



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.

No 26.

June 26th

1921.

Declaration

of the Dutch Delegation to
Third Congress.

An article by Comrade Zinoviev in the "Moscow" of June 22nd moves us to make the following declaration:

The article referred to is, to be more correct dated May 24th 1921, and we trust that we have since then convinced comrade Zinoviev of his error; but this error is to be met with frequently.

The Communist Party of Holland does not agree with the standpoint of the K. A. P. D. It is true that the teachings of the K. A. P. D. emanate from Holland, but this movement is insignificant in our country. When Gorter maintains that there is not one really communist party in the Third International, "with but one exception", that exception is not the Dutch Party. He and Pannekoek are, to be sure, members of our party, but they have not been participating in any agitation for years.

The communist party of Holland has been existence not 20 years, as averred by Comrade Zinoviev, but 13 years. The split in our country took place at an early date. For an entire decade our party had no more than 500 members. Our growth began only of late years, and our present membership at this moment amounts to 3,000 in 70 locals. Our party is still very weak however, due for the greater part, to the situation in Holland. But we expect not only our influence but also our membership to increase rapidly from now on.

In general it may be said that there is no political party on the continent today, which has from the very beginning defended, both orally and in writing, the tactics of the Russian Party; on general lines, we have always been in agreement with the policies of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The allegation that our Party is a supporter of the K. A. P. D. is a very unfortunate one. Our parliamentary policy is evidence hereof and there are no "Frei Arbeiter Unionen" in Holland. We have always combated the theories of the K. A. P. D. (K. A. P. D. practise does not exist).

We therefore desire to repeat most emphatically that our party has no connections whatever with the "Dutch School", and that the K. A. P. D. movement in Holland is absolutely of no importance in practise. The policy of the Communist Party of Holland has always been clear and firm, and we trust that it will always remain so.

The Communist Party of Holland
J. C. Ceton, Secretary.

The Italian Socialist Party after the split.

After the split which took place at the Livorno Congress, the Italian Socialist Party, encouraged by the activity and courage displayed by the younger party, very cleverly demonstrated its attitude, when it saw the truth in the assertions made by Communists, that it was necessary to throw off all "reformists" and "opportunist" elements. The formation of a unifying tendency headed by Serrati was in itself the consequence of the opportunism existing within the party. The expulsion of the "concentration fraction" alone, could not by itself purify the party. The unifying fraction would have opened wide the gates of the Third International to a great many opportunists. But now the split has caused complete break with all forms of opportunism and reformism and the result is the formation a Communist party. This break is most helpful to the revolutionary movement in Italy.

The Socialist Party has preserved its revolutionary varnish, but in its essence it is still opportunist and reformist. Only some resolutions give signs of the Communist spirit. If you observe the attitude of the Socialist Party in its most important manifestations, you easily perceive this fact. The opportunist by the use of revolutionary phrases endeavour to retain their hold on the masses, whereas the reformist, who would without showing their cards use this influence for their own ends. The opportunist are like the revolutionary mask of the party under which the worst and most treacherous

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

British Workers Unite Against Capitalists.

London, 21st June. The newspapers report that the engineer have unanimously rejected, the terms offered by the employers.

The Executive Committee of the Coal Miners' Federation sent out invitations to engineers, farm hands, cotton mills employees and transport workers to attend a joint conference to be held June 25th "to work out a concerted line of action in defence of our national demands". This invitation is also extended to all trade unions to fight against wage reduction and those interested in the struggle to maintain or to raise the present wage level.

The "Daily Herald" says: "The motion in favour of a general strike was enthusiastically endorsed by the working masses, especially by engineers".

LATVIA.

Split in Social Democratic Party.

Riga, June 23. "Social Democrat" of the 26th of June publishes a manifesto of the Central Committee of the Social Democrats to the Latvian working masses and party organisations on the split in the party. The manifesto points out that in spite of the guiding organs to preserve the unity of the party, the Right Social Democrats seceded from the organisation. In view of this fact the Central Committee decided to exclude from the party seventeen members of the Constituent Assembly and three Ministers who are not members of the Constituent Assembly. The Central Committee calls on all party organisations to break off all connection with the excluded members and to do all in their power to preserve unity in the party.

Victory of the Workers.

Riga, June 23rd. "Social Democrat" of the 23rd of June reports that the strike of the leather workers of Tahlm terminated in a victory of the workers; wages have been raised 25%; The strike at the saw mills of Calan and Chalit is over. The workers and employers having come to terms.

TURKEY.

Alliance of Kemalists and Constantinople.

Nauen, 4th June. According to news from Paris, well informed Turkish circles state that they are expecting the early alliance of the Turkish Government in Constantinople with the Ankara Government. In view of the Kemalist offensive in the near future, the Kemal Government, according to the Morning Post, has proposed through the good offices of another State, to negotiate peace with Greece with a condition of the handing over of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey.

GERMANY.

Punishment of Communists.

"Freiheit" of June 19th communicates that the Dortmund communist, Adolph Meinberg, was sentenced to three years in a house of detention for making a revolutionary speech.

rous features of reformism are concealed. After the split we witnessed the reformist wing starting a bold attack on the Communists. Supported by the pseudo-maximalist, who are gradually drifting to the right, and thus have succeeded in forming a united anti-Communist front. This happened at the C. G. T. and the National Council, and generally at all the meetings, where Communist delivered battle to the reformists. — (Bulletin of Communist Party of Italy, May 1920).

FRANCE.

For Red Trade Unions.

Riga, June 23rd. The "Journal" of June 14th reports from Roubaix that the textile syndicates on the question the General Confederation of Labour, expressed themselves by an overwhelming majority for re-organisation on the Moscow principles.

Demonstration of Workers.

"L'Humanite", of June 17th communicates that the transatlantic liner "Paris" with its striking luxury and beautiful accommodation, allotted to the rich travellers, and the extremely uncomfortable quarters, the steerage and the third class used for the workers, arrived at Havre. During the voyage the workers held a demonstration, and threatened the officers that they would take possession of the 1st class cabins, if their demands for food and sleeping accommodation were not agreed to. On the next day the men working at the balers struck for five hours. When the workers arrived at Havre they were put off and searched.

