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THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS!



"MOSCOW"

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The Third Congress of the Communist International.

The First Congress of the Communist International was a call to arms issued by the Russian working class, that besieged for a year and a half had held power and defended it with arms against a world of danger the besieged Russian working class called out "Workers of all countries unite! Only the hammer of the dictatorship can break the chains of capitalist slavery. Only a Soviet Republic can express the power of the working class". Small groups of representatives of the proletariat of Germany, Austria, Poland, Lettland and Finland rallied round the banner of the Communist International which was then formed. Its opponents laughed when they received the news of its formation. They were convinced that the armies of the Entente will succeed in overthrowing the Soviet Government and that the call of the Communist International was its last testament.

When the Second Congress of the Communist International met in the summer of last year, the main armies of the counter-revolution in Russian territory were defeated. The last detachments to be sent into battle, the legions of White Poland and the bands of Wrangel were being steadily pressed back by the Red Army. While the Congress was proceeding the Red Army was approaching Warsaw. At the Congress there were not only representatives of the Communist vanguard of all countries of the world, the West and the East, the North and the South, but also the representatives of great mass parties like the Independents of Germany, and the French Socialist Party, who, came as a result of the pressure of their members were compelled to negotiate on the questions of the affiliation to and the conditions of the Communist International. The Communist International grew into a mass power and its influence spread far over its organised ranks. It sought to organise, and to strengthen its ranks in order to point out concretely to the proletariat the road to power. In the resolutions passed at the Congress on the Trade Union, on parliamentarism, and on the role of the Party, it showed, on the basis of the experience of the Russian Revolution and the Proletarian Revolution of Central Europe, and on the basis of Marxian teaching, the path along which it could rally the masses of the proletariat for the struggle. While it rejected all sectarian tendencies which posing as preachers of the pure milk of the words, isolated themselves from the masses, it at the same time, laid down the dividing line between itself and the opportunist mass parties. It frankly and clearly stated in what the revolutionary work of the Party consists and said it would form revolutionary mass parties which would conduct a popular agitation to convert the masses to Communism, which would unite the struggle of these masses and to extend the struggle for power. It appealed to the revolutionary elements of the proletariat to rally round its banner. In order to ease the path of those revolutionary proletarian elements who were not yet communists, the Congress of the Communist International resolved to form a Red Trade Union International which should rally around the nucleus of the class conscious Communists, those sections which are not completely communist.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is gathering at a moment when the world economic crisis and the incapability of capitalism to re-construct the world is strikingly apparent. It is gathering a moment when millions and millions of workmen in the richest countries in the world are unemployed. It is gathering at a moment when not one of the great political crises has been solved, when all the crises have merely been postponed. Thus, the task for which the Communist International was built lies untouched before us, the task of leading the advance of

the onward marching World Revolution. The Communist parties are countries the Communist parties are in the process of formation. There is first task of the Communist International to urge on these communists to increase their efforts tenfold, to draw the masses to themselves and spread Communist influence among them.

This is the position in England and in the United States of America and other countries like Italy, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and France, the Communist International has more or less, owing to the predominance of centrist tendencies in this leadership or to its passivity, are not yet in a position to reach the broad masses or to lead them in their struggle. In Italy the opportunist policy of the Serrati group led to a split in the Party, and to a break with the Communist International. In the other countries mentioned opportunism is not so prominent but the weaknesses in the Communist agitation and action. The Communist International must openly combat these centrist tendencies and clearly point out to the workers in their respective countries how they can be overcome.

In Germany these tendencies exist in a certain section of the leadership and Serrati. The exclusion of the representatives of these tendencies from the leadership of the party has given it an impetus to the left. But owing to the fact that the party had to enter the battle before it was prepared for this new policy of revolutionary action, its connection with the masses became weakened as a result of its isolated action. Making a virtue of necessity it constructed a theory of the "offensive of the isolated Communist Party" which if consistently developed and carried out in practice must endanger the development of the Communist Mass Party. The leading comrades of the Left Wing of the Germany Party will themselves realise this danger. The Communist International will have here task of showing to all the Communist parties on the basis of the March 21st in which way they can ensure to the Party the leading role in the everyday struggle of the masses and take over the leadership in these spontaneous battles of the proletariat. They must enter the battle alone and isolated only under pressure of necessity when the honour and the future of the Party demands it.

In the discussions concerning partial demands and partial actions, the Communist International will prove to its affiliated parties, beyond the shadow of a doubt and on the basis of their own experiences, why no party may content itself with mere communist agitation and propaganda, but must inevitably participate in every struggle of the proletariat, and how each party, while continuing its organisational activities, should take the lead in such proletarian struggles, forcing these conflicts to develop from ordinary strikes into rebellions. The problem of the Red Trade Union International and of its battle against the Amsterdam lackeys of world capitalism, is the organisational complement to the problem of partial struggles and of the progress of the Communist parties towards the conquest of power. The Third Congress of the Communist International will have much preparatory work to accomplish for the congress of the Trade Union International which will follow directly in its wake.

There are, further, two "foreign" questions on the agenda of the Congress, i. e. the Russian question and the problem of the Orient. The leading party in the Communist International will report to the Congress regarding its efforts to safeguard and reinforce the power of the working class in a country for the far greater part agrarian and in a most difficult period of transition from war to peace. The Congress will have to express its opinion on the policies of the first isolated proletarian state. At the same time it will have to decide how the struggle for power of the world proletariat can be promoted by the increase and reinforcement of the revolutionary movements in the Orient. Hundreds upon hundreds of delegates, hundreds upon hundreds of guests have hastened from all corners of the earth to attend this congress of the Communist International. Already it represents a colossal power. The work of the congress will increase and purify it. And if all the omens are not deceptive, the C. I. will in the near future become involved in such struggles, that it will be compelled to give evidence of its power in great revolutionary conflicts.

Revolutionary passion is requisite for these battles; but it must be accompanied by clear insight, and proper estimat-

MOSCOW

A Year of Struggle.

by G. Zinoviev

JUNE 22nd 1921.

Between the second and the third Congresses of the Communist International there lies almost a complete year—a year of struggle and grievous trials for the advance workers of the world, but, at the same time a year, which we achieved the consolidation of our forces, the welding of our ranks, and the spiritual self-determination of a number of working class parties.

Russia.

We shall begin with Russia. The Communist section of the Russian proletariat watches with profound attention the course of the labour movement in other countries, and awaits with understandable impatience the maturing of the world revolution. However, the Russian workers, the vanguard, are well aware that Soviet Russia itself is no small portion of the world revolution. They recognise the fact that the existence of the Soviet Government and the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in themselves are a great victory for the proletarian world revolution. The Communist Party has lived through a year of the severest schooling. At the time of the II Congress of the Communist International the troops of Soviet Russia stood within gunshot of Warsaw. Then the tables were turned against us in the fortunes of war. Wrangel had gathered strength. The war with Wrangel cost us the lives of many thousands of the noblest communist workers that Russia possessed.

Civil war then ended, and there arose new difficulties, connected precisely with the transition to peaceful construction. After four years of imperialist war and three years of civil war the economic life of Russia was reduced to an alarming state of prostration. Unparalleled difficulties cropped up in the tasks of food supply and in transport. Indeed it was not an easy task for the Russian Communist Party to overcome these difficulties.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that complete harmony did not reign within the ranks of the Russian Communist Party. There arose within the party the great contest on the role of the Trade Unions in the present transition period. The dispute actually turned on the question of the relations between the party and the broad non-party masses, on the correlation of forces between the proletariat and peasantry in the present revolution, on the methods of organisation of the proletarian party in the period of dictatorship, etc., etc. These disputes shook the Russian Communist Party to its very foundations. But the party emerged from this storm stronger and more united than before.

During that year the Soviet Government concluded a number of peace and trade agreements, enabling it tranquilly to take up peaceful construction and reestablish international exchange. The Soviet Government, inspired by the Communist Party, reviewed its relation to the peasants, and by means of certain decrees on the food tax, it laid down a more practical line in the economic policy of Soviet Russia,—in a country living in a capitalist environment, and in which the political power belongs to the proletariat, but in which there nevertheless predominates an element of small peasant economy. However loud the heroes of the Second and the Second and a Half "Internationals" may proclaim this change of policy of the Soviet Government to be a denial of communism, every honest and intelligent workman in Europe and America will recognise that it is not a denial of communism, but the only practical way to steadily consolidate the communist regime in Russia.

The Soviet Government is demobilising the Red army. The great moral victory of the Russian Communist Party consists in the fact that it was not only capable of creating a mighty proletarian army, but of defeating a host of enemies by aid of that army, and of living to see the moment when that army could be dispersed. The fact of the successful demobilisation of the first proletarian Red army in the world is another battle won by the Communist International. Whatever may yet occur, whatever the difficulties which the Russian Communist Party may yet have to face, — and the events at Kronstadt have shown us that all difficulties are not yet past—we certainly have the indisputable right to say, without any bragging

ion of all situations. The Russian Communist Party, under whose aegis this congress is being held, has proved, throughout its history, that such a combination is very well possible. It welcomes the delegates to this Third International Congress and calls to them: Forge your weapons for the victory, which shall be gained not in the heroic exertion of a single moment, but in the ever-fiercer daily struggle.

Karl Radek.

whatsoever, that the Soviet Government and together with it, the Russian Communist Party has grown stronger and planted its roots still deeper during the year that has passed between the second and the third Congresses.

In a number of other countries, too, the communist parties have grown and become stronger. To a petty bourgeois, or to a hero of the Second a Half "International", what has been taking place for the last year in the ranks of the international labour movement would appear utter confusion. "Spits and fierce disputes, no order, old members are not listened to, old members are simply thrown out", etc., etc. Superficially it seemed a year of ceaseless disputes, splits, and internal conflicts. In reality however it was a year of the cause of emancipating the proletariat from the old, morbid, counter-revolutionary, social-democratic ideology advanced by rapid strides. The basic results for that year are these: the differentiation within the labour movement is nearing its close, the tares have been separated from the wheat, the disputes have blown over, the working class has found its bearings, the advanced workers of all the world have taken the right communist orientation. They have freed themselves of the deadweight that clung to their feet, they have succeeded in establishing communist parties and almost finally freeing themselves from the ballast of the social-democratic, pacifist and similar petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements.

Germany.

