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The S. P. of C. and the Third International

THE objections raised against acceptance of the 18 points of the Communist International by Local Winnipeg, representing as they must the opinion of the majority of that Local, cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. Both in the preamble and in the resolutions from No. 3, statements are made for which they have no proof, and matter not germane to the question is introduced.

Because some "Reds" imply certain forms of action for getting control of the power of State, or John Reed has an article in the "Workers' Dreadnought" giving a report of the "Delegates" to the Second Congress, which report must be accorded a certain amount of literary license, the terms of affiliation are not thereby either substantiated or disproved.

The article says: "The first clause in the conditions for affiliation says, 'The dictatorship of the proletariat must be spoken of simply as a well learnt formula, etc.' What does this mean? The dictatorship of the proletariat must be propagated as an object to be obtained, notwithstanding that in highly organized and industrialized countries, when the workers gain control, the period necessary in the elimination of the capitalist class may be of short duration! A passing phase, and not a long drawn out struggle compared to the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production and distribution. If that is so, then how illogical it is to teach the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to speak of it as a well learnt formula."

What does Local No. 3 mean by a passing phase, and not a long drawn out struggle compared to the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production?"

Do they imply a struggle?

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mentary action of much account in the struggle for power, we have no other programme for obtaining it.

Irrespective of who happened to be in attendance at the second congress of the Third International, the terms of affiliation are so definite as to prevent non-revolutionary bodies from joining, and also to cause such who had already joined to sever their affiliation.

It would have been better had Local No. 3 been a little more elaborate in their resolutions of objection, and also more accurate in their quotations from the Theses.

With reference to reason No. 3, the terms do not state that open civil war is in existence. "The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering upon a phase of civil war." What about the situation in the U. S. with its Red Raids, etc., or the situation during the general strike in 1919?

Perhaps Local No. 3 considers these affairs have no connection with the class struggle.

Number four has been dealt with in a previous issue of the "Clarion." Number five is answered by the introduction to the 18 points.

As to number six, it may be said that there is no struggle for political power in so far as the S. P. of C. is concerned. The activities of the Party are around the economic struggle.

ative, then the question is decided, though the experience of the present time may be questioned.

In the above-mentioned affiliation of the S. P. of C. to the Third International, was it decided?

Granting the asseveration of its Marxian basis; and judging by its actions, the affiliation cannot arise from fundamental principles. The Second International was of the S. P. of C. as an aggregation of petty bourgeois Labor Parties who were of the petty bourgeois class.

This objection is also against the Third International, and is the one that is worthy of serious consideration.

Surely Comrade McNey has more proof of the "stinking" nature of the Third International than the cholerical denunciation.

True, many of the members of the Third International have been imprisoned through their inability to understand the class struggle, and their chaotic leadership.

development or decay, and therefore if our position was sound in the past, it must be equally sound as long as we maintain it, theoretically or practically.

Our understanding of any period depends upon our knowledge of Marxism; the correctness of our Marxism is entirely independent of any period. So as our activities are concerned: let us review. We have claimed that social revolutions are results of certain conditions inherent to revolutionary periods; that these conditions are so produced, and regular, that they assume all the force of scientific law. We hold that all human institutions are the result, and a proper understanding of them is to be found, in the method whereby man secures his livelihood. That with each radical change in that method, there follows a more or less change in his institutions. We further hold that all class societies are constituted on force; that the elements of this force must be invested in the ruling class; that the prevailing ideas are those which best conserve the power of that class.

Looking upon society of this or any other period in capitalism proper, we see the prime factor of class domination, in the hands of the subject class. Now this is a condition peculiar to capitalism alone. And we have been lead, along with the working class parties (the Bolsheviks for instance), to assume that one of the greatest, in fact the chief factor, of modern master class safety, lay in the ignorance of our fellow slaves. It is an opinion that today, and for many moons to come, there is not, and will not be, any sudden illumination of that ignorance in this part of the world. I am just as firmly convinced that when illumination does come, society will display, as ever its custom, that infinite scorn for those who laid elaborate plans for its future welfare. A perusal of historical record, whether we take the records of ancient Rome, or modern Russia.