Growth of Chauvinism.

Berlin, June 22. (Via Riga). The persecution of anti-militarists have become more frequent of late, in order to create in the Chamber an atmosphere favourable to the new bill against the anti-militarists. Cachin, in L'Humanite points out that the struggle with the anti-militarists conceives a wide struggle of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary organisations, and calls on the masses to make an energetic resistance to the war which has been started by the bourgeoisie.

For Emancipation of Women.

Riga, June 23rd "Temps" reports that a deputation of French Women's Franchise Organisations accompanied by Senator Marten, and deputy Godar, the president of the parliamentary group for the Defence of Women's Rights waited on Briand, with the appeal to bring before the Senate the Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women, (which has already been accepted by the Chamber) at the earliest possible moment. As is known Briand spoke in favour of Women's Franchise, during the discussion on the subject in the Chamber.

FAR EAST.

Under the Mask of Peace.

London 1st June. Newspapers to-day print the statement of the Japanese Embassy on the incidents in Vladivostok. It emphasizes the fact that the Japanese forces intervened in the struggle between the Kappelists and the civil-militia of the Far-Eastern Republic, for the purpose of fulfilling its duty of preserving law and order in that city, because the spreading of the conflict might become dangerous for the life and property of foreigners.

On the second day,—continues this statement—when fighting re-commenced the Japanese troops disarmed both the Kappelists and the civil-militia and then as the Vladivostok Embassy had organised a special division of local citizens, the Japanese troops transferred their duties to this new, armed force. The statement finishes with the conviction that the Japanese troops guaranteed the inviolability of the former "Bolshevik Government".

Japans Hopes.

London 3rd June. The "Daily Telegraph" quoting Siberian newspapers states that Japan is concentrating troops in Port Arthur, in accordance with a plan to create a buffer State under Japanese protection, which will include Corea, Manchuria and Eastern Siberia.

Max Hoelz.

The following radio was despatched in the name of the Conference in connection with life sentence imposed on Max Hoelz.

To the German Proletariat.

To the two thousand years imprisonment sentences imposed by the German bourgeoisie upon the March fighters has now been added the lifelong imprisonment sentence for

Max Hoelz.

The Communist International is opposed to individual terror and acts of sabotage, which do not serve direct military purposes in the civil war. It opposed sniping war-methods adopted independently by political leaders of the revolutionary proletariat. But the Communist International sees in Max Hoelz a courageous rebel against capitalist society, whose laws find their expression in gaols, whose order means the fury of unchained police brutality. His deeds did not answer the purposes of the struggle. The white terror can be broken only by the rising of the masses, which alone is capable of realising the proletarian victory. But these deeds were prompted by love for the proletariat, by hate for the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Congress sends fraternal greetings to Max Hoelz, commending him to the protection of the German proletariat and expressing the hope, that on the day when the German proletariat will have burst open the gates of his prison, he will fight with the members and in the ranks of the Communist Party for the cause of the liberation of the German workers.

ITALY.

Fascisti Outrages.

Berlin, June 22. (Via Riga). The telegrams from Rome report the latest sitting of the Italian Chamber was interrupted by stormy incidents by provocation of Mussolini, the Fascist leader against the socialists. The Socialist and Fascist deputies joined in a hand to hand fight. Labriola the Minister of Labour tried to intervene in favour of the Socialists, but he was kept back by Giolitti. Then Labriola in a state of great excitement left the Chamber and announced his resignation.

Solidarity of the Musselmen.

London, June 20th. Reuter Communicates from Bombay, that the Executive Committee of the All-Indian Congress passed a resolution recommending every Indian soldier to refuse to aid the Imperial government in the event of an attack against the Turkish Nationalists.

Higher Prices.

Minsk, June 23. "Courier Polski" reports great increase in prices in Poland. Prices of bread and fodder have on average risen 150%.

The Little Entente.

Riga, June 23rd. The "Journal" June 14th, reports that the Bucharest "Official Monitor", published the text of the Techo-Slovakian agreement of April 23rd. This act completes the series of small agreements which completely forms the Little Entente. From now onward Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Techo-Slovakia, and Rumania, will form a block for the defence of Eastern Europe, and for the preservation of peace. It is surmised, however, that this problem will spread to the Balkans.

Bolshevism in Upper Silesia.

The Berlin "Lokalanzeiger" reports that Bolshevism is rapidly spreading among the Polish fighting workers. A Red Army has been formed in the immediate neighbourhood of Korfanty's headquarters, which has proclaimed the deposition of Korfanty. In many parts of the Central Industrial district Red flags have been waving since June 16th. Some of the industrial concerns have been placed under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"MOSCOW"

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.
Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.
Editor, Denezny 5, room № 18.
Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151.
Hours from 3 to 5 (except Sundays).
Responsible Secretary, Tverskaia 48.
Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).

MOSCOW

JUNE 26th 1921.

Third Session of the Third Session of

Debate on Trotzky's Report on the

France and Germany.

The problem of reparations is dominating European politics. Even though the capitalists of the Entente and Germany have now come to terms, it is none the less clear to every foresighted person, that there will be big clash of opposing interests the moment this treaty is seriously put into operation — new sharp conflicts are bound to arise, first because it is simply impossible to carry out the treaty, secondly because any attempt to do so is bound to produce a violent class struggle in Germany.

This situation demands from the Communist International and especially from both communist parties which are most immediately concerned—the French and the German—an identical policy. It is fully in keeping with the general policy of the Second International if the parties who form part of it tear each other to pieces over this problem, for they are only destined to be pawns in the hands of their masters, the bourgeoisie. It is also natural for the supporters of the Second and a half International to seek a solution which could bring about harmony between the bourgeoisie of the countries concerned and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This corresponds to the fusion tactics which they honour with the name of class struggle, and which can only lead to the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in all these countries. The communist parties have taken up the struggle against the restoration of the capitalist order by inaugurating a single harmonious policy guided by the interest of the workers.

We are of the opinion that up to now there could be no question of any such single policy.

Tendencies were manifested in the German Party which were influenced by the pacifist ideas of I. S. P. but they could not find their expression outside the walls of the meeting room of fraction in the Reichstag. On the other hand we witnessed prominent leaders of our French comrades expressing themselves in parliament on this question, in a spirit which was not communist. We do not by any means ignore the position of the communist party in France. Public opinion even in broad labour masses, is against it. However in our opinion, the only right policy of the communists is to combat these prejudices among the workers, by means of a clear definite attitude, and in this way to reveal the counter-revolutionary intentions of the bourgeoisie. Our view is that if the bourgeoisie attempts to restore the territories which were destroyed by the war, they can only do so at the expense of the proletariat, that is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat by representing its own interests as those of the nation, and by hypocritically representing restoration as a moral problem of punishing the perpetrators of the war; that the restoration of the disorganised economical conditions, can only be achieved by the victorious proletariat — if we hold on to that faith a single policy will evolve of itself. The peculiar conditions in separate countries can then be taken into account when we frame our tactics without thereby destroying the unity of the policy.

However, the party has other tasks to fulfill. It is quite natural that conflicts between the German and the French bourgeoisie appar at the present time far more dangerous to German than to the French proletariat. This is due to the fact that the French proletariat can easily be swayed by the illusion that its bourgeoisie represents its interest, whereas it becomes more and more clear to the German proletariat that it will have to submit to the double yoke of home and foreign capitalists. It is for this reason, and also owing to the revolutionary development in Germany, and the greater weakness of the German government that the German working class reacts on the conflicts within the camp of the international bourgeoisie, much quicker and much more energetically than the French. The success of such struggles on the part of the German proletariat will naturally be more decisive and greater if the Communist Party of France lends its assistance such struggles. Our French comrades will always have an opportunity of lending this assistance if they make use of

The Third session of the Congress commenced yesterday at 7 p. m. and opened with a discussion on the report of Com. Trotzky. The first speaker to take part in the discussion was **Comrade Braun**, the representative of the Polish Communist Party. He said that all the measures adopted by the capitalist States, all these State compulsory reforms in the sphere of reduction of the working day, housing, food reform etc., are incompatible with the re-establishment of pre-war conditions. The Brussels financial conference discussed the question of exchange but as the financial problem is only a symptom of the disease of capitalist society, it was compelled to extend the area of the question. From disarmament it was compelled to extend to the demands for the postponement of reforms. For the capitalists it is not sufficient merely to throw the workers on the streets. They are compelled to intensify the exploitation of the workers in the factories and to attempt to destroy the workers organisations. Therein lies the social root of the crisis. In the most difficult moments during the last three years the Social Democrats helped the bourgeoisie. "The Moor has done his work, let the Moor go". The task of the bourgeoisie now is not to bribe the workers but simply to oppress and suppress them. In this work the Social Democrats were compelled to co-operate. At such a moment we communists must become fighters for the very existence of the working class. For that reason we welcome the fact that the report on the economic situation was made by the leader of the Red Army, Comrade Trotzky. This shows that the Communist International will conduct the struggle not by means of statistics and figures, but with the sword.

Comrade Schwab, the representative of the Communist Party of Germany said he agreed with the fundamental position laid down in the theses of Comrades Trotzky and Varga on the periods of the rise and fall of capitalism. It is true that capitalism at the present time is exper-

all the means that the conditions in their country permit them, against their own bourgeoisie and their own government. It is mainly in France and Germany that we must attempt to bring about a co-ordination of our plan of campaign.

We must strive to bring about such co-ordination in our policies, also for the future when no immediate conflicts threaten.

We refer especially to the military occupation of German territory by Entente troops. It was proved very clearly during the March rising that the mailed fist which is menacing the German government will strike down upon the German proletariat if it attempts to rebel against its own bourgeoisie. We have had personal experience with the regular troops who occupied Russian and Finnish territory during the war, which has convinced us that such troops, although for the greater part proletarians, can become quite efficient white guard storm troops, who would at a given moment be entirely prepared to play the part of the executioners of their own fellow proletarians in their own country. In those days we could hardly be expected to make much headway against such developments, as the revolutionary party was still very weak. It is in the future interest of the French proletariat, to exert every effort to prevent, while there is yet time, the organisation of a white praetorian guard on the Rhine. We therefore desire that our French comrades should carry on systematic propaganda among the soldiers of the armies of occupation, in cooperation with us. Only such cooperation between our parties can bear the desired fruit.

In conclusion we consider it necessary for proper coordination of practical revolutionary action to arrange an exchange of propagandists between both parties. This will assure a regular exchange of experiences, a clear insight into the conditions and revolutionary possibilities in both countries, and stimulate the progress of our mutual revolutionary labours. The German delegation will welcome a discussion of these questions, which will no doubt interest other parties as well, and the practical details of such cooperation would then follow as a matter of course.

Paul Frohlich.

encing a rise, but one must take one fact into consideration to which little attention has been devoted in the theses; this is that modern capitalism is based not on production but on profits. Its reconstruction is possible therefore because its preserves, profits, both in the period of industrial crises and industrial booms. Furthermore the difference has not been pointed out between the unemployment of former times and the unemployment of today. Previously the unemployed served as the industrial reserve army, at the present moment it is doomed to complete extinction. The apparatus of capitalism has been adapted to working behind the scene where it is carefully protecting the employers profits.

Comrade Reichenbach representing the same party, analysing the modern unparalleled crisis, asserted that capitalism has assumed new norms has a begun to employ quite new methods. During the last few years it has acquired new possibilities of overcoming difficulties, of course for us Marxist and Communists, the inevitability of the growth of large capitalist society is an axiom about which there is no dispute. The question consists in hastening the process and discovering new methods of struggle against aggressive capitalism, and retaining the initiative in the hands of the working class. Modern capitalism represents a complicated mixture of nationalism and internationalism. French capitalism for instance is interested in the re-establishment of German capitalism. Stepping across frontiers capitalism is uniting, and its insatiable greed for profits drives it into conflicts with the proletariat who refuse any longer to live a life of poverty. In conclusion Comrade Reichenbach spoke of the intention of international capitalism to re-establish Russian industry. In his opinion this question in connection with the new forms and methods of aggression of capitalist governments is a serious one. On the one hand the re-establishment of the industry of Russia which for three years experienced a fierce war, is a necessity, on the otherhand it will ease the burden of the capitalists, the question in connection with the report delivered by Comrade Trotzky is one of opposing the new organisational forms of capitalism by new organisational forms and methods of the revolutionary proletariat.

