

all their reformist and "centrist" illusions and to take a firm stand on the platform of Communism, for which they have more or less consciously been fighting for the last two years. The German Independent Party comprises about one million votes. If the Left Independents, who are soon to amalgamate with the Communists, numbering a hundred thousand members, constitute at least a half of the Independent Social Democratic Party—and we are sure that they will actually be in the majority—we shall soon have in Germany a powerful Communist Party.

The split of the Independents and the passing over of the majority into the camp of Communism is the logical outcome of the whole trend of history in Germany from the very first days of the revolution; it is the result of the ideological struggle which German Communism has been carrying on for approximately ten years not only against reformism but also against Kautskianism, against the irresolute, against those who are doing lip service to the revolution whilst supporting reformism by actual deed. The struggle which the Left Radicals—the heralds of the Communist Party in Germany—had conducted in the ranks of the old Social Democracy against the policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie, against the Kautskian parliamentary and pacifist illusions, as opposed to the former's advocacy of revolutionary mass action, had even then found an echo in the ranks of the proletariat. However susceptible the proletariat may in fact have been to this revolutionary propaganda, it did not as yet see the vital importance of the Revolutionary Struggle. The choice between Revolutionary Mass Struggle and the Imperialist War was accepted by them as a purely theoretical alternative. The German proletariat did not believe in the possibility of the impending conflict, and if it did, it dropped its arms, in indecision shrinking before the vast and terrible power of State wielded by Junkers and the bourgeoisie and stood listening to the talk of Kautsky about the waiting policy that would secure them victory. The German proletariat has paid for its revolutionary impotence in millions of victims on all the imperialist battlefields. Taught by the experience of the Imperialist War, it withdrew its advanced guard from the camp of reformism and split the powerful German Social Democracy, thereupon rallying around the banner of the revolution. It was, however, still unable to see the thing through to the end, and in spite of the fact that it welcomed Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Johann and others, it nevertheless believed that the Dittmann, the Hilferdings, the Haases and the Ledebours, who were doing lip service to the revolution, would prove the defenders of the latter. The Spartacus group and the Bremen Left Radicals, who were combating the lies of the Independent Centrists, were still in the minority amongst the German revolutionary workers had only to stretch out their arm for time a heavy price for its irresolution.

At the fall of German Imperialism, when the German bourgeoisie was disarmed, the workers had only to stretch out their arm for the power of State to be theirs. The Haases, the Dittmanns and the Hilferdings abused the confidence of the revolutionary workers and helped the traitors, Scheidemann, Ebert, and Legien to cheat the workers, by handing over the government to the bourgeoisie; and the latter, having created its white army, suppressed all the rising of the German workers and fettered them hand and foot. In December 1918 the vanguard of the German workers, in face of this open treason of the Independent Party, grouping around its banner the most intelligent and energetic part of the German working class. But soon after its inauguration, it lost its best leaders during the first rising of the Berlin workers. Driven underground and robbed of its legal press, it nevertheless succeeded, by sustained relentless criticism, to unmask the attempts of compromisers to hold the workers back from revolutionary action; it managed to inspire the honest and resolute Independents of the Left to a more determined struggle against the Hilferdings and the Dittmanns. Struggling in the front ranks of the workers, even when the latter erred in their estimation of the situation, it served as a model of revolutionary determination. Combating the romanticism and the aberration of the Left Communists, for whom the proclaiming of revolutionary watchwords served as a substitute for revolutionary propaganda within the mass organizations of the workers, it pointed out the road to the German proletariat in its hard struggle for power. Being an illegal organization it could not rally round itself the vast masses of the workers whom Noske, by his counter-revolutionary object lesson, had taught that there was no escaping the Dictatorship of the proletariat. These masses flocked to the legal Independent Party, which at least provided them with a mock struggle against the bourgeoisie and the social traitors. Gradually with growing determination, they forced their revolutionary ideas upon the Independent Party. They extorted from their Right leaders the recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of Soviet Right leaders, with whom such recognition was mere lip-service, were incapable of carrying it into effect. Then the Communist Party of Germany sought a rapprochement with the left Independents, who though theoretically immature, nevertheless endeavored to carry on the revolutionary struggle and helped to familiarize them with the neces-

sity of a break with the Right leaders, helped them to find the path to the Third International. The heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat added point to the lesson of the German Revolution and to the criticism of the German Communists. It kindled the faith in the revolution in the hearts of the millions of German Independent workers. The Congress of the Communist International only summed up the work of decades of revolutionary thought in Germany; it demonstrated to the German Independent workers that the removal of the dead-weight blocking the way to revolution, the break with the Right leaders, would mean union with the International Revolutionary Proletariat. In spite of all the barriers erected by the bureaucratic machinery of the German Independent Soc. Dem. Party, the conference at Halle gave expression to the feelings that are wide-awake in the hearts of the millions of revolutionary German workers. It reflected their readiness to take the field for the realization of the revolution; it was a signal to the whole world that Germany was marching towards momentous revolutionary battles.

