

International News

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

RUSSIA

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party.

A Soviet radio of April 7th, quoted in "Humanité" on April 15th, gives the following passages from Trotsky's speech at the final session of the Party Congress on the previous day: "The Soviet Army reflects the transitional character of the Soviet régime. The latter is entering to-day upon a new period of its existence in which the principal weight of its forces is being transferred to the economic front. Consequently, the Red Army must modify itself to correspond to the new phase of development of the Soviet Republic. Obviously, while the country was obliged to carry on a desperate war on all fronts there could be no question of creating a regular militia service, that system exists to-day only in its embryonic form of universal military training.

The idea of the militia arose at once amongst the bourgeoisie and from the Socialists of the Second International. In his book, "L'Armée Nouvelle," Jaures foretold that a militia army, in a democratic republic, would little by little come to transform and socialize the mobilized citizens. But the imperialist war, the Revolution, and, finally, the creation of our Red Army, have shown that the character of an army is not determined merely by its form. It was suggested that the militia system would assure the defense of the country at much less cost; on the contrary, a well-organized militia will be much more costly than a standing army, if only for the reason that it covers infinitely vaster masses of the population. The fact is that the militia system has been simply forced upon the nations by the march of events; this was seen during the late imperialist war, which forced all States to call up class after class, and, in some cases, to multiply tenfold their peace effectives. But the principal argument for the militia system is that, to have an army, we must produce, and, in order to produce, we must retain the necessary man-power in the workshops and the fields. The trade unions will certainly play a considerable part in the organization of the army.

If we speak of militarization of Labor, we must also set before ourselves the idea of industrializing our army. A militia is necessary of a territorial character, we must therefore transform its present administrative areas in such a way that they will have as pivot an industrial center. In short, in every area the industrial proletariat will be the basis of the militia. In the present period of transition it is not possible first to demobilize the Red Army and then to create a militia; these two processes will take place simultaneously, and the defensive powers of our Republic will not be weakened for a single day, for a single hour.

Finally, thanks to the militia system, our country will be able at the same time to solve the problems of economic reconstruction and to defend the Revolution." Trotsky's theses on this subject (reprinted in The London "Call" of April 15th) were unanimously approved.

The Congress was closed by a speech in which Lenin reminded delegates that it was a spirit of strict party discipline which had up to the present assured the Republic of all its miraculous successes; all efforts could thus be concentrated on one essential task at a time. The same energy and spirit must now be introduced into economic life. This would be a difficult task, but gradually, day by day, and inch by inch, stocks of corn could be replenished, machines repaired, factories going, and the economic problem would be solved just as the military one had been. The workers of all countries were watching Russia and awaiting new victories.

After this speech, on the motion of Preobrazhensky, Lenin's oldest friends—Kamenev, Bukharin, Kallin, Radek, and Riazanov—addressed the Congress on the subject of the life and work of the leader of the world Revolution, who would on April 10th attain the age of 50. Bukharin called him the most perfect type of logical Marxist theoretician and statesman. "Lenin is exempt from all narrowness of view. His universal spirit seizes in every period the characteristic tendency and gives clear, exact, and considered replies which are always to the point. He has always struggled against the least manifestation of opportunism and has always attacked the least traces of bourgeois spirit." Kallin attested the affection and respect which all workers cherished towards Lenin. Riazanov characterized him as a figure who is both national, in the Russian working-class movement, and international, as is shown by the revolutionary murmurs which agitate the whole world in reply to Lenin's words.

In spite of Lenin's protests, these speeches were greeted with a great ovation.

The new Central Committee, elected on the 8th day of the Congress, comprises: Andrelev, Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Zinoviev, Kallin, Kamenev, Krestinsky, Lenin, Preobrazhensky, Rudzutak, Radek, Rakovsky, Rykov, Sergeiko, Serebriakov, Smirnov, Stalin, Tomsy and Trotsky.

GERMANY

The Communist Party.

Boris Souvarine, in the course of an article in "L'Humanité" of April 19th, replying to certain statements made by Caussy, the "Humanité" correspondent in Berlin, states that in October, 1919, at its Heidelberg Congress, despite the mass persecutions and suppressions it had suffered, the K.P.D. (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands) numbered 104,000. At the beginning of March, when in Berlin, he was told by Talkelmer, editor-in-chief of the "Rote Fahne" and collaborator of the "Internationale" (the review founded by Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg) that the terrorized printers refused to print the Communist organs even after a short break in the state of siege had given them, for a few days, the possibility of appearing. Before the last suppression of January 13th, one of the two "Rote Fahne" (each of the two Communist-anti-parliamentarian and syndicalist as well as orthodox—parties has its own), printed by the most primitive methods, had a circulation of 24,000 copies when there was no material possibility of printing more. Talkelmer declared that, without boasting, the circulation would reach 100,000, if access to modern typographical establishments were not forbidden.

A Fifth International?