The next speaker was **Comrade Poganni**, he expressed the opinion that Comrade Trotzky's report contained some contradictions and omissions. On page 4 of his theses, Comrade Trotzky says that the main reason why the bourgeoisie are maintaining their positions is that an industrial boom arose a few months after the conclusion of the war. On page 14 however he says "the proletariat which in the present crisis has suffered defeat will make a new offensive under better conditions". Thus, the theses asserts that the European proletariat were unable to conquer political power because of the economic boom which developed after the war. And then, the theses states that the workers failed to capture political power owing to the economic crisis. Comrade Trotzky quoted an example from the history of the Russian labour movement from which it was evident that the proletariat which had suffered a defeat in 1905, rallied again when the industrial boom arrived. "I could also quote examples from the history of the Hungarian Labour Movement" said Com. Poganni, "where the proletariat was defeated by the white terror, but did the Hungarian proletariat rally during the economic boom? No! on the contrary we see that it is during the present period of economic crisis in Hungary, that the proletarian movement is becoming stronger, but this example is not valid for the present moment. The Russian proletariat suffered defeat in 1905, the Hungarian proletariat in 1919, but the European proletariat has not been defeated, it is not true that the European proletarian organisations have been destroyed. On the contrary we see that during the period of industrial boom the workers organisations of the whole of Europe, have grown, have become stronger and have united in fighting divisions. We see further that during economic crises the proletariat by no means loses his heart. On the contrary it was owing to the commencing industrial crisis that the workers of France, Germany and Tchecho-Slovakia, rose and formed Communist parties. It was not accident that the strong communist parties were for-

med not in the period of industrial boom, but in the period of economic crisis. I think that the theses are based on a future war, and not on the present economic crisis. I think that this crisis will not bring about social peace, because the bourgeoisie will adopt all measures in order to defeat the proletariat. The proletariat will not surrender because at the present moment the revolutionary movement in all countries is guided by the communist parties, which calculating the situation will lead the proletariat into battle. For that reason it seems to me that it was necessary to deal more widely and deeply in the theses with the question of civil war. We must assert that force plays the same at the present moment as it played during the so-called period of accumulation of capital i. e. that force in the period of the collapse of capital plays the same role as it did in the period of its accumulation. I must raise the question as to what the economic crisis will bring to the proletariat in the immediate future and what situation will be created as the result of this. As evidence of this I will quote only the most important facts: the miners strike in England, and the March rising in Germany are nothing else than resistance to the attempt of the bourgeoisie to reduce wages. In this connection the bourgeoisie directed all the force at its command against the proletariat. As a consequence the Communist Party in Germany went more to the Left, became more revolutionary, and in the ranks of the Independants, a so called new left wing has been formed. As a consequence of the miners strike in England more favourable conditions have been created for the revolution and for a mass communist party. We mainly assert that the same phenomena reveal themselves both at the beginning and at the end of capitalism. Both at the birth and the decline of capitalism we witness robbery and theft.

I think, Comrades, that in examining the present world economic crisis we must take three characteristic features into consideration, 1) the economic offensive of the bourgeoisie along the whole front, 2) the resistance of the proletariat to this offensive which must inevitably lead to a political struggle, and 3) the increasing application by the bourgeoisie of the forces of the State, reorganised during the period of the boom, against the proletariat. From this it is clear that a period of civil war must arrive in all countries. For that reason it seems to me that we must speak here not of world war, or of booms, but on the contrary, our "leit motiv" of our thesis should be civil war and crisis. I propose therefore to insert the following amendment to the point I mentioned on page 14.

"Owing to the crisis which arose, the proletariat was compelled to take up a defensive position. Here the proletariat will be compelled to conduct a defensive battle, this struggle naturally will lead to a political struggle against which the bourgeoisie will to an increasing extent apply the power of the State. The economic crisis represents a period of intense proletarian struggle — of civil war. If the proletariat will not conduct this defensive struggle with the necessary offensive enthusiasm, the bourgeoisie will reduce the standard of living to that which existed in the period previous to the trade union movement".

The next speaker was **Comrade Thalheimer** (Germany) who considered that Comrade Trotzky's theses required some amendment. It is evident from the theses that a certain equilibrium has been established and therefore the crisis of capitalism will proceed much more easily. It is necessary to observe however that this equilibrium is not at all stable, and slightest shock will upset it. Comrade Trotzky pointed to the sharpening of relations between America and England and from that drew the conclusions of a future war. He could have pointed to a similar sharpening relations between France and Germany, which could also serve as a factor for upsetting the equilibrium. Comrade Thalheimer further remarked that Comrade Trotzky in a masterful manner described the methods by which the bourgeoisie extricated itself out of the difficult position of 1918—1919.

Congress of the Comintern.

24th of June.

International Situation and our Problems.

But he did not describe sufficiently clearly the social contradiction.

Comrade Bell (England) said that the discussion on Comrade Trotsky's report should be concentrated on two points: 1) The stability of the capitalist system and the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in the period of the existing stability of capitalism. "I want to draw your attention to the general influence of the moment" said Comrade Bell. "Previous to the war the inter-dependence of capitalist countries seemed so close that war seemed impossible. The leaders of the Second International were so convinced of this that they based their tactics on the impossibility of war. The war created new groupings in the capitalist world; not only the economic but political. We must closely examine the reasons for the stability of capitalism after the war. The factors in this are: the colossal import of American capital into Europe. Eleven milliards were invested in large European countries and four milliards in the small Balkan States; then there is the concentration of German industry which finds its expression in such concerns as that of Stinnes and the cheap credit placed at the disposal of small countries by England. Reparations and indemnities also played a large role in establishing a stable equilibrium.