Let us take another point. Comrade Kavanagh's objection to clause 8 I can scarcely conceive as being seriously intended. To classify international arbitration, or the League of Nations, with colonial liberation movements, seems an attempt at ridicule.

Be sure I did not mention either arbitration leagues but, disarmament otherwise, it was included in all seriousness and without further sense than the ridiculous, other than suggested by the clause when read in conjunction with clause 6, or with that part of the "Manifesto of the Third International," a document which bears the signature of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev,—"Liberation of the colonies can come only through the liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations." Or Comrade's answer to India's delegate regarding the Orient—"Communists should support national revolutionary movements, but only when such movements are in fact revolutionary."

But clause 8 says specifically we must support movements in the colonies." This is very different from the basis of our comrade's argument, the valid one which I leave open; but can he or any other furnish reasons for anyone who has discredited bourgeois ideology supporting "all colonial liberation movements?" This would call for support of Quebec Nationalists and, much more to the point, the Boer secessionist movement in South Africa, which, as a matter of tactics, would furnish an excellent testimony of political idiocy. Against the advancement of the same Marxist statement of the "International Manifesto"; these people "can exist only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and taken the power into their hands."

On the question of tactics, we read, "Every act of a revolting colony against an Imperial power weakens the power of that State." Historically the reverse is true. To take but one example—Britain's loss of the African Colonies left her in a more powerful position than at any period in her history, and so far as dealing with revolution goes, the loss of all her colonies would not weaken her power. But—the same causes which

lead to that loss would no doubt leave her weak, and these same causes might give her ample means to crush a revolution at home; a fact to which Bavaria and Hungary can sorrowfully testify. Taken from any angle, "all colonial liberation movements" are, most emphatically, not a part of the task of a Marxist.

Let us return to clause 2, and my objection, wherein I said that its ultimate utility was doubtful, and that immediately we would be involved in a series of bitter struggles, which would hamper and in the end nullify our educational work. To me this is a delicate subject, so instead of amplifying that bare statement, I presumed as much on the intelligence of my readers, as upon my words, to make my point clear.

Perhaps this obscurity has caused Comrade Kavanagh to offer objections whose relevancy I am at a loss to understand. Nor can I permit these arguments to pass without comment. He says:

"If the theories we advance are scientifically correct and as such fit the facts of life, the more bitter the struggles the more will their superiority over the concepts opposed to them be demonstrated. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose, in every phase of the class struggle."

This is a mechanical progress with a vengeance; not that I object to a mechanistic theory, if properly stated, but let that go. However, if Marx has stated correctly the conditions under which society develops, certainly the struggle for municipal office or trade union control is not of prime importance.

Nor could the materialist conception of history prove its superiority over the religious conception, or any other, in this struggle, any more than a fight between say, "dragons of the prime" could demonstrate to the combatants the superiority of Darwin to Genesis. Men do not struggle in abstract terms, but in concrete reality. And the question which decides municipal elections, and trade union control, is the immediate and not the ultimate benefits, to the struggles, plus of course ever present and ever potent habits. Questions of wages and taxes are the issue.

And "recent events in local history" ought to have impressed that fact indelibly on our comrade's mind. The taxpayers of Vancouver have repeatedly in the last few years refused to permit any extra funds to be expended on public schools, although every artifice of reason and cajollery has been invoked, and the schools are in a deplorable condition.

In trade union circles any one of radical views, whatever might be the respect his intelligence and honesty engenders, is looked upon as a person unfit to hold office. The radical's position, and more so the Communist's, in these bodies depends upon quite other circumstances than struggles bitter or otherwise.

Further, no one, certainly not I, said anything about leaving any position in the hands of anyone. What I object to is clause 2, the contents of which are available to all who care to read them. This clause requires that we as a Socialist Party "shall be bound to remove systematically and regularly from all responsible posts in the labor movement . . . all reformers, etc., etc." Now, our experience has been that all men are liable to change, and particularly when in office. It would be incumbent on our party, unless mankind underwent a most drastic change, to remove some of those we had bitterly struggled to elect. Just how far such a contingency would prove the superiority of our view I leave to the "Clarion" readers.