The "Vorwaerts," April 18th, has a leading article in which they bewail how misunderstood they (the majority Socialists) are abroad. They note with pleasure the series of articles written by Mistral (a Centre Socialist) after his sojourn in Germany during the Kapp coup in "L'Humanité," in which he approves in the main of the majority Socialist tactics, but even that has not the desired effect on the French and other Socialist parties as a whole. Their crying need is an "international" where they could make their views and actions known, and as no one is prepared to help them, they, the majority Socialists, must act on their own. To call together an international, we presume. Whether the second or a "fifth" is not clear from the article. But truly the plight of the

Editor's Note: This letter from our International Secretary has just reached us in time for publication. Comrade Fraina is abroad making contact with the Communist movement there and participating in the work of the Third International.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SUB-BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Comrades:

The Socialist Party of the United States has decided to affiliate with the Communist International, and has made application accordingly to G. Zinoviev. In considering this application, the following points should be born in mind:

1.—The mere decision to affiliate with the Communist International is in itself of small value; the decisive factor is acceptance, in theory and practice, of Communist fundamentals.

2.—The resolution of the American Socialist Party in favor of affiliating with the Communist International is silent concerning acceptance of the principles and tactics of the International. At the last National Convention of the Party, August 30, 1919 (at which, incidentally, the expulsion of 40,000 Communists from the Party, was overwhelmingly approved) mass action, Soviets and proletarian dictatorship as means of Revolution were rejected, the Socialist Party evading every actual problem of revolutionary theory and practice.

3.—The policy of the Socialist Party is completely dominated by the conception of parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The party is not revolutionary; on the contrary, it is shamelessly opportunist; its tactics are comprised in dependence upon petty-bourgeois democracy, parliamentarism, reformism, and co-operation with the liberals and reactionary trades-unions.

4.—The revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party have either been expelled or have seceded—of the former party membership, approximately 50,000 are now in the Communist Party, 8000 in the Communist Labor Party, and only 30,000 are still in the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party now consists wholly of the Right and the Centre; opportunists and reformists, all. The dominant personalities in the Socialist Party are: Morris Hillquit, an unprincipled, refined opportunist of the Longuet type; Victor L. Berger, a social-patriot who, in 1913, urged that the United States should conquer and annex Mexico; Seymour Stedman, a typical petty bourgeois radical, who, upon the expulsion of 40,000 Communists from the party, declared in a capitalist newspaper: "The Socialist Party has been purged of its Bolshevism"; Meyer London, who, as a member of Congress, supported the war and was not expelled from the Party; Algernon Lee, who, while a member of the New York City Board of Aldermen, voted to promote the sale of Liberty (war) Bonds and urged war against Germany "in order to save the Russian Revolution." All the leaders who represented the Socialist Party as a typical party of the old International are still dominant; there has been a purge of the Communists, but not of the opportunists, of the Right and Centre.

5.—The Socialist Party prides itself upon having declared against the war. a) The revolutionists largely responsible for the anti-war declaration are now out of the party. b) The party's official policy, as expressed by the leaders who are now still dominant in the Socialist Party, was one of petty bourgeois pacifism and miserable opportunism.

6.—The Socialist Party wages a strong campaign against intervention in Russia and for recognition of the Russian Soviet Government; but this campaign is scarcely distinguishable from the campaign of the petty bourgeois radicals. Moreover, the Socialist Party neither emphasizes nor appreciates that aspect of the Russian Proletarian Revolution which makes mandatory the revolutionary reconstruction of Socialism.

7.—Five Socialist Party representatives elected to the Legislature of the State of New York have been denied their seats by the Legislature. The Socialists' defense at their trial had three aspects: a) That constitutional government and democracy are menaced by the act of the Legislature; b) that the Socialist Party has no connection with the Communists; c) that it is not true that Socialist Party aims to establish a Soviet Republic in the United States, since favoring the Russian Soviet Republic "does not mean proposing, or even dreaming, that a system which develops naturally from Russia's material conditions is adaptable to a highly complex economic system such as that of the United States."

8.—The Government's savage campaign of repression against the Communists does not involve the Socialist Party. In a declaration issued January 23rd, 1920, justifying the repressive campaign of the Department of Justice, Attorney General Palmer said: "Certainly such an organization as the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party cannot be construed to fall within the same category as the Socialist Party of America, which latter organization is pledged to the accomplishment of changes in the Government by lawful and rightful means."

9.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in a session of March 8, 1920 (two months after the decision to affiliate with the Communist International), revealed three significant facts.

a) That a number of trades-unions had been invited to send delegates to the Party Convention of May 8th—indicating that the Socialist Party is merging more completely in reactionary craft unionism.

German majority Socialists is a sad one. Between the social patriots of other countries, who dislike them because they are German, and supported their country in the war, and the Communists of all countries, who denounce them because of their betrayal of the German working class, there is no haven for them except—where they naturally have fallen—in the arms of the German bourgeoisie.

SWITZERLAND

The "Internationals: Dead and Stillborn.

A Berne message to "L'Humanité" of April 16th, states that the American S. P., although affiliated by its recent vote to the Third International, has signified its approval of the Swiss "Reconstruction" proposals. The same message states that Camille Huysmans has convoked the 10th congress of the Second "International" for July 31st at Geneva.