In conclusion, Comrade Bell said that the stability of capitalism observed at the present moment is only temporary.

Comrade Zetkin followed, she said:

"I will not deal with the details of the report. The fundamental internal tendencies of capitalist development are much more important to us. Comrade Trotsky correctly demonstrated to us the fundamental tendencies of the development and the difference between this and other crises". Comrade Trotsky then dealt with the assertions of Comrade Thalheimer, on the significance of the German-French conflict. In the opinion of comrade Zetkin, the German-French agreement had more significance. This agreement not only affected the French and German proletariat but the proletariat of the whole world. Further on in her speech Comrade Zetkin said: "We must not rely on the automatic development of capitalism, we must hasten it with revolutionary proletarian activities. The case of Austria demonstrates how the abasement and the worst enslavement of the working classes does not destroy their passivity. But we must count on the possibilities of improvement. However we need not guard ourselves against this. The Communist Party must exert all its energies to destroy the passivity of the masses, must make them revolutionary and lead them along the path towards the seizure of the political power by the proletariat.

Comrade Roy (India) said:

"If the capitalist world was experiencing a crisis then the proletariat's immediate task was to make use of this crisis in order to deprive the world bourgeoisie of its chances to re-establish its class rule and the economic equilibrium of the world. I regard the possibilities of war between England and America as exaggerated. There is more likelihood of an alliance between England and America to rule the world. England was the ruler of the old world of Africa and Asia, and America had taken under its control the whole of the new world. We must devote all our energies to prevent the possibility of such an alliance to re-establish the economic equilibrium. The signs of such an alliance have already reached the surface and England and America are already meeting Germany with the object of such a re-establishment. It is important to deal further with the colonial question. Formerly the colonies were a rich source of raw material, today we witness an industrial growth, which on the one hand produces a large proletarian army with all its class contradictions and on the other gives English capital the possibility of transferring its surplus to the colonies and making the colonies a prop for the support of its disturbed rule. This is why it is absolutely essential to include the economic significance of the colonies in the theses, to review colonial politics in the light of the world situation and to examine the tactical side of the colonial question.

Comrade Köenen of the United Communist Party of Germany followed comrade Roy. He said that he did not intend to

denounce or criticise the theses of comrades Trotsky and Varga, but merely to analyse it. Some speakers mentioned a struggle between America and England and between Germany and France, and others an alliance between Germany and France. Germany was too weak to do either the one or the other. Comrade Köenen then dealt with the question of Upper Silesia, the Ruhr Basin and Asia Minor which was never touched upon by the former speaker. The bankruptcy of contemporary capitalist governments was referred to in the theses. The speaker hoped that Comrade Trotsky would give a clearer explanation of this in his concluding statement. In his opinion the present state of bankruptcy was absolutely different to any that had ever yet existed as it is to-day equivalent to a revolution. In order to define a clear cut line of action — said Comrade Köenen in conclusion — it was essential that the particular conditions in each country were thoroughly examined.

On the motion of Comrade Trotsky the debate was closed.

Comrade Trotsky spoke in conclusion:

"Comrade Braun", he said — "declared that we must fight the bourgeoisie not with statistics, but with the sword and he confused me with the report. I must remark that in my work with the Red Army, I had to deal more with statistics than the sword. The very idea of the sword is romantic. I had to devote more time in the Red Army to uniforms, trousers and pants. Statistics is an adjunct of the sword and the sword an adjunct of statistics.

Comrade Reichenbach said that we must not only demonstrate the line of tactics to the European proletariat, but we must lead him. We mean by this that we must show the proletariat how to use his strength to bring his hopes into effect. We must not only prove to the proletariat the steps that have to be taken, but we must at the same time stand at the head of its activities.

Comrade Reichenbach over estimates the importance of the objective element. Our Russian Left Socialist Revolutionists behaved in the same way. They threw out Marxism as useless litter, and relied exclusively on the education and maturing of the revolutionary will of the masses. This is a mistake, a purely subjective method. The supporters of Kautsky go to the other extreme in regard to development as an exclusively automatic process, taking into account only the will of the hostile class, and removing from the field of vision, the position of the working class. This separating the subjective from the objective is nothing more nor less than revolutionary adventurism. We Marxists, unite the dialectical and practical, subjective and objective. We not only rely on the subjective desire of this or that comrade, but take into consideration, that the workers will objective follow that position and, the objective economic conditions are a pledge of this. These real conditions, we wish to prove with our statistics and thus point out the path to the working class. Comrade Schwab, said these do not clearly point out the decline of the Capitalist system. Comrade Trotsky said, the economic equilibrium is not an abstract mechanical conception, but the continuous fluctuations of the inter-dependence of conditions, influences of classes. After the war, the bourgeoisie was left at the helm. By means of issues of paper money, the cheapening of food etc. it retained power in its hands. But every article that Germany throws on to the English market, is a piece of the home of a German worker. The unavoidable ruin of industry is brought about in that way. That is the vicious circle of capitalist rule. In that lies the meaning of the thesis.

Speaking against the assertion of comrade Reichenbach, that economic connection with Soviet Russia can consolidate European capitalism comrade Trotsky said: "So far I do not think there is any danger of such a thing happening. International capitalism unfortunately has not come to that stage yet, where under the pressure of the International proletariat it should have to seek refuge in Soviet Russia.

Comrade Pogani is of the opinion that the thesis contradicts itself. At one point, he says, it states that the industrial boom weakened the revolutionary movement. In another place it says, that the

coming boom will not be able to restrain the revolutionary movement. The boom must be appraised equally in the future as in the past" said Comrade Trotsky. We examined these booms from a concrete, historical stand-point. The intensified crises brought the capitalists to attack the proletariat. The latter are now on their defensive. Our task is to deepen that condition, and politically to spread it to such dimensions, as to make it possible for the proletariat to capture power. But suppose an improvement in the situation takes place. Comrade Varga has already indicated in his pamphlet the symptoms of that improvement. True, this improvement evidently does not come so fast. It does not depend on us to hasten or to hinder the coming of that improvement. What should be our tactics if that improvement should come? This is what the theses talks about, the difference between the industrial boom immediately after the war and the present condition lies in that the after war boom the workers were still full of illusions, they had no clear and definite orientation. Their consciousness was not yet awakened. The bourgeoisie by making a number of sacrifices, created a state of stability. Now their difficulties are considerably greater. The Communist Parties have taken up a definite attitude. With regard to conditions in the period of the boom, it is unavoidable that the proletariat should recall the deprivation it had to suffer, and the sacrifices it had to make.