In Germany the split ran in specifically class channels. The Congress at Halle started a series of such congresses at which the workers split off from the adherents of the "centre", and by this means prepared the ground for the establishment of a genuinely communist party. The petty bourgeois socialists were quite incapable of grasping the significance of those splits. Only a few days ago we had the opportunity of reading an article by Ledebour, who whimpers over the fact that owing to the split, the Independents and the United Communist Party in Germany, taken together, are seemingly incomparably weaker than the Independent Party was last year. Poor Ledebour! He has lived to become grey-haired, and yet does not observe what is taking place under his very nose. It is beyond him that the United Communist Party of Germany alone is indeed a revolutionary factor, ten times more so than the "single" Independent Party of last year, in which the revolutionary forces were counter-poised by counter-revolutionary forces, as if intentionally in such proportion that the addition of plus a minus a gives nil.

France.

A split has taken place in France as well. The old United Socialist Party of France lost half a hundred thousand of its members, who have gone Right. The social-pacifist Longuet joined with the social-traitor Renaudel. Who cannot see, that thanks to the Longuetists and their allies going over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, the French communists, having rid themselves of this ballast, have become far stronger? The more farsighted of the French bourgeois are well aware of this fact. A fresh breeze has blown over France. The workers are regaining faith in the idea of political labour party, and even if the crystallisation of the Communist Party in France has not yet not been accomplished a gigantic step towards it has nevertheless been made.

Italy.

And Italy! Outwardly, the split took place here in a manner most disadvantageous to the communists. The majority of the Italian Socialist Party proved to be beyond the pale of the Comintern. Certain myopic, and easily intimidated communists interpreted this as a defeat of the Communist International. We shall have a lot to say about the Italian question at the forthcoming Congress of the Comintern. But it is even now obvious, although only two or three months have elapsed, that a deep ferment has begun in the ranks of the Serrati Socialist Party of Italy. Each month will see thousands and tens of thousands of workers in Italy going over to the side of the Communist Party. Only by this arduous means was it possible to shake off the heavy and shameful legacy of the peaceful period of the old social-democracy, when the party suffered such bourgeois agents as Turatti, D'Aragona & Co., in the ranks of the workers. Only by this means, dear though it may have cost, was it possible to free the Italian labour movement of the putrid influence of such men as Serrati, who has the brazen-facedness, in 1921, to assure the workers that they must tolerate the Italian mensheviks in their ranks, and drag them along with them into the III International.

Continued on page 8.

The Red Parade.

(by Waldemar).

Above the bullet-riddled walls of the Kremlin, in the bright sunshine, fluttered the red flag, more lustrous than the numberless gilded cupolas of the churches, of the golden byzantine cross on St. Basil's church, that forms the southern enclosure of Moscow had assembled for a parade in honour of the opening of the Third Congress.

12 o'clock noon.

In the midst of the melodious chimes of the Kremlin bells, rang the command: "Parad Smirno!", Shun! the band begins to play, and Trotsky, accompanied by Muraloff, commander of the Moscow garrison, Kameneff, Gen. Brussiloff and others march along the front "Zdrastwoitye, tavarishe", "good day, comrades", is the greeting of the war Commissary, and "Slooshim revolutzie", We serve the revolution", is the enthusiastic reply. And no less joyous is the greeting to the commander of the Red Army that echoes from the great tribune he approaches, where an enormous number of delegates to the Third Congress had gathered. Almost every nation in the world is represented, from the Germans in their "Schiller" collars to the black-veiled Mussulman women. It was a phantasmagoric scene, such as no city in the world has ever witnessed.

Trotsky, in the tribune, to greet, as he well might proudly boast, the representatives of the proletarians of Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australia. "We are poor" he declared among other things. "We are starved. But we are concealing nothing from our guests. They know that we have been tortured by an old and a new war, but they know too, that the liberation of the working class, which is proceeding with an iron tread, requires many blood-drenched years for its completion. The representatives of all countries come to us in ever-greater numbers, and ever-greater masses stand behind them. They bring to you, soldiers of the Red Army, their greetings. They are not yet able to tell us that they have overthrown the bourgeoisie in their countries, as we have done, for their bourgeoisie is wiser than ours. We shall wait, however, one year, two years, or even longer. We shall stay loyally at our posts. The Russian Red Army will wait patiently, it will continue to be the protector of the proletariat against the oppressors of all nations. This is the vow we make on this blood-drenched square. We shall win or die under the motto: "Long live the world revolution! Long live the Communist International!"

Overwhelming applause intermingled with the strains of the "International", resounded through the vast square like a challenge—from thousands of throats.

Representatives of various countries delivered short speeches of greeting, and Comrades Lunatscharsky and Radek translated some of them.

Then began the military review. First come the workers' militia of the various Moscow districts. They did not wear the fine uniforms of the Noske'ites, made in England, but plain workmen's blouses. They shoulder—their guns, with which they are prepared to protect the proletarian revolution to the last drop of blood. Trotsky, who stood at the salute during the entire review, turned to the French delegates and called out: "Look, you syndicalist French comrades of ours, this is the way to conquer and protect the power of the proletariat."

South Africa.

I have been asked for a short "Einleitung" for South Africa in honour of the Third Congress. The Indian and African movements do not count for much in the great struggle now pending. But in the Indian and African masses? There we have the grandaun of the Communist International. For the first time Africa and India can say "I know that my Defender liveth."

The Second Congress had no appeal to these vast masses of the exploited. The respectable politics of the aristocracy of Labour never took them into account. Just as the white worker of Africa imagines that he can overthrow his masters and get a sort of Soviet Rule without the native by his side, so the European workers who are still misled by Amsterdam imagine that they can ignore the masses of Africa and India. But the Communist International imposes a mightier test than mere lip service to Soviet Rule. It brings in all toiling humanity and says to the white worker, not only of South Africa, but of all lands,

The parade of the militia seemed sodless. Battalion after battalion head shawls appeared and marched past—cycle divisions, red nurses, whose red were in picturesque contrast to their white blouses. Enthusiastic cries were exchanged between the spectators on the tribune and paraders. And still the corps marched by, carrying red flags, athletic clubs, students, cadets, technical groups, in their midst were soldiers in new uniforms and equipment, infantry, artillery, flame throwers, machine gun divisions, pioneer battalions, auto-cinemas, battalions of former German and Polish prisoners-of-war, and of emigrant workers, cavalry with blue and red pennants flying from their lances, and finally the youth, with sparkling eyes and red cheeks.

At 4 o'clock the parade was at an end. It was a never-to-be-forgotten scene, that the airmen and a captive balloon above and a dozen photographers and cinema operators below, attempted to immortalise. May the pictures travel to every corner of the globe, and bear witness to the unshakeable power of the Russian working class. And yet they will afford but a slight idea of the overwhelming impression created in the hearts of all those who had the privilege of being present. If anybody should now tell us that we are suddenly growing enthusiastic over militarism, "said Trotsky" which we say we are combatting, I reply in the words of Arthur Holitscher, a bourgeois writer and former pacifist, who returned to Germany after a visit to Russia, and during a lecture in Berlin declared to the amazement of all the assembled bourgeois: "I do not desire to declare that I have changed my opinion about pacifism. I have simply learned to understand that, as long as there are arms, it is better for the exploited to shoot their exploiters—down than the other way around".

"I am tempted to make some comparisons between Berlin and Moscow at this point. But I shall leave this simple though instructive task to our German comrades. Only this: if only half as much enthusiasm, a quarter as much devotion and sacrifice, and only one-tenth of the power that beamed from the "Red Square" today may be found elsewhere in the world, then the world revolution will surely make headway".

Workers of the World Unite!

In the evening there were trade union meetings in various halls, for the purpose of doing honour to the heroes of labour. The foreign delegates of the various industries participated in these festivities. Artistic diplomas were granted to the heroes of labour. The Latvian Communist Section honoured the memory of Latvian comrades who had fallen, by a concert in the Mirror Hall of the former Hermitage Theatre.

The splendid celebrations, and the profound impression upon the assembled delegates, will imbue them with a fresh resolve for the execution of the important tasks of the Third Congress, and with a confidence that the foundation of the Third International laid at Moscow is indestructible, and that on this foundation the establishment of the new system of society will be achieved, which will bring in its train the liberation of the world proletariat.

Solidarity with the black working masses is the first step to emancipation.

And these toiling masses of India and Africa have heard the voice, the voice of Soviet Russia and of its great offspring the Communist International. They lived in great darkness. Their ancient weapons of the spear and the assagai were broken in their hands by the machine of capitalist industry, and the future offered nothing but the prospect of slavery in perpetuity. But the cry of the Petrograd workmen in 1917 was "Long live the Socialist Republic in all Countries!" and this cry is still travelling to the uttermost ends of the earth, to the lowest layers of the toiling people. And they are moving in response to that call. This is the excellent greatness of the Communist International, the most tremendous most world wide combination in human history. Long live the Communist International which shall be the union of the toilers of the earth!

Ivon Jones.

The Balkan Communist Federation

During the days of the wildest Chauvinism, when the nationalist and monarchist bourgeoisie of the Balkans, longing for power, wealth and foreign lands, pitted one section of the Balkan people against the other and prepared the mutually destructive war, the Balkan Socialist Party, small in numbers and with but little influence on the popular masses, had the courage to repudiate the attractive program of the Nationalists and declare loudly that not war and conquest but only the alliance of all the Balkan people into a Balkan Federal Republic could settle the Balkan question and guarantee the liberty of development and mutual existence for the Balkan Peoples.

True to their principle, the Balkan Socialist Parties met, as far back as in 1910, in Belgrade at the *First Balkan Socialist Congress* where they formulated the Balkan program and settled the manner of putting it into practice. An irreconcilable class war against their own bourgeoisie and their own monarchy—that is the only way which leads to the rapprochement and unity of the Balkan Peoples.

"Down with the War! Long live the Balkan Federal Republic!"

With this watchword the Balkan Socialist Party met the Balkan interallied war of 1912 and 13. They were too weak to hinder and prevent the war, but their courage in the struggle against nationalist and patriotic feelings and their foresight in the exposure and the explanation of the gathering events in the Balkans highly raised their prestige and won them the trust and sympathy of the labouring masses. In 1915 when the flames of war were already licking the countries and preparing to swallow them altogether, there was held the *Second Balkan Congress* in Bucharest, which took up a definite stand against the war and again raised the banner of the Balkan Federal Republic.

The Balkan Socialist Parties remained true to their revolutionary stand.

The Serbian Socialist Party, in spite of the fact that Serbia had already been invaded by Austria-Hungary, had the courage to vote against war credits. It was swept away by the flood of patriotism but the Serbian Socialists preserved their close touch with the masses in all their bitter experiences.

