

about once in a fortnight some nice picture post-cards to the Communist International". A part of his pleasant dialogue between the friends was reported officially at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International. This conversation was quoted by Comrade Serrati in his official speech in the Executive Committee. Who knows the activity of the deputy Modigliani differs from the Italian reformists, in that in him a certain Italian sentimentality is wonderfully mixed with an incredible coarse, political cynicism. The reformist Modigliani in his short but meaning sentence has expressed the holy of the holies of "left" reformism. Yet, all these gentlemen suppose that to join the Communist International does not obligate them to anything except sending pretty post-cards. On the other hand there is a distinct profit for them in entering the Third International; in the eyes of the common workmen they will shine with the glory of the Third International. The workmen will have more confidence in them, and in any case, will cease to whistle at them at the meetings. The Modigliani do not act as brutally as the Noskes. The lesson of Kerensky and Seretelli has been of some use to them. They do not enter a bourgeois government where they would be willingly accepted.

They "Conserve" themselves for better days. Instead of this they want meanwhile to "enter" the Third International (as if it was some kind of hotel!) conquer a situation among the hour comes then they will come out and meet revolutionary workmen, and when the decisive with interior sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is necessary to make clear to all these reformists that entrance in to the Third International demands something more, and that the Communist International will know how to see through the very "finest" policy of the most able diplomats of the modern reformism. The Communist International is becoming the fighting organization of revolutionary workmen. We need fighters,—not diplomats.

II.

The revolutionizing of the working class of the whole world, in one region produced those unattractive results on the "top" of the old Socialist parties, which we have mentioned above. The same revolutionizing in another region produced other results. We mean the instructive revolutionary, though theoretically still uncertain, movement of factory, shop stewards in England (Shop Stewards' Committees), of Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) in many countries, and also the revolutionary Syndicalists and Anarchists.

The Russian Bolsheviks defined their attitude toward revolutionary Syndicalism already 15 years ago, when revolutionary Syndicalism was finishing its honeymoon. And the Russian Bolsheviks even then tried to separate the grain from the chaff and find the wholesome seed in the irresistible protest of the working masses against opportunism, expressing itself in sympathy with revolutionary Syndicalism. We must follow the same line now. And the First Constituent Congress of the Communist International has fully marked itself this line of conduct. The hostility to calling in adherents of factory shop stewards, revolutionary Syndicalists and others, which we notice on the part of some eminent leaders of the Communist International, we must suppress at any cost.

In this movement no doubt there is a lot of vagueness and muddle, we do not deny that for one minute. But at the same time the movement of the factory shop stewards is at bottom a healthy movement, and by its consistency a proletarian movement. We must learn to wait patiently until it crystallizes into a Communist one. We must rely to facilitate and hasten this process.

These movements have a transitory character. They are born by original evolution in the countries where the old "classical" trade unions and old formal Socialist Parties have compromised themselves hopelessly, but where Communist Parties have not yet had time to be founded or are still very weak. Such are in the first place America and England. The Communist International must not and will not surrender a single idea to the prejudices of the instinctively revolutionary but theoretically uncertain, movements. But it will stretch out its hand in open comradeship in the complete certitude that these groups will approach us more and more every day.

What the revolutionary Syndicalists, the factory shop stewards, Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Wing of Anarchists need most of all, is the understanding of the part played by the Communist Party.

The adherents of the mentioned movements have been used to consider the two—"politics" and "policy" as equal. They were used to see only unprincipled parties, only the ones guided by parliamentary career makers and demoralized by opportunism. To convince these people, to heal these organizations of inimical feeling against the Party in general, one must show them other parties as an example—sincere Communist Parties with a clear program, revolutionary tactics and iron discipline, parties knowing how to imbibe all that there is best in the working class, parties knowing how to lead the proletariat to the siege of the fortresses of capital. Here what is most needed is the propaganda of action. "You do not believe that really proletarian Communist Parties are possible? You think that all parliamentarism is opportunism? You think that all parties only

busy themselves with political diplomacy. Look: here is the Russian Communist Party, who has managed to place itself at the head of all the working class of its country and expropriate the bourgeoisie.—Look! Here is the German Communist Party, which knows in the spite of every thing how to reunite all the power of the working class in its ranks. Look! In Italy, Bulgaria, France, England, America such parties are being formed. Look and learn,

The Debate on Trade Unions.

From Stenographic Report of the proceedings of the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International for August 5, 1920.

Comrade Radek reported for the Committee on Trade Unions and Shop Committees. In the course of his remarks he said that the American comrades under the pretence of submitting an amendment to the thesis now before the Congress, wanted to impose principles which are not in keeping with the ideas presented in the committee's thesis on participation in the activities of the trade unions. Radek said, "In words they have recognized the thesis but in fact they have repudiated it by bringing in their amendment. This amendment, introduced by the American Delegation, provides that they can withdraw from participation in the old trade unions when ever they see fit. As a matter of fact they advocate the idea of boycotting the old trade unions.

Quoting the decisions of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY of America, Radek said, "The gist of these decision in reference to the trade unions, put forward the idea of splitting the American Federation of Labor. They urge their members to work within the trade unions, not for the purpose of improving them, but in order to destroy them. The Congress must take steps to enforce its decisions on this question. Our attitude on this question will not decide the fate of the A. F. of L., but the whole future of the Communist movement in America depends upon it. No compromise can be tolerated on this question.

