### SPECIAL NUMBER

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL -

Vol. 4. No. 43

**PRESS** 

18th July 1924

## CORRESPONDENCE

d torial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna-IX.

Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliessfach 29. Vienna VIII.

— Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

### for the Tenth Anniversary of the Imperialist War.

Against War!

Against the Bourgeoisie! Against the Social-Traitors!

For the World Revolution of the Proletariat!

For Communism!

Ien years have passed since the world bourgeoisie let loose belish forces of militarism. On August 4th, 1914, the greatest ghter which has ever taken place in the history of mankind menced. The ruling classes and their military strategists sted the war to be over in a few months. But the events the had conjured up, soon became stronger than themas The armies grew in numerical strength and dug themas into opposing trenches. All the energy and the labour er of Europe (and far beyond Europe) were used for war a Things were produced for destruction, and destruction done in order to bring forth new instruments of destruction abominable and mad process went on for four years, three this and twenty-six days. It was a true reflex of capitalist ty.

Proletarians were busily engaged making engines of destruction. Other proletarians together with peasants used these engines estruction. Proletarians and peasants of various nations lilated each other. When we look back now on all this or, we cannot help asking ourselves how such madness was ible. But there is another question which is much more train and more acute, it is the question as to whether we not threatened with a repetition of the same horror.

The military catastrophe was a long time brewing. The enlightened workers foresaw its inevitability and warned tasses about it. The only means to prevent the war, which has approaching, and to make war impossible was — revolary action, a revolt of all workers against imperialism. a rising, irrespective even of the brutality of its forms,

would not have caused a hundredth part of the material damage and would not have exacted a thousandth part of the human losses caused by the world-war. But no rising took place. Most of the socialist parties not only failed to call the workers to the revolutionary fight against war, but on the contrary, joined their government and declared that their respective countries were engaged in a righteous war and called upon the workers to support it. It was due entirely to this socialist support of the bourgeoisie that the masses were kept in order and the war could be carried on. It was entirely due to the treachery of the socialist parties that the bourgeoisie could carry on the war for four years. It is also entirely due to the collaboration of the social-patriotic leaders with the militarist butchers that mankind has to mourn for ten million dead and has now many millions of cripples in its midst. It is only due to the flunkeyism of Scheidemann and Ebert, Renaudel and Longuet, Henderson and Vandervelde that the bourgeoisie was enabled to exhaust and lay waste Europe, and destroy the works of centuries.

August 4, 1914, the first day of the imperialist war, the day of the open capitulation of the social-democratic leaders before the bourgeoisie, will remain forever the blackest, the most shameful and evil day in the history of mankind.

Workers and peasants, men and women! Remember the promises made by the ruling classes from the very first days of the war. You were told that this war will guarantee in future a peaceful existence to the people. You were told that as a result of the war the burdens of militarism will be less. You were assured that this was a "war to end war". Such was the language of kings, presidents, bourgeois-ministers and journalists. The same was said to you in different words by the social democrats and by the patriotic trade-union leaders. Now

when we are on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of the world war, you, the workers, can draw the balance of what this war has given you. You can see the shameful manner your confidence was betrayed. Even the victorious countries have become much poorer than they were prior to the war. It was natural that you should be betrayed and deceived by the bourgeoisie, that was to be expected; for the bourgeoisie is our irreconcilable and relentless enemy. But you were betrayed even by those whom you regarded as your leaders. The social-democrats, who had won the confidence of the workers by their antibourgeois speeches, on August 4, 1914, went over to the bourgeoisie and used their weight and authority to help to carry on the slaughter to the bitter end. Such are the facts: the naked truth.

The social democrats promised the workers that the war would result in a just, democratic and honest peace between peoples. They lied. They deceived you consciously and deliberately. They must have known that peace would be dictated by the victorious imperialists. The dishonest war, conducted by the bourgeoisie with the dishonest support of the social-democrats could not result in anything but a dishonest peace. Peace was signed at Versailles where the victorious robber placed his foot on the neck of the defeated robber. Germany and her allies were crushed and dismembered.

To justify the enslavement of the German people , which is as vile as the war itself, the socialists of the victorious countries, Henderson, Renaudel, Vandervelde and others uttered the parrotcry of the bourgeoisie; Germany is punished because she alone wanted and caused the war. What colossal stupidity and hypocrisy. Even if it were true that the Hohenzollern and Habsburg alone are responsible for the war, — is it really just to punish whole nations for the evil deeds of their rulers? Is it just to throttle the German proletariat for the crimes of its bourgeoisie? The socialists of the Entente countries think that it is just to enslave German workers, and their wives, and to rob children of their bread and milk as a means to punish the German bourgeoisie for slaughtering and crippling their brothers, husbands and fathers. But can any sane and honest person assert even for a single moment that the responsibility for the war rests entirely on Germany and Austria-Hungary? Are we not all aware of the insatiable imperialism of the British bourgeoisie, the oppressor of colonial peoples? Do we not all know the greed of the French stock-exchange? Did not Tsarist Russia, which was allied with France and Great Britain, aim at the seizure of Constantinople and the Straits? The imperialist war was let loose because of the inordinate appetites of both sides ... All of them were arming for war. All of them desired the redistribution of the world. All were out for annexations and eager for prey The ruling classes of both camps are responsible for the war, for its long duration, its victims and destruction and for the senseless Versailles settlement. But no less a share of this responsibility rests on the social-democratic politicians, the patriotic trade-union leaders, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the paid and voluntary agents of imperialism, the socialist attornies of the Versailles peace treaty.

Only one country had no part in the disgraceful Versailles Treaty neither as a victor nor vanquished. The workers of revolutionary Russia, led by the Communist Party, overthrew their bourgeoisie, took power into their own hands and led their country out of the hellish circle of war. The Bolshevik Government opened the archives of Isarist diplomacy and published the secret documents divulging the criminality of the Entente governments, which was equal to that of the Hohenzollern and the Habsburg governments. It is quite clear to-day that if Russia had continued the war together with the Entente (in accordance with the desire of social-revolutionaries and mensheviks) Russia would have been utterly exhausted and would have become a Franco-British colony. Russia's salvation was entirely due to the October Revolution!

As a result of the war, the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary also rose. The old dynasties were overthrown. But the social-democrats prevented the workers going beyond the first stage of the revolution. If after November 9, 1918, German have to thank Scheidemann, Ebert, Kautsky and all the other landowners and capitalists retained their wealth and power, they German social-democratic leaders. The same people, the same politicians and traitors who helped the brutal Hohenzollern gang during four years to exterminate the German people, pre-

vented the workers at the end of 1918 from overthrowing the exploiters. If the power of capitalism still retains a hold of Europe, which was shaken to its very foundations, it is duentirely to the Second International — the watchdog of the bourgeoisie.

Europe is like a mass of quivering flesh. Germany has bee thrown back economically for many decades. The various par of the Austria-Hungarian Empire are separated from each other by a barbed-wire fence. Conditions are worse still in the Balle Peninsula. France is crushed by war debts and the burden mulitarism as never before. Italy is thoroughly weakened in subject to continual convulsions. The only thing left to Ore Britain is — to meditate on its pre-war economic might Li a pestilence a chronic unemployment is undermining Europ European armies and navies are as big as on the eve August 4, 1914, and military expenditure is much higher because of the complicated nature of the technical apparatus of w War has inflicted a heavy blow to the peasantry of Euro America and of the whole world. The bourgeoisie of all country promised the peasantry a revival of agriculture as a result decreased the demand for agricultural produce and detriment affected not only the European peasantry, but also American farmers and caused their ruin At the same time, militarism becoming more exacting and more lavish. The burden of taxes threatens to break the back of the peasantry

The occupation of the Ruhr by French troops in January 1923 was nothing but a continuation of the imperialist war: conqueror was dealing the death-blow to the conquered I occupation was another blow to the economic system of Euro and became a fresh cause of the ruin of Germany and the im verishment of the people. But the occupation also caused the preciation of the franc and revealed the economic inability France to maintain the military dictatorship of the heavy indu over Europe. But how was it possible that after all the cri committed by the French bourgeoisie during the war it allowed to commit this new crime of the military ocupation the Ruhr? How did it happen that the workers of France the whole of Europe did not prevent this new predatory att Workers of Europe, if you will take the trouble to think a l you will understand that the military occupation of the Ruhr, consequently the continued destruction of Europe, was rend possible only because of the support which the German rench socialists gave to their bourgeoisie. We reiterate compelled to make in the occupation of the Ruhr, the b geoisie would have been overthrown, militarism would been crushed, and peace and labour would be triumphat Europe. But just when times are very critical, when it question of life or death for the bourgeoisie and when the of the workers is at stake, the social-democrats deliberately the unity of the revolutionary proletarian front. They sow di sion and discouragement into the ranks of the workers isolate the Communist Party, and in this way prepare to triumph of capitalist reaction.