With regard to the Anglo-American conflict, with several comrades touches upon Trotsky reminded them that the possibility of such a conflict is not defined in the theses as something unavoidable and which must come about on a certain defined day, but only as an illustration of the present international situation.

In further, replies to Comrade Thalheimer and Bell, Comrade Trotsky quoted the words of the Spanish delegate who declared that the revolutionary movement in Spain sprung up during the industrial boom.

In analysing the conceptions of balance and stability, Comrade Trotsky says: What makes for revolution is the fact that there is no balance or stability. The trade-union bureaucracy contrived to get a firm foothold and feathered its nest against unemployment. But the frenzied pulse of market instability, the leaps and fluctuations in currency, and wages disturb the life-balance. The workers of Germany live under conditions spelling absolute uncertainty as to what the next day may bring. The most peacefully-inclined workman feels that there is nothing stable or durable in life as a whole and its material resources, and this feeling throws him out of balance. And so, it is not the upslide of prosperity nor the growing impoverishment, but this lack of stability and balance which is a factor of profound revolutionary import. Revolution, continues Comrade Trotsky, runs in three channels: the first is marked out by the social balance of Europe, primarily of England depending on its relative position in the world concert; the second — by the feverish pulse in the development and rise of American industry to be followed by a great economic crisis and revolution; the third — by the colonies, which developed to a considerable extent during the war and not only gained foothold in the markets, but actual influence on the market itself. India has a backward but revolutionary proletariat. In this country where the peasants are ground down by the heel of feudalism, their only hope lies in the young proletariat of India. The movement ran parallel in these three channels amid constant inter-action.

In conclusion Comrade Trotsky moves to refer back to the commission, the thesis on the economic situation of the world.

After comrade Trotsky's summing up, the Congress took up the question of voting on the theses reported on by comrade Trotsky.

Comrade Radek brought in two motions; 1) to approve comrade Trotsky's theses in principle, since their fundamentals called out no objects as to principle, and to refer them to the commission for editorial finish to embody the amendments made; 2) That the same commission prepare a manifesto on the question of immediate class warfare in response to the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the working class.

Comrade Trotsky, in seconding Comrade Radek's motion, moved that the

work of bringing out this manifesto, be handed over to the Commission on Economics and the Commission on Tactics working in conjunction. (Here, he said, I must betray a secret.) My theses were attacked on the ground that they contained no suggestions in questions of tactics. As a matter of fact, the original version had such suggestions; but as comrade Radek is to report here on the question of tactics, I, not being an imperialist, the assertions of the press to the contrary notwithstanding, threw out my theses any matter relating to tactics. That is why I move that the manifesto be prepared by the joint work of both Commissions. Frölich in the name of the V. K. P. D. asked the Congress not to vote for the present on Comrade Trotsky's theses as a basis for the work of the above Commissions, since, in his opinion, this would unnecessarily direct and locate the work of these commissions, whereas Germany's delegation is anxious that the work of these Commissions should be as spontaneous and free as possible. Comrade Frölich's motion was opposed by Comrade Radek and Trotsky.

Comrade Radek pointed out that the German delegation, though taking an active part in the discussions, failed however, even once to state its opinion on the essentials of Comrade Trotsky's theses. Trotsky, in his turn, pointed out the perfect inconsistency of Comrade Frölich's motion, as in case there are no objections to these theses in point of principle, there is no reason why they should not be voted on, but in case there are any such objections, there is ten times more reason that the theses should be voted on. After the replies of Comrade Frölich and Scheiner, who seconded the motion of the V. K. P. D. pointing out that in view of the serious nature of the question it was imperative that the Congress take up these theses again after they have been acted on in the Commissions, the Congress proceeded to put the question to a vote. At Comrade Radek's suggestion a trial vote was taken by balloting cards, since the Commission on Credentials had not yet reported.

Practically the whole of the delegates, with the exception of the German and the Swiss voted in favour of accepting comrade Trotsky's theses as a basis theses.

The second proposal of comrade Radek on the publication of a manifesto together with amendment by comrade Trotsky was carried unanimously. So also was the proposal of the Presidium to include in the Theses Commissions representatives of those delegations, which are not yet represented.

Comrade Kolarov, from the chair read the Agenda for the next session which will take place the 25th at 11 a. m. The main item will be the report of the Comintern, which will be made by Comrade Zinoviev.

To the Delegates of the Building Industry of all Countries.

The Central Committee of the Russian Builders' Union is convening a Conference in conjunction with their representatives of the Building Industry of all countries, on Thursday the 30th of June at 3.30 p. m. at the Headquarters of the Central Committee at Nikolski pereulok № 9 late Sloviansky Hotel.

Agenda.

- 1) Review of the work of the Russian Builders' Union.
- 2) Review of the work of the International Bureau of the Central Committee.
- 3) Organisation and forms of the International movement.
- 4) Election of the International Organising Bureau.

All delegates to the Congress of the Comintern, who are members of Builders' Unions are invited to take Part in the Conference.

The International Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Builders' Union.

To all Delegates of Builders' Unions to the Congress of the Comintern and International Council of Trade Unions.

The International Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Builders' Union is arranging an excursion to the Kashir Electric Station for foreign delegates.

Comrades who wish to take part are asked to register their names before 12 o'clock on Monday at the Headquarters of the International Bureau of the Central Committee of the Builders' Union, Nikolski pereulok 9 room C.

The International Bureau.

The "Cancer" of Communism.

By H. VALESKY

There is an anecdote about a comrade representing a very small but sincere and somewhat sectarian Communist party in a country cursed with a bulky opportunist mass-party. When asked whether there was a left wing in the opportunist camp, or some trend of revolutionary opposition, to the leading officialdom of the party his answer was, "What a left wing in this outfit of social traitors?" "Why, it is too rotten for anything of the kind!" "In that case", his interlocutor replied, "A Communist Party, on its own, must be still worse..."