It would not matter that the individual was suited to the office he held, and that his work satisfied the majority of those who paid his wages; if in our opinion he was a backslider we should be bound to remove him.

Again, suppose the I. W. W., who have been especially invited by Zinoviev to affiliate with the Third International, were to do so. Their concept of a Communist would be totally different to ours. We should then have two Third International groups struggling to systematically remove each others choice. This is by no means a fanciful picture, as "recent events in local history" can testify.

And in these "bitter struggles" rarely are princi-

ples the chief issue; very often it is purely a question of personalities, and not infrequently the result of a bar-room wrangle, or a convention, or some other "plum" as recent local, and remote universal history painfully records.

The members, then, takes sides, from reasons devious and wonderful, spite, policy, friendship, jealousy, but unless thoroughly grounded, and animated by principle, seldom upon class needs.

Am I right? Can we expect men ignorant of social science to act with any class bias, regularly? Nay, I can with propriety ask, can we expect it regularly from the faithful?

I do not for one.

Man is not, despite all his boasts, a reasoning animal; conditions sway him, and bend him, and mold him, despite his philosophies and his creeds.

Knowledge, however, and association, are steady influences and more than ought else I think, should be developed.

To that end we have devoted our energy. We may never set the world on fire, but we can seek and accept the facts, so that should the world by any chance become ignited, we may have some members of our class on hand who will strive to control it, with what success I cheerfully resign to the future.

Not an ambitious task to be sure, but one commensurate with our strength.

J. HARRINGTON.

On the question of affiliation with the Third International, we are unmistakably confronted with impossible conditions. Indeed, it would be hard to draw up any set of regulations more stringently prohibitive, more impossible to perform—in their chief specifications, even allowing for all the autonomy demanded by local circumstances. (*Note.)

What are we asked to do? To turn aside from direct educational principles, from the furthering of class knowledge of capitalist society, and directly challenge the established institutions of capitalism, powerfully entrenched in political domination. We become therefore, one of the great crowd of "Lo here, or lo there," tilting, not against the fundamental principles of society, but, in reality, against its effects, against the forces, brought into being to safeguard those very fundamentals.

We are asked to submit to repressive forces of the State; we are to engage in propaganda against "loyalty" and "patriotism," against Empire and Imperialism, i.e., against the prime necessities of capitalist society. And we are to do this, in season and out, openly and secretly, "legally" or "illegally."

We are thus brought, at one stride, within the pale of capitalist law. We lay ourselves open to its power; we become "seditious" and "treasonable"; outlaws, with no option but to submit. For, where is our support? The puny efforts of a class-conscious minority, able to do no more than protest against capitalist supremacy and tyranny.

In London, charged with just this very thing, Sylvia Pankhurst was sentenced to six months imprisonment, and the British workers not only accepted it, with stoical serenity, but later,—on Armistice anniversary day—raided the office of the "Dreadnought," of which she was editor. Probably the comrades remember what happened to the youth who attempted the life of Clemenceau, and also what became of the actual slayers of Jaures, of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. And it can hardly be forgotten, that for less provocation, Canadian authority, lately held Comrades Russell and Pritchard in duress, while over the line President Wilson recently could refuse, unchallenged, to release Eugene Debs, on Lincoln Day. And why? Simply because, in all these, and a host of similar cases, the workers did not know enough, did not sufficiently understand the workings of capitalist society. Being confused in principles they are divided in council, and hence, were powerless, either to help themselves or change the course of events.

If the workers in Britain and America, in France and Germany,—all of them in a high state of capitalist development, and organized accordingly—cannot prevent such outrages on their own representation (and at that, the S. P. of C. would hardly admit most of them as Socialists), what chance is there, in a benighted country like Canada, where the capital-

(Continued on page 4.)

Some Contradictions of Capitalism

All their lives the working class have never done any thing but work, eat, sleep, and work again. So accustomed are they to their conditions of labor, they can form no conception of their being different and, consequently, are destitute of any desire to change them.