The Bulgarian Socialists, alone in the country, carried on the struggle against war policy of all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, protested against war credits, and government measures; decisively opposed the aggressive policy of the avaricious bourgeoisie; loudly protested against the crimes perpetrated by the authorities in the occupied areas and carried on an intensive revolutionary agitation amongst the troops. The Rumanian Socialist Party which had protested against the occupation of Bulgarian

Dobrudje in 1913 by the Rumanian Obigarchy, carried on an exceptional struggle in 1916 against the participation of the Rumanian people in the war. Like the Serbian Socialists, the Rumanian Comrades remained just as close to the masses during the whole period of the war.

This conduct of the Balkan Socialist Parties, which resulted in the deadly hate of the nationalist and patriotic bourgeoisie and which cost them much suffering and may sacrifices, bound them to the labouring masses and immediately after the war transformed them into large mass organisations standing at the head of wide popular movements.

The new era opened by the Russian workers and peasants revolution placed before them new and immediate questions and showed them new means of fighting.

At the *First Balkan Conference*, held after the war in Sofia, in 1919. The Balkan Socialist Parties came to the conclusion that the Balkan Federal Republic could be no other than the proletarian and socialist, as a result of which they created the slogan "*For The Balkan Soviet Federal Socialist Republic*".

They also came to the conclusion that the capitalist system is going through a period of complete collapse and that the hour has come for the violent overthrow of capitalism by the revolt of the labouring masses.

As a result of this the Balkan Socialist Parties became communist; accepted the new program of revolutionary activity, affiliated to the Third Communist International and became the leaders of the revolutionary movement in the Balkans.

In the name of the successful revolutionary struggle the Balkan Socialist Parties recognised the need of co-operation, common activities and a single general staff. With this object in view, at the last conference in Sofia (May 1921) they constituted a *Balkan Communist Federation* with its own Executive Committee.

The proletarian and peasant revolution in the Balkans is faced with colossal difficulties an obstacles resulting from the small numbers of the Balkan proletariat and the influence of the Entente capital concentrating in these countries.

In spite of the exceptional regime conducted in these countries by the Balkan bourgeoisie and Entente Imperialists; in spite of the terrible persecution and unheard of terror which is used against the communists and revolutionary minded workers—the Balkan Communist Parties are working hard to revolutionise the consciousness of the wide masses of the workers and peasants. And leading the masses in the revolutionary struggle, they are tirelessly preparing for the decisive and final break with the capitalist state.

The results achieved and the rapid hardening of the Balkan Communist Parties under the banner of the Communist International is the unshakable proof of the revolution in the Balkans.

V. Kollarov.

France.

The French Party which came to the Third Congress of the Communist International is in full revolutionary swing. An old social-democratic party, which was still shrouded in its patriotic and pacific past, was suddenly whipped up by the anger of our workers and young peasants, who survived the capitalist war and has expressed at Tours its adhesion to Communism. They say the Party is not sufficiently communistic. But it acquires a terrible heritage. Deprived of its agitators, robbed by its dissident groups, disorganised in the country deprived of its theoreticians, in no way a doctrinaire party, this party must reconstitute itself to fight against the national defence of the Wilsonian tendencies which were still poisoning it in December 1920. And this has to be done by a handful of young men, torn to pieces by a hundred urgent tasks. The country is setting the tone to the world reaction, its democratic and parliamentary habits, a still prevalent sense of republican legality, a well equipped black, yellow and white army and no arms in the possession of the proletariat. The workers have a revolutionary tradition, but no revolutionary training. Our hundred and twenty thousand comrades are certainly full of enthusiasm, but they have nothing or next to nothing of what we want.

In the meanwhile the unemployment crisis increases, Reduction of wages begins to set in, the peasants are dissatisfied. The neglected invalids are becoming restless with the high cost of living

which shows no signs of decreasing. Devastated regions are not being restored. The bourgeoisie State is nearly 400 milliards in debt, the baleful influence of the war still subsists and the 1919 class which is mobilised is singing the International...

These are good symptoms and the Communist agitation is taking advantage of them. In the present situation every day brings a new mistake and new progress. Our progress is not always smooth but we march on continuously toward the final battle.

Our proletariat is full of a revolutionary confidence, of enthusiasm and gratitude for the Russian Revolution, but our return will consist in giving power to this enthusiasm, which so far has been of too unconscious a nature, in order to preserve it from the rough changes of wind. Our task will first and foremost consist in doing away with the animosity which in France has always separated Trade Unionism from Party, by promoting the Red Trade Unionism, that we somewhat changed and that our ranks are no longer parallel or converging, that they are always identical, that no longer aspires to conquer the world, but that both are inspired by the revolutionary idea. In an International formed of great parties which are in harmony, France will be able to occupy its proper place and growing in strength every day will methodically prepare itself for the days when the application force will become necessary.

Vaillant Couturier

GREETINGS FROM

MOSCOW

JUNE 22nd 1921.

England.

The message of the Second Congress of the Third International to the English Communists was an injunction to unite. And the International's clear cut settlement of the dispute on parliament and reactionary trade unions made unity possible: and we were not slow to carry it out.

At this time of the Third Congress the position in England has changed. The persecution of Communists has started for now the government has started to fear. The amazing stability of the miners demonstrates the good effects of communist agitation on the working classes.

Our offices raided, and with prison or the threat of prison hanging over the heads of the active members, yet once more we send to Moscow and in the name of the advanced workers of England we greet the gathering of the world's proletariat remembering its help in the past and hoping for its inspiration for the future.

F. L. Kerran.

The Third Congress of the Communist International.

The class conscious proletariat of the world of both sexes are watching in a state of high tension, the deliberation and action of the Third Congress of the Communist International. They expect the congress to lay out the exact tracts to be followed by the communist in their respective countries in order to speed up the advent of the social revolution, and to point out the exact ways to be used by the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. These means include the enrollment of the female proletariat in the ranks of the of the workers, while they, do battle at the front for their emancipation. The great masses of women workers, both in the factory and in the fields must be mobilised for action. Reactions, becoming more and more brazen faced, and with self-conscious effrontery has placed its iron heel on the back of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. The workers cannot maintain its front if the women workers stand aloof, dull, and indifferent; merely looking on at the tremendous combat between capitalism and socialism, and while they are only moved by tradition and maudlin sentiments, they allow themselves to be used as tools wielded by capitalism. To win over, to train and draw the female proletarians into the active fight against capitalism, who are slowly decimating themselves an their children, is by no means a small side issue of the Communist Parties, but, on the contrary, it is one of their most important tasks, which they must unconditionally accomplish in order to bring the social revolution successfully to its final victory. The Hungarian Soviet Republic has taught us that if the proletarian women, ignorant of the true class interests, are used as tools in the service of counter revolution, the effects will prove disastrous just at the most trying stage in the Dictatorship of open civil war.

The world congress must make up for the tardiness of the preceding one. In this connection it must clearly and firmly outline the duties of the Communist parties to carry out the work among proletarian women with the same energy and intensity as is done in other branch organisations in the political or industrial fields.

Of no less importance for proletarian women is the solution of those problems and issues to be taken up at this present world congress, which, has given rise to violent bickerings and friction in the German Communist Party owing to the appearance of Paul Levi and his group, including Clara Zetkin. This congress must decide with all finality whether the Communist International, and the Communist parties are to be the only organisations for mere propaganda, or with the object of first winning over the great proletarian masses, before attempting revolutionary action, or as soon as they have become mass parties, to step to the front of the proletarian fight. In case the situation becomes acute, to inaugurate revolutionary action even when the great masses have not advanced so far as to recognise that they must take up the fight at once so as to baffle the efforts of reaction to fortify its position.

The Communist women of all countries represent the most oppressed and enslav-

Poland.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is confronted with the task of creating an organisation which shall lead the World Proletarian Army. The task is difficult for the army is [ready for battle, but individual sections are being led by the enemy. This was always the difficulty of the revolutionary troops, and have always been solved in revolution. The peasants which comprised Cromwell's army in the beginning of the revolution were the serfs of the feudal barons, but soon after these serfs defeated these barons in open battle, and have been a model for the whole world. The same thing took place in the French revolution when the Sans-Culottes defeated the excellently drilled troops of England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Finally, this took place during the Russian Revolution, when the Red Army, created out of nothing except the disorganisation sown by the enemy, thanks to its revolutionary spirit, achieved victory after victory. Now, what has been achieved on the military field must be achieved in the field of proletarian struggle. The Communist International after the Congress must be united, firmly welded, which under incredible difficulties is rallying the Polish proletariat to the Red Banner, and has the burning desire to participate in the work of the proletarian emancipation. J. Marchlewsky (Karsky)

Italy

The delegation of the the Communist Party of Italy sends its greeting and good wishes for the Third Congress of the Communist International. It feels sure that the Third Congress will express overwhelmingly and solemnly its condemnation of all traitors to Communism, against all those who (like the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party) after having expressed their adhesion to Communism and promised to lend all their assistance to further revolutionary action for the establishment of Communism, have now withdrawn from the Third International in order to remain in the camp of the reformists, the opportunists, the social democrats and counter-revolutionaries who have always kept back the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The Communist delegation of Italy is also certain that the congress will be able to save the International from the danger which is threatened by the presence of the centrists and opportunists, who are tolerated by several parties within their ranks.

Only on that condition shall we be able to discuss the question of international tactics and co-ordination the Communist movement with the certainty of not being faced as before by new disillusiones. The work of the Congress which is about to begin is of the greatest importance to all proletarian forces of the world, which are striving to liberate themselves from capitalist bondage.

SOCIALISM.

An excerpt from "The Woman in the Wood",
by Henriette Roland Holst.

Canst thou not grow unless our lives shatter?
Broken hearts and lives — — — what matter?

Canst thou not live unless our hearts cry?
Or thrive, unless they petrify?

Then thou dost know I gave my all,
And asked for naught — — — 't were cowardly and [small!

Nor shall I e'er plead for my heart's sake — — —
The happiness of mankind is at stake!

Though a myriad hearts thou needs must blight,
This thine to take, the price is slight.

The price is slight for mankind's greater weal,
Though thousand times ten thousand hearts congeal!

ed part of the proletariat, they see the coming generation, the children facing death in the outcome of growing unemployment, and the general total economic collapse. The Communists therefore, know no wavering on these questions they have decided in all countries to take their stand with those who have come out for action, with the party prepared for deeds, and have declared themselves against Levi and against Serrati.

We hope that this world congress will throw all the force and weight of its determination in no uncertain terms against the shilly-shally fettering inertia and opportunism of the right wing of the Communist International.

The proletarian women of the world look to determined action on the part of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat-headed by the Communist International—for achieving their emancipation from the yoke of slavery from the double burden of capitalist serfdom and capitalist sex thralldom. They send their warmest greetings to the Third World Congress and hope that by its determined policy of sifting out and expelling opportunists and by compacting all its organised forces into one well knit body. This Congress will advance the growth of the world revolution, strengthen the Communist International, and by its determined and clear-sighted leadership will shorten the painful process of the world revolution.

Being certain of this the Italian Delegation exclaims:

"Long live the Third International?"
"Long live the International Workers' Revolution!"

"Long live Communism!"
For the delegation of the
Communist Party of Italy.
Egidio Gemari.

Austria.

When the First Congress of the Communist International took place, there were only Parties, groups and fractions united by ideas which had been linked up on the initiative of the Left Wing of Zimmerwald. Out of the bankruptcy of Social Democracy and Syndicalism, arose those elements which formed the basis upon which the Third International was built. Except for the Bolsheviks, and partly the Spartacus Bund, the new sections of the International of Action were small cadres of crack-troops, whose aim was to rally the broad masses around themselves.

At the Second Congress there were mass parties, who took their stand under the banner of the Third International. These mass parties comprise the revolutionary mass-proletariat of their respective countries, including the Communist section and that wavering element which while they cheered for the Proletarian

Preliminary Conditions and Struggles

of the Second Revolution in Germany.

The course of the revolution in Germany is difficult and intricate. Its difficulties consist, first, in the existence of a strong, wellorganised opponent; secondly, the inadequate political centralisation of the country; thirdly, the great differences in the social development of certain regions and the consequent great variety of social divisions of the working class and the varying degree of their class consciousness; and lastly, the ingrained social-democratic, reformistic, traditions and organisation of the workers.

As a result, the development of the revolution up to now has been characterised by local lack of unity, and heavy sacrifices during vanguard combats in the revolutionary regions.

These are weaknesses. They find their explanation in the historic development. They must be eliminated. The proletarian revolution must complete the task of centralisation, neglected by the bourgeoisie.

Our most important task at present is to break the organisational and political spell exercised upon the workers by both social-democratic parties and their enrolment in the ranks of the revolutionary labour movement. In short, the extension, increase and unification of the struggle of the labour masses.

The difficulty consists in participating in the struggles of the masses, and at the same time not losing sight of our task to lead and promote these combats. The previous preliminary battles in Germany have been merely attempts to overcome such difficulties.

The fact that the bourgeoisie is compelled to attempt to carry out "reparation", forces the German workers to commence an extensive struggle, which inevitably must lead to the struggle for political power. The double burden of internal and foreign exploitation can only be thrown off in revolutionary combat. Such a combat is not only a struggle for existence on the part of the labouring masses, but at the same time for the protection of the industry from ruin, consequently for reconstruction.

During this struggle that is being evaded by both social-democratic parties, the Communist party will assume the leadership of the mass movement.

The most important task of the Third Congress will be to fix, on the basis of the experiences gained in various countries, the conditions under which the Communist party can gain the leadership of the proletarian masses in the impending class battles, and turn these battles into a struggle for political supremacy.

A. Thalheimer.

Dictatorship in Soviet Russia never dream of preparing for the same thing in their own country.

For that reason, the Third Congress must concern itself not merely with the re-organisation of the revolutionary forces, but also with clearing it of all opportunism, and all non-Communist and "sectarianism". Even if it is possible to tolerate opportunist elements in the ranks of the Communist Mass Party under no circumstances however, must they be allowed to take up leading and responsible positions in the Party.

The Austrian workers will exert their efforts to emancipate themselves from the unbearable conditions by force. They will not shrink from the choice between slaving for the interests of the exploiters or making sacrifice for the cause. Thus, the revolutionary Austrian workers greet the Third Congress which is on the eve of momentous decision. The stage of the revival of the activities of the masses, may the Communist International be as a beacon for our impoverished, stricken workers, for whom no other outlet is left except in the struggle for political power. We know that in our neighbouring countries, the economic situation is revolutionising the working class and driving them forward to the struggle. May the decisions of the Third Congress clearly and definitely express revolutionary mass action, may our fruitful preparatory work of the Party, the preparatory work for the decisive battle.

Franz Koritschoner.

THE DELEGATES

Youth.

Communist Youth at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The delegation of the Young Communist International will be one of the strongest at the Third Congress of the Communist International. Up to now 80 delegates of Young Communist organisations have arrived for the second congress of the Young Communist International, all of whom are at the same time the delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The Young Communist International has developed swiftly and powerfully since its first international congress held in Berlin in November 1919. Whereas the Berlin conference was attended by only 12 organisations representing about 3000 members, the Young Communist International today comprises upwards of 800,000 members in 50 organisations. In the matter of organisation, the centre of gravity the Young Communist International lies in the East, where the Russian Young Communist Federation alone boasts of 600,000 members. Politically however the Young Communist International is of greater significance in the West, where as is well known the crystallisation and establishment of class conscious, powerful communist parties has only recently begun. The Young Communist International has directly and, through its organisations, indirectly played a energetic and decisive part in this process.

In Techecko-Slovakia, the Young Communist organisations were first clearly and consciously to declare for the Communist International; and while the Techecko-Slovakian Communist parties are at this moment still separated into nationalist groups, Communist Youth has already succeeded in building up a single, strongly centralised Young Communist organisation, comprising the entire territory of Techecko-Slovakia.

In the Italian conflict, the Young Communists immediately and without hesitation declared themselves against Serrati and in favour of the Communist Party, putting at its disposal a well-trained fighting group.

The Young Communists of Germany have at all times taken a very important part in the revolutionary struggles and revolts. In Scandinavia, the Young Communist organisations formed the resolute left wing of the communist labour movement, and always urged clear, communist tactics, even in the every-day political work of Scandinavian Communist Party.

The Communist parties in Belgium and Spain were the direct offspring of Young Communist organisations. The attitude of the Young Communist delegation to the Third Congress of the Communist International in the political and tactical problems of our movement is quite distinct. The Young Communists will be found on the side of those who take a decided stand against any weakening or paralyzing of the parties through opportunistic tendencies and who stand for greater revolutionary activity.

Recently, however, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International has been paying more attention to the problems concerning the younger generation; e. g. written and oral agitation and propaganda, International youth federation, Young Communist International, correspondence, establishment of a central agitation bureau, carrying out of mutual activities such as an international day of youth, an international agitation week, international conferences etc, preparation for the discussions at the second congress of the Young Communist International on the question of the relations between communist youth and the party, on the matter of the industrial struggle of the young workers, in the question of education etc, in the struggle against the centrist and social-patriotic youth organisations at Karlsbad, Leipzig and Paris.

Particular attention was devoted to organisational matters, as the very nature of the youth organisations necessitates closer and more intimate relationship between the various constituent organisations than is the case in the adult International. With Berlin as a centre, where the seat of the Executive International is situated, successful efforts were made to keep in active touch and correspondence with all the Young Communist organisations in the world, and to cement the bonds existing between them.

Today the Young Communist Internat-

Denmark.

The Capitalist system in more and more rapidly heading for a collapse.

The Third International rallies the proletariat under the blood-red banner of Communism for the last decisive struggle. The convulsive death struggles has affected the capitalist system in Denmark, where the workers are suffering amidst a difficult social crisis.

The capitalist parasites, who during the war piled up wealth out of the poverty of the belligerent countries are attempting to maintain the status quo by means of a ruthless reduction of wages, and exorbitant prices, this for the overwhelming masses means increased poverty.

All this with inevitable certainty leads to the moment when the working class as a consequence of this shameful exploitation, will stand for the proud idea of communism.

The structure of Denmark and its place in world politics does not permit of taking the leadership in the gigantic struggle of the world proletariat for the overthrow of class society. We can however, do our duty in the ranks of the international proletarian army and there to contribute our share to the united forces, to deliver the death blow to capitalism.

We know that our assistance will be like a drop in an ocean, in comparison with the sacrifice and suffering which our Russian comrades had to make before they were able to achieve the proud position of being able to offer hospitality to the Congress of the Third International.

The Danish Communists expressed their enthusiastic attitude to their Russian comrades for having so courageously placed themselves at the head of the struggle of the world proletariat, and our earnest desire is that the Third Congress of the Communist International will be the signal for and the overture to the struggle of the proletariat of the whole world marching side by side with their Russian brothers.

Only a fraternity that transcends Death can emancipate our suffering class from the oppression of capitalism!

Long live the Third International!

Tuuges Tuugsen.

Norway.

The Third Congress of the Communist International will have to solve two main questions: 1) The mechanical conception of evolution, which has gained considerable ground within the communist parties and which is reflected in the tactics of open or disguised opportunists (Serrati, Levi, Smeral) must be done away with. The congress must openly state that evolution does not lead to Socialism, that the world revolution cannot win without consciously planned reflectionary struggle, which moreover must be carried out with all the might of the proletariat. The process of the declassing of the proletariat in Austria and Germany is a living and terrible proof, that revolution and the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie, is not a mechanical process, but entirely depends on the will to organise and the consciousness shown by the revolutionary proletariat. Our conception of these matters inevitably leads to offensive tactics. It is therefore the duty of the Congress to place our international organisation and its parties on this basis. We can only win by adopting offensive tactics.

2) The Congress must define in its theses the tactics as clearly as possible the line of struggle. The time of general and abstract principles has gone for ever. We must now draft our plan of struggle as concretely as possible and must carry it out accordingly. If the Congress does this—and this must be done—the Congress will assume an immense importance. It will be of greater importance than the 2nd Congress, the resolutions of which were for months subsequently discussed all over the world. The necessity for striking not a definite line of action does not only apply to the fighting tactics, but also to the general work of organisation and to the construction of communist organisations. The Norwegian delegates have a great and absolute faith in these in the the resolutions of the Congress, and will do all in their power to carry them into effect.

Moscow, June 13th 1920.

Ugené Olaussen.

Latvia

Standing at the open graves of our comrades fallen at Riga we recall afresh the countless victims and sacrifices the proletariat of little Latvia has brought on the Alter of Revolution in general (since 1905) and since 1919 in particular. Is it really necessary for poor little Latvia to bear such tremendous sacrifices? Could it not simply wait until the great nations win their freedom and hand on the same to the smaller national units? This is the persuasion "dope" the bourgeoisie has been handing out to us for a long time and which our sages of social democracy mumble parrot-like after the bourgeoisie. In 1905 we were advised to wait for the final victory of the revolution in Russia, while now we are referred to England and Germany. But history teaches us a different lesson; in 1905, Latvia was the capitalistic window opened from Western Europe into Russia; since 1917 is evidently bound to become the socialist or (I might as well say, except for fear of becoming hackneyed) "Red" window from Russia into Western Europe.

It is enough to glance at the revolutionary map of Europe in order to put aside all doubts as to what are our problems. We are facing two great revolutionary oceans: Red Russia and the Red West, the victorious revolution on a soil, not yet mature for communism on the one hand, and on the other a rotten-ripe revolution, which is just beginning to arm itself for the fiscal "scrap" (struggle) but can boast already of having communist parties operating on the whole on a legal basis. But among them there is a *black strip* consisting of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania. Sound human sense seems to suggest to open our windows and doors and simply break through this "black strip" full of terror and fright.

It was only a year ago that the breach in this line was violently shaken by the revolution, and namely at Warsaw. It was either too early or the attacking force was too weak. Where will the next breach be? Who can foretell where and when it will take place? But it is clearly our duty to be present at every point of place and time and be in a position when we are asked "Are you ready" to say "Yes, we are ready".

That is the way we Lettish Communists, understand our modest, but great responsible task facing us at the Communist International.

P. Stutschka.

Workers of the World Unite!

Switzerland.

Though Switzerland has not been an immediate sufferer from the war and the economic sufferings which it entailed, she is passing for the last few months through an intense economic crisis, which is constantly increasing, and the end of which it is impossible to foresee.

Unemployed is on the increase, factories one after another throw workers out into the streets. The number of the unemployed has now reached 150,000, which relatively immense for a small country like ours.

In spite of the hostility and treason of Trade Union leaders, more and more the workers turn their eyes to the East, towards the Russian revolution and the Third International, which in spite of all difficulties and struggles is progressing and raising the hopes of oppressed masses, whom they call to a revolutionary struggle.

The Second Congress of the Communist International has enabled the Communist Party to double its numbers. 10000 members have lately been brought under the banner of the Third International. Faced by the economic crisis and the growth of the Communist movement the awe-stricken bourgeoisie is taking doubly vigorous measures of repression. In the oldest democracy of the world, the police have confiscated the Communist manifesto of March. But in spite of persecutions and all the Capitalist scourges, the revolutionary movement is marching onward and we are sure it will triumph in our small country even as it will in great neighbouring countries.

ional, by virtue of its organisational apparatus, is a factor of inestimable value to the Communist International in the general communist movement. The Young Communist International urges greater utilisation of all its means in the service of the proletarian revolution and its leader, the Communist International. And it is the task of the latter to accept and profit by these means.

Wilhelm Munzenberg.

The Communist among the German proletarians of Techecho-Slovakia.

The German proletariat of the Austrian Sudet regions (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) has always been classed among the "elite" of the Social Democratic Party. North Bohemia was the cradle of Austrian social-democracy, and there were times when the main power of the party was vested there. It alone, of all Austria, first raised opposition to the opportunistic tactics of the Viennese party leaders. Renner's Austriaism, Pernertorfer's nationalism, and Otto Bauer's national opportunism were combated by North Bohemia in its press, meetings and conferences, and at congresses of the party.

During the war, Reichenberg was the only corner from which any opposition issued; after the war, it was from here that the struggle was waged against the national opportunism of the Social-Democratic party, which, under the motto of "self-determination", enabled the bourgeoisie to take the proletariat in tow.

It was not long before the opposition began to grow communistic. On May 9, 1920, at a conference for the discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it took a decided stand against the democratic illusions of social-democracy, and the spirit of the Second International, by submitting, for the first time, a resolution for affiliation to the Third International. When, after the Second International Congress, affiliation was insisted upon on the basis of the 21 points, the "left" opposition was no longer confined to Reichenberg, but had spread over the entire country. At the Karlsbad party congress in October 1920, one-third of the delegates voted for the "left" opposition. The split came, and therewith the end of all cooperation with the social-democrats, when the latter in common with the trade union leaders, perpetrated disgraceful acts of treachery and called

Sweden.

The hopes of the class conscious proletariat of the whole world are concentrated on the Communist International, which rallies the revolutionary forces of the world for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist bloodsuckers, and to build up a new world—the society of Communism, based on the solidarity and economic and spiritual freedom.

Nothing can hold up the coming world revolution whose storm-troops is the Communist International. It is like the comet Enckes, whose rapid course through the universe meets with the resistance of only the rarified medium which surrounds it. There is no salvation for the capitalist world. It may prolong its death struggles for another year, but already the mutes are waiting at the threshold to carry it out.

Hail the Communist World Proletariat and its Banner Bearer and Leader, Soviet Russia.

Z. Hogland.

upon the workers to break strikes. In March 1921 the Communist Party of Techecho-Slovakia (German section) was formed at the Congress in Reichenberg. It took with it 60,000 of the 130,000 members of the Social-Democratic party. The new party is permeated with fresh organisational and spiritual life, as well as a keen desire for the struggle. Although the party has not been in existence very long, it has already created a good organisation, while eight new papers are being issued.

But the entire party is imbued with but one wish: that the party may disappear as soon as possible. For we consider it only a temporary union of the German communist proletariat of Techecho-Slovakia, until we have succeeded in establishing a united, Communist Party of Techecho-Slovakia, which will lead the proletarians of all nationalities of this country to the conquest of power, and the erection of the Techecho-Slovakian Soviet Republic.

Aarl Kreibich.

Executive Committee Meeting.

Reports of June 13th, 14th and 16th.

Comrade Popov (Bulgaria) in the name of the Bulgarian Delegation expressed his satisfaction that the Tchecko-Slovak party wishes to join the Third International. But at the same time the Bulgarian delegation points out that at this important moment, the Tchecko-Slovak Party allows itself to be led by those leaders, who were inclined to opportunism. The same thing occurred in Germany during the Kapp putsch, and a similar case happened in Italy as well. Comrade Tausik has not succeeded in refuting the accusations against comrade Smeral. We are in possession of facts which point out that the leaders of the party have shown their centralist, even conservative tendencies in many instances, e. g. in their attitude to the Trade Unions. The International must make it a condition of admission of the Tchecko-Slovak Party, that it should do away with opportunism and expell its opportunist leaders. It is only then that this party will become a party of the masses, serving the cause of the revolution. (Loud cheers).

Comrade Bucharin greatly regretted that comrade Smeral has not attended the Congress in person. Perhaps it is possible for me none the less to openly refute his arguments. Smeral has spread the rumour, that I am a personal enemy of Lenin and the Tcheck and bourgeois press elaborated this rumour and now declare that I even wanted to proceed against him with armed force (laughter). It is incomprehensible to me how this legend could have arisen. If the Tcheck comrades all share those the views of Tausik, which he expressed in his speech here, the cause of revolution in Tchecko-Slovakia is in a very bad way. Tausik's apology of Smeral can be approximately reduced to this: Smeral must be a good communist leader, because until now he has not stolen any silver spoons. Smeral came here as a repenting sinner, he professed to be one of our family, but his deeds are directed against this family, against the Communist International.

There are circumstances under which we approve of a policy of watchful waiting, that is when it corresponds with the temper of the masses. But here it is just the other way. The masses are far more revolutionary than the leaders.

The policy followed by the Tchecko-Slovak leaders is purely opportunist. The Tchecko-Slovak comrades have failed to answer the pointed arguments of comrade Kreibisch. Tausik asserts that it is impossible to conquer power because all the neighbouring states are bankrupt. Every reasonable man must realise that it is just for that reason, that the time has now come to annihilate that bankrupt capitalism. Even though Smeral has committed no breach of discipline like Levi and Serrati, still it is our duty to say what is true. It is our duty to criticise and speak out openly on such occasions, that there should be no misunderstandings and that the Tchecko-Slovak Party should take up its proper place in the proletarian work movement and cooperate with all its might in the breakdown of bankrupt capitalism.

Meeting of the 14th of June.

Before Proceeding with the agenda, Comrade Stutchka informed the meeting of the atrocity perpetrated by the Lettish counter-revolutionists on Communists in Latvia. The Comrades of the Central Committee shot by the court martial were no terrorists. They were brought before a court martial together with some smugglers who had replied to the shots of the sentries, though the comrades of the Central Committee were arrested two weeks previously to this occurrence. Comrade then asked comrades to inform the comrades in their own countries of these horrors of the Lettish bourgeoisie. And asked those present to rise to honour the memory of the fallen comrades.

The discussion of the Tchecko-Slovak question was then resumed.

Comrade Vanek. Comrade Tausik was right in describing as symptomatic the circumstances that some comrades described even the failure to form a United Communist Party as a case of natural opportunism. Our Party Congress has clearly stated in its letter to the Executive, that the formation of a single centralised party will be effected in the very near future. The whole Tchecko-Slovak Delegation declares this to the Executive once more. Though not all the comrades of our delegation can identify themselves with the tactics of Smeral, we all of us fail to see

any clear and definite proof that the speech made by Smeral at our Party Congress was in contradiction with the principles laid down in the 21 conditions.

To place Smeral, Levi and Serrati into one group would be incorrect, for in the case of the former we have to deal with a breach of discipline and not an act of treachery. The Small Bureau will propose that a letter should be addressed by it to the Tchecko-Slovak party. In opposition to that we propose that we draw up a letter which shall serve as a basis for your conclusions. It would be expedient for the Small Bureau once again to meet the Tchecko-Slovak delegation in order to arrive at a conclusion that we could regard as appropriate.

Comrade Kuhn said: "That the conclusions of Comrades Burien, Tausik, and Vanek were clear and concise expressions of anti-communist views and appeared to have the concealed aim of hampering the acceptance of the Party into the International. But it is precisely for this reason, that the party is not a communist party in the real sense of the word, I am in favour of accepting into the Third International. The Majority if the members of this party are good communists are revolutionaries, and only a coterie of leaders hinders its communist development". Comrade Kuhn quoted an extract from an article by a certain J. Berliner in the Independent Weekly "Der Socialist" which said Smeral is the leader of the Centre in the Party. What he says could very well be said by a not very revolutionary democrat in his declarations he doubts whether the tactics hitherto pursued by the party can attract the masses. If they do then they are correct, if they do not, no one will believe that the conclusions of Smeral based as they are on co-operation with the capitalist state has anything in common with communism".

This is what a Tcheck opportunist says, and therein lies the whole history of Smeral and his associates.

Kuhn referred again to the case of Levi and Kernanski who in spite of their having smuggled an article in the "Rudo Pravo" against the capture of the trade unions, owing to the influence of Smeral were not expelled from the party. Smeral had stated that he regarded federalism in our movement and a complete in the structure of the party as necessary. I am in favour of accepting the party into the International because I know that the Communist International is so strong that it has nothing to fear. I am in favour of accepting the resolution.

