

London and Moscow

By KARL RADEK.

At the Scarborough Conference of the Labor Party a ghost appeared—Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the Second International, who declared that the Second International was about to remove its chattels to London. Why this removal?

From the Continent, one half of which is already in the flames of the proletarian revolution, whilst the other half is already feeling the quaking of the earth beneath the tread of the Labor battalions—from the Continent of the rising sun of the world-revolution, the Second International is obliged to flee. The Second International was founded with the object of furthering the cause of the revolution, but in the process of its development it has become the mortal enemy of the Revolution now unfolding.

Workers Leaving Second International.

One workers' party after another is leaving the Second International. Of the continental parties, apart from a few would-be Cabinet Ministers of small States, such as Holland for instance, only the party of blood-stained Noske the executioner of the German workers, is left. The European Continent is lost for the Second International. For the bankrupts of this counter-revolutionary organization there was nothing left but to turn their eyes upon the centre of capitalist counter-revolution. And just as all the Capitalist States of Europe, having lost their own strength, look to British and American capitalism for help, so does Huysmans attempt to save himself in the Noah's Ark of Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson. They see in England and America the centre of a healthy Labor movement, because there the majority of the workers are not conscious yet of their own power, and they trust the leaders who betray the working class, selling their bodies to the capitalist governments. The Huysmans hope to find a safe shelter in countries where Labor leaders like Henderson, or the old knave of Gompers, still have influence.

At the same time the bankrupt politicians of the Second International cast furtive looks at heroic Soviet Russia, at Petrograd, and Moscow, at the Congress of the Communist International. And no wonder. Whilst English capitalism is the prop of the counter-revolution of the world, the Russian proletariat represents the vanguard of the World Revolution, and Russia the spring of the future federation of European Soviet Republics, the main reservoir of human power in the fight against the capitalist counter-revolution.

Russia, the Teacher of the Proletariat.

History imposed upon the Russian proletariat the necessity of being the first to accomplish the proletarian revolution, and although it is younger and less experienced than the proletariat of other countries, nevertheless, because it was the first to hoist the banner of revolution, the first to carry it into effect, it had become the teacher of the proletariat of the world. It goes without saying that the word of the Russian proletariat is not the last word of the revolution, that the Russian proletariat will have much to learn from the proletariat of other countries when the latter will have taken up the fight against the exploiters; for the present, however, it has said the first word from which the proletarians of other countries have to learn, and they hurry across land and sea to the Congress of the Communist International, and do not halt in the face of tremendous difficulties. Amongst the delegates of the Communist International there are comrades, who, upon their return from the first Congress, fell into the hands of the White Guards, were sentenced to death, but miraculously made good their escape. There are amongst them workers, who, though not yet Communists, have overcome unheard-of obstacles, in order to see with their own eyes how the Russian proletariat is fighting, in order to find out what the Communist International can teach them. We are opposing the Communist International to the Second International: the International of Action to the International of Phrases.

Every delegate to the Communist Congress can prove by the experience of his own life that in the midst of the old world now going under in madness, a new working class is rising, new leaders are being born, who are ready at any moment to lay down their life in the cause of the workers.

Communist Influence Growing.

We are firmly convinced that in this fight the call of the European proletariat will be answered also by those workers on whom the ghost of the Second International, the lackey of the bourgeoisie, are pinning their faith. The English and American workers are taking their first step on the road to Revolution, and they, too, are already in the grip of a wide fermentation, and their distrust of their leaders is growing. Equally the influence exercised upon them by Communism is growing. At the same Scarborough Conference, which was addressed by Huysmans, the workers have declared for the unconditional liberation of India, Egypt and Ireland. What does this imply? It implies that the workers comprehend that the policy of oppression, pursued by the ruling classes of England in the colonies, is pregnant with the great evil misery for the English workers, that it is drawing them into a new war, and will yet increase the burden of taxation, and that it is driving to rebellion the peasants of the colonies, on which England is dependent for its raw

material and cereals. However, for the English bourgeoisie to abandon the colonies would mean committing suicide, and it will never consent to such a course. The English workers will therefore be faced with the alternative: either to rise against their bourgeoisie, so that in their struggle for liberation they may win the confidence of the peasants of the colonies, and in the future obtain from them all they need in a friendly way of proletarian intercourse; or the English workers may continue to serve the interests of their bourgeoisie, in which case they will become the "object" of the revolutionary policy of the world proletariat, the "object" of revolutionary policy of society in revolt. If as yet the majority of the English workers are still the flunkies of their bourgeoisie, history, which has condemned the world-bourgeoisie to death, will compel them through war and famine to rise against their masters, and, for their own safety, to join the ranks of the militant revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Moscow and London are now two world poles, two emblems. The one is the emblem of the new world of Labor, born into the light of day in terrible pain, and the other is the emblem of the world of exploiters and capitalist, collapsing into the utter decay of rottenness and filth.

Poland or Moscow.

At the moment of the meeting of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the London of the exploiters is threatening the Moscow of the proletarians of the whole world with a new war. It wants to hold back the proletarian sword raised against perfidious White Poland. It tells the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia: "Do not dare to touch the Polish landlords and capitalists, because they are a part of our capitalist army". On its side, the Communist International of the proletarians will tell the Russian workers: "Do not waver in the fight against the enemy who has hung himself upon you with the help of world-capital, in order to interrupt your constructive work, to hinder the building up of a new free life; fight this enemy, and we proletarians of all countries will help you."

