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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Government pays up.

Bordeaux, July 2. (Wireless.) On Friday the House of Commons approved the grant of 10,000,000 pounds to the mining industry. The coal strike has lasted 94 days.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

"Manchester Guardian" reports a statement made by Lord Birkenhead, that the Anglo-Japanese alliance will be extended automatically, for another year, commencing July, 13th, providing no rejection of the treaty will be presented before that date. According to the "Times" the contrary was expected. That is, the agreement would be automatically nullified if a rejection of it will not be presented before July. According to the Lord Chancellor, the agreement does not require its renewal, and cannot be immediately annulled. Evidently this is also the opinion of the government.

The "Times" remarks, that if such is really the case, the conference must center its discussions for the calling of a conference of Great-Britain, United States and Japan for the division of the Pacific Ocean into three spheres of influence.

U. S. A.

U. S. Fishing for Allies.

Hanover, July 3. "New York Herald" reports the impending Anglo-Japanese alliance is the unspoken motive of the American intentions to make peace with Germany, declares Oskar Schweriner in the "Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger". He believes that the British effort to attract America into the triple alliance with Japan is doomed to failure. In America's present purported move toward peace with Germany he sees the indication that America seeks friends among England's rivals. Schweriner warns the Germans against expecting more favours from America than America's own interests demand. He also sees in the present rapprochement that American business-men are seeking foreign markets.

Relations With Germany and Austria.

Nauen, July 2. The U. S. Senate on July. Has passed the Knox-Porter resolution on the resumption of peaceful relations with Germany and Austria by a majority of 38 against 19. President Harding is expected to sign and ratify this resolution.

Immediately after the adoption of this resolution Harding will start negotiations with Germany concerning a commercial treaty.

SWEDEN.

Young Communists Secretary Arrested.

Hugo Sillen, secretary of the Swedish Union of Young Communists was arrested in connection with a so called case of "High Treason".

"Protests against Persecutors"

Stockholm July 2nd. An imposing meeting took place at Göttenburg to protest against the persecutions of the Finnish and Swedish Communists. Prominent Communists addressed the meeting. Over 2,000 persons were present.

Bourgeoisie Satisfied.

Berlin, June 30th. Bidegar has filed a suit in court as a result of the new majority in the management of the Railway Workers Union caused by the victorious extremists. The bourgeois press is satisfied with Bidegar's appeal to bourgeois justice, hoping that by this means the extremists will be expelled.

ITALY.

Italian Cabinet Difficulties.

Nauen, June 2. (Wireless.) De Nicola having refused to form a new cabinet in Italy, Bonomi has undertaken this task.

Outrages of Fascisti.

Berlin, July, 1st. New Fascisti outrages on Socialists took place in April in Naples, Mantua, Breshine, Palermo. Under the pretence of a radical slogan against the high cost of living, the Fascisti completely devastated several road stores and restaurants.

Italian Confederation.

Berlin, July, 1st. The leaders of the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions gathered at Rome with Serrati and Dzenarini, to discuss the question of party leadership. After stormy discussions a division of votes took place, on a motion of Serrati, to utilise "Avanti" for detailed information of the Italian workers movement.

The Council of Trade-Unions approved of the line of action taken at the Livorno Congress of Trade-Unions. Bianki and Buazi were appointed representatives to the International Trade-Union Congress at Moscow. According to the report of the council of Trade-Unions, the Seamen's Union decided to join the Confederation of Labor.

POLAND.

Ratification of Rumanian Treaty.

Warsaw, July 2nd. At yesterday's meeting of the Diet the question of the Ratification of the Treaty with Rumania, was discussed. The representative of the government emphasized that the treaty does not contain anything directed against the Soviet Government. Perl, the representative of the P. P. S. objected to the treaty, on the ground that Rumania has not made peace with Soviet Russia and therefore she may still come into conflict with Russia over Bessarabia. Again Rumania forms part of the Little Entente, which comprises the Tchechs, the enemies of the Polish Republic. But by the votes of all against the P. P. S., The act of ratification was passed at the second and third reading. The deputies made an ovation to the Rumanian Ambassador.

A New Adventure in Store.

Riga, July 2nd. "Sevodnya" the white guard paper states "to-day that the British ambassador in Warsaw, handed a note to the Polish Government demanding to know on what ground the Polish authorities were administering Eastern Galicia. That territory, under clause 19 of the St Germain Treaty does not form part of Poland, and the mandate given to Poland for a period of 25 years on November 10th 1919, was annulled on December 12th of the same year. The Polish Government foreseeing the necessity of evacuating Eastern Galicia has deputed General Ivashkevitch, who is arming local detachments, and in case the Polish regular troops abandon Eastern Galicia, will undertake to carry out a coup like Zhelikovsky.

League of Nations Decided.

The army of Geligowsky must be demobilised and clear of the Vilna district by the 1st of September. Also the Lettish army will be demobilised about September 1st, and to clear its front. The Poles agreed to this proposition. The Letts stated that they are not authorised to accept such a proposition.

The white Russian youth of the Oschmiansky district refused mobilisation and seized machine guns and munition and are fighting Geligowsky army. The neighbouring villages are forming insurgent divisions.

GERMANY.

"Bourgeois Velvet Gloves"

Concerning the disbanding of the "Orgesch" detachments, "Rote Fahne" states that the government is exceedingly kind and displaying sympathetic attitude to the detachments that are being disbanded. When it is a question of putting down the workers, the government adopts very different means. The "right" German press hints that the Germans will be able to create new detachments of self defence which will not be inferior to the old ones.

Violence will Continue.

Hannover, July 2nd. At the meeting of the guarantees commission, which took place at Coblenz conjointly with the representatives of the Rhine commission the delegates of all countries, with the exception of France, demanded the repeal of the so called "sanctions", the removal of the occupation troops three towns (Dusseldorf, Dinsburg and Ruhrort) and the abolition of the Rhine Tariff barrier. The representative of France declared that the continuation of repressions is necessary in order to stimulate Germany to pay the indemnity. The French delegate protested against the decision of the commission and stated that it would cause the fall of Briand's Cabinet.

Nauen, July 2. (Wireless.) The Prussian Diet rejected the Socialists' motion for abolition of the death penalty.

TURKEY.

The Kemalist Offensive.

Lyons, July 2. (Wireless.) According to information, received by the "Petit Parisien" the Kemalist forces do not seem to have progressed further, though they are said to have effected successfully an offensive movement in the Broussa region in the direction of Koutaya. The Greeks, having assumed the offensive, the encountered a stubborn resistance on part of the Turk, who, by a vigorous counter-offensive repulsed them beyond the lines, whence they had started. On June 30th Musheddin-Pasha, in command of the Kemalist troops, effected his entry into Ismed. He immediately launched a proclamation in which he guaranteed the security of the population without any distinction of religion and ordered the disembarkation of the refugees from the steamers at sea. The Kemalist troops who entered Ismed are behaving properly and seem willing to respect the neutral zone.

Turkish Advance.

Lyons, July 3. (Wireless.) According to the official communique of the Angora government the Turks are advancing to the south of Sabandja, pursuing the fleeing enemy.

Kemal not to take Constantinople.

London, July 2. Reuter announces that Bekir-Sami-bey declared that the Kemalists are not going to advance against Constantinople.

Bourgeoisie Panic Stricken.

Warsaw, July 2nd Panic has broken out in Constantinople owing to the Kemal advance. The Europeans, manufacturers and financiers are winding up their affairs and leaving. The representatives of the Entente were caught unawares.

No Amnesty for Communists.

Paris, July 3. (Wireless.) On Friday the Yougo-Slavian constituent assembly approved the proposition of the minister of justice that the immunity of three communist members should be abrogated. These communists are charged with being the initiators of the attempt to murder the prince regent Alexander.

FRANCE.

Pyrrhic Victory.

At the congress of the French post office servants a resolution introduced by the socialists, drew 159 votes. The communist resolution—129 votes. (Het Volk, 20 June).

The Changing Wind.

Nauen, July 2. (Wireless.) Contrary to the attitude of the French press to-day two large Paris newspapers insist in an unmistakable manner upon the necessity discontinuing the sanctions against Germany. The "Petit Parisien" which is closely connected with Briand says that the moment has arrived when both France's interests and political decency demand that Germany should be liberated from fetters which are no longer justified. The "Journal" emphasizes that since May 5th the German authorities show an earnest willingness to comply with all obligations incurred by them.

SILESIA

Amnesty for Upper Silésians.

Nauen, July 2. (Wireless.) The inter-allied commission in Upper Silesia has published a decree of amnesty for the Upper-Silesians. The amnesty will not apply to those who committed unlawful acts out of greediness or thirst for revenge or cruelty and who will be found in the possession of arms or explosives after a certain date yet to be fixed. — The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" strongly protests against granting the amnesty to Korfanty outlaws and placing them on the same plane with the German self protecting associations.

LATVIA.

Appeal of the Communists.

"Social Democrats" reports the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party has issued an appeal in which it condemns the individual terror and call on all its followers, not to commit armed attacks on separate individuals of the enemy camp. Cases of shots being exchanged recently during the arrest of the communists and are characterised in this appeal as a piece of mischief provocation.

Amnesty.

"Yaunakas Zinias" of July, 1st, published an amnesty act, confirmed by the cabinet on June, 16. This act embraces all who were sentenced during May 1st 1920 January, 26th 1921, for offences under the criminal code of 1903.

Sun-Yat-Sen and Harding.

The new president of South China Sun-Yat-Sen asked Harding for the recognition of his government by the United States of America. Sun-Yat-Sen says that China will have to accept the 21 points of the Japanese Government if nob will extend a helping hand. (Allgemeen Handelsblad; 21 June).

Road to Constantinople Open.

Bordeaux, July 1. (Wireless from P. correspondent of the "Philadelphia Public Ledger"). The results of the Kemal offensive appear to be important. In Oushak sector, where the Greek line most advanced, it seems to be seriously affected. It will perhaps be where the battle will take place will have to decide the fate of Smyrna. The Ismid operations permitted the Turks to occupy a large part of the railway Scutari, thus opening the road to Constantinople.

Vilna to be Evacuated.

Hanover, July 2. (Wireless.) Zeligov army will evacuate Vilna by July 1st. A local militia of 5,000 men is formed.

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MOSCOW

JULY 5th 1921.

The Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth

Continuation of Reports

Lenin on the Amendments.

Klara Zetkin.

Today Klara Zetkin celebrates the 55th anniversary of her birthday. Not only the German proletariat but the working men and women of all countries will remember this day the great revolutionary whose life has been devoted to the liberation of the proletariat. Klara Zetkin joined the ranks of the German Social Democrats at a time when the adherence to the doctrines of socialism was not an easy matter. It was at a time of the anti-socialist law, at a time when the party was being persecuted and the teachings of Marx had very few adherents among the intellectuals. During the time of her political training she had the opportunity to study the Marxian theory when it just began to gradually penetrate into the masses, following the appearance of the "Anti-Dühring" and the foundation of the "Neue Zeit". She also learned her socialism in France where she lived at that time together with her husband, a Russian emigrant, Ossip Zetkin. This lent a wide international basis to her political views from the very start. She united in her person an intimate acquaintance with the German movement as well as close relations with the French and Russian movements. He who still retains in his memory the sketches from the French labour movement written by her husband about thirty years ago and conveying a thorough appreciation of the practical conditions and an understanding of the tactical necessities of that movement; and he who considers at the same time the lively interest manifested by Klara Zetkin in the work of her husband, will realise that already in her early youth Klara Zetkin stood near to the ideas of socialism. After her return to Germany Klara Zetkin began to arouse the working women of Germany. Wherever she spoke thousands upon thousands of working women came streaming in crowds to listen to her words as a source of exaltation which would arouse them from their drudgery in the kitchen and their cares of their babies to the level which would make them fellow fighters lining up together with their husbands.