As if in recognition of the great services rendered to talism by social-democracy during the past decade, the Europeoisie, as the 10th anniversary of the world slau approaches, bestows important governmental posts of trusted menshevik supporters. In Great Britain at the promoment the government of the so-called Labour Party is helm of the State. In France we see in power a Cabinet C bulwarks of the bourgeois government. In Denmark Statu social-democratic cabinet is at the head of affairs. It is po that in Belgium also governmental power will be soon thands of Vandervelde, who is paving the way to power himself. Even in Italy the bourgeoisie is becoming the Mussolini's dictatorship, and contemplating a reformist

Fascism is disappearing from the scene temporarily; it would seem that it has fulfilled its task. In the difficult days, when the proletariat was undermining the foundations of the capitalist order, when the government apparatus was slipping out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, fascist bands saved the situation by taking the place of the discredified government, by throwing contentional parliamentarism, and legality overboard, and to serve the bourgeoisie resorted to all kinds of brutalities including shootings, wholesale destruction of property and incendiarism. Fascism is the most effective weapon of capitalism in times of acute clivil war, Social democracy is another such weapon. It mobilises its forces at the right moment to save the bourgeois State from the pressure of the proletariat. While denouncing fascism in long and meaningless speeches and dilating on the cruelty of the bourgeoisie, the social-democrats urge the workers to abstain from "the horrors" of "civil war". They degive, flatter and lull the workers into a false security, they poison their minds, paralyse their will, and finally deliver them to the ascists. This was the case in Hungary, and also in Italy and Germany.

when the peasantry a revival of agriculture as a result of the war. It assured them that after this "last war", they we no longer have to bear the heavy burden of militarism. But peasantry was doubly deceived. If at the beginning of the well-to-do peasants seemed to grow rich by selling their part of the well-to-do peasants seemed to grow rich by selling their part of the well-to-do peasants seemed to grow rich by selling their part of legality. At such times we notice a great change of scene currency, the continuous depreciation of the valuta conver only but yesterday fascists armed with revolvers, daggers and regularly material were on the scene while the goods. When the bourgeoisie comes to the conclusion that the mornaterial were on the scene, — while the social-morrats did their share behind the scenes. To-day when there another state behind the scenes. To-day when there is no imminent danger, the bourgeoisie hastens to get the fascists of the scene and drags on to the platform, radicals, reformists, ensherisks, in fact all the apostles of legality democracy and made. The bourgeoisie says to menshevism: your fascist cousins and the bounds. We must obligate the scenes of the scenes of the scenes of the scenes of the scenes. needed all bounds. We must obliterate the traces of their work, must pour balm into the gaping wounds and must again put w hope or old illusions into the hearts and minds of the asses Otherwise hopelessness will become despair, and despair engender revolutionary indignation. That is why the Mac-braids, Blums, Staunings, the Vandervelde's, Scheidemanns and less are at present either in power or very near getting into

In the meantime militarism continues its work automatically. der the MacDonald's government, new cruisers and more ks are being constructed, the military air fleet is growing and production of chemical means of war is being developed. Lat for? Perhaps for the fight of the British proletariat against talism? Certainly not, all these preparations are intended the upkeep of the power of British capitalism over India, ypt, Ireland and over the British proletariat. While not making concessions to the workers, the bourgeoisie consolidates its lary air-force with the help of the mensheviks. Herriot's linet in France, which depends on socialist support, continues familiary and international policy of Millerand and Poincare. French socialists gave to their bourgeoisted been prepare in we, communists, asserted that the responsibility for the make the same sacrifices in a revolutionary rising as they upon social-democracy, the same social-democracy the same been prepared in we, communists, asserted that the responsibility for the make the same sacrifices in a revolutionary rising as they upon social-democracy, the same sacrifices in a revolution of the Ruhr, the upon social-democracy, the same sacrifices in a revolution of the Ruhr. upon social-democracy, the mensheviks protested. Now the ble world can see that the occupation of the Ruhr remains in conly as a result of an agreement between Herriot and Donald Blum, Vandervelde, Ebert and Wels. In the sight of Jone, the Second International becomes the International of Ruhr occupation.

Conservatives, fascists, radicals and mensheviks, come and but militarism remains. It replenishes and increases its stores, efects, its arms, it makes new plans and it waits for the when the most painful memories of the last war will have eradicated from the minds of the peoples, when socialtracy will again be able to reconcile the masses with the that the bourgeois State is inevitable and permanent. If it achieve this, it can again safely enter the path of world thers Then the time will have come again for a new im-

he Versailles Peace Treaty and the last imperialist war regnant with a germ of another war. The ruling classes more are beginning to realise more and more that the left regime, which they have established in Europe, cannot left. The reactionary as well as the radical sections of the

French bourgeoisie stand equally in fear of a German revanche; at the same time they are provoking and preparing for it. On the other hand, the German bourgeoisie compromises with its enemies at the expense of the German people, while waiting with impatience the hour of vengeance to strike. The European and colonial antagonism between Great Britain and France is growing more and more acute. Diplomatic bargains and agreements act as a screen for this process, but do not slacken it. The military programme of both allies, especially the programme of aviation and chemical forces, is based on the assumption that an Anglo-French war is inevitable. While Herriot is indulging in pacifist cooing with MacDonald, the Paris General Staff is elaborating plans for future air-raids on London, and the British staff is making plans for a return visit to Paris.

The minor Powers in Europe cannot of course vie in strength with the great European powers, but they can vie with them in greed and evil intentions.

The small States, which existed prior to the war, have lost even the last vestige of independence and the new Staates, created by the war, were born with the iron ball of dependence chained to their feet. Medium and small Staates are grouped together at the will of the Great Powers. The States situated in the centre of the European continent love France as the prisoner loves his jailer. Thus we can see, that even the choice of the lash with which they are to be beaten is not determined by free will but by the general position of the small States. The insecurity of neutrality was made sufficiently clear by the last war. There is no doubt whatever that a new war, from the first day, would drag the majority of the small powers into the bloody whirl-pool. The militarism of the Little Entente of the Balcan and Baltic States is a military reservoir for the great powers, and at the same time threatens the distant relations between these small States.

The most powerful world antagonism is slowly but steadily winding its way towards these parts of the world where the interests of the British Empire collide with the interests of the United States of America. Events during the last two years would lead to the belief that these two giants had come to an understanding. But this semblence of agreement will only prevail as long as there is economic boom in the North American. Republic, mostly depedent on the home market. Just now, it seems that this boom is approaching its end. The agrarian crisis, resulting from the ruin of Europe, was the pre-curser of the approaching industrial and commercial crisis. The productive forces of America are compelled to find a wider outlet into the world market. It must be borne in mind that the foreign trade of the U. S. A. can only develop at the expense of British trade, and the American mercantile and military fleet at the expense of the British Fleet. The period of Anglo-American agreements will have to give way to a period of growing antagonism which, in its turn, foreshadows a military danger on an unprecedented

The antagonism between Japan and the U.S. A. is as strong as ever. The Japanese earthquake upset the balance of power, but did not lessen the animosity between the two countries. The prohibition of the immigration of Japanese into the U. S. A gives a racial character to the antagonism of the imperialists of the Pacific. In the event of a conflict between the U. S. A. and Great Britain, Japanese imperialism will play a much more active part than during the last imperialist war.

At present, the untold wealth of the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. constitutes a great danger in the world situation. The temporary isolation of the U.S.A. which endeavoured to digest their ill-gotten wealth, is coming to an end. North American capital must have an outlet to the world. One of these outlets is the South. Pressure on Mexico is bound to increase, and will be accompanied with further penetration into South America, which will lead to the expulsion of European capital from that part of the world and the subjection of South America to the U.S.A. Militarism in the U.S.A. not only on the seas, but also on the American continent, will become more active and

The growth of the revolutionary movement in the East, which we witnessed during the last decade, makes the colonial rule of the imperialist powers assume, to an ever increasing extent, the form of military domination.

No. 43

The constitutional illusions and the hopes of a compromise on the part of the oppressed masses of India cannot be kept up any longer. The parties of National liberal and petty-bourgeois utopian Parties are declining. The revolutionary movement permeating the country more and more and is effecting considerable sections of the population. What is needed is a strong, centralised revolutionary party capable of controlling this movement and dealing the death-blow to British imperialism.

In dismembered China, the imperialist powers have established their regime under the cloak of a military occupation by mercenary native troops. The efforts of the Chinese people to become united and independent are continually frustrated by the machinations of the Japanese, American and European robbers. MacDonald's ambassador in Peking insisted on the punishment of the Chinese soldier who dared to walk in a part of the town where only the white exploiters are allowed to enjoy the fresh air. The masses of China are reanimated by a just hatred and uncontrollable indignation against their oppressors. Here, as in India, a revolutionary organisation sprung up as a result of frequent and always frustrated attempts at liberation. This organisation is destined to free China from their foreign and home oppressors.

France, which has extended its colonial empire, is making frantic efforts to find reservoirs for its militarism. It draws into its capitalist army not only Arabs, but also Negroes. These coloured races are given a military training, and are not only to be formed into black and yellow regiments for future imperiatist wars, but are also to serve as a safe weapon in the hands of the bourgeoise against proletarian revolution in Europe.

Of the bourgeoisie against profession feedbasis of revolution are extending.

IV.

At present war is being waged against mankind in a disguised form. For is not the new solution of the question of German reparations - "the Experts' Report" - an application of war methods to the solution of fundamental economic questions? America, whose bulging pockets are full of European gold supported by the military strength of France, dictates to Germany a definite economic regime as a punishment for its defeat. Only charlatans of the worse kind can assert that the decision of the experts is a peaceful democratic and pacifist solution of the question. In reality, the Entente is dictating its decision with a pistol at the head of Germany. We are repeatedly told that the economic revival of Europe is only possible if capitalist forces are given free play. This of course is a condemnation of the idea of socialist economic organisation. We should like to know how the fundamental question of the economic position of Europe can be solved by the continuous military violation of Germany, which not so long ago was the leading capitalist country of Europe.

The only reason why the German bourgeoisie accepted the Experts' Plan is that it hoped, that with the help of foreign capital (and if necessary), with the help of foreign armed forces, it will be able to deleat the German proletariat. Step by step, it is throttling the proletariat, robbing it of all the achievements of the revolution, abolishing the eight-hour day, intensifying production and by means of the technique and the concentration of industry endeavouring to compell German workers once more to go through all the hardships and misery of the epoch of primitive accumulation. By weakening and humilating the German proletariat, the European bourgeoisie want to hold the sword of Daniocles of Cierman competition over the heads of the working class of other countries. Moreover, American capitaliste are preparing to "control" Europe with the help of their experts, which means that they want to rule over Europe, just as the American magnates are ruling over scores of trusts and railways. At the same time, American capitalists intend to let the aristocracy of the American working class have a good time by giving them a share of their European profits. This working class aristocracy, led by the arch-traitor, Gompers, is to help them to keep in order the many million strong American proletariat over whose heads they hold the threat of a new immigration wave from ruined Europe.

This monstrous plan for the enslavement of the workers of Europe by Anglo-Saxon capitalists through the medium of French militarism has received the approval of the parties of the Second International The Entente socialists have been provided with a sanctimoneous pacifist excuse for the predatory policy of their

bourgeoisie with whom they work hand in hand. German social democracy hopes that the re-establishment of a firm capitalist regime will enable it to overcome the communist peril. At the same time, it explains its collaboration with the German bourgeoisie by the necessity to resist pressure from outside. With the hue and cry about communist conspiracies and an international Tcheka, a huge capitalist conspiracy against the workers of Europe and the world is being engineered under our nose, of Europe and the world is being engineered under our nose. Staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The Staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The staff is in New York, and it has a department in London. The staff is in New York, and it has a department in London the marshale of the French Stock Exchange. Social democrats and Amsterdam trade unionists are the interpreters, the defenders and the advocates of this conspiracy. Experts in treachery are coming to the assistance of the capitalists experts.

 $V_{-}$ 

If we ask ourselves once more what prevents the workers and peasants even now from rising against the militarism which is crushing them, the inevitable answer is — international social democracy, the mensheviks, the Second International and bureau cracy of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. This is the chief lesson of the imperialist war. Such are the deductions from the events of the last decade.

We, the workers organised in the Confimunist International declare this to the whole world. We want to be heald by the workers of all countries. We want our voices to reach ever working man and working woman in town and country. We want to sound the revolutionary alarm in the hearts of the operated, we want to tell them: the bourgeoisie is preparing new war, and the social democrats are demoralising you order to betray you.

Working men and women! Take heed, think and take count among yourselves. A few weeks ago in Vienna, the leaders the Amsterdam Trade Union International discussed with leaders of the Second International the question of the war per The organisation, which is headed by Jouhaux, Grassmann, M. Donald, Ebert, Noske, Vandervelde and Co., was compelled concentrate its attention on the question of war, only becar the war peril again confronts us. And the whole world given to understand that these gentlemen promised to make on war by every means at their disposal, including the gene strike. Will you really allow yourselves to be deceived by contemptible force in which the same actors perform before for the second time the same treacherous part? Do you remember that at the Basle International Congress in 1912 i made even more solemn pledges than now not to shrink be any means to prevent war, and that very soon after this cong they became the most ardent and trusted supporters of the b gerent bourgeoisie. In the post-war period they served capita in the capacity of Ministers or loyal members of parliamet patriotic trade-union leaders. They have prevented and prevent even purely economic strikes. They vote war cre And after that, they pledge themselves to make war on Is it likely that Ramsay MacDonald, who with the wor money constructs tanks and aeroplanes at the bidding of bourgeoisie, will call a strike as soon as the bourgeoisie de to set these aeroplanes, tanks and cruisers into motion is it that Vandervelde, who helped his king to carry on the wat who affixed his signature to the Versailles Peace Treaty, call upon the Belgian workers to rise when the Belgian geoisie will deem it necessary to plunge into war for the cation of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty? Is it likely Blum and Jouhaux, the leaders of patriotic socialism and unionisman France, who to-day are supporting the occu of the Ruhr, will call a general strike to-morrow, if the bourgeoisie is compelled to maintain the occupation by of arms? The murderer is still standing by his victim, his is still dripping with his victim's blood, and yet he is the solemn promise that he will avenge the murder! An people blind enough and mad enough to believe him?

Workers and oppressed of the world, take heed, look you and think. On the tenth anniversary of the war, the democrats are organising a travesty of a fight for p protest against the peril of war, which will be nothing farce. They want to divert your attention, to lull you in rity, so as to be able to tic you hand and foot and the

to the moloch of militarism. Do not believe them, expose them. Confront them at every meeting with the question: will they want to fight against war, why do they vote war credits and for the bourgeois government, and why do they support the capitalist State?

