

day and gradually forced the centrist administration out of power.

A strong influence upon the growth of the communist group was exercised also by the syndicalist movement within the French trade union movement. The syndicalist movement is a reaction against the opportunists and parliamentarists who attempt to convert parliamentary action into a means for the achievement of our final aim—the establishment of the Communist Society. The experience of history proves the impossibility of the reconstruction of a society upon communist principles by means of parliamentarism. But the syndicalist in contrast to the opportunists went to the other extreme—the negation of political action altogether. They refused to recognize the necessity of using the parliament for revolutionary purposes; they refuse to recognize the necessity of establishing the workers' state—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Opposition to the opportunists and all opportunist tendencies is highly desirable, but the opposition to political action as a whole, i.e. the denial of the necessity for the seizure by force of arms of the political power and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is an anarchist superstition and prejudice inimical to the interests of the working class movement.

The French syndicalists are becoming more and more convinced of the fallacy of their anti-political views and are joining the ranks of the communists in large numbers.

At the last congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours the Communists, supported by the former syndicalist elements, won a brilliant victory over the old majority who were led by the centrists, as well as over the right wing. This congress adopted all the conditions for admission to the Communist International by an overwhelming majority; the vote being, for unqualified acceptance—3500; for acceptance with reservation—1000; against recognition, 500. Thus the Communist Party of France has finally come into being through the splitting of the old French Socialist Party.

What influence will the formation of the Communist Party of France exert upon the development of the international communist movement?

The French bourgeois Republic up to the time of the imperialist world war was the ally of the reactionary and bloody government of the Czar in Russia. In the past the French bourgeois was ruthless and brutal in its struggle against the working class. In France every big strike or demonstration was usually attended by much bloodshed. The French bourgeois government is one of the most reactionary in the world. In 1831, in June 1848, and in May 1871, the French bourgeoisie drowned in blood the revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat.

During the monarchist regime in Russia the government of the Czars was the terror of all nations. Nicholas the first sent an army across the boundaries of Hungary, in

1848, to crush the revolutionary movement in that country; the Czarist government of Russia was the world policeman whom all feared.

Soviet Russia, the government of the workers and peasants, came to the aid of the world proletariat, after first overthrowing the Czarist and bourgeois regimes and establishing the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat of all countries welcomed the defeat and overthrow of the world's policeman—the autocratic government of the Czars; but its place was taken by the present French Bourgeois Republic, which now occupies the position of the world gendarme.

The French government is imperialist and seeks to crush the revolutionary movement in all countries—especially in Russia. The Soviet Government is a thorn in the side of the French Bourgeoisie, which has violently opposed all the Russian proletarian movement from the first day of its existence. Of all the Entente, the French imperialists are the most bitter and brutal adversaries of the Soviets and of every revolutionary proletarian movement in all countries. They participated in the plundering adventures and counter-revolutionary movements in European Russia and Siberia, and instigated all the Baltic and "buffer" states to violence against Soviet Russia. They were instrumental in causing the downfall of the Hungarian Soviet Government by compelling the Roumanian Government to declare war upon it.

During the proletarian uprising in the Ruhr Basin, the French imperialists sent their troops into that province, ostensibly to prevent Germans from invading France, but in reality for the suppression of the German proletarian Revolution. The last adventure of the Polish landlords and capitalists against Soviet Russia was carried out with the direct support of the French imperialists, who incited the Poles to undertake this unprovoked attack.

This despicable role of world gendarme, the French were able to perform because of the guarantees and support of the social-patriots in the French Socialist Party. Even the "centrists" under the leadership of Longuet did not prevent the criminal plots of the French imperialists, because while they recognized Soviet Russia in words, they obstructed the formation of a real Communist Party in France. The Communist Party in France will give rise to a new epoch in the French proletarian movement. The French imperialists will be forced to recognize the power of the communists; they will not have such a free hand as before, when they faced the Socialist Party alone.

The French proletariat is seasoned in the revolutionary struggle. In 1786, one hundred and four years ago, Babeoff promulgated the theory of the common ownership of all wealth, and emphasized the class war, denounced the "Republic of the Rich", and advocated the abolition of all political rights for those who do no useful work. In 1831, the strike of the silk weavers of Lyons was the first insurgent movement of the

wage slaves of France. The first experience of the social revolution on a political basis took place in 1848. The first threat to the whole bourgeois dictatorship appeared in 1871, in Paris. The first conquest of political power by the proletariat, and the proclamation of the proletarian dictatorship, occurred in the same year in Paris.