Neither do they compare the great display of riches by a class, that never took an active part in their production, with their own lives of toil, want and worthless condition.

They build mansions for the idle rich, fill them with the comforts and luxuries only a parasitical class can find time to think of, and never see the contradiction and incongruity between the homes of a capitalist class and their own smoke-begrimed hovels, in a society whereon the benign god Democracy smiles happily. So used are they to all this they accept it as unchangeable, as something that ever was and ever will be.

And yet it is easy to understand the cause and development of this acceptance of their fate and their portion of the wealth they produce.

From birth influences have been continually moving in a certain direction, their thoughts and ideas have all been consciously moulded into these channels of static reasoning. They have been watched and trained with great care; smooth, dexterous individuals, who make their livelihood by understanding the wants of the master class, have through such avenues of information as the churches, press, platform and schools, diligently and purposely prepared them to regard these things in the way they do.

The average worker, therefore, if he thinks at all, considers that he, with the rest of the working class, is utterly helpless to effect any change in their present condition. The effect of this apathetic indifference is very detrimental to the working class as a whole. It strengthens the enemy's ruthless power of oppression by giving them the authority to prolong their existence as a ruling and parasitic class.

But what can be more degrading to human beings than to carry chains in obedience to their masters' wishes and refuse to make an attempt to cast them off?

The workers at this present stage of development can not escape from the capitalist system, necessity forcing them to sell their labor power from day to day. But they can avoid some of the harmful effects of the system; the perplexity of things in general, and class ignorance in particular, can be successfully combated and overcome; the brain with a little study can be made into a proper organ, functioning in the interests of their class, and clear ideas and thoughts can be made to generate from this mental mechanism. No longer then could the mind of the working class be used as a receptacle for all the vile twaddle that is manufactured in capitalist institutions for its especial consumption.

Tricky labor leaders and shady politicians, always at the beck and call of the master class, are ever ready to make plausible various reforms to fool the unthinking mass of workers.

Fluent, perfidious clergy, with their trained eloquence try to resuscitate from the past ridiculous superstitions or dress them up in the modern rags of spiritualism to becloud the mind of the uneducated. But a knowledge of the social sciences, the fundamental principles of human society, those things which stimulate and arrest its growth, offset the sophistry of these sycophants and swaggering nincompoops, the labor leader and the politician, and reduces to comedy the services of the parson.

One of the great falsehoods, diffused by the capitalist class is in relation to the function of capital. Those individuals who are the wealthiest are always held up as most desirable members of society. But when one of these angelic characters die it makes not the slightest difference, as far as his capital is concerned; everything goes on just the same. In spite of all the talent and capabilities these individuals are said to possess, things move on in the

same uninterrupted manner, although the capital may have been left to a baby or an imbecile.

The great bulk of the world's wealth today is owned by stock and bondholders who, very often, do not know the first fundamentals of the management of the business, and certainly take no active part in its operation.

Take the Canadian Pacific Rail and Steamship Companies for an example. Does any one know who the owners of those concerns may be; nor does it matter as far as the actual operations of these lines of transports are concerned who holds the pieces of paper that give them the right to collect interest at stated intervals.

Some of these owners may have seen the road and rolling stock; may even have taken a trip across the seas on one of their ships. But many have not, for the bondholders of these companies are not only representatives of Great Britain and the United States, but of all the civilized world.

A fat, lazy Mandarin in Peking, who may not know where Canada is on the map, will have his dividends sent to him with the same regularity that the conductor of a train or the captain of a steamer receives his pay. And so long as the roadbed is kept in shape by the section men; so long as the mechanics and laborers in locomotive shops keep the engines and cars in repair; so long as the train crews run trains and passengers to their destination, so long will these dividends be paid.

All these are members of the working class, as are the key operators, agents, office staffs, foremen, superintendents and managers, each and everyone getting their living from the same source,—by selling their energy, no matter whether it be spent in pushing coal into a furnace, or pushing a pen in the office, figuring out the shareholders' profits.