Indeed, if a Communist party is to take up the fight against an opportunist party comprising a considerable part of the proletarian masses, the aim of this fight must be to wrench off the organized masses from under the sway of their leaders, to sow unrest and disruption in their ranks, and create within that party a trend of opinion and feeling with the motto: "Down with the renovating of Capitalism! We're against cooperation with governments! No shirking or cowardly backing out before a class fight! We are disgusted with this everlasting betrayal of the most vital interests of the proletariat!" The best means to be employed by the Communist party, to gain a hold over the organized ranks in hostile camps must not be confined to verbal denunciation and to word lashing of the crimes committed by the leaders; the means, rather, should consist in tactics of revolutionary action, showing the proletarian masses in a clear and tangible form, what to do and how to do it to achieve real emancipation for the working class.

From this viewpoint, we say, that the Communist Labour Party of Poland formed in December of 1918 through the amalgamation of the two old revolutionary organisations has stood the above test with appreciable success despite the unparalleled difficulties that barred its way.

We have in Poland the great social-patriotic and opportunist party known as the P. P. S. with Pilsudsky as its spiritual head and steered by the old parliamentary demagogues, Dazsynski and Diamand. This party has about 70 members of the Polish parliament, many hundreds of towns councillors, a very large daily press, enjoys the active support of the State administration and the bourgeoisie, and has covered the country with a network of alert organisations efficiently served by a host of clever skillful agitators. Twice the P. P. S. took a direct part in the Polish government, first for a few months during the organisation of the Polish State, and again from July to December of 1920. This party always stood on the plank of civil peace and enjoyed, therefore, all the privileges of an administrative party. The Communist Party, however, is totally illegal (an underground organisation), so that mere membership in the party is punishable by imprisonment, the legislature being provided by the Tsarist Code, which is still in force. A series of exceptional laws are directed against the activity of the party, and anyone suspected of cherishing the least sympathy with Communism is liable to imprisonment. In spite of this, the Communist Party, thanks to its energetic and widespread activity, gains an ever greater hold, even upon the masses organised under the P. P. S. This is strikingly confirmed by a number of well-known facts.

In the summer of 1919 a considerable opposition group of members seceded from the P. P. S. and after a year of independent existence, joined the Communist Party unconditionally. The former members of the P. P. S. are now among the most self-sacrificing fighters in our party. In August 1920 a new opposition formed within the P. P. S. headed by several highly influential men. Among others, by George Lochacki, formerly general-secretary of the P. P. S. Soon after however, the most prominent members of this new left wing were forced to leave the party, but they kept in close touch with the comrades sharing their views, while still remaining within the fold of the old party. The leaflet in which these seceders set forth their reasons for leaving the party is a powerful indictment against the leaders of the P. P. S. who are the traitors of Socialism and the working class. This indictment reverberated with tremendous force all over the country. In April 1921, Comrade Lancucki, deputy for Przemysl, left the parliamentary faction of the P. P. S., and the party itself informed us of this Communistic sentiment within its ranks. When called upon by the P. P. S. to give up his seat in parliament, he appealed to his constituency, the

organized workers of his district, who at a public meeting passed a vote of confidence and expressed their sympathy with his action.

Finally, the "Robotnik", central organ of the P. P. S. in its issue of June 9, published a statement of the Central Executive Committee dealing especially with a number of facts which took place in the P. P. S. organisation in the Posen District, which led to the expulsion of all officials in the party organisation of that district.

It would be highly instructive to reproduce here a few passages of these interesting documents. It reads as follows:

The Communist elements have of late developed a systematic and intensive activity and are looking forward to the ruin of our Party. Proclamations and leaflets appear almost every day, with the object of undermining the internal strength of our party using both lies and slander, directed against individual comrades or the leadership of the entire party. All this work is carried on, and financed, by order of the Third International, and has as its object the repetition in Poland of what has already been accomplished with more or less success in many countries in Western Europe. Namely to bring about an unofficial split in the Socialist parties and to weaken and demoralize them, while to endeavour control of the Trade Unions and the co-operative movements. The Communist leaders first establish connections with some party members and then attempt to create their own "nuclei" groups within our organisation.

The appeal of the Central Executive committee of the P. P. S. deals in detail with the party organisation in the district of Posen, and also charges the chairman of the district, Citizen Geneslaw Porankiewicz with a series of crimes and of publishing articles in the local party organ, the tenor of which is in direct negation of the Party's principles. Especially an article under the heading "The Bloody Baiting", directed against the Nationalist uprising in Upper Silesia. The Party Executive of the Posen district continued the proclamation, has not only failed to oppose the destructive work of its Chairman but openly declared its solidarity with him. The proclamation continues to outline a series of repressive measures, and calls upon the faithful to save the party from the Communistic menace. It is beyond any doubt that the left opposition elements in the P. P. S. though denounced by their Executive Committee are far from being imbued with Communism as we understand it. However, it may mean that we shall be confronted with a part of the proletariat, hitherto duped and fooled by the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, and who are making efforts to free themselves from their slavery. It means also that thought in Poland is heading towards Communism. If we consider the great success achieved by our Polish Comrades, among the widespread masses of the proletariat, and especially their victorious advance in the trade-unions, where 40% of organized labour have already joined under their banner—we may predict that in a very short time, the ranks of the Polish Communist Party will increase in numbers. And soon we shall have numerous fighting battalions, which thanks to its energetic activity the Party will wrest from the enemy and draw into its own organisation.

The Leipzig Sentences.

The sentences of the Supreme Court on the war criminals cause extraordinary dissatisfaction in Entente circles. In the House of Commons, the Attorney General declared that the sentences may have to be revised. After the closing of the trials the Allies will have to decide what is to be done.

This is most scandalous. We remember the great consideration shown to the war criminals on the part of the Eberlian justice, and especially we contrast their treatment with that meted out to the Communists, against whom the greatest prejudice was shown in the sentences, which are devoid of justice.

