

# What the Communist International Was and What It Must Become.

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(Continued from Niv. 1st issue)

### III.

The Communist International, we repeat, up to now chiefly occupied itself with propaganda. It must now pass to be organizations of direct struggle of the working class of different countries, against the bourgeoisie. This in its turn sets new problems before us. We must manage so that not a single large organization is in the hands of our enemies. We cannot forget that although the Second International is debased an International Union of yellow Trade Unions has been founded in Amsterdam, in which the Second International attempts to find a support.

For the Communist International as a whole there can be no serious questions as to whether Communists shall or shall not leave the Trade Unions—this question was raised by the "left" Communists in Germany, Holland and England. Not to leave the unions, but to enter the unions in the countries where we have not done so yet—such is the motto of the Communist International. Everywhere where there are workmen there must be Communists. We cannot abandon several millions of workmen to the influence of social-traitors and stand aside ourselves. The social-traitors, who have been thrown out of political parties, have now surrounded themselves by a thick wall of Trade Unions.

We must get hold of this fortress, we must conduct a regular systematic patient siege, we must expel the traitors of the working class from their last refuge, we must exterminate their defense between us and the bourgeoisie, and then we shall stand face to face with the capitalists, who will have a hard time then. The Executive Committee of the Communist International already half a year ago raised the question of creating an International Union of Red Labor Unions as a counterweight to the International Union of yellow Social Democratic "free" unions. This beginning, we cannot deny it, develops very slowly. We find in this sphere many practical difficulties. We must consider that even in such a country as Italy, where the working class is entirely on our side, Trade Unions which call themselves Communist are actually in the hands of reformist. We are informed that their reformist leaders intentionally have not summoned a Congress of Italian Trade Unions for six years, for the working masses are much more inclined to the "left" than their reformist leaders. We must consider the separatism in the old Trade Unionism in England (the exclusiveness of the so-called Triple Alliance). All this develops very slowly, and the leaders of the left wing of British Trade Unionists are also often contaminated by reformist prejudices. Another aspect we have to consider, that the leaders of the factory shop stewards and analogous movements are often filled with anarchical prejudices. And last, but not least, the very question of the Reunion of International Trade Unions, in the actual meaning of the matter, can be solved with great difficulty. We are against the entrance of the Amsterdam International Union of yellow Trade Unions into the Central Committee. But we are for the participation of Communists and adherents of Communism in the International!

Congress of Labor Union of separate industries and trades for the latter are rather closely connected with the working class. We are against a general rupture of all trade unions, but we are for a merciless struggle with the yellow leaders of these unions. All this creates great obstacles to the solution of the problems which we have set ourselves. But we repeat, in order that the Communist International should become what it must become, the problem of organization of International Union of Red Labor Unions must be solved at any cost.

### IV.

And at last the Communist International may be what it must be it is necessary that in every country we should have one Communist Party. In America up to now we have two Communist Parties. It is the same thing in Germany. In England we have four or five separate Communist groups, the same in France. This must be put an end to. The clearest difference in principle between the two Communist Parties is to be noticed in Germany. But here, too, we think, the most difficult period is past and now the time is near when we will be able to have a United Communist Party in Germany. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartakus Bund) has undoubtedly committed grave organizational and political mistakes. The chief political mistake consist in its behavior during the Kapp days. We print in the present number the most important declaration of such eminent leaders of the German Communist Party as Clara Zetkin, Paul Levy, Ernst Meyer. These letters, sharply condemning the uncertain position of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party during the Kapp days, create a new situation. They open a way to those sincere revolutionary workmen who have gone over to the new "Left" Communist

Labor Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.), to rejoin the Party. In the K. A. P. D. there are many devoted and honest proletarians, who did not join us because of the opportunism of the majority of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. (The Spartakus Bund). The Communist International will condemn in principle the "left" tendencies of the K. A. P. D. and will point out the mistakes of the Central Committee to the Communist Party of Germany. On these grounds a united Communist Party must be founded in Germany.

In France we must at any cost dissipate the skepticism about the very possibility of founding a Communist Party, which even such experienced comrades, as "for instance" Comrade Rosmer, still display. The time has come when a single Communist Party must at any cost be founded in France. And besides, we must of course begin by the organization of a compact party of actual adherents, which later on will call to their side elements who are not yet Communist.

In England the group of Sylvia Pankhurst has lately made an attempt to found a Communist Party of the "left" on the ground of denial of all participation in parliament and of membership in the British Labor Party. The Communist International can in no case consider this dictum as the last word in Communist wisdom. On the contrary we will do our best to unite all the Communist groups in England without exception, and that, of course, not on a separatist of the "left" movement, but on the platform of decisions of the Communist International as a whole.

The fraternal party of Italy stands in a better way for playing a great historical part in the fate of its country. For this it must clear itself of reformist elements. For this it is necessary that the labor union movement in Italy must not be in the hands of reformists, but of real Communists. It is necessary that the best elements of the Turin section in a certain opposition to the majority of the party as well as the "abstentionist" movement, lead by Comrade Bordiga, should reunite with the leading majority of Italian Communists on the grounds of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The Swedish Communists must go through the same work of excluding from their ranks conscious and unconscious reformists. The reformist sickness is catching. It has contaminated also several young Parties,—as, for instance, our party in Yugo-Slavia. It has not quite spared also the old, experienced Communist Party of Bulgaria. Communists must not remain blind to these weaknesses, even out of a false sense of party patriotism. We must deal with facts and meet danger face to face.