She combines in her person the ardent love for the human being together with a clear insight, and this won for her the hearts of the German working women to an unparalleled extent. There were many attempts made to estrange the German working women from her, but they were all in vain. The greatest homage that can be imagined is found in the character sketch of Klara Zetkin contained in the memoirs of Lili Braun. The author of this sketch intended to give vent to her feeling of hatred for Klara Zetkin, but any one who read that book must confess that instead of a condemnation, the sketch is really an involuntary homage paid to the iron will, to the self sacrifice and devotion of Klara Zetkin. She has been not only the leader of the labour movement among the German women but also one of the most prominent personalities among the German social democrats. The "Gleichheit" edited by her embraces various questions of the international movement of the working women and is distinguished by a clear-cut attitude to all party problems. The student of the German social democracy and the historian of the fight against revisionism will have to make ample reference to the various numbers of the "Gleichheit" in which he will find the principles of socialism laid down clearly in the midst of all confusion by the strong pen of able contributors. Klara Zetkin carried on the fight for the cause of socialism hand in hand with Rosa Luxemburg, and August Bebel was perfectly right when he said to them one day: "You are the only men in the party."

When the war came and together with it the collapse of the German social democracy, Klara Zetkin at once took her stand in sharp opposition to the party which betrayed its historic mission. We were not always in agreement with the position taken by Klara Zetkin in this struggle. At the First International Women's conference at Berne the representatives of the Women's organisations of the Russian Communist Party vigorously opposed Klara Zetkin when she tried to make use of the pacifist notions of the socialist women of the right wing in her campaign

Comrade Lenin said:

To my great regret I must limit myself to the defensive. I say to my regret because having listened to the speech of comrade Terracini and having read in today's number of "Moscow" the amendments to our theses by three delegations I felt an insuperable desire to pass to the offensive. For unless the congress will act very decidedly and against such errors, which are like the childishness of the lefts, the movement is doomed to defeat. Surely we are organised disciplined Marxians and we cannot be satisfied with a verbal fight. When drafting our theses we must act in an organised way and to strike the right line. It is an open secret that our theses are the result of a compromise and why should they not be such? Communists in their own circle and under certain circumstances must either been formally condemned but altogether expelled, Terracini declared that we must wage a determined struggle against the centrists and tells us what he understands by such a struggle. If this tendency is represented by these amendments then we must altogether ruthlessly combat it. I am only surprised why the K. A. P. D. did not endorse these amendments. Let us examine them. First amendment: to exclude the word "majority" and substitute the word "aim" for principles. There is a big difference between principles and aims. As regards aims we could agree with anarchists. They also want to do away with exploitation, and the classes. I have met very few anarchists in my life but I always agree with them as regards our aims. But I could never agree on principles. Principles are not an aim or program or tactics nor are they a theory. How do we differ from the anarchists in our principle. The fundamental basis of communism is the proletarian dictatorship during the transition period.

This is a principle, but it is not by any means our aim. Comrades who imagine this are unable to understand the a.b.c. of communism. It is further proposed to exclude the word "majority" from that passage in the theses where it is stated that not a single European mass communist party was yet able to assume actual leadership over the majority of the working class in a real revolutionary struggle. And it is here they want to exclude the word "majority". If there is no agreement on such elementary things then there is nothing surprising in that we cannot agree on principles. Show me the party which has conquered the majority of the working class. Terracini did not even think of doing it. Even the German party does not lead the majority of the working class. This is a fact. We, after three years

against the war. But we always knew that it was only in the question of time and tactics that we differed and that her heart of a revolutionary was always with us. That we were right in this respect, came to light when Klara Zetkin, who had been for many years related to some leading Mensheviks, stood by us at the moment when the Russian revolution underwent a crisis during the Brest Litovsk peace and defended us against an entire world of calumniators. When the Communist Party of Germany was organised Klara Zetkin took her stand by that party and thus served as a tie to combine the young party with the best past experience of the German social democracy. And in spite of her old age, and in spite of her feebleness, Klara Zetkin was in a position to arouse the souls of hundreds of betrayed working masses. For that reason we knew that the differences of opinion separating us from Klara Zetkin in recent days are of a passing nature and that when we will get into personal touch with her, when we will have the opportunity of putting one part of the party against the other she will be the first to recognise her error and to get the others out of their mistakes.

On the day of her 55th anniversary not only we, the Russian Communists, but also the International, and the entire German Party will think of the old fighter with affection in the hope that she will continue for many years to come to stand in our ranks fighting for our common cause.

Karl Radek.

of our revolution are not afraid of uttering this. And we are met here by three delegations which wish to start with such an untruth. If the Congress strikes out this word "majority" it will thereby emphasise that it wants untruth. Further the amendments proposed to strike out the text from the words "open letters" onwards. Today I heard a speech which suggested that idea. It was appropriate to that speech. It was the speech of Comrade Hempel, who stated that the open letter was opportunist. To my greatest regret I have already heard such opinions in private conversations. It is the greatest shame for the congress to declare the open letter opportunist. And now comes Terracini in the name of three delegations and wishes to strike out the "open letter". Why should we then fight the V. K. A. P. D. The open letter was the first attempt by practical means to win the working class to our side. Whoever in Europe, where nearly the whole of the proletariat is organised, fails to understand that we must conquer the majority of the working class, is lost to the communist movement. He will never learn anything. Terracini states that we have won in Russia although we had a small party at our back and he is dissatisfied that our theses declares that the Checho-Slovakian party numbering 400 to 500,000 members must none the less win over the majority of the majority of the working class. Terracini is at

What, 4 to 500,000 and it is necessary to win new ones? He is afraid of it and wants to strike it out. We have been a small party in Russia, but we had the majority of workers and peasant soviets on our side. Where else does that pertain? We have at least half of the ten million army on our side. Show me another country where we have half of the army. We must determinedly oppose the amendments of these three delegations. That is why I defend our revolution. Let no one imagine that this is pedantry. You cannot change it in a single letter, because the amendments proposed bear a political character. Terracini was advocating the offensive. For this purpose he referred to the dynamic tendencies and to the transition from a passive to an active spirit. We had the political experience in this domain. For the last 14 years or so we have been fighting with the Mensheviks and the semi-anarchists, and unless we had done so we should not have been able to remain in power for three weeks, let alone three years and a half. The dynamic tendencies and the transition from the passive to the active spirit were precisely the mottoes used by the left S. R's when they were fighting us. The amendments moved do not bear a trace of Marxism. Do we discuss at all the theory of the offensive in our theses? Even 15 years ago when we had the social-democrats in our midst who doubted that a revolutionary party could assume the offensive we immediately called him an opportunist and opposed him in a most determined manner. This was 15 years ago. But now after three and a half years of revolution to discuss the dynamic tendencies and the transition from passivity to activity, — is a shame. It is not right to speak of an offensive in Germany at a time when no such offensive was in preparation. The March events were a great step forward, in spite of misguided leadership. But this is not fatal. The point is that hundreds of thousands of workers were heroically fighting. Radek was right when he said of Hoeltz if any one, be he even an anarchist, wages an heroic struggle against the bourgeoisie, he is doing good work. And if hundreds of thousands of workers are fighting against the mean treachery of the social traitors and the bourgeoisie, it is a decisive step forward. It is important to criticise errors but if any one, like Levi opposes the struggle after hundreds of thousand have taken part in it he must be expelled. We, in Russia, were victorious, we had an easy victory because we prepared our revolution at the time of the imperialist war. We won because the enormous peasant mass was against the landowners. The S. R's., the gentlemen of the Second and Second and a Half International were a great peasants party in September 1919. They demanded revolutionary action but like true heroes of the Second and Second and a Half International they were not capable of fulfilling them themselves, and as early as August

1917 we stated that theoretically we shall be at war with the S. R's as before; practically we are prepared to realise their program. The peasantry which in November 1917 after our victory sent an S. R. majority into the Constituent Assembly was won over to our side if not in a few days at any rate in a few weeks. Show me a single country in Europe where you can win over to your side the majority of the peasants in the course of a few weeks. Is it Italy? Some people say that we were victorious in Russia though we formed a small party, but those who say this betray their utter ignorance of the Russian Revolution and of how revolutionary are prepared. The first step in our movement was to create genuine communist parties. At the first and second congress it meant: "down with the centrists! But the formation of genuine revolutionary parties, is only the preparatory school. We are now at the Third Congress and Terracini still continues to quote examples from the preparatory school lessons. A break with Centrist; down with the Centrist. Down with the Centrist. Hound them out of the party. Well thank you, I have had enough of this. We must move forward be it ever so slowly. We must leave that preparatory school, no matter whether in many countries we have not even thought of doing it. We won in Russia because we had a solid majority not only among the working class but among the army and peasants as well. But such, as yet, is not the case with you. We must pave the way for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and that means combatting such opinions as these.

The K. A. P. D. has often here misused the word mass, and have really ceased to understand the meaning of that term. The conception of "mass" alters with the conditions of the struggle. At the beginning of the struggle it was sufficient at times to possess two hundred thousand men in order to speak of a mass, we know of cases when small groups, took the place of masses. But when the movement develops and grows, when a genuine revolution is approaching, the conception of the word "mass" changes. Then the masses are no longer a couple of thousand men. Then the mass means the majority of the working class and not only of the working class but of all those who are exploited. Whoever fails to understand this is not revolutionary. It is possible that even a small party if it rightly understands the situation, if it has well studied the life and habits of the non-party masses, will lead the whole mass—the millions of workers. And now comrades appear and propose carefully to expunge every where the word "majority". I urge you to fight such comrades. We must wage a real revolutionary struggle. The German workers have started this. Hundreds of thousands of German workers have been heroically fighting. Any one who is against this, should at once be expelled. But having expelled him we must not be satisfied with phrases but learn by our mistakes and not fear to reveal them to our enemies. On the contrary we must openly state to the workers: we made a mistake here and this means that we shall not repeat it next time. And after making the majority of the workers and exploited join us in the struggle we shall win.

Evening Session.

The session opened at 8 p. m. under the chairmanship of Comrade Koenen. The discussion of Comrade Radek's report was continued.

Comrade Heckert of the United Communist Party of Germany was the speaker.

"Before I begin to analyse the history of the March rising" he said. "I must say a few words on the statements of Comrades Mihaliak and Lenin. Comrade Mihaliak spoke of the mistakes of the German Party but, at the same time fully agreed with Comrade Lenin's point of view, which is quite in contradiction with the critical outlook of the Polish Party. One cannot but be surprised at such an apparent contradiction. As regards Comrade Lenin's speech, it contained some chronological mistakes. We did not write an open letter in 1919. It was written only two months after the formation of the United Communist Party of Germany. We quite agree with Comrade Lenin on the question of tactics and of aims. Communism is not only a social structure but a movement

Sessions of the Third Congress of July 1st and 2nd.

Discussion at Evening Session.

with a certain definite object in view. Dealing with incidents in the life of the German Communist Party Comrade Heckert said: "The United Communist Party of Germany has only been in existence since December of last year. It resulted from the uniting of the Spartacists with the left wing of the independent socialist. It is clear then, that, its origin and the inexperience of its revolutionary strength could not foresee that it would have to take part in the first open fight with the bourgeoisie in the near future. It is well known that part of the spartacists which had an Anarchistic inclination left the party after affiliation with the Independents. The leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, in the person of its chairman Paul Levi, were of the opinion that any step against the enemy meant the possibility of a putsch. On the other hand, the majority of the members of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany came over to us, inspired not by their understanding of the revolutionary questions of the moment, but by their class instincts. The most intense activity amongst the Independents appeared during the advance of the Red Army on Warsaw. They thought that the Red Army would take Warsaw any minute and then proceed to Berlin. When the Red Army retreated, there was consternation in the ranks of the Independents. Hence, as a result of the unity convention we did not get hold of those Comrades whom we expected. No sooner had we united than the electric workers movement began. And the first faltering movement began. Two wings appeared in the party. It was still during the Kapp days that Levi said that he thought of a revolutionary movement during the next three years. No suitable slogan was created for the spreading of the electric workers movement and hence it was lost to the cause of the revolution. Then the Italian question cropped up. It created a crisis in the party and not only resulted in the resignation of 5 members but shook the party to its very foundation. After some time we had to attend a conference to decide on this question. Here then one should take note of the circumstances which existed on the eve of the March rising. They consisted of a combination of the interior and exterior conditions of the country. We were threatened by a struggle in Upper Silesia, then there was the question of the disarmament of Bavaria, then the threats of the Entente, and its decision to establish a custom barrier, then the refusal of the Ruhr miners to hand coal over to the Entente in accordance with the Spa agreement; and then the agricultural workers movement, which all goes to show that the country was in a very dangerous position and that an outbreak could be expected at any moment. Therefore, if the party did not wish to be in the same position as it was on the eve of the Kappputsch, it was evident that a quick preparative organising was necessary. On March 17 the Executive Committee decided to revise the activities of the party. At the same time Horsing began his provocation. Our committee in Halle said: "Do not give way to this provocation". But our Mansfeld comrades took no heed of this warning. The Hamburg comrades decided to support Mansfeld. All this brought before the Executive Committee the fact, that there was a rising. Could our party refuse to take part in the beginning of the proletariat's struggle? We could not desert this movement because we would have lost the faith of the proletariat, who would have looked upon us as upon Social-Democrats or Independents.

The stimulating and courageous articles in "Rote Fahne" were criticized here. Of course, we confess that this was a mistake. But it was necessary to ring the alarm, because beside Hoersing's provocation there were expected outbreaks in Upper Silesia. The Executive Committee itself criticized its activities during the March revolt, which criticisms were expressed in its theses on tactics published in the "Rote Fahne". But there are moments when circumstances compel a revolutionary party to take the initiative into its own hands. That which hindered the work of the party was the passivity of our Comrades of the opposition who sabotaged the March movement. We used all our strength to fight this opposition and sabotage.

In revealing the tactics of Levi, Comrade Heckert accused Clara Zetkin, who was popular in the revolutionary movement of the workers of shielding the

criminal activities of Levi and his supporters. If it were not for Comrade Zetkin, we would not have had to excuse ourselves for the March events, because the future would have shown that we had gained knowledge from our mistakes.

Comrade Burian declared, in the name of the Teheko-Slovakian delegation, that there were no Smeral tendencies in the constitution of the Teheko-Slovakian Communist Party. There were various tendencies in the party, but here were not and could not be any Smeral tendencies. Comrade Burian emphasized the fact that he was not expressing his own personal opinion but that of the entire Teheko-Slovakian Party. "After we have seen at this congress", said Comrade Burian, "that there are such tendencies in certain parties, we can say with pride that there are none in our party. We will never have them such is our need and aim".

"When we heard of Smeral here, then it became apparent to us, that it was not only a question of Smeral or of centrism and poor policy, but that the entire Teheko-Slovakian Communist Party reeked with Smeral, that the party was poor in quality and suffered from passivity. We now affirm that this is not true. The revolutionary workers of Teheko-Slovakia demonstrated their activities last December. If 200,000 workers took part in the March revolt in Germany, then we had the participation of 1,000,000 workers".

Comrade Burian quoted comrade Smeral's declaration, made at the congress, who states that the Party must make use of all the demonstrations of the proletariat for the propagation of communistic ideas. This declaration is in agreement with the statements just made by comrade Heckert.

Comrade Malzahn for the opposition of the Communist Party of Germany, said: "We, representatives of the opposition came to the World Congress, to make the soil healthy for the future growth of the German Communist Movement. We are in full agreement with the reports of comrade Trozky and Radek. What they have said will give impetus to the proletarian movement, while omitting to face errors, and hiding our mistakes and hardships is, undoubtedly a sign of delusion."

What were the conditions in Germany before the March revolt? The Spartacus united with the Left Independents swearing solemnly to do everything for the Revolution. As a representative of the Central Council of Trade Unions, I must say that our influence, that is the influence of our Party among the Trade Unions, was very strong. That the declaration of the bourgeoisie to fight us, with its tactics directed against us, did not hurt us. On the contrary, it made our influence much stronger.

Comrade Malzahn then continued with an account of the internal and external situation of Germany much the same as comrade Heckert did. In such circumstances comrade Malzahn said: "It was necessary to weigh the situation. On the 17th of March the Central Committee theoretically established the tactics for the 'offensive'. One present at the session of the Central Committee and having listened to the report of comrade Brandler, must have come to the conclusion that in it he can read anything his heart desires, because of its extreme indefiniteness. Comrade Frölich declared that we must finish with the past, and commence a real preparation for the revolution. Comrade Friesland insisted that we must assume an offensive even if, the communists alone participate in it. "I opposed his position pointing to the impossibility of basing a movement on the action of communists alone. Because an undertaking, which is based upon the forces of an insignificant number of Communists, is unable to succeed in bringing about a strike; Comrade Heckert affirmed that the Central Committee faced facts, and that in Hamburg it was impossible to hold back the workers from striking. Hamburg cannot be cited as a general case, since it has only 10,000 workers."

Comrade Malzahn is surprised at the fact, that nothing was mentioned about it in Berlin. This great industrial centre participated very little during the March rising. Where were the results of the March events? As a Party, we lost the confidence of the workers. The active element was discharged from the factories, and others grew dispondent and passive. Exciting articles of the "Rote Fahne"

did not attract any more the workers to our side, on the contrary, these articles were driving them into the arms of the Mensheviks. That the point of view of our opposition was correct, you yourself affirmed here at the Congress. You have stated that for a Party to go over from agitation to action is a hard task.

With regard to Levi, Malzahn then said: "The Third International is dearer to us than single individuals. The Congress decided the question of Paul Levi and therefore we have done with it. We came to this Congress in a spirit of enthusiasm, and we wish that our discussions result in building secure foundations for a healthy Communist movement in Germany."

The speech of comrade Malzahn was very often interrupted by remarks of the delegates of the United Communist Party of Germany.

Comrade Bucharin in discussing the question of tactics, said: "A mass of questions is touched upon, which are accepted as truisms. This is what happened with the 'discovery' of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, and which the theory of the offensive, in so far as this theory is reduced to a dogma. Comrade Lenin, has already emphasized here, that the theory of offensive has been outgrown by us. The question under discussion however, is not tactical theories, but of the concrete conditions which can be applied to the working out of definite tactics. Our theses are not something congealed and eternal, as there can be no tactical principles, which are incontestable under all circumstances. In May of 1919 the Bolsheviks refuted the bourgeois lies, that they wanted to kindle a civil war, and in October of that same year called for civil war, Comrade Lenin, was in favour of the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace, under some conditions, and in favour of the offensive against Warsaw, under others. All these tactical indications were correct in their time and place, and do not by any means contradict each other. This only proves the flexibility of the Party and proves its ability to grapple with various circumstances. I want to warn all those, who may think that the new Executive Committee whatever its composition will be, will very severely reprimand every Party which will not assume the offensive at the first necessary conditions."

Further the speaker dealt with the case of Levi, and said it is necessary to discuss that question, as there are still some sympathisers of his in the Communist Parties. What ought the Communist Party be, a mass Party or sect? Last year Levi was a fiery defender of the Communist purity of the Third International, and after his expulsion from the Party, he accuses it of sectarianism, and demands the creation of a Mass Party. On the question of Party and its leaders, Levi was formerly a fiery opponent of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, now he supports the "labour opposition" in the Russian Communist Party, and republishes their theses in full. In analysing the situation in Soviet Russia, Levi recommends full freedom of thought, speaking plainly to unite the hands of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. Last year, opposition to the dictatorship of classes to the dictatorship of the Party seemed as absurd to Levi as it does to-day. Now Levi says, "The dictatorship of class, is always the dictatorship of the Party, but not always is the Dictatorship of the Party, the dictatorship of a class". Such a statement would appear the height of absurdity to every Marxist.

If the Dictatorship of the Party is accomplished—if that Party is really Communist, i. e. expressing the interests of the working class, then its dictatorship is the Dictatorship of a class, even if the proletariat in the mass became declassed and the Dictatorial Communist Party continued to hold power in its hands. It is perfectly clear that Levi makes use of everything that he can, for the purpose of harming the Committee of the Party. From the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Levi is infallibly drifting to bourgeois democracy, and is going over to the menshevik position more and more.

In conclusion, the speaker touched on the Communist Labour Party of Germany. In his pamphlet Gorter said, that the Russian and European Revolution are perishing from the fact that the Russian Communist Party, and the Comintern lacks the understanding of historical material-

ism. Is that not a consequence of not having carefully read the pamphlet of Gorter on the subject? At the commencement of his pamphlet Gorter says, that it is impossible to transfer the methods of Russia to Europe, and at the end, speaking of the Kronstadt events, he says that they prove the necessity of Russia adopting the methods of the West. Thus the Gorter truths change with every page, when it is necessary to prove the rightness of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. The Communist Labour Party of Germany put forward a special theory on factory Committees therein lies the crux of the theory of the C. L. P. G. Meanwhile, the position that capitalism is organised on enterprise, is a wrong one. Contemporary trusts embrace not only enterprises, but combines whole branches of industry. The only way which is possible, and which must be taken, is this the Trade Unions must be organised just as great capitalist industry is organised. The opinion of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, that the Trade Unions are no good, because they arose long ago, and are of an extreme type of organisation, can be applied with equal justice to the Party. The only conclusion which it is possible to draw from such a situation is to give the Trade Unions another form, in the same way as was done with the old Social-Democratic Party.

In conclusion, comrade Bucharin pointed out that the Communist Labour Party of Germany, was almost at one with the Kronstadt mutiny, not understanding in the least that, that was an attempt at a peasant Vendée, and if the Russian Communist Party would not have put an end to it, it would have meant the end of the Russian Communist Party.

Session of July 2nd 1921.

The Session was opened at 12.35 p. m., with comrade Koenen in the chair. The debates on Radek's report were continued. The floor was granted to comrade Balster, member of the American Delegation.

Comrade Balster declared in the name of the American delegation that the latter fully agrees with all the theses on tactics advanced by the Russian delegation. "The question of working within the Trade Unions is one of great importance for the American movement" — he said—"and in America we are already successfully putting these tactics into operation. We likewise recognise the absolute indispensability of the existence of a legal Communist Party in addition to the one underground. The latter is essential only in so far as White Terror in America has developed, perhaps, more stronger than in Europe. The amendments that we would wish to insert in the theses are purely of a technical nature. One of these we have already accomplished — that is the unification of the two Communist parties of the United States".

In conclusion comrade Balster said: "We having come from a country where the most powerful and aggressive capitalism exists, have examined the theses with all seriousness, and consider that they entirely correspond to our aims for achieving the triumph of the proletariat."

Comrade Friesland spoke in the name of the United Communist Party of Germany.

He said: "The opposition declares that Radek's thesis, is in their opinion the basis upon which a mutual understanding between them could easily be achieved. Yes, but if they earnestly desired such an agreement, why did they not come here and declare frankly: We have committed an error in associating with such elements that came out against our party, and in that we did not criticise the party from within. Now, in Moscow, you consider that the March uprising was not a Putsch, but even a step forward. The opposition assures us that the errors we have committed have lost for us the faith of the working masses".

Coming to Lenin's remark on the importance of the Communist Parties winning over the majority of the working class, comrade Friesland said: "Of course, no one will be so naive as to assert the contrary, but the question is, how are we to win this majority. It is obvious that if our Party wishes to attract the majority of the proletariat, it must show that it is ready to utilise every situation in order to defend the interests of the proletariat".

Comrade Brandt spoke next in the name of the Polish delegation.

"The Polish delegation yesterday declared"—he said—"that it would second the amendments to the theses on tactics and introduce its own besides. We do this because we wish to make the theses a basis for the tactical training of the masses, which will, in its turn, strengthen the virility of the Party. We consider

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Report of Congress

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the construction of the theses insufficiently clear, which is like putting a weapon in the hands of the reformists. They always come with figures and assert that we are incapable of fighting. To my mind the theses contain also an exaggerated fear of so-called Putschism. There were no Putschist tendencies with us in Poland, but during the Red Army's advance against Warsaw we did not in the least hesitate to call upon the workers to revolt and support the Red Army.