All this proves that the French proletariat has a revolutionary tradition which will be of the greatest value during the present period of social revolution. The formation of the Communist Party in France will benefit the whole European proletariat. The communists will place every obstacle in the way of the ruling class; they will throw all their strength against a possible invasion by French imperialists of Soviet Russia.

The German proletariat had a dangerous neighbor—the Russian Czarist Government, with its vast army, and therefore the German proletariat did not dare to challenge their oppressors. After the establishing of the Soviet power in Russia the German workers are no longer threatened from the East. The recent experience of the German workers has shown that the French Imperialists will always come to the aid of their German Imperialist friends in order to save the German capitalist system, notwithstanding their recent unpleasantness; because the French imperialists thoroughly understand that the destruction of German capitalism would be followed by the downfall of the bourgeois order in France.

The German proletariat will act and fight more courageously against their ruling class, with the realization that on the western border the Communist Party of France will prevent the French capitalists from crushing the movement in Germany.

The Communist Party of France, as it acquires power, will perform the same role as the Communist Party of Russia, i.e. it will rid the European proletariat of the threat of the world's policeman in the shape of the French capitalist government. The Communist Party of France will prepare the French proletariat to become the shock battalions of the revolution in Western Europe for which their revolutionary traditions has already equipped them.

In Germany the left Independents and the German communists have already united into one German Communist Party. The Communist Party of Germany and the Communist Party of France, under the leadership of the Communist International, will form the force which will overthrow the capitalist governments of Western Europe, and will erect upon their ruins the proletarian dictatorship, during the transitional period from the capitalist to the communist society.

The Communist Party of France will eventually put an end to all the desperate adventures of the French imperialists and will give a powerful impetus to the communist movement of the workers throughout the world.

The Split of the German Independent Party.

By KARL RADEK.

The cause of Communism has made a great stride in Germany. The majority of the conference of the Independent Social Democratic party accepted the conditions of admission into the Communist International; the minority left the conference declaring its intention of constituting itself a separate Independent Party. We say openly that this split is an event of paramount importance assuring the development of Communism in Germany. There can be no doubt of the fact that the actual majority within the Independent Party is larger than that which adopted the platform of Communism at the conference. The whole party machinery and the party press had been with few exceptions, in the hands of the Right wing, which consists of the most adept bureaucrats of German Social Democracy. It is because of this that the Right Independents were able to muster over a third of the number of delegates present at the conference. The spirit of revolution lives in the working masses of the Independent Party. Were it not for the conditions set up by the Communist International making the admission of the Right Independents into its ranks impossible, these Right Independents would have joined it in order to avoid being isolated from the masses of their members and in order to be able

again and again to hold these masses back from revolutionary action. The transference of the party leadership and of the party press to the genuinely revolutionary elements has compelled the Right Independents to throw off their masks. Thus, Dittmann has begun a campaign against Soviet Russia and has written articles which were so much to the taste of international counter-revolution that the latter has had them reprinted in the capitalist press all over the world. Hilferding and Crispian have raised the cry that affiliation with the Third International would mean war with French imperialism, and they have come out openly in the defence of the Versailles Peace. They have thus proved to every working man the correctness of the policy of the Communist International in refusing to have such gentlemen as Hilferding, Dittmann and Crispian in its ranks. The Crispian and the Hilferding have tried to stage a comedy of defending the independence of the German working class against the dictatorship of Moscow. They have endeavored to turn to account against the Communist International the last remnant of patriotism still in the breast of the German worker, i.e. the idea of defending the independence of his organization. But all their efforts have been futile. In spite of the fact that the Left Inde-

pendents lacked such a powerful means of agitation as the press, the great majority of the workers declared themselves for the Communist International. They readily grasped the fact that when the Communist International "interferes" in their affairs it is not the interference of an outside force trying to impose its will upon the German workers, but that it is a case of a more experienced detachment of the Army of the World Revolution pointing out to the German workers the conditions of their own victory. They have understood that they and Moscow are one and the same; that the contest against Moscow is the contest against their own revolutionary aspirations, their own revolutionary views. Our victory at the Independent Party Conference is of the utmost importance, considering the fact that it was bought at the price of a split, in the course of which the German workers will have acquired a clear and comprehensive idea of the programme and tactics of the Communist International. The struggle, of course, has not ended with the split at the conference; the split will be carried into all the organizations of the Independent Social Democratic Party; it will lead to division among the German workers on the lines of clear-cut principles, enabling the German workers to outlive