As the present system develops it must even enlarge the gap between the workers on the one hand, and the useless parasitical class on the other.

We, see, as time goes by, an ever increasing pile of riches and a corresponding waste of riotous luxury indulged in by the capitalist class. They do not put in long hours in the sweltering heat of the boiler room of a ship to earn the meal the chefs and cooks have worked overtime to produce, from food-stuffs gathered from the four corners of the earth. The women of this class never worked in the sweatshops to earn the finery they grace themselves with, nor for the multitude of luxuries that fill their rooms. Not in the mines and rolling mills did this class work for the money they spend in the cabarets and ballrooms of Europe.

On every hand we find a multitude of contradictions and inconsistencies existing that must ultimately stir the workers to thought. Stores and warehouses are loaded to the roofs with the accumulation of the necessities of life, while the people who produced them are out of employment because they produced too much, enduring hardships and privation, even to starvation, because of the existence of an over-supply of the good things of life.

Society women everywhere spending large sums of money on perfume, Attar of Roses, to spray their pet dogs with, while millions of children can't get soap for a bath. The children of the working class are forced into the factory when they should be at school, or on to the streets selling newspapers for the bare necessities of life.

What chance have these children to grow up into healthy normal men and women? Some of them in a different environment may have shown a mind with great possibilities, naturally endowed for the accomplishment of great tasks. A rare genius emerges from this class in spite of all the difficulty in their way, but think of the number that is crushed in the struggle.

What kind of social system is this that dooms the working class to labor long and suffer much, while a few useless parasites start wars, panics, monopolize and usurp the wealth of the workers?

On the one hand the workers spending their time in mines, fields or factories, and on the other the

capitalists spending theirs in Monte Carlo, or cruising the Mediterranean in their ocean-going yachts, and in orgies that would have shamed Nero.

These contradictions are sufficient in themselves to show the putridness of the capitalist system and, ultimately, will be one of the main reasons for its annulment.

The only remedy possible for the existing poverty of the working class, is the complete abolition of the system that breeds and develops these antagonisms. This can only be accomplished by the working class themselves. They must not expect help from the other class. For it is just as much to the interest of the master class to retain and prolong the present order of things, as it is to the slave class to work for its abolition.

It has at all times been the method of the working class to place across the path of the revolutionary workers every conceivable obstruction that might impede or stay the final outcome, while they angle for the slimy fish that pose as labor leaders, who eagerly bite the golden bait. In England, the Hendersons and Barnes; in Germany, the Scheidemans; in the States, the Gompers; and in this Canada of "ours," the Moores and Robertsons. When the workers fully understand the conditions of their slavery; how wealth is produced; why the producers' portion is so small; then no longer can they be fooled and no longer will such capitalist hirelings exist.

F. A. EVANS.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government, all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-increasing stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in getting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political power, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

NOTICE TO MARITIME READERS

All "Clarion" readers in Maritime Provinces are asked to communicate with the undersigned at once. Comrade Chas. Lestor will soon arrive from England, and will speak at all points where arrangements can be made. We shall need funds, and groups of workers in each place. Get busy, collect funds, arrange meetings, and communicate with me regarding date, etc.

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE,
R.R. 1, Oromocto, N. B.

The Statutes of the Communist International

(Adopted at the Second Congress)

In London, in 1864, was established the first International Association of Workers, later known as the First International. The Statutes of the International Association of Workers read as follows:

"That the emancipation of the working class must be carried out by the working class itself.

"That the struggle for emancipation of the working class does not imply a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and equal obligations and the abolition of all class domination.

"That the economic subjection of the workers to the monopolists of the means of production, the sources of life, is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.

"That consequently, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated.

"That all endeavors directed to this great aim have hitherto failed because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in each country and because of the absence of a fraternal bond of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social character embracing every civilized country, and the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries.

"That the present revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, while awakening new hopes, contains a solemn warning against a relapse into old errors, and calls for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement."

The Second International, which was established in Paris in 1889, undertook to continue the work of the First International. At the outbreak of the world slaughter in 1914 the Second International perished—undermined by opportunism and betrayed by its leaders who rallied to the side of the bourgeoisie.