The experiences of the last ten years must not be lost. During that period we had occasion to watch pacifists, both socialist and bourgeois, in all parts of the world. There is nothing to choose between them. Did we not have the example of American pacifists, who during the first part of the war, shed pious tears over the bloodhirsty evil doers of Europe, and subsequently helped Wilson to deal the final blow at Europe, in order to enable capitalist America to get fat and strong at its expense? Did not we see the French pacifists, radicals and socialists at work in the Masonic Lodges preaching the brotherhood of man, and after August 4, 1924, preaching the dismemberment of Germany Have we not had enough of German socialists like Kautsky, Hilterding and others of that ilk who during peace time are waiting for war with tears in their eyes, and during war time are hoping for peace. These cowards even clutched at Wilson, just as they are clutching now at the mildly imperialist notes of Ramsay MacDonald who is practicing his pacifism on the backs of the people of Germany. Together with the French bourgeois pacifist Herriot, MacDonald has re-introduced Entente control over the disarmament of Germany, while continuing at the same time to strengthen and increase the armament of Great Britain Pacifists are for peace during peace time; but in war time they give whole hearted suport to their governments. On an international scale they crawl before the strong and mighty and help then to crush the weak. Socialist pacifists have been completely demoralised by this decade of wars and revolutionary convulsions. There is nothing left of their former naivete. To-day they are sharp business men closely connected with the ruling financial and military clique of every country; they are deliberately using pacifist phraseology for the deception of simpletons.

Lo-day the main pacifist field of action is opposition to refolution, and particulary to the Red Army. Pacifists are against revolutionary violence, rebellions and civil war. But the bourgeoisie is armed, and the working class is not. By fighting against the arming of the workers, pacifists support capitalist militarism, and thereby pave the path for future wars. All the more disgusting are their references to humanity and culture. When pacifists are confronted with the accusation that they support the militarism of their respective bourgeoisie, they invariably refer to the Red Army. They mean to infer that the existence of the Red Army, which was created by the workers of Russia for defence against imperialism, is a justification for the armaments of the capitalist States for the purpose of annexations and for tushing the revolution. Pacifists remained silent when the armed force of France, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries occupied Odessa, Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok. But bey were very indignant over the violence of revolutionaries gainst their oppressors. To-day the excuse of the pacifists is at there is no longer military intervention and that one bourtools state after the other is compelled to recognise the Soviet public. But it would be foolish indeed to imagine that the inger of war no longer exists for the workers' and peasants' ate. The growth of Communist Parties consolidates the interthonal position of the Soviet Union, but on the other hand, alarms and exasperates the imperialists. If the revolutionary m were imminent, it would drive them into a military interation on a very large scale.

Recently the German authorities, exasperated by the commust peril, were ready to imperil the friendly relations betten (sermany and the Soviet Republics. This is an augury of their developments. Between the capitalist world and the Soviet public there can be only agreements, but not reconciliation. It as the government of MacDonald and Herriot will have to be room at a given moment for a more open and definite tion, the agreements of the capitalist countries with the Soviet ion can, nay even must be violated at a given moment by new remions. That is why the Red Army and the Red Navy are plutely necessary. They protect and guard the biggest place mes of the revolution. If the Soviet Republic were to fail, the recisive would feel safe for many decades to come. There is the proletariat. But this will not happen, for the workers

and peasants of the Soviet Union are armed. The Red Army is the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the rebels!

VI

At this period of sharp decline in the development of the productive forces of Europe, military technique indefatigably confinues its work. Guns of incredibly long range, are being manufactured. Machine guns and automatic rifles exceed the power of infantry fire many times. Dynamite is giving way to poison gases. Aviation, combined with chemicals, prodigiously increase the areas of the destructive action of war. The difference between the military and the civil population is effaced. Coast fortifications and island bases can no longer be defended. Mighty aggregations of humanity, like Paris and London, are open to destruction from above. The terrors of the last war are as the play of lightning on a summer's eve, as compared with the thunder-bolts of the approaching storm. All the technical power of capitalist society, and all its social barbarity, the insolubility of its contradictions, embittering the ruling classes against each other, and all together against the proletariat, are like an accumulation of a mass of poisonous and explosive substances, hanging over the head of ill-fated humanity. A new war would mean first of all, the mass ruin of the peasants and farmers, the depopulation and desolution of the countryside, the conversion of the land, cultivated by long generations of peasantry, into waste desert and cemeteries. For Europe, as a whole, it would mean the destruction of civilisation, the wreck of all the hopes of liberation for which several generations of workers have

Everything that is being done to-day in human society—in the realm of economics, politics, science, or art—is of secondary importance in connection with the gigantic task of finding some way to prevent a new war and thus to save humanity from degeneration and ruin. This can be done only by the workers under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. No repressive measures, no forces of militarism will avail, if the workers present a united front against war. The machines of murder are harmless, until they are set in action by a human being. And the overwhelming majority of these human beings are workers and peasants. This is you, workers! On you depends the fate of war, and consequently, your own fate.

The struggle against unlitarism cannot be put off until war actually breaks out, for then it is already too late. The struggle against war must be carried on right now, immediately, from day to day. The first requirement of such a struggle is to refuse confidence and support to the bourgeois governments, to vote against the budget. Any socialist who enters a bourgeois ministry, any deputy who helps a bourgeois government to collect its taxes, or who draws the workers and peasants into military service - is a traitor and a villain. There can be no place for such a person in the ranks of the working class. We must drive from the trade unions every leader who directly or indirectly aids, justifies, or supports militarism. We must clean the proletarian organizations of political strike-breakers. We must remind all workers men and women of how the last war was prepared, and how the Social Democrats for four years helped imperialism to destroy the workers and peasants. We must appeal tirelessly to the youth of town and country. The inhuman suffering of their fathers and older brothers during the imperialist war must be transformed in the worker and peasant youth to a burning hatred of the perpetrators of the war. It is necessary that the youth enter the capitalist armies with an inward determination to direct their arms not against their brother-proletarians, but against their class enemy, the bourgeoisie. We must labour tirelessly to break down those artificial walls which exist between the army and the working class. We must maintain a close connection with the barracks. We must see that the word of truth reaches every soldier. We must unite the class conscious soldiers into small groups. We must establish a revolutionary organisation on an iron foundation from the most courageous and devoted of the proletarian fighters. We must direct our attention to the military factories. In each of these there must be a strong militant nucleus, which will be capable at the decisive moment of carrying with them all the working masses. The bourgeoisie fear neither pacifist preaching, nor the Social Democrats' fireat of a general strike. But the bourgeoisie tremble with hatred

No. 43

and fear at the news of the formation of each little illegal nuclei on the railroads, in the military factories, and especially in the army and fleet. The bourgeoisie know that there is not a single worker or peasant or soldier who wants war, and that it is only their lack of organisation and self confidence which forces them to go submissively to war. The bourgeoisie know that a small but strong nucleus in each regiment may place a decisive role at the decisive moment. This is the reason that every capitalist government, whatever its democratic guise, persecutes mercilessly all real revolutionary work, and this is the reason that it is the duty of every revolutionist to increase his efforts in this direction ten-told. Only that party which from day to day carries on an unremitting struggle against the bourgeoisie; that party which rallies the workers to the struggle; which has learned to hate the domination of capital; which infects the nasses with this hatred; which prepares the necessary forces and means for the combat; which establishes bases of support for the evolution in the barracks — only such a party can really ight against war. The Communist Parties of every country may be such a directing force. The militant association of all these parties constitutes the Communist International. We, the delegates of this International, gathered together for the fifth time for our world Congress in Moscow, which has been made free by the efforts of the workers and peasants, address to you, workers of all lands, these words of reminder, of warning, and of summons!

Victory is only possible if there is a will to victory, and a faith in victory. Victory can only be attained by rallying around the party which is eager for victory, and can lead you to victory.

Workers! Let the question or war be the touchstone by which you test the loyality of parties and leaders. Truly the workers have been hoaxed long enough by the words, the phrases, the promises, the bombastic lies of the demagogues. Demand action, examine the facts. Down with the charlatans of pacifism who in time of peace carry on a wordy war against war, but at the first sound of shot are transformed into chauvinist jackals. Down with those socialists who rail against the oppression of the bourgeoisie in the newspapers and at meetings, and then in the hour of difficulty for the bourgeoisie, become their staunchest supporters. Down with the yellow Amsterdam trade unionists who take their orders from the bourgeois ministers and the magnates of capital. Down with those traitors who vote the money for war, who help to build capitalist armies to defend the bourgeoisie state, who support colonial slavery, and thus prepare new wars. Down with the Menshevist leaders of political and trade union organisations. Drive them away, expose them, boycott them, force them out of the ranks of the working class. Watch them sharply, size them up, place no confidence in and you will become their words, but examine their deeds convinced that there is only one party which is ready to lead you into battle and able to guarantee victory - the Communist Party. Look at Russia: in this vast but backward country, the revolutionary Party created by the genius of Lenin was able not only to overthrow its own bourgeoisie, but to defend the government of the workers against innumerable enemies. In the face of enormous difficulties, consequent on the backwardness of the country, the low cultural level, and the enormity of the destruction produced by two successive wars, the workers and peasants are erecting stone by stone the structure of the Socialist commonwealth.

You, the proletariat of England and America, could accomplish incomparably more in this direction than the proletariat of Russia, for you are more numerous, and your country is richer. In order that you may be an invincible force, you need only to realise your own strength, and to apply it properly. The International Communist Party will teach you to do this. Follow it:

And you, despoiled and oppressed peasants, come into our great union. The Peasants' International founded last year is devoting its forces wholly to the struggle against militarism and against the dangers of a new war.