Lenin is so afraid of the extreme left that he regards the proposal to exclude from the theses the mention of the open letter, as a denial of the mass movement on the part of the German delegation. That open letter, however, did not have the significance comrade Lenin attributed to it.

Comrade **Neiman**, representative of the Opposition of the United Communist Party of Germany spoke next.

"We are charged with possessing no materials, but as is proved by a telegram sent by comrade Thalheimer from Moscow to the Central Committee of our Party, those comrades who had that material were not allowed to go to Moscow. Thalheimer wanted to use that telegram in order to create the impression that the masses are not with our comrades. We are also accused of having presented this material to the organ of the Right Independents, "Freiheit", but then even the telegram which was despatched to the Central Committee was published in the "Freiheit". I protest against such accusations, and ask the Congress to take note of this circumstance. Friesland spoke here about manifestos in the "Rote Fahne" I said that I am glad that the "Rote Fahne" has at last assumed a more energetic and more revolutionary tone. When the March action was started it was said that a defence had begun, then it was said that we have acknowledged our mistakes here in Moscow and not in Berlin. I consider it my duty to tell you, that on the well-remembered Wednesday, Heckert, Thalheimer, Stoeker and others, at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Party were for the cessation of the strike, but the "general" declared it was possible that uprisings would break out among the peasants of Eastern Prussia, and Pomerania. After this is was resolved to continue the strike, in spite of the fact that Thalheimer already had a manifesto for the cessation of the strike in his pocket. You see now how inconsistent were the tactics of the Central Committee of the Party. I come to the conclusion, that if one regards the March action from the standpoint of the struggle, it was undoubtedly a step forward, from the point of view of a proletarian insurrection it was a mistake.

There was much to learn from the reports of comrades Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek and from Comrade Lenin's speech, but I say that had Comrade Radek made that report at the meeting of the E. C. on April 17th there would have been no Levi pamphlet. (Applause).

Comrade **Munzenberg**, International Council of The Young Communist Leagues said, "we in general agree with the theses, but they are too severe to the left wing, whilst they show an unnecessary tenderness to the right opportunist elements. Experience has shown us that the right elements are far more dangerous than the left, and this fact should be emphasised in the theses. Considering the insufficiently rigid tactics of the French Party during the mobilisation of the 19 class party did not show enough activity in helping the German Party. Whilst opposing the statement of comrade Lenin that Mass Communist parties were essential, Comrade Munzenberg emphasised that it was not enough that the Communist Party be a mass party, it must be a revolutionary Communist Party, leading the masses forth to fight for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Comrade **Thalheimer** (V. C. P. G.) was next to speak. He said "comrade Lenin opposed us with a vigour which I find as he is in reality knocking at an open door. We fully agree with his thesis and our amendments merely at separating those paragraphs which I consider it necessary to emphasize. We excluded Levi, finished with Seratti, sent an ultimatum to the C. L. P. G. and done away with the anti-parliamentary tendencies of the Italian and Austrian parties — all these are political facts. But we will never secure the Comintern from the liability of centrist tendencies cropping

up. Comrade Lenin concluded from our amendments that we reject the tactics of organising mass parties, but we have now been fighting for a long time the very thing of which comrade Lenin accuses us. We have already proved this by deeds. We are however afraid of forming such a constitution which would open the way to opportunist tendencies, being predisposed to a statistical conception of things. This also applies to the Techecho-Slovakian Party. We are not opposed to the further growth of our Party, we only wish to balance the theses, and to emphasize the necessity of the real revolutionary training of those workers, who are already in the Party.

Comrade **Zetkin** followed, she said. Those facts, which I quoted here, dealing with the loss of our party's influence after the March incidents were compiled by our own party accountants, but I have no reasons for believing them to be in correct. I have already asked the Executive Committee to ask for this material and to examine it objectively. As regards the Levi affair I wish to say nothing as a decision has already been reached on this question, and I submit to it. I only think that the last word belongs to comrade Levi who, I am sure, will again return to the party, and this is vouched for by his past work.

But I must absolutely protest against the desire of creating a Zetkin affair similar to that of the Levi affair. I confess that I was in error in two things: I should have turned to the wide Party masses to save them from the Executive Committee's mistakes; and possibly I did not fight with sufficient energy the incorrect theoretical conceptions leading up to the March revolt, which were advanced by the Executive Committee. It is desired to represent me here as a kind of turncoat, wobbling from the right to the left. Comrade Radek quoted my words in the attempt to prove that I was also guilty of the theory of an offensive policy. If this be so then in this I am in the good company of comrade Radek himself. In the middle of March he wrote in the Communist International of the necessity of the German Party taking up an offensive attitude. As a matter of fact I did not oppose the March incident but I was against the estimation of this revolt as an act of the proletarian offensive against the bourgeoisie.

I think that we ought to bind ourselves closely with the masses of the workers in the Trade Union Movement, in the factories, and prepare the Labour Movement in an organised fashion, and not spend our time in theoretical speculations. The mistake of the Central Committee during the March events were by no means mistakes which might have taken place at any such action. They arose from the incorrect theoretical point of view which dominated in the Central Committee.

We cannot limit ourselves to criticism within the Party. We are bound to the broad masses of the workers, and it is impossible for us to refrain from expressing our point of view simply because these criticisms will be heard by those who are not possessors of recently received Party books.

The fundamental principle laid down by comrades Trotsky and Radek, are the main guides to our immediate work. It is remarkable that these theses were down upon by our Russian comrades; and this is a guarantee that these theses take into consideration, not only theory but also that great revolutionary experience of Russian comrades, which in itself is a great stimulus to the intensification of the efforts of the European parties.

Comrade **Lukatch** next spoke in the name of the Communist Party of Hungary. He said; The problem of the function of the Party in revolution is closely connected with the March rising. Two points stand out in the analysis of the latter: first its reality and the reality of that which followed from it, and secondly, the manner in which this rising was conducted and the theoretical basis of its initiative. It should be observed that such a tremendous movement, which without a doubt represents a step forward, was regarded simply as a putsch.