The Third (Communist) International, established in March, 1919, in Moscow, the capital city of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, proclaims to the whole world that it takes upon itself the task of continuing and completing the great cause begun by the First International Association of Workers.

The Third (Communist) International was formed at a moment when the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918, in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries sacrificed twenty million men, had come to an end.

Remember the imperialist war! This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of imperialists had the opportunity during four long years of compelling the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Remember that this imperialist war had reduced Europe and the whole world to a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Remember that unless the capitalist system is overthrown a repetition of this criminal war is not only possible but is inevitable.

The aim of the Communist International is to organize an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the establishment of an international Soviet Republic as a transition to the complete abolition of the capitalist State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat an essential means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism; and regards the Soviet form of government as the historically necessary form of this dictatorship.

The imperialist war demonstrated the unity of interest of the world's workers; it emphasized once again what was pointed out in the statutes of the First International, that the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist International breaks once and for all with the traditions of the Second International which in reality, only recognized the white race. The task of the Communist International is to eman-

cipate the workers of the whole world. In its ranks are fraternally united men of all colors—white, yellow and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious Socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support, by all the power at its disposal, every Soviet Republic wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of the speedy achievement of victory, the international association of the workers which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, must possess a firm and centralized organization.

To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist Party, of which the parties operating in the different countries form individual sections. The organization of the Communist International is directed towards securing for the workers of every country the possibility, at any given moment, of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statute:

1.—The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common action between the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international Soviet Republic, the complete abolition of classes and the realization of Socialism—as the first step to Communist society.

2.—The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of **The Communist International**.

3.—All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the particular country (section of the Communist International).

4.—The World Congress of all parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International is the supreme authority of this International. The World Congress as a rule assembles not less frequently than once a year. It confirms the programmes of the different parties comprising the Communist International; it discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics connected with the activity of the Communist International. The allocation of decisive votes at the World Congress between the constituent parties and organizations is decided by a special regulation of the Congress; it is necessary to strive for the speedy establishment of a standard of representation based on the actual membership and real influence of the party in question.

5.—The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the principal authority of the Communist International in the interim between the World Congresses. The Executive Committee is responsible only to the World Congress.

6.—The place of residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is determined at each World Congress.

7.—A special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or on the demand of one-half of the number of the parties affiliated to the Communist International at the time of the previous World Congress.

8.—The greater part of the work and principal responsibility in regard to the Executive Committee of the Communist International devolves upon the party in the particular country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee has its residence for the time being. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition, each of the

ten or twelve largest Communist Parties is entitled to send one representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee. The list of these representatives has to be ratified by the World Congress. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International each enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative with a consultative vote.

9.—The Executive Committee is the principal authority of the Communist International during the Convention. The Executive Committee publishes, in not less than four languages, the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical, the "Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International and issues instructions obligatory on all parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee has the right to demand from affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, and also to exclude from the Communist International any parties that infringe the regulations of the World Congress, such parties having the right to appeal to the World Congress. Where necessary the Executive Committee organizes in different countries its technical and auxiliary bureaux, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

10.—The Executive Committee of the International has the right to include in its ranks representatives (with a consultative vote only) from parties and organizations not accepted in the Communist International but which are sympathetic towards Communism.

11.—The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International, as well as of those who are recognized sympathizers with the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

12.—The general conditions prevailing in Europe and America make obligatory upon the Communists of the whole world the formation of illegal Communist organizations alongside of those existing legally. The Executive Committee has charge of the universal application of this rule.

13.—All the more important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International are customarily carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee. In cases of urgent need, however, direct relations are permissible, provided that the Executive Committee is informed thereof at the same time.

14.—Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united internationally under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the world Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union Sections of the Communist International delegate a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to send a representative with a decisive vote to the Trade Union Section of the Communist International.

15.—The International League of Young Communists is subject to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Young Communists with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, has the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the International League of Young Communists. Relations between the League of Young Communists and the Communist Party in each country are based