We are convinced that the help rendered by the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the Russian workers in their fight against White Poland, will prove more effective and mighty than the assistance which Lloyd George and Millerand may offer to White Poland, because the guns they may send to Poland are made by the workers, and the boats and trains which are to carry munitions are in the hands of the railwaymen and sailors, the exploited workers, our brothers and allies.

Moscow and London are now world poles, but the foundation of London is the very same labor which in Russia has freed itself, and in England it is striving too, with all its soul, to become free. The ground beneath the London of the capitalists is shaking, and therefore this London, the centre of the counter-revolution of the whole world, is going to be destroyed, in order to become the centre of the World Revolution.

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regular introduction of demonstrative bills, not that they may be passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labor demonstrations in the streets, or other revolutionary movements, the Communist deputy must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist deputies must enter, by all means at their disposal, into relations (under the control of the Party) either in writing or otherwise, with the revolutionary workmen, peasants and other toilers, and not resemble, in this respect, the Social-Democratic deputies who try to enter into business relations with their electors.

8. Every Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator", who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order there to carry out the orders of the Party. The Communist member is responsible not to the scattered mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether legal or illegal.

9. The Communist deputies must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman and shepherd so that the Party can publish his speeches in leaflet form and spread them in the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank and file Communist workers must not be shy of speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not to give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need, the workmen members may read their speeches directly from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflets.

11. The Communist members must make use of the floor of parliament to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its declared hangers-on, but also to unmask the social-patriots, the reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the Centre, and the other opponents of Communism

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minist, of the people in the working class movement, consist in helping the most advanced sections of the Industrial workers to organize little by little, the whole mass of the proletariat, including the unskilled workers, and to include them in the constructive work of the state. The policy of industrialism, which at first sight appears to be radical, is, in practice, only the opportunist policy of the leaders of the working class aristocracy. When all is said and done, this policy will be the same as that of the social traitors.

STATE TRADE UNIONS.

The All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in January, 1918, declared its conviction that the process which is taking place in the Trade Unions will lead to their transformation into departments of the Socialist state, and, at the same time, Trade Union membership will be a state obligation for all the workers who belong to the same branch of industry" (Par. 9 of the resolution.)

This conviction of the All-Russian Congress is based on facts. The Industrial Unions are gradually assuming the attributes of state departments. They really work as a veritable department of the state when they mobilize all their members, when they concentrate workers in a given town, when they transfer the workers from one part of Russia to another, when they give their vote on question of wages, when they exercise, by means of their representatives, a decisive influence on the activity of the Supreme National Economic Council.

And just because this transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments takes place gradually, and quite normally, there is no present necessity of forcing this process, there is no need to proclaim from one minute to another the transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments. The Communists who work in the Industrial Unions have every reason for adhering to the resolution of the First and Second All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in this matter.

GROUPS, TRADE UNIONS AND LOCAL BRANCHES OF THE PARTY.

In every Industrial Union there should be a Communist section, strongly organized and disciplined in order that each section may propagate the same economic policy as that of the Central Communist group, which is in the All-Russian Trade Unions' Council. No concession to what is called "Localism" should be made. Wages, hours of labor, food questions and so on should all be considered from the All-Russian point of view. Each Communist group within an Industrial Union is merely a kernel of the local branch of the Communist Party. The local committee of the Party completely dominates the Industrial Union branch of the town, while the Central Committee of the Party controls, by its dominating influence, the All-Russian Committee of the Industrial Unions.

The Communist Party is the force to be counted on for the mobilizing the workers for industry and for the Red army. The Committee of the Party comes to an understanding with the Communist groups in the Industrial Unions. The Communist Party directs all the constructive side of the Trade Union activity, but it takes care that this direction shall never be of a domineering character.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL WORKER.

One of the most important tasks of the working class movement at present in Russia is the organization of the rural workers. It is necessary to help the already existing organizations of the workers by all possible means. The Communists working in the working class movement should consider it an honor to organize the rural workers. This task requires a good deal of energy and power.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

In consequence of certain peculiarities in the evolution of the working class movement in Western Europe, a false conception exist about the Trade Unions among the German Communists and the Communists of other countries. Our party believes that we cannot do without the Trade Unions. During the proletarian revolution the Trade Unions will split up in the same way as the old Social-Democratic parties have done. The experiences of the German working class movement showed us that already the Berlin Trade Unions are freeing themselves from the pernicious influence of the social-democracy of Scheidemann.

The Russian Trade Union movement should take the initiative in creating a Red Trade Union International, in the same way as the political party has done in the political field. At the Congress of the Red International, not only should the organizations of the party be represented, but also the organizations of the Workers' Councils, the Co-operative societies, and the Communist Trade Unions which approve of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviets. Meantime it is necessary to create an International Union to take their stand in the Communist International.

and to spread, as widely as possible, the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist deputies, even though there should be only one or two of them in parliament, should be their whole conduct but a challenge at capitalism, and never forget that only such are worthy of the name of Communists as, not in words only but in deeds, are the mortal enemies of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkies.