At the party convention held at the end of April, the delegates favoring immediate and "with no strings attached" affiliation with Moscow bolted and formed a Communist party. A national Executive Committee consisting of Quejido, one of the founders of the Socialist Party, Anguiano, former national secretary of the party, Virginia Gonzales, Arenas, Beci, Mancebo and Gil was chosen and plans were laid for the organization of the party on a national scale. Many of the sections now affiliated with the S. P. will bodily join the new party. A Madrid section has already been formed by the Executive Committee. Those who know the revolutionary history of the Spanish proletariat and have followed its activities have no doubts that the class-conscious workers will acclaim the leadership of the new party. The divorce with reformism in revolutionary Spain was believed of paramount importance and long due. Under the guidance of the Third International, the militant Socialist movement of Spain will now assume a definite character, leading the workers to greater achievements in the cause of their emancipation from wage slavery.

The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, June 15, 1921.

No. 6.



In the Name of Law and Order

The Socialist Party Convention
From the Italian Front

The Third International in Germany and Italy*

By G. ZINOVIEV

I

...The first great event that took place after the II. Congress was the Congress at Halle. This, undoubtedly was a turning point in the history of the European labor movement. On the eve of the Halle Congress there was in Germany a communist party consisting of 50,000 members. After the Congress at Halle 450,000 persons sharing the views of the communist party joined the latter. You will agree that a curious situation is created when nearly half a million join a party of 50,000, and of course it would be too much to expect that such a unification could be painless and immediate. It was natural to expect a certain measure of that wavering and retreat that existed in the Independent Party from whom we took a half of its membership. Halle represented a European arena in which we opposed our views against the views of opportunism, presented in their most complete and perfect form by the Right Wing of the Independents. This Right Wing is crude, narrow menshevism, but also to a certain extent, refined "scientific" opportunism. This was a decisive battle, before the whole of Europe, between our ideas and the ideas of the old and bespattered opportunism of Kautsky and Hilferding. There is not the slightest doubt that we were the victors in this battle. This was admitted not only by our friends, but also by our enemies, who by their wails, complaints, and wild raving, proved that at Halle they had suffered an intellectual defeat.

What will be the further development of this party of a half a million members created very largely by the efforts of the Executive Committee of the Communist International? As was to be expected, things did not go quite smoothly, and at the present moment there is something in the nature of a crisis in Germany. I have been asked at this Conference why it is that five members of the Executive Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany, including such a person like Clara Zetkin, have resigned. The reason is as follows. You will see from further reports that the Italian question has become very acute. This Italian question however, does not only affect Italy. You will see later that our conflict with a certain section of the Italian socialists is really an international conflict. In Italy there is a struggle between the Communists and the Centrists headed by Seratti and his group. The Centrists in Italy consider themselves Communists, but as a matter of fact they have one foot in the camp of the "Centre." At the moment when the Italian question became acute, a certain wavering in this direction began in the German Party which had only just recovered from this sickness. It is understandable, of course, that when a certain ferment commences in a party, or when a party experiences again former crises, when new groupings are observed, in the beginning at all events, numbers of people casually

* From Address on the Progress of the Third International at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

join the party who afterwards fall away. We know from our own experience that there have been groups of members who, at the beginning of a crisis, for reasons more or less casual, were found in the camp in which they should not have been. Later on, when the position had become clear these comrades took their place in the camp to which they belonged by ideas, by temperament and their past work. A similar thing has happened with Clara Zetkin. Quite recently she was in Russia. We found ourselves in complete solidarity with her in almost all questions. We gave her a mandate to represent the E. C. of the Communist International at the highly important Congress at Tours. She carried out her mission brilliantly. When a certain grouping to the right was observed within the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany, she, I am sure, for quite accidental reasons, and not for long, was found in the camp which certainly tomorrow or the day after she will abandon. Her place undoubtedly, is in the camp of the Left wing of the German Communist Party, which stands completely on the platform of the Communist International. However regrettable the fact that Clara Zetkin has left the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany may be, we are convinced that this is a minor and passing episode in her life. With regard to the other member who resigned from membership of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany, he has shown by his past that at such a moment he would incline to the Right. I speak of Paul Levi, who came to the front in recent years, after the bourgeoisie had rid themselves of the heads of the German Communist Party. We know from the history of Germany how far-sighted the plundering policy of the bourgeoisie sometimes is. Of course we as Marxists know that the role of an individual in history is not decisive when it is a question of a movement of many millions. But from the example of the German Communist Party we see what decisive importance there was in the fact that the bourgeoisie assassinated its leaders. Comrade Levi had to take the helm of the Party when it was broken, when it suffered defeat in the first January revolt. He made his political career in combatting the "Left" elements who indeed made and still make many mistakes, but among whom there are many workers loyal to the revolution. He was all the time inclined to lead the German Communist Party to the Right. We had differences with Comrade Levi at the Second Congress of the Communist International, but knowing how few educated leaders remained in the German Communist Party, all of us, and particularly comrade Radek who knew the German conditions better than any of us, endeavored to support comrade Levi, to assist him in his struggle with his opponents. But the more we did so, the more we became convinced that he was inclined towards opportunism. And now there is not the slightest doubt among us that an intellectual struggle against this comrade is essential. Those of us like comrade Radek, who for reasons of his close-

ness to the German labor movement, more than anybody endeavored to postpone the break with Levi, in the interests of the working class party in Germany, now think otherwise. On this question there is complete solidarity among us. The matter cannot be postponed any further, and comrade Radek was the first to commence this intellectual struggle against Levi in Germany itself.