A Communist Conference Forbidden.

The Vand Cantonal Government has forbidden the holding, anywhere within its jurisdiction, of the conference of Communist organizations which has been summoned for April 17th-18th at Yverdon by the Communist group within the Swiss Socialist Party. ("L'Humanité," April 16th, 1920.)

b) That a demonstration for political prisoners was being arranged together with the Freedom Foundation and the National Civil Liberties Bureau—indicating the Socialist Party's co-operation and affiliation with petty bourgeois radicals.

c) That Jean Longuet was to speak in the United States under the auspices of the party—indicating the opportunist and centrist character of the Socialist Party's international affiliations.

10.—Historically, the Socialist Party developed as the American expression of the opportunism and reformism which became dominant in the Second International at the close of the XIX century; the party represented and still represents moderate petty bourgeois Socialism. The decision of this party to affiliate with the Communist International is the product of two factors: a) Undefined sympathy of the party membership with the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Republic; the Communist International being identified with the Soviet Republic and a means of assisting this Republic, instead of as a means of revolutionary struggle and the reconstruction of Socialism. b) The "diplomacy" of miserable Left-Center in the Socialist Party, which considers it a "clever stroke" to affiliate with the Communist International imagining that this might impair the power of the Communist Party of America.

The admission of the American Socialist Party to the Communist International would be a serious blow to the American Communist movement and to the International itself.

A serious and menacing situation now prevails in the Communist International. The old International is broken in pieces; in this, the Communist International has performed a magnificent task of destruction, but the Communist International has not yet performed the constructive task of organizing itself on a definite basis. All sorts of parties and groups formerly affiliated with the old International, and which have not purged themselves of the Center and Right, are asking admission to the Communist International; for our International to admit these undesirable elements would mean reconstituting the Second International under the name of Communist International. The situation is dangerous and requires immediate and uncompromising action; the Communist International must double-bolt its doors against undesirable elements, it must do nothing to impair its own revolutionary integrity or to hamper the conscious Communist movement in any particular country.

In the name of the Communist Party of America, accordingly, I call for the rejection of the application of the American Socialist Party for admission to the Communist International; and that, pending final action by the Executive Committee in Moscow (or a Congress of the International), the Sub-Bureau of the International shall not enter into any relations with the American Socialist Party. March 30, 1920.

Louis C. Fraina,
International Secretary, C. P. A.

APPEAL TO THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND BELGIAN PROLETARIAT

(Continued from page 3.)

ruling classes? Will you be your brothers' murderers? Will you by committing the abominable deed prepare your own destruction for tomorrow?

Or will you profit by the lessons of six years of unheard of sufferings of heart-rending experiences? Have you beheld the light that shines out of the East? Has the dawning of a new immense hope scattered the mists of your unconsciousness? Has it cleansed your soul, and strengthened your heart?

If so, you know what you have to do: to do immediately, to-day; to-morrow might be too late.

You must, on a large scale, repeat for your German brothers and with infinitely greater firmness and vigor, what you attempted to do for your Russian brothers, and, what however is insufficient and weak still has contributed to their salvation.

British Proletarians! Remember the stormy magnificent meetings of the Hands-off-Russia Committee. They were a ford for the raising of the blockade.

French Proletarians and Soldiers! Remember the men of the Black Sea Fleet, the dockers of Bordeaux. Their courage has contributed to the defeat of the partisans of military intervention.

Workers of the Entente! Loudly proclaim your solidarity with the German revolution!

Exact from your Governments the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territory.

Railwaymen, refuse to effectuate the transport of any troops or any arms or munitions to Germany.

All of you answer any attempt on the part of your Governments to strangle the German revolution by extending and intensifying your own revolutionary activity. Make it plain to them, that if the international bourgeoisie is one in the defense of its ruined and rotten social order, the international proletariat is one in the heroic struggle for deliverance.

Boldly forward, Comrades!

At this instant the fate of the European Revolution depends on you, on your initiative, on your farsightedness.

Hurrah for the Communist Revolution in Germany!

Hurrah for the World Revolution, the Universal Soviet Republic!

The Executive of The Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of The Third International.

D. J. Wynkoop,
Henriette Roland Holst,
G. A. Rutgers.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

(Continued from page 2.)

as indicated in my industrial report is of the utmost importance not only to the British movement but to the International. The leftward movement is to the good but the danger of accepting it uncritically is most marked. Without the international stiffens and emphasizes the need for clarity and the acceptance of the full responsibilities of its policy, there may be witnessed the swamping of the Third International by the middle-headed leaders of the Second International.

Probably nowhere is there greater danger of this than in Great Britain where social sentiment gives place so much to clear thinking. It is a welcome sign to see the Socialist movement being forced to take itself to task where it has been as sentimental as parochial.

A Communist Party, or two Communist parties may be formed in Britain therefore at an early date. There is a tremendous task before them even though history is urging things along at a rapid pace.

J. T. Murphy,
S. S. Workers Committees.

Amsterdam, March 1920.