Peasants of Europe! Farmers of America! Tillers of the soil in every land! Your farms, the lives of your sons are at stake! Arise, unite, join with the revolutionary working class! There is no other course for you, no other salvation!

The women sisters, wives and mothers—less noticeably perhaps than the men but no less painfully, are weighed

down by the monstrous burden of militarism and war. The destruction of the workers' family, the ruination of the farmers homesteads, the four years of war, transformed the working woman into a beast of burden for capital. The war has left a terrible imprint on the hearts of mothers, wives and sisters. After all that the working woman has experienced during these years, she must be in the first ranks in the struggle against war and capital.

Working women! Peasant women! Your place is with us we summon you, and we expect you.

The revolutionary education of the colonal peoples has become a question of life and death for the proletariat. If the bourgeoisie strive to support and perpetuate the oppression of the proletariat through colonial oppression, then we, on our side, must bring about a revolt in the colonies to support the revolt of the proletariat.

National and race prejudices are the fruit of slavery and the sustenance of slavery. Chauvinism open or concealed, is the best prop of militarism and the surest means for the preparation of future wars. It is necessary to declare a merciless struggle against national prejudices and race superiority. Not only direct hostility, and a scorn and derision, but the patronising condescending attitude of the white people toward the yellow of black races, must be sharply condemned by the workers as a depicable breach of solidarity, as the worst kind of scabbing We must teach the colonial workers to regard the white workers as their brothers. And to bring this about, the white proletariat must adopt a brotherly attitude toward the coloured population of the colonies.

Proletariat of Europe! More attention must be given to the colonial question, greater efforts, must be expended in revolutionary work in the colonies. In the very place where the bourgeoisie are hoping to find the most dependable support, we must deal our heaviest blows.

Colonial workers! Slaves of imperialism! Brothers! Arise to the struggle for independence! The Communist International with you!

Our immediate and pressing task in the struggle against war is at the present time the struggle against that treaty of the capitalist tyrants which goes by the harmless name of the "Experts' Plan". And here, as everywhere, the first blow must be directed against the Social Democracy. They frighten the workers with the formidable forces of America, they demand from them submission and obedience. They predict the ruin of Europe, and first of all of Germany if they should fail to submit to American capital. We, the Communists, say to the workers of Europe Your only salvation is in an unremitting war against the plan of the experts, against its promulgators and supporters You must clear the Social Democrats from your road, you must overthrow the bourgeoisie, you must take power into your own hands, you must unite the various sections of the economic structure of Europe, and direct them along the road to Socialism. If Soviet Russia has been able to defend herself victoriously for so many years against the capitalisis of Europe and America. certainly the victory of the European proletariat is also assured if they, on seizing power, unite the European countries and Soviet Federation, into a workers' and peasants' United States of Europe. Thus not only will European culture be rescued from decline and decay, not only will freedom and independence be guaranteed to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but a mortal blow will be dealt to the world autocracy of American capital. The revolutionary movement in America will receive great impetus. The European Socialist Federation will hus be come the cornerstone of the world socialist republic. Only the will human beings be able to think and act like real human beings only then will world economy be established on a bast of solidarity and reason, and world relations be transformed into the fraternal exchange of material and spiritual wealth be ween the separate peoples and continents. War will be a thing the past, since there will be no longer any reason for it. armies and soldiers will disappear. All the efforts of human beings will be directed toward the enrichment of our eart toward the improvement and adornment of human life

Such is the task of the Communist International — a huge task, but not an impossible one. The road to its realisation was indicated by Marx and Engels. It is the road of fierce struggle in each country against the national bourgeoisie, it is the road of combining the forces of the proletariat of all countries for the setzure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whoever tells you there is another road is lying

to you. The Communist International serves the interests of the proletariat in that it speaks the truth. Let that truth resound throughout the world like the tocsin of the revolutionary struggles. Against war — against the bourgeoisie — against social treachery.

For the World Revolution of the Proletariat – for Com-

#### The Presidium of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

Signed: Zinoviev, Chairman; Clara Zetkin; Stalin, Bucharin, Trotzky (Russia); Thaelmann, Gebhardt (Germany); Treint, Sellier (France); Bordiga (Italy); Smeral, Muna (Czecho-Slovakia); Kolarov (Balkans); Kraevsky (Poland); Katayama (Japan); Roy (India); Stewart (Great Biltain); Dunne (America); Secretariat: Piatnitsky, MacManus, Neurath, Doriot,

Proprietor, Publisher and responsible Editor: Richard Neumann Vienna, VIII., Langegasse 26.
Printers: "Elbemuhl", Vienna, IX., Berggase 31.