

gradually and peacefully — the "penetration" of Capitalism by Socialism.

i) The objective of the class struggle is the conquest of the power of the state. The industrial unions (or the parliaments) are not the means for the conquest of power, but mass action, Soviets and proletarian dictatorship. The parliamentary and doctrinaire industrial union (Syndicalist) conception both evade all actual problems of the revolution.

j) After the conquest of power and under the protection of proletarian dictatorship, industrial unionism comes actually to function in the Communist reconstruction of society in terms of control and management of industry by the industrially organized producers.

3.—The Conference adopted a thesis on Social Patriots and Unity, which I prepared and introduced in the name of the Communist Party of America, after adding one amendment strengthening the proposals. The thesis stresses the fact that the social-patriots and opportunists are the worst enemy of the proletarian revolution, with whom there can be no Communist unity or co-operation; and, moreover, it particularizes and accomplishes five very definite and practical things:

a) Provides that the Communist International reject the admission of any party or group (such as the Longuet "majoritaires" in France or the American Socialist Party) even should these affiliate with the Third International.

b) Rejects definitely the proposals of Jean Longuet, Morris Hillquit and the Independent Socialist Party of Germany for the organization of "another International" to include the social-patriots and opportunists of the Second International "and also" the Bolsheviks and the Communists.

c) Emphasizes the incompatibility of a Communist Party tolerating social-patriots and opportunists in the party (indirectly condemning the Socialist Party of Italy for not expelling its social-patriots and opportunists, particularly in the parliamentary group).

d) Uncompromisingly repudiates Communist Party co-operation with social-patriot or opportunist organizations, with bourgeois or social-patriotic parties, with parties affiliated with the Second International, or with the agents of Capitalism in the Labor movement. (This implies that the Communist Party about to be organized in England by unity of the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, Workers' Socialist Federation and the South Wales Socialist Society, must reject affiliation with the Labor Party — the British Socialist Party favors this affiliation, the others are against).

e) Rejects the concept of Communist unity "in general", urging that unity must be based not upon formal acceptance of general principles, but agreement upon fundamental action.

The tendency of the thesis on So-

cial-Patriots and Unity is to preserve and strengthen the revolutionary integrity of the Communist International, to prevent the International being swamped under the onrush of undesirable elements from the Second International.

4. — The Conference did not act on the problem of Parliamentarism, being dispersed by the police. There were before the Conference three proposals on this problem — a thesis introduced by Anton Pannekoek, a series of amendments introduced by myself in the name of the Communist Party of America, and a resolution introduced by Sylvia Pankhurst — (Workers' Socialist Federation of England) the tendency of which was to reject the Communist use of parliamentarism. The resolution of Sylvia Pankhurst would have received her own vote, and perhaps that of the delegate representing the Opposition in the Communist Party of Germany. The original thesis and the amendments would, I think, have been adopted substantially if not actually as proposed; they thus formulate the problem:

a) Parliamentarism is not the means for the conquest of political power — the proletariat must create its own organs of struggle and of state power, the Soviets and proletarian dictatorship. The Communist use of parliamentarism is secondary to the mass struggle of the proletariat, being used for purposes of agitation only and to emphasize the political character of the class struggle.

b) Even in the epoch of Imperialism, when parliaments degenerate in function and become side-shows, the revolutionary use of parliamentarism and participation in election is important in mobilizing the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

c) The tendency to opportunism latent in parliamentarism must be resisted by (1) emphasizing its agitational and secondary character, and (2) rigorous party control of parliamentary representatives and their immediate expulsion should they develop an opportunist or non-Communist tendency.

d) Limiting the number of public offices for which nomination are made, the limitation to be determined by the conditions in each country (as, for example, the Communist Party of America excluding nomination for executive offices of the bourgeois state).

e) In periods of intense class struggle, although not yet revolutionary, a temporary abstention from parliamentarism may most effectively promote our revolutionary purposes; in that event, a Boycott of the Elections becomes necessary.

d) In the period of actual revolution, the complete repudiation of parliamentarism may become necessary.

While the Communist use of parliamentarism in this sense was insisted upon, the Conference did not make mandatory the acceptance of parliamentarism; in the thesis on Social-Patriots and Unity the conditions proposed as the basis on which

Communist groups should unite are mass action, Soviets, proletarian dictatorship, and no compromise — (including acceptance of the necessity for a Communist Party as the unifying and directing force in the revolutionary struggle).

5. — The Conference devoted a large part of its labor to the problem of organization — of making the International actually function on a world basis, of unifying and centralizing the movement. While the Executive Committee in Moscow still remains the supreme executive authority, the Conference organized supplementary machinery for purposes of immediate contact, expression and unity.

a) The Conference decided to create an International sub-Bureau composed of one delegate from each country (where in a country there is more than one organization affiliated with the International, the one vote is divided equally). Meetings of the sub-Bureau may be held when there are present the representatives of five out of the six following countries: England, Germany, France, Italy, Holland and the United States.

b) An Executive Committee was elected composed of Henriette Roland-Holst, S. J. Rutgers and D. I. Wynkoop. The Executive is located in Holland; it is to act for the sub-Bureau and to issue a Bulletin in German, English and French.

c) The sub-Bureau and the Executive Committee are empowered to complete certain phases of the work of the Conference. Their chief task is to link up the world movement with the Central Executive of the International in Moscow; and to facilitate this task the Conference created two subsidiary bureaus — (a) A Central European Bureau, for activity in Germany, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria; — (b) the American Bureau of the Communist International, to be organized provisionally by the Communist Party of America; this Bureau to call a Pan-American Conference of Communist organizations at which the Bureau is to be organized on a permanent basis. It has since transpired that a representative of the International recently organized a Latin-American Bureau in Mexico City, which publishes an organ "El Soviet," and which has issued a call for a Conference. The mandate given to the Communist Party of America by the International Conference must, accordingly, be exercised in conjunction with the Latin-American Bureau the machinery of which must be utilized and transformed into the larger activity of the American Bureau of the Communist international through the intervention of our party. The American Bureau is to represent the International on the American continents, unite the movement of Latin-America, the United States and Canada, and issue proclamations on affairs immediately concerning the proletariat of the Americas.

(To be continued.)