The Communist Party of Russia has steadfastly believed in the revolutionary German workers even when the German revolutionaries spoke in tones of despair of the former's inertia. On that historical night at Brest Litovsk, when newly-born, defenceless Soviet Russia, stood face to face with German Imperialism, armed to the teeth, it put its card on the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. And this

card has not failed it. November 1918 knocked Brest Litovsk over. At the moment when the majority of even the revolutionary German workers, cherishing democratic and pacifist illusions, surrendered the cause of their emancipation into the hands of the compromisers, Stalin into the hands of the Russian Communist Party did not lose faith in the German workers. It stretched its hand out to them across the lines of the German white guards; it spoke to them across the fog of lies manufactured by the German compromisers, and over the heads of the criminally silent Independents, in all the conflicts of the German proletariat, the independent worker have fought and shed their blood side by side with our brethren, the German Communists. The Communist Party of Russia, and the Communist International guided it in mercilessly criticising the German Independent Party, and tearing the mask from its face, have sought a way to the hearts and minds of the German Independent workingmen and have found it. The majority of the German Independent workingmen are with us; they have openly gathered around the standard of Communism; and we hail them, as comrades in arms, with the profound conviction that the struggle which they are waging will lead to the liberation of the German workers from the yoke of Capitalism, from the noose of the Versailles Peace: it will unite revolutionary Germany with revolutionary Russia and will hasten the emancipation of the International Proletariat.

Theses on the National and Colonial Questions.

Adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International.

A. THESES.

1. It is typical of bourgeois democracy by its very nature, to take an abstract of formal attitude towards the question of the colonies in general, and to that of national equality in particular. Under the appearance of the equality of human beings in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or juridical equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the the exploited, thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the pretext of absolute equality of human beings, the bourgeoisie converts the idea of equality which is in itself but a reflection of the relations caused by commodity production, into an instrument in the struggle against the abolition of classes. But the real essence of the demand for equality is based on the demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its chief task—the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and deceptions, the Communist Party, being the class-conscious expression of the struggle of the proletariat to cast off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, must not advance any abstract and formal principles on the national question, but must first analyse the historical, and before all, the economic conditions second, it must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general conception of national interests which in reality means the interests of the ruling class; third, it must equally separate the oppressed and subject nations from the dominating nations, in contradistinction to the bourgeois democratic lies concealing the enslavement of a vast majority of the population of the earth by an insignificant minority of the advanced capitalist nations, which is peculiar to the epoch of financial capital and imperialism.

3. The Imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology. That war has been carried on on both sides under the false motto of the freedom of nations and national self-determination. But the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace on the one hand, and the Versailles and Saint German peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. "National" boundaries are for the bourgeoisie nothing but market commodities. The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "reunion of alienated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The reuniting of the nationalities artificially torn as under corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat, but real national freedom and unity can be achieved by the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above, that the policy of the Communist International on the National, and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletariat and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow

of capitalism, without which national inequality and oppression cannot be abolished.

5. The political situation of the world at present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, while is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over imperialism.

(to be continued in the next issue).

Financial Report.

C. P. CASH STATEMENT FOR DECEMBER, 1920.

Cash Received,		
Dues: From Fed. (Nov.)		1521.00
From Dist. (Dec.)		140.60
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		1661.60
Initiation Fees		111.00
Day's Pay		1744.37
Organization Fund		616.03
Chic. Defense Lists		1821.81
Defense Fund		468.25
Communist Returns		539.74
Paper No. 2		83.49
Leaflets		109.99
Literature		476.27
Convention Exp. Returned		85.00
Convention Assess.		176.50
Loans Payable		100.00
Distr. Adjust. Red. Bal.		79.72
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Total Received in December		7523.77
Balance from November		5901.12
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	Debit Total	13424.89
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Cash Paid,		
Sec. & Techn. Dept.:		
Salaries	550.00	
Postage and Supplies	18.12	
Printing Circulars	86.00	
Rents	62.50	
Miscellaneous	28.25	744.87
Editorial Dept.:		
Salaries	450.00	
Literature	20.20	470.20
C. E. C. Meeting Expense		139.39
National Organizers Expense		85.07
District Expenses:		
Salaries		1685.00
Trav. Expense		449.48
Misc.		200.67
Communist		324.37
Paper No. 2		711.81
Leaflets		1237.36
Literature		2478.80
Convention Expense.		48.18
Add'l Contingency Fund Cectn. Dept.		65.00
F. & F. Trunk for Edit. Dept.		7.50
Defense Fund to Chic. Committee		239.63
Loan to Jewish Fed.		500.00
Loans Paid		20.00
Distr. Incr. Bal.		807.77
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Total Paid in December		10214.90
Balance to January		3209.90
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Credit Total		13424.89

Fraternaly submitted
C. Dobin, Exec. Sec.
O. P. of A.