Comrade Radek then discussed in detail, the various amendments submitted and adopted by the Executive Committee of the Third International, analysing the addenda made to the theses defining the role and the problems of the trade unions, after the conquest of power by the proletariat. These additions to the theses were made to counter act syndicalist ideas which teach that the federations of autonomous trade unions after the revolution will administer and direct the economic process with out the control of the Proletarian State.

Continuing, Radek said, "This matter will be kept under consideration by the Third International, because of the fact that the progressive development of the labor movement brings about new forms of organization which must be studied from day to day. It is the intention of the Congress to take into consideration and to answer only those questions which arise from immediate problems as they develop from events and within organizations of the labor movement. The Third International was formed in a period of intense struggle, during which the forms of organization in the labor movement under went rapid changes, and we cannot tell at this time, what the future of such movements as the Shop Stewards in England, the Shop Committees of Germany, etc., etc., will be. One thing can be stated emphatically at this time, and that is, that we must not permit the destruction of the old trade unions, which unite large masses of the workers. Within these mass organizations we should conduct Communist propaganda, but we must not create dual organizations. The activity and the role of the opportunist leaders in the old trade unions is effective only while the masses are passive. Concluding Radek said, "We observe with a robust optimism the progress of the labor movement, and only by active participation in the trade unions will we be able to conquer these powerful organizations of the working class".

Comrade Reed of the United States, then took the floor, and said, "I emphatically protest against the insinuation of Comrade Radek, that the American comrades intend to sabotage the Thesis. The Amendment submitted by the American Delegation was conceived not in the spirit of sabotage, but because of the differences existing on this question between the majority delegates in the Congress and the Anglo-American delegates. On this question the same confusion and contradictions obtain which we see in the theses of the Third International". Comrade Reed then proposed that paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7 be stricken out as confusing, indefinite, and unsatisfactory.

Comrade Zinoviev, taking the floor, remarked, right at the start, that no compromise with the American comrades will be tolerated on this question. He said, "They consider the fight within the unions to be impossible, arguing that the leaders and the laws of these unions are reactionary. But what of the bourgeois State, which they intend to conquer? Its constitution and laws are still more reactionary. Generally speaking the American and English comrades imagine that the trade union bureaucracy is a very large and ferocious beast, the reason for this attitude is that

and you will soon understand that to reject the Communist Party is the same as rejecting your right hand". So must we speak to the proletariat in the above mentioned organizations. And they will see then that the Communist International is in the right. And then they will immediately create a strong proletariat basis for our Communist Parties exactly in the countries where this basis is still absent. (To be concluded in the next issue)

they themselves are very small and weak. Our cry must be; always with the masses; always leading the masses; always showing them the road—but never isolating ourselves from them. You say that the masses belonging to the trade unions are conservative and against you; but while these millions, these working masses are against you, with whom do you expect to make the revolution? If you follow the advice of the Anglo-American delegation and leave the trade unions you will only play into the hands of, and please the Legiens, Gompers, and other traitors. We do not wish to repeat the experience of the Paris Commune which succeeded only in perishing heroically. We want to be victorious, and, and this is only possible by leading the organized masses of the proletariat".

Comrade Louis C. Frajna spoke. He said, in part, "The question is not whether we should leave or stay in the trade unions, for no one has expressed the opinion that we should leave them. The question is what shall we do in these trade unions? Even if the communists should succeed in replacing one set of leaders by another, the spirit of the trade unions would remain the same. We are in favor of forming communist nuclei, as well as other independent organizations, to work within the trade unions and while they are in the American Federation of Labor, they must impart the militant spirit, push the unions into revolutionary activity, and through this method, split them".

After the debate was closed on this question a vote was taken. The Thesis on participation in the trade unions was carried by 57 for the thesis, and 8 against.

Resolution on the Unity of American Communist Parties.

..Adopted by the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International, July 24, 1920.

The Chairman, Comrade Serrati, read the following resolution, which was introduced by the whole American Delegation:

Whereas, the complete unity of the American Communist movement is dictated by iron necessity, we the delegates of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY of America, and the COMMUNIST PARTY of America, RESOLVE:—1) To act in this Congress as one united group; 2) To appeal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International to compel all the communist elements to unite on the basis of the principle and tactics of the Third International, decision of the Executive Committee shall and that whoever will not submit to the be disciplined, and 3) That we accept all the decisions that will be made by the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

(Continued from Page 3)

they who seek to ride to power upon the backs of the working class. Not one of these can face the bright light of the Russian Revolution without blinking.

Soviet Russia! in the third year of your immortal trial and triumph we, the Communists of America, greet you. In the darkest period of black imperialist reaction, you raised the red banner of proletarian revolt. Through three long years of disease, hunger and cold, you held aloft the oriflamme of working class emancipation. Through the mists of calumny and treacherous lies, the workers are beginning to hear the message you have brought them. Capitalist Paris, London, and Washington no longer command the attention of the working masses. The eyes of the proletariat of the world are turned toward Communist Moscow. The cohorts of the workers are beginning to move. The iron battalions of the proletariat will soon be marching on to the conquest of the earth beneath the blood red banner of Communism under the leadership of Soviet Russia.