Comrade Zinoviev in a long speech explained the resolution.

Comrade Burian said "The resolution which has been submitted today is unsuited to draw from our workers sentiments which would be to the advantage of our movement. It deals with a party which has made tremendous sacrifices and which besides is the largest communist party we appeal nevertheless to your sense of responsibility. Why do we defend Smeral and why do we defend you. I am not in complete agreement with Smeral we defend Smeral on the point upon which the existence of our party depends. We so to speak have become grafted to Smeral and because we regard you as honest comrades, we think it our duty to defend you. We have received the mandate to advocate the affiliation of our party to the Communist International but not to condemn Smeral here. A number of persons, like Scheidemann and Noske, Serrati and Levi, who have long been in the labour movements have been condemned for misbehaviour No misdemeanour, no violation of discipline can be charged against us, although we can approve of criticism, nevertheless we cannot accept the condemnation contained in the resolution". Comrade Burian then dealt with all the charges that were made against Comrade Smeral.

We submit a resolution which neither speaks of centrism nor says anything against Smeral but which contains all that is necessary for us and we seek to eliminate from the resolution the paragraphs we have indicated. I hope that my arguments have convinced those present that a radical alteration of the resolution is possible and necessary".

It was agreed that Kreibisch concludes the discussion at the next meeting.

The meeting of 16th of June.

Comrade Radek said: "We have attempted to reduce the differences between ourselves and the Tchecko-Slovakian

Delegation to a minimum. The resolution of the Tchecko-Slovakian comrades assert what we have already said. We regret however, that we cannot concede the request that comrade Smeral's name be deleted. The resolution however, has been amended in some respects and reads now as follows.

Resolution to the Conference of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist Party.

The Executive of the Communist International welcomes the decision of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist workers to constitute themselves as the Tchecko-Slovak Section of the Communist International and recognises the Tchecko-Slovak C. P. as a member of the C. I. In the building up of a Communist Party of the masses in Tchecko-Slovakia, the Communist International sees positive proof of the progressive revolutionisation of the Tchecko working masses, who, in the short space of 2½ years, overcame the nationalistic and reformist illusions wherewith the creation of the independent Tchecko-Slovakian state had intued them. The Executive welcomes the decisions of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist workers to accept all the conditions laid down by the Second Congress of the Communist International for the admission of the new Communist parties. The Executive is convinced that Tchecko-Slovak workers are willing to carry out these conditions, not merely guided by the sense of proletarian discipline, but also by the consciousness that these conditions formulate nothing but the requirements of the Communist movement. With full confidence in the communist workers of Tchecko-Slovakia, the Executive draws the attention of the Tchecko-Slovak Party to a number of circumstances causing some misgivings, viz., the centrist and semicentrist tendencies which manifested themselves at the Party's Congress.

Along with the acceptance of the 21 conditions, the Congress of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist Party adopted also the report of Comrade Smeral, which primarily differs from the conceptions of the Communist International on the following lines: Comrade Smeral declares that the Communist Party in Tchecko-Slovakia is, even to-day, sufficiently strong to seize power. The Executive of the Communist International is of the opinion that Comrade Smeral's speech shows that he and his close friends conceive the schooling of the proletariat not in the sense of revolutionary inspiration for the struggle, and organisation not as a preparation for this struggle. Neither does the E. C., believe that the enemy of the Tchecko-Slovak Communists will allow calm and methodical preparation for taking over the power. As the last struggles of the metal workers have shown, the Tchecko-Slovak bourgeoisie has taken the offensive against the workers. To meet this, the Party must invoke mass-preparedness for struggle, to repel the onslaughts of capital, and as soon as events permit, the counter-offensive. This calls in the first place for invigorating revolutionary agitation, for daily intervention by the party in all struggles for maintaining the organisation in readiness for all eventualities. It calls for the ever present consciousness, that if the world revolution be a long period, then in represents a long period of struggle. The theory of comrade Smeral, that the Tchecko-Slovak workers should wait with the struggle for power until the proletariat in some of the large capitalist countries has won the victory, cannot be taken seriously. Without undertaking to determine just when the Tchecko-slovak proletariat is to enter the fight for the conquest of power, the Executive is of the opinion that the internal struggle of the Tchecko-slovak workers may develop a situation which would call upon them to take up the struggle for power without waiting for the proletarians of other countries to conquer the power of government. We are not engaged in prophesying as to the exact moment of possible victory, ours is a daily contest which must be waged by the Party with ever-growing energy and without fearing the possibility of a premature victory.

These warnings of the Communist International by no means exclude greatest circumspection and foresight in all situations. On the contrary, they make it the duty of every earnest militant communist party to test and prepare every practical step in the struggle.

In conclusion, the Executive takes cognizance that the Tchecko-Slovak Party decided at its last Congress to proceed

to the creation of a United Communist Party. This Party, in the light of the demand of the Second Congress of the Communist International, must be unified and centralised, and should not confine itself to mere "reconstruction" nor allow any room for national-federalism. The Executive considers a period of three months will suffice for the creation of this Party, and on its part appoints a comrade under whom the negotiations among the comrades from all the peoples of Tchecko-Slovakia as to the mode of this unification shall be conducted.

The Executive of the Communist International is of the opinion that the C. P. of the Tchecko-slovak Republic must take into account the views of the Executive and must reorganise the Party and conduct its work on communist lines.

The Delegation of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist Party, stated that it desires to withdraw its resolution, but that it would make a further declaration. I would like to say to our comrades that the sharp criticism that was expressed at the Executive meetings was made for the good of the development of the Tchecko-Slovakian party which is one of the strongest sections of the Communist International. It was necessary, in order to bring our comrades on the proper track.

Comrade Burian, in the name of the Tchecko-Slovak Delegation made a declaration in which he requested that he immediately be permitted to take the resolution to Prague.

"In the resolution of the Executive certain other comrades were described as centrists and semi-centrists. In accordance with our conviction there are no such comrades in our Party. Varying opinions which exist or may exist in our party, are those of Communists just as happens in other Communist parties. For that reason we regard the description of our comrades as Communist as incorrect. We are accustomed to discuss decisions made at our Congress inside the Party, and eventually, to amend these decisions at the next Party Conference. Without anticipating the decision of our Party as a whole we would desire the same thing for the whole of the International. We declare that we are not in agreement with the resolution, but we are equally opposed to a break with the Third International. We will remain in the Third International, and we will endeavour to make the Communist character of our Party clear to the whole world, and at the next International Congress we will demand a revision of the opinion of our Party".

Comrade Koenen said: "A number of well established and tried parties have made serious attacks against the Smeral group, which he considered completely justified. Nevertheless, we do not want to vote against accepting them".

The delegation of the Communist Parties of Germany, Bulgaria, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland vote for the acceptance of the Tchecko-Slovak Communist Party, but make a special reservation against the political influence of Comrade Smeral in the Party and call on the Communist Tchecko-Slovak workers energetically to fight the danger which is lurking in the preservation of opportunist elements like of Smeral in the rank and file of the Party. We expect that this condition of admission to the Communist International will be fulfilled and that party leadership will be entrusted to communist who have proved their mettle".

The delegations of Germany, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Australia, America, Rumania, England, and the Young Workers' Executive Delegation. Comrade Reichenbach proposed the following motion: only genuine revolutionary communist parties must be received in the Communist International. The Communist Party of Tchecko-Slovakia claims to be admitted. It counts 420,000 members out of a population of 11 millions. It thus forms now the strongest party of the Communist International, being five times stronger than the V. K. P. D. in proportion to the population. A proletarian party, which pretends at all to be communist possessing such a strength, must at once start an active struggle against the capitalist state. But the Tchecko-Slovak Party has so far renounced itself even in preparing this struggle. The recognized leaders have a few months ago declined to lead a movement that had broken out.

The Executive therefore decides to temporarily postpone the question of accepting the Communist Party of Tchecko-Slovakia.

Continued on page 8 col. 1.

JUNE 22nd 1921.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Miners Strike. Probable Majority Against Acceptance

Christiana, June 21. (Radio). The final results of the voting by the miners on the mine owners proposal, are not known. A few gathered facts indicate a strong majority against the proposal. According to the last decision of the Miners Executive Committee, it is necessary to have two thirds of the votes for the continuation of the strike. The voting of the localities is completed, and indications are that a great majority will vote for the continuation of the struggle. Especially was the voting particularly heavy against the proposal in Scotland and South Wales. The Executive Committee of the mine workers will gather the results of the voting tomorrow.

Later reports states that the general result of the voting will be for the continuation of the strike.

The Miners Ballot.

London June 16th — The reports on the result of the ballot of the English Miners are conflicting. In any case the majority have accepted the resolution against the acceptance of the owners terms. Whilst the "Daily Herald" gives the figures as 54,000 votes, for the resolution and 150,000 against it.

The "Daily Express" corresponding figures are 101,000 and 35,000. The bourgeois "Daily Express" still wishes to believe that the miner extremists will not be successful in gaining the majority of the two thirds of the votes necessary for the continuation of the strike.

Norwich (Daily Herald, June 9th). Farm workers in East Anglia have learned with dismay of the proposal to abolish Agricultural Wage Boards, their only protection against the farmers who for long have been making no secret of their determination to crush the men back into a worse position than before the war.

A large meeting of laborers in South Norfolk passed a resolution emphatically protesting against the proposal. The meeting called upon all agricultural workers to unite to resist attempts to prevent the laborer improving their economic and social position.

Gooch, president of the Wymondham Labor Party said the proposal to abolish the Boards was the natural sequel to the attacks by the capitalists on other workers. The Government proposal meant all around wages reductions, and laborers were now definitely brought with the miners into the line of battle.

The situation in Ireland.

Riga, June 18th. "The Daily Herald" of June 14th reports on the situation in Ireland. In the South of Ireland where General Macready is in command, the Republicans are making preparations for a six months campaign, for the resistance of the expected attack of the government troops. In the North of Ireland, where the government, Sir James Craig, and his Yellow Cabinet are trying to strengthen its power, bloody conflicts with the Sinn Feiners take place daily. In reply to a question in the House of Commons Sir Hamar Greenwood stated that the Commander in Chief of the Government troops in Ireland has the order to be guided by purely "strategical considerations" — (Rosta).

English Culture.

A massacre of natives is reported from South Africa. A native sect had built its huts on state lands At the Cape, in the vicinity of Queenstown. When the natives refused to leave their settlement voluntarily, short work was made of them, as the "Morning Post" cynically remarks, and the village was bombarded. 199 natives were killed and 125 wounded. The village was destroyed. How long will the natives of Africa allow capitalist "Culture" to harass them in this fashion?