Events developed in the following way: Recently a joint Conference of the Executive and delegates of the United Communist Party of Germany took place at which were raised the questions of the Italian event, the relations to the Left elements in Germany and to the Communist International. On this, as you know, a certain division took place. I am glad to say that this Conference re-elected a Central Committee, elected Left elements at its head, and did not waver. There is every reason to suppose that the wavering which we observed at the present moment in Germany is only on the surface. There is not the slightest doubt that when this question is placed for discussion before the broad masses, they will, by an overwhelming majority, decide for the irreconcilable policy of the Communist International. The question of the relation to the German Communist Labor Party figured very prominently. This is a comparatively small party which split off from the Spartacist League after the January defeats, and part of which subsequently rejoined the ranks of the Communist Party. One section, however, well organized, remained a separate party. It is a very small party. Its programme is extremely confused. It is strongly influenced by syndicalist and anarchist ideas, but among its members, nevertheless, there are undoubtedly, as all comrades admit, several thousands of workers who are intensely loyal to the idea of proletarian revolution, and who split off from the old party precisely because of its opportunist wing. Under such conditions the E. C. of the Communist International considered it necessary in spite of its partly syndicalist temperament, to do everything possible not to lose this small but nevertheless revolutionary element. Our attitude towards the revolutionary anarchist elements on the world arena, should be different from that adopted in Soviet Russia. It should be the attitude that we adopted in 1917 when we more than once fought against the bourgeoisie, against Kerensky and against the Mensheviks together with definite sections of the Anarchists and Syndicalists. At that time it was a question of fighting against the bourgeoisie, and we had something to unite us. Everyone of us who participated in the revolution will remember the many cases when we had to conclude certain agreements with Syndicalist and Anarchist elements. Parts of these subsequently joined our ranks. Many of them occupy responsible positions in the Soviet Republic and have assimilated themselves with the proletarian revolution. Of course, after the conquest of political power by the proletariat when the destructive and disorganizing elements of syndicalism and anarchism became hostile, we had to change our attitude towards them. But on the international arena where we are on the eve of a proletarian revolution, we are compelled by the experience of the Russian revolution to advise our comrades to be more tolerant particularly with working class groups and labor organizations which do not yet completely understand our tactics and still

suffer from the confusion arising from the crisis experienced by the international movement in connection with the war. This was our policy at the Second Congress of the Communist International, and adapting it to German conditions, we admitted the German Communist Labor Party which sympathizes with us, into the International with a consultative vote. This, to some extent, rendered the position in the United Communist Party of Germany more acute. Comrade Levi and his group who took up the struggle precisely with these elements regarded this falling into sin of the Communist International as support to these elements as against himself. This led to the position as it now exists. At the ensuing Congress we hope to put the question bluntly. It is clear that such a situation where one country is represented by two parties, cannot drag on for long. But we will do all that is possible to transfer the healthier elements of the Communist Labor Party of Germany into the United Communist Party. I think that our policy will remain correct. The wavering which was revealed on the surface will not in the slightest degree induce us to change our attitude towards these elements.

British Communists Meet

The newly formed Communist party which united the several revolutionary organizations in Great Britain held a national convention on April 23 and 24 at Manchester. A constitution was adopted which declared that the objective of the party was "the establishment of a Communist Republic of a socially and economically equal people. It works for the total abolition of the present system of wage slavery through a social revolution, and holds this to be pre-eminently the task of its existence. It seeks by Education to win the adhesion of the masses to Communism and by Agitation to spur the workers on towards the Social Revolution."

The convention expressed loyal support to the striking coal miners and condemned the leaders of the Triple Alliance who were responsible for the debacle of that great organization during the crisis. The expulsion of Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, from the party by the temporary central committee for his part in the withdrawal of the Triple Alliance support to the struggling miners was approved by the delegates. Arthur MacManus was re-elected chairman of the party for the ensuing year.

With the left wing of the Independent Labor Party joining the Communists, the only element still out of the united movement is the Socialist Labor Party which bases its refusal to join on the ground of the application of the Communist Party for membership in the Labor Party. The fact that such membership was refused by the Labor Party does not matter. The hard-shelled S. L. P., although prepared to join the Third International, is not willing to forget its ancient animosity toward the Labor Party. In this attitude it resembles its mother party, the American S. L. P. in its attitude toward the A. F. of L. The Third International approved the policy of the British Communist Party to join the Labor Party. The S. L. P. is more revolutionary than the Third International. The British S. L. P. has still the symptoms of what Lenin aptly termed "Infantile Disorders of Left-Wing Communism."

"Hardly any of us know what it is to be properly educated, and hardly any what it is to be in constant general good health."—H. G. Wells. Under capitalism.

"Moderate" politicians never err on the side of moderation. Look at the world which they have made.