What were the tasks of this rising? To what extent were they dictated by German conditions, as distinct from those prevailing in every European country?

In the first place, in Germany there was a large Communist Party stronger than in other European countries, and this

circumstance imposed a special obligation upon it; secondly, in Germany there are counter-revolutionary labour organisations, which in the theses are called Trade Unions, and which are dominated by counter-revolutionary leaders. The task of the Communist Party is to smash these Trade Unions out of the hands of the Social-Democrats and Centrists and to break up the Right Socialist parties. The process of differentiation between workers' parties began even before the revolution and aroused the political activity not only of the Communist parties, but also of the Social-Democrats and Independents. Therefore, the Communist parties have to deal not with an amorphous political mass; it had before it not only the Trade Unions, but also the counter-revolutionary labour organisations with a definite political program. If the Party desires to tear the masses from their counter-revolutionary leaders, it can never do so by means of isolated risings, as the latter has not for its aim the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat.

Comrade **Vaillant Couturier** declared that on the whole he approves of the theses. The amendments which he proposed refer to certain details. The first refers to the theses on parliamentarism which must be expressed in such a manner as not to allow of any ambiguity. Then there is the question of the "Lefts". He declared that there was no left tendency in the French party until the very last moment. On the contrary, there is a centrist element. Did not the party grow out of the old Social-Democratic Party? They desire that the thesis directed its wrath mainly against the Rights, while to the Lefts, our attitude must be friendly if severe.

Dealing with the question of coloured troops, comrade Couturier expressed the wish that the colonial question in the theses be discussed more widely. We have aroused a tremendous interest in the minds of the peoples of the Near and Far East, and it is really necessary for us to come to their assistance with all means at our disposal.

Comrade **Bell** of the British Communist Party expressed the regret that as a consequence of the debate of the March events, the British Communist movement has been left in the background. He hoped that comrade Radek would devote more attention to the British movement in his concluding speech. Comrade Bucharin spoke of the necessity of organising Mass Parties. What is a Mass Party? One must be clear and definite in the understanding of this term. In England and America, these classic lands of capitalism, there are no mass proletarian parties. Several years ago small groups were formed there, but they did not take root, and had no influence upon the masses. But we have passed that period, the struggle is only just commencing, and now we have based our party on the lessons which we have learned from the actual situation. On the one hand, we had the example of the numerically strong Labour-Party which was completely saturated with compromise, like the whole of the bourgeoisie in that classic land of compromise.

We chose the middle line — between sectarians and opportunists.

A great deal was said here about Seratti, Smeral and other centrists and opportunists. But their essential character flashed out only where the party had to take the open field. We think that we should not fear large parties, because events will always bring out the real colour of those who, at the critical moment, will come out against the working class.

It was said here that the British Communist Party is small. But England has no political parties at all in the proper sense of the term. The political parties of England are mere electoral machines. Even the Labour Party, with a membership of four and a half millions is only a combination of forces for the solution of certain political and economic problems. Viewed from this point, the British Communist Party only three months old and having a membership of 10,000 is already a considerable political party and warrants the hope that the rate of its further development will be just as rapid. Of course, it is not only the size, but the qualitative grade of its membership that decides what the Party really amounts to.

Comrade **Sachs** of the Communist Labour Party of Germany pointed out that the very program and form of organiza-

tion of his party insured it against the mistakes that can be traced to the wavering line of action during the March events. Why, even Lenin admitted that even small parties can fight victoriously — provided, of course, they attract during the fight large proletarian masses. There is absolutely no sense in doing what the Techecho-Slovakian and the German Communist Parties did, i. e. first to recruit a numerically large party and then decide practical tests whether such a party, in capable of revolutionary action. Mere inert numbers do not solve problems, nor lead to victory. The March rising showed that the most active elements were gone, and those who had been passive even before this, could now say "we told you so, you should have acted in this way".

In conclusion comrade Sachs handed the chairman the theses of the C. L. P. G. dealing with the tactics of the Communist Party.

J'Accuse.

(Open letter to M. Barthou, Minister of War.)

Mons., you are about to take a step fully in keeping with your general activity and your character: you have hatched a new bill more "dastardly" than your previous bills. If you are successful in getting the consent of the Chamber, you will be in a position to set to work that very "gangrenous" judicial machine whose workings you so aptly characterized before.

I myself, and my comrades are soon to be handed over to your judges. In the interim, allow me to recommend you to go ahead and make the best use of this open letter. Its object is to draw your attention to the assassination of Lieutenants Herduin and Milan on June 11 1916. The facts are well known; they have been referred to many times, in our and other papers, as well as from the floor Chamber. I formally charge Colonel Bernard and General Boyer with the crime of the above assassination.

I raise charge against Millerand, the president of the Republic, and yourself of having willfully hushed up this crime.

I will repeat this charge publicly, on the floor of the Chamber, and I intend to interpellate you. As I have no hope of obtaining the immediate commitment of these assassins to the War Council, I will tell you frankly my plan of action which is as follows.

I will come to Borrges where Gen. Boyer is chief in command, and publicly brand him as a criminal! The government may hand me over to the Assizes, if it dares, but I say in advance that I waive all parliamentary immunity, and will not challenge a single bourgeois in the jury box before whom I shall be summoned to appear.

When Gen. Boyer parades in front of his troops or when he walks the streets of Borrges. I want to hear the cry of "Assassin" hurled at him by the widows, mothers and children of those who perished in the war. This should be the beginning of his atonement.

To All Foreign Delegates Arriving to the First International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions

The International Council of Trade Unions begs to request the delegates arriving to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions to register their credentials with the Communication Department of the International Council of Trade Unions

PETROVSKY LINIE, formerly HOTEL ELITE, Room 3, Telephone 5-33-65. The present notice refers to delegates to the Congress having a decisive or consultative vote, as well as to those who came to Moscow with the purpose of attending the Congress as guests.

On all matters concerning the Congress, Comrade LOSOVSKY, General Secretary of the International Council of Trade Unions, receives daily from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. in the office of the International Council

PETROVSKY LINIE, HOTEL ELITE Room 3

For information apply to Com. AROSEV, Manager of the International Council at the same address.