Japanese Projects.

Riga 15th. "Ruhe" 12. According to Helsingfors information, General Komura the Commander of the Japanese troops at Vladivostock stated that the Japs intend to move their lines of the Pacific coast for the occupation of its strategic points.

GERMANY.

A Stormy meeting of the Reichstag.

Berlin, June 18th. The interperlation of the Independants yesterday on the murder of Gareis, called forth stormy scenes — Unterlaytner, asserted that the political department of the Munich police were directly concerned in the murder, and hotly attacked the whole system of Karr's government to whom murder behind the corner has become the favorite method in his political struggle. When the orator pointed out that the reactionary press appeals for political murder, and cited one reactionary paper which says that 5,000 communists ought to be shot because they cannot be regarded as Germans, the deputy of the German nationalist party, Mittermann, called out "The paper is right". That interruption burst, which led to the adjournment of the meeting. At the reassembling of the meeting, replying to the questions, Chancellor Wirth who restrained himself from attacking the Bavarian government lately criticised the methods of the struggling of the right wing parties. Wirth pointed out that the tactics of the right wing leads to complete weakening of Germany and to the ruin of her unity.

Bloody Conflicts.

Berlin, June 18th. A demonstration of workers took place in Tilsit yesterday, organised by three socialist parties, as a protest of the murder of Gareis. "Vorwerts" communicated that it did not end without human sacrifice. The police dispersed the crowd with hand grenades.

The Fear of the Communists.

The criminal police of Halle have arrested all the employees of the "Red Help" organisation, the employees of the consumers society and members of the Communist Party Committee. The arrested were conveyed to the prison for prisoners under trial. The offices of the "Red Help" are occupied and the cash found in the consumers society was confiscated. It appears more than doubtful whether such illegal brutal measures are likely to kill the bacilla of Communism. But it is certain that the reaction has recognised the danger of the ever spreading Communist ideas and in its fear for the safety of its threatened gold sacks, it will be prepared to use any means in its power.

A Ghost Story.

"Die Deutsche Tageszeitung" reports a sensational rumour to the effect that comrades Zinoviev and Radek are now staying in Germany in order to organise by means of secret local conferences a new Communist uprising.

We look with wonder and amazement on feats performed by these two comrades who utilise the few hours left to them after they have attended meetings and done their preliminary work for the Congress, to travel daily to Central Germany in order to attend secret conferences. We hope the all-powerful German police will soon be on the track of the comet, which is daily taking those dangerous Russian guests for a few hours trip from Moscow to Halle.

Preparing to trade.

Warsaw, June 19th. The Prague "Chass", reports the feverish work of Germany in connection with her organisation for trade with Russia. — (Rosta).

Trial of Hohenzollern offspring at Verdun

In a trial for libel against a certain Mmle. Dessereys, one of the many mistresses of the former German Crown Prince, sensational revelations were made about the conduct of the Hohenzollern offspring during the war. The prince succeeded in winning the favour of various young women by means of expensive gifts, which were proved to have come from large jewellery shops in Belgium.

The Far Eastern Adventure.

Chita, 13. 6. (Danta.) By a special order of the Council of Ministers, the followers of Murkuloff, were declared enemies of the people and subject to criminal prosecutions. Their actions are considered unlawful and their requisitions declared as robbery. (Rosta.)

FRANCE.

The affiliation to the Moscow Trade Union International.

Berlin, June 17th (via Riga). Following the example of the Railwaysmen's Congress, the French Postal-Telegraphic Syndicate after a stormy discussion, by 62 votes against 57 accepted the resolution of the extremists, condemning the collaboration of classes, and demanding the affiliation of the General Confederation of Labour, to the Moscow Trade Union International. The new Council of the Federation consists entirely of extremists. — (Rosta).

The Agreement between France and Poland.

London, June 16th. The "Manchester Guardian" contains the report of the new agreement between France and Poland on the Eastern question. In this agreement France pledges herself to render assistance to Poland in Upper Silesia on her side pledges herself to maintain a big army, numbering 600,000 men with French officers on the general staff. In the event of a war of a non-aggressive character France pledges herself to actively support Poland. Of Russia there is no mention in the agreement. The only war that is anticipated is a war with Germany. The exploitation of the Galician oilfields is left to France, the correspondent adds, that there is a growing dissatisfaction with this agreement in Poland and a strong movement is noticeable in favour of the improvement of relations with Germany on a purely economic grounds.

ITALY.

Railwaymen Strike.

Berlin, 18. 6. 2. (Via Riga). Reports from Venice indicate a strike of railway workers as a protest against the violence of the Facisti. (Rosta.)

Bloody Collisions.

Rome, June 16th. — A new outburst of banditism on the part of the Fascisti is observed in Italy. Yesterday in Venice the Fascisti attacked the railwaymen's Club, wrecked the premises and carried away all they laid hands on. During the collision one railwayman was killed and another severely wounded. A strike of the railway employees is to commence in the beginning of July. Yesterday the Fascisti attacked the fishermen of a small coastal town near Venice and wounded twenty people. On the following day the fishermen joined the workers of the local factories and started to hunt down the Fascistic by way of reprisal. Two factories, the owners of which are notorious Fascisti, were demolished.

The Frenzied Facisti.

Berlin, June 16th. Stormy conflicts took place, at the first meeting of the Italian Senate. The "Facisti" forcibly compelled the Communist deputy Misiano to leave the Senate. This incident created great excitement, but only the deputies of the Catholic National Party supported the motion of the Communists to adjourn the House until the return of Misiano.

In Venice the Facisti besieged a railway station and the committee of the railwaymen. There were a number of victims killed and wounded. The railway workers of Venice declared a strike as a protest. There are reports of the avenging expeditions of the facisti in Milan, Bologna, Forelia and Saint Magaret. Every where they wrecked the Labour exchanges, workers houses, Co-operatives, many buildings were burnt down.

SPAIN.

Bail Refused.

Bail has been refused by the Examining Magistrate for Pedro Maten, one of the assassins of M. Dato.

San Marino Republic Expells Communists.

For some time past the San Marino Republic has become the place of refuge for a large number of Communists and Socialists, implicated in sanguinary conflicts with the fascisti. Now the government of this pigmy State has ordered a new census of all the refugees to be taken and all those who were involved in the above mentioned conflicts will be expelled. Negotiations have been carried on with the Italian Government in order that it should send its carabinieri. (Gazetta del Popolo).

RUSSIA.

From the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

The following is a translation of a note sent by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of R. S. F. S. R. to the British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon of Kedleston London 17.6.

"The Russian Government has taken notice of certain proposals which is to be submitted before the Council of the League of Nations proposing material assistance of "Russian refugees". The Soviet Government would never have concerned itself with these proposals if it were convinced that they were dictated only by a sense of humanity. However, knowing by past experience, that in many cases real help has been given to the counter-revolutionary movement under the cloak of philanthropy, the Russian Government feels compelled to declare that it will regard any aid which may be rendered to Russian army mutineers who are still in compact masses, and who preserve their general staff or obey their former commanders, and also any help which may be distributed through so-called "Russian Committees" or Councils which under the guise of "Philanthropic institutions for helping Russian refugees," are in reality centres of counter-revolutionary activities, as direct aid to Russian counter-revolution.

The Soviet Government earnestly hopes, that the British Government in accordance with the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement will not take up such a hostile attitude to Russia.

The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
Tchitcherin.

Wranglists in Serbia

Berlin, June 18th. "Poslednya Novosty", quotes the official communication of the Serbian Government, which permits Wrangel, his staff, and the so-called "Council to settle on Serbian territory, but, exclusively, as private persons. The paper points out, that the remnants of the army, has also settled in Serbia on such conditions.

Persecutions of Russians.

Vienia, 18. 6. (Via Riga). Many Russian war prisoners for the last few months are thrown into the jails of Jugo-Slavia by the order of the Minister Pricitchevich. They were lately transferred to Belgrade, maltreated and then thrown into prison. These disgraceful actions creates disturbances in localities where the release of Russian war prisoners is demanded.

LATVIA.

The banishment of communists.

Riga, June 17th. "Latvia Vestasis" writes the English Government has banished from England during the past year 553 Communists.

Latvia and Soviet Russia.

On the information of the "Riga Courier", the Latvian Ministry for Foreign Affairs informed the Russian Representative, that the reply, to the note, handed to Meyerovitch, on the execution of Latvian Communists, will be given after the formation of the new Cabinet. — (Rosta).

The Eastern Danger.

Berlin, 19. 6. 2. (Via Riga). The Italian press is very sceptical over the results of the Paris conference on Eastern question. "Tribuna" writes that the unexpected sudden growth of "Eastern danger" is very grave, and places Italy in a very grave position. The semi-official "Messagero" sees an alliance between the Turks and the Russians for the Dardanelles and forms a menace to the peace of Europe. The official "Temps" declares that the statement "of a Turko-Russian alliance and move for Constantinople, is merely an English invention, in order to divert attention from the military preparation against the Islamic movement within the British Empire. (Rosta.)

Plunder.

From the beginning of the revolt until the beginning of June, the mutineers have taken coal out of the state mines across the frontier to the value of more than nine million marks. For these Korfanty has only paid their millions of imperial marks. From private miners coal is taken away without any payment at all.

A Year of Struggle.

Continued from page 2.

Similar profound processes of differentiation occurred during this year in such countries as Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Yugo-Slavia and Rumania, where we now have more or less powerful communist parties, and where a year ago there were, at best, small groups of spiritual adherents to Communism.

England.

In England this year has witnessed the unification of all the formerly dissenting communist groups and parties. The arrests and other repressions with which the bourgeoisie came down upon our British comrades attest to the growth of communism in England. The unification of the communist forces in America, too, is rapidly approaching. The Communist International will at all costs secure the formation of a unified Communist Party in America.

World Position.

Already on the eve of the Third Congress, the congress at Prague saw the establishment of a united, powerful Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, with a membership of 350,000. In Czechoslovakia the Communist International has to contend with many obstacles. To overcome nationalism in that country was no by means an easy feat. The more enhanced, therefore, is the value of the great moral victory won by the Comintern in Czechoslovakia.

Less than a year has elapsed since the II Congress, and we now can say unhesitatingly that there is no spot on the globe inhabited by workers where there are no communists. In Argentine and Brazil, in Japan and China, in Bokhara and Turkestan, in Finland and Estonia, in Poland and Rumania, in Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria — everywhere we now possess organised communist parties, that are gaining in numbers and strength every month.