Among Parties belonging and wanting to belong to the Communist International which still contain elements of reformism and of the "center" there is often to be noticed a fact which might be called "a game of follow-the-leader". The Party of a certain country says: "We will not begin a decisive struggle for power until the power has been conquered in the neighboring country. We must protect our rear. Let the others begin. Let victory first be won in that country then we will start". It is clear that the Communist International does not advocate premature and rash revolts. It does not hasten events in any case, but knows how to await their development, calmly and patiently, and calls to action only when the conditions shall ripen. But besides this the Communist International does not forget that such an ideology of "follow-the-leader" struggle was the habit of many Parties of the Second International. This alone is enough to cause us to look upon the above-mentioned arguments with skepticism.

The Communist International in 1919 was chiefly a society of Communist propaganda. The Communist International in 1920 has become a fighting comradeship of workmen, organizing the direct advance on the strongholds of Capitalism. The civil war is not cooling down it is spreading with an unheard-of intensity. The war of Soviet Russia with the Aristocratic Poland has a tremendous international importance, and opens unusually favorable perspectives for international revolution. The events in the East have a tremendous importance. What we see in the Far and Near East is only a feeble beginning. The first flames of the revolutionary conflagration have shown themselves there. The time is near when all the East will be caught in it. In the countries where the working class has been in power, even if only for a few weeks, all the powers of counter-revolution have not been able to interfere in a new proletarian revolution beginning to grow before our eyes.

The workers' blood has been shed in rivers by executioners in Hungary. But there too—and this is evident now—the proletarian revolution will again lift up its head. The second place, according to the amount of crimes committed by the bourgeoisie upon the working class, belongs without doubt to White Finland. But there "too" the proletarian re-

volution is on its feet again. We had occasion lately to talk with two workmen, just arrived from Helsingfors, where they have conducted illegal Communist work for a whole year. One little detail of what is going on now in Finland will show the spirit of the Finland workmen at present. The comrades told us that in nearly all large towns and industrial centres in Finland which were the arena of the struggle between Whites and Reds in 1918 they have organized curious "Saturdays". After dinner on Saturdays and Sundays, at the graveyards where the victims of the White Terror are buried, workmen, and especially workwomen meet in large numbers, dress and arrange the graves, build simple unelaborate memorials to the workmen who fell in the struggle with the bourgeoisie. Simple songs and common verses are composed among the people in memory of the dead. And the usual theme is the simple thought: You have not perished in vain. We are continuing your task. From your bones will rise a sinister revenge.

And the Finnish bourgeoisie sees all this but is helpless to undertake anything because this is general, because thus think all the workmen and a large majority of working peasants. This is a symbol. It throws light immediately on the situation of the proletariat in the cruel civil war which is going on. No one can now crush the proletarian revolution—it can only be delayed; the traitors of our own class can only enrich it with numerous worker-victims.

One thing more did the Helsingfors workman arrived from the country where the bourgeoisie has killed 30,000 proletarians, notice on his way. He said to us: "The Finnish workmen certainly hate the bourgeoisie, but still more do they hate the Social Democrats, who betrayed us during the revolution. Our spirit is this: First deal with the traitors, the yellow Social Democrats; the bourgeoisie will come next". In these words, which sound like a paradox, lies the right valuation of the fact that now in nearly the whole world the bourgeoisie exists only because of the support of the yellow Social Democracy. Never has the reactionary role of the adherents of the Second International been as evident as it is now. A huge work lies still in front of the Communist International and all parties which belong to it. The Communist International must in reality become the General Staff of the International Proletarian Army, which has awakened and is growing stronger before our eyes. The International Communist movement is growing like a snowball. The International Proletarian Revolution is growing too. The Communist International must manage to organize and guide it. The task of the Communist International is not merely to prepare the victory, not only to guide the working class during the seizure of power, but to direct its activity afterward.

The Communist International will either be a united, disciplined, centralized, international fighting organization, or it will be unable to fulfill its great historic task.

This is what the Communist International must become, and what it certainly will succeed in being.

Despite the nation-wide Amnesty Campaign of the Socialist Party, the Civil Liberties Union and other liberal organizations the trials and conviction of Communists go merrily on. In New York, Ruthenberg and Ferguson will be railroaded to jail by the time this issue is out along with Gitlow, Winitsky and Larkin who are languishing in prison for daring to exercise what the Socialists stupidly reiterate as "the inalienable right of free citizens" in this glorious republic.

In Chicago eighty-five men and women charged with being Communists "conspiring to overthrow the Government" are slated for trial this month. We know the verdict in advance. A capitalist court, a capitalist jury and a capitalist press have already pre-judged the case. The trial will merely give formal assent to capitalist lynch-law.

Puzzle: If the Amsterdam Trade-Union International is YELLOW what color is the American Federation of Labor that accuses the former of being too revolutionary?

Watch the British Miners get the same dose as the American miners received last year. The cards are stacked for a great betrayal. Will Smilie go so far and emulate Lewis?

The Socialist Party of Denmark has just decided unanimously to affiliate with the Communist International. The French Socialist Party is holding a congress this week to decide this question. We expect the great majority to affiliate just as the German Independents did several weeks ago. When Hillquit termed the Third International "as nothing more than ideas", (which statement Debs endorsed recently) he forgot to mention that this "idea" is sweeping over the whole civilized world.