Capitalist Reconstruction.

The two faithful friends—Loucheur and Dr Rathenau have proceeded so far with their bargaining that they now dare to show their cards. Loucheur, has declared in the most emphatic manner that he will only endorse direct relations between the industrial concerns of both countries. Thus the Trade Union Federation has received a proper reward for its cringing to the Restoration Commission.

The Workers Co-Operatives and Soviet Russia.

Many long years have the proletariat of all countries dreamt of being themselves their own masters by Capital. For many years they have built their own organisations—political, trade-unions, and co-operatives, which were to have accomplished the great task of the proletariat—to accomplish the liquidation of the Proletariat, and the creation of the socialist order.

Now the long awaited Revolution has commenced. In Soviet Russia the power lies in the hands of the workers. In all other countries, the proletariat is rapidly forming Fighting Columns, Revolutionary Parties and Trade Unions.

Soviet Russia is the advance guard of the World Proletarian Revolution and its organizing centre. This is clear and comprehensive to the proletariat of the whole world. Everywhere the workers, who understand their own interests are striving to help Soviet Russia, in her difficult position, in her struggle with world imperialism, and to re-build the economic ruin of this country. This is the problem that faces the Western European proletariat in their political and Trade Union organisations.

The Western workers co-operatives have not yet taken up the problem, though they could do a great deal towards solving it. It could help Soviet Russia, and thereby the success of the Proletarian Revolution. Having understood that work it could easily improve the material position of its own members—the proletarians of Western Europe.

The possibility of a new attack by the Western Capitalist countries on Soviet Russia is not improbable. If an attack is made, it will mean renewed suffering, a new disorganisation in international relations, new sacrifices of men, and not only the sacrifice of material wealth for the Russian peasant, and workers, but also for the workers of the West. Therefore the workers co-operatives over all the world, must take up a definite stand against intervention, they must unite with the Trade Unions and political organisations of the proletariat.

The relations between the co-operatives of Western Europe and of Russia were broken during the war, and so far have not been re-established. First—on the one hand, as a matter of course, the products of Western Europe, however on the other hand—Russia is a country with tremendous quantities of raw material. The sooner Soviet Russia will overcome her economic decay, the greater will be the gain of the workers of the West. To combat this decay, it is necessary to establish sound and honest trading relations between Soviet Russia and the Western countries. The workers of Western Europe and America must bring pressure on their governments and compel them to conclude Trade Agreements as speedily as possible. Without these Trade Agreements, business relations are impossible. For this work the workers Co-operatives of the West, must take an active part, in conjunction with the political and Trade Union organisations of the proletariat.

Ruined Soviet Russia needs the aid of foreign capital. It offers that capital a number of concessions. It would rather give them to the organisations of the Workers Co-operatives.

The Western-European workers are now suffering from the high cost of living. Their food is not sufficiently nourishing. During the War the tradesmen became accustomed to sell their products, and especially those things used by the workers when they were want to retail all sorts of substitutes. This habit is still retained. Therefore, it is necessary for the European workers to be able to purchase good, unadulterated products at low prices.

This possibility can be gained only through the Workers Co-operatives and this by means of concessions by the organisations of Russia, in factories and workshops, that manufacture oil, butter and condensed milk and cereal products and the fisheries of the Siberian rivers, and in the building of factories and other enterprises connected with the production of food.

The European proletariat suffers from unemployment, but the organising of such enterprises in Soviet Russia, will give the opportunity to qualified workers to help in the building of these factories, and to train the Russian workers in new methods for building and working these industries.

Such is the aid that the Western Workers Co-operatives can give to Soviet Russia. Once it has adopted this view it

will greatly aid its members—the workers of Western Europe.

The workers of the West must, therefore demand from the leaders of their co-operative movement the adoption of this policy. If the leaders refuse this proposal, it will show clearly that they do not understand the need of the working class. They must be placed out of office and their stead workers to be elected who will understand their class. These Co-operative Workers must be the leaders of the working class, who will not fear to close in the struggle with Capitalism for the defence of Proletarian interests.

The Lille Conference.

The following radios have been dispatched by the International Council T. U.

To the general Confederation of Labour "Humanité Ouvrière" to the Federations of Railwaymen, Post and Telegraph employees, to the Union of the Department of Seine and to all Left wing Unions.

In the 25th of July the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour will take place. The fate of the entire Trade Union movement in France depends upon this Congress. We are well aware of the fact that the Amsterdam International will send its representatives to this congress. The International Council of Trade Unions, having amongst its followers more than one half of the membership in France, considers necessary for the general Confederation of Labour in the interest of a wide discussion of the questions concerning the labour masses to allow the admittance of its official representatives to the Congress of Lille. The International Council of Trade Unions therefore appoints Comrade Losovsky and Dimitroff. We request an answer by radio, to represent it at the Conference.

The International Council of the Trade Unions.

General Secretary Losovsky.
Members of the Bureau: Tzapperovitch, Eckert, Dimitroff, Rosmer, Watkins.
Moscow the 24th of June 1921.

The General Confederation of Labour "Humanité Ouvrière".

The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, in order to enter into direct relations and personal contact with the organised workers of France, have elected a delegation consisting of Comrades Andreff, Segeyeff and Losovsky to go to Lille for the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour. We beg you to do everything within your power to secure a free admittance into Lille for our delegates of the All-Russian Trade Unions, and immediately inform us by radio.

We hope that the General Confederation of Labour will take all measures to secure a safe conduct into France for our delegates. Otherwise it would simply mean a desire to evade a frank and loyal discussion of all questions pertaining to the Trade Union movement of the world.

The Præsidium of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions:

Andreff, Antoroff, Losovsky.
The members of the Bureau:
Fevzpechicz, Bougsoutack, Smith, Brokoff, Torguloff, Moscow, 24th June 1921.
Koudisheff.

Red Trade Unions

To the Delegates of the Organisation Committee.

On Monday 27th of June 1 p. m. at the Round Hall of the Moscow Provincial Council of Trade Unions the Inaugural Session of the Organisation Committee will take place.

General Manager of the International Council of Trade Unions
Voskoff