The III World Congress is taking place at a time when the clouds of reaction have darkened the whole European horizon. International capitalism is commencing an offensive against the workers along the whole line. Millions of unemployed are starving, tens of thousands of communists are languishing in jail. Almost in every "advanced" capitalist country the bourgeoisie have introduced bands of cut-throats (fascists in Italy, Orgesch in Germany, all kinds of bourgeois Leagues in France, thugs in America) whose special task it is to kill as many communists as possible. The general background of the picture is that of the triumph of world reaction. The Independent gentlemen and other adherents to the second and a half "International" have their hearts already in their soles, and all the "theoreticians" of the second and second and a half "Internationals", Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer, Longuet, Martov & Co. are prognosticating a long life to a "peacefully revived" capitalism, and the same Independent gentlemen who since last year almost lion like roared that they are for proletarian dictatorship "also", are now falling at the feet of their governments.

The Communist International knows that the onslaught of capital will be repelled. Capital is doomed to die, and it shall die. The bourgeoisie can nor create an equilibrium. The world proletarian Revolution is approaching, and it will come to stay. It is inevitable, it is indestructible, and it is upon this that the III Congress of the Communist International takes its stand.

"But you have only suffered defeat after defeat during this year" — remonstrate the petty bourgeois of all countries. "During the general strike in Czechoslovakia you were beaten, you suffered defeat in Yugo-Slavia, and were even driven underground for a time, the seizure of the factories and works in Italy ended in failure, the strike of the miners in England is supported by no one, you have organised a Putsch in Germany and were likewise beaten!"

This is what the mensheviks say.

Germany.

About the March action of the German Communist Party we shall speak at the Congress. Here we only remark that M. Martov was quite right, when, in his First of May article in Hilferding's paper, evincing complete solidarity with Paul Levi, he wrote that the March movement in Germany was only a part of those movements which the Communist International lived through during the year in the above named countries. Yes, Messrs Philistines! Our movement in Yugo-Slavia, and Czechoslovakia, and Italy, and England, and Germany has not yet been crowned with success during that year. We shall yet more than once or twice suffer partial defeats in one or another country. But, nevertheless, the battle is raging, and spreading like wildfire ever more and more. Taking in at a glance the road traversed by our parties during that year, we have all justification on our side to be proud of our successes. The whole of the

bourgeois world was marshalled against us. The so-called "Independent" parties as well as the social-democratic parties went over to a man to the side of bourgeois reaction. And yet the Communist International is growing and preparing to deliver a final death-blow to world capitalism.

At the II Congress of the Comintern we had to reckon with two oppositions — the right and the left. The opposition of the Right was represented chiefly by a delegation of the then still united Independent Party of Germany. In those far, far off times — it should be remembered that a year has passed and in our time a year counts for at least a decade! — the German Independents, the French Longuetists the Swiss Social-Democrats, the Italian Reformist and Semi-Reformists hoped to find a place in the Communist International. Now these socialists — "also" — have become impressed with the fact that they must choose another plot for their gardening. The Italian reformist, Modigliani, was perfectly right when he gave utterance to the following words at the Congress in Reggio-Emilia: "The fetish of the Third International should be discussed. The Bologna Congress affiliated to the Third International, such as it was then... But that International was not the one of to-day".

Precisely so, M. Reformists!

Yes, M. Modigliani of all countries, the III. International has now become not quite that institution which you would have wished to make it. You have all felt now that to go into the Third International is not quite like putting up at a comfortable hotel for couple of days, and changing it later for another just as comfortable. Of those parties which strove a year ago to enter the Third International, we have chosen only the most healthy, truly revolutionary, proletarian elements. The rest we threw out, or else they jumped out themselves, as if from a scalding bath. Whereas a year ago it was almost the fashion among the reformist and semi-reformist gentlemen to wish to join the Communist International, now it has become a practise with them to renounce and clamour against the III. International. If it comes to choosing we prefer that they should do the latter.

Towards the end of the year the attempts of certain unsteady adherents to the Communist International to create a right wing within the Comintern became more apparent. It is sufficient to mention the names of Seratti, Robert Williams, Paul Levi, Schermal (Tzekho - Slovakia), Strasser (Austria), — various people, with various traditions and

standpoints, among whom there is nevertheless a connecting link of a kind. The III. Congress will prove capable of nullifying the attempts to create a right wing in the Comintern, in the initial stages of that unwholesome process.

The so-called "Left" opposition at the Second Congress of the Comintern was represented by the Dutch Marxists, Sylvia Pankhurst's group, and partly by the representatives of the Shop Stewards Committees of England and America, some Syndicalist groups and the group of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.). The Second Congress approached the opposition of the Left carefully, and patiently explained the blunders of these "Left" comrades, succeeding in securing a revolutionary collaboration with many of these groups. Only a year has passed. A very considerable part of these left elements has been thoroughly assimilated by the Comintern. The tactics of creating communist nuclei within the trade unions have justified themselves completely, and given excellent results in France, in Germany and in England. The best elements of the French syndicalists have sincerely come over to the Comintern. The same is to be observed in reference to the Spanish and Italian syndicalists. The adherents of the Shop Stewards' movement and the group of Sylvia Pankhurst have joined the united Communist Party of Great Britain. The most friendly collaboration is observed between the Comintern and the best part of the I. W. W. Our left British comrades should have recognised, and we are sure, have recognised the justice of our position on the question of their working in the Labour Party. The social-traitor leaders of that Party have themselves begun to drive our comrades from the ranks of the Labour Party, thus confirming the correctness of our viewpoint.

In spite of all, we shall at the Third Congress, have still to contend with the so-called left opposition, or more truly, with the remnants of it. We have before us a pamphlet entitled: "Der Weg D-r Paul Levi — der Weg der V. K. P. D.", which was published by the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.) after the March events of 1921.

This pamphlet, which undoubtedly belongs to the pen of Herman Horter (I scented it immediately), shows that among the followers of the Communist Labour Party of Germany there are some incorrigible babblers, with whom the Communist International has truly nothing in common. Horter and his friends from the Communist Labour Party of Germany gravely declare that every party, "so long as it is a mass party", can never be a revolutionary party. That lugubrious clown rebukes the Communist International for "hunting after the labouring masses", at Halle, Tours and even in Florence, and in doing so went to far too the right. Taking Horter's word, there is not one genuine Communist party in all the Communist International — "with one exception only" (literally!). Horter did not mention precisely what party he considers to be the happy exception — the Dutch Communist Party, which succeeded in making 2,000 members during twenty years, or the Communist Labour Party of Germany, with a membership just above that?

If the comrades of the Communist Labour Party of Germany will in all seriousness persist in these "Ideas", they will hopelessly compromise themselves, and make themselves impossible in the Communist International.

A year of struggle lies behind us. The great ideological task is nearing completion. The sorting out of principles, and the political differentiation of ideas is coming to a close. Our task now is to consolidate the work accomplished, by organisation. From the first to the second Congress the Communist International was only a society for propaganda. At the second Congress the foundation was laid for the tactics of communism. From the second to the third congress an impassioned struggle went on in the labour movement of the whole world to advocate and defend those tactics. The Third Congress will consolidate the gains won and give an organisationally finished structure of the Communist International. After the Third Congress every intelligent delegate and, together with him every intelligent communist worker, will declare that a tactical basis has been set up and consolidated, the program has basically been drafted, communist parties have been established all over the world, the structural foundation of the Communist International has been laid, — now, to work!

If the Communist International will continue to grow at the rate it has been growing up till now, then the respite for the world bourgeoisie will not be so long after all. Victory will be ours, and sooner than many of us expect.

Workers of the World Unite!

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.

NOTICE

Delegates to the Communist International who are teachers are asked to leave their addresses at the Secretariat of the "Teachers International"

Hotel Luxe Room 286

How Germany is Disarming.

The Ententes demand for a complete disarmament of the Orgesch and the gangs related to it becomes more and more insistent. The revolts in Upper Silesia suited the purposes of these reactionary bandits extremely well. As is well known the entente has recognised the danger which consists in a large army being formed by lawful means under the pretence of self defence, an army which even now constitutes a danger in foreign politics. The German government was compelled to issue a law on disarmament which however is only on paper, as it is not being enforced.

How seriously the government is concerned with the disarmament is clearly shown by a circular sent by the Minister of the Interior to all the German States. It states therein that organisations arming their members with rifles, revolvers, and rubber clubs may train them in the use of these weapons and they do not fall within the category of organisations which must be dissolved. The notorious rifle clubs are excepted under this law.

The reactionary press notes with joy that this circular does not dissolve or disarm the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr.

The State Chancellor Wirth was very cautious in his interview with the Berlin correspondent of the "Matin" and stated "I fear that the disarmament of Einwohnerwehr will or the greater part of it will be completed by the end of June. I say the greater part for how is it possible to prevent the German peasants from keeping their rifles".

Meanwhile, an intense activity is being displayed in Bavaria in order to conceal arms from the Entente, after the fashion of Noske. During the last few weeks arms of all sorts were exported in large quantities from towns to the country, and across the frontier to Tyrol and Salzburg. It is established that the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr possesses besides the arms which was declared, some 300,000 more rifles, 1,000 machine guns and hundreds of cannons. Kanzler the Bavarian member of the Peoples Party, who is the leader of the Orgesch will exceed apparently even his friend Escherich in the organisation of counter revolution.

Kansler sent officers down to the country who declared at the Einwohnerwehr meetings that arms should under no circumstances be delivered up and if necessary armed resistance should be offered. When the president of the Bavarian Royalist Party communicates to Kansler that the Communists intended to betray to the Entente commission the secret arsenals of the Einwohnerwehr. Kansler declared that the traitors must be discovered by hook or by crook and that they should be assassinated.

This murderous fellow adds that no need be entertained in doing these deeds, for the Prime Minister is backing him, and he would take good care that the accused get off scot free.

In Upper Silesia the Orgesch is working for a conflict with the Entente. In a Braunschweig recruiting agency which was raided, documents were discovered which throw lime light on the criminal activity of these adventurers. The following is an extract from one of these documents: "To be burned immediately. As regards the declaration of the State government on the prohibition of enrolling volunteers we can only say — our cause is in no way affected by this". The object of this order is to keep up appearances. In answer to the order addressed to him by the Inter-Allied Government Commission of Upper Silesia General Hoefer has given a reply which practically means: I don't care a hang for your orders". That is how disarmament is being effected in Germany. These measures of the counter revolutionary bandits do not only threaten Germany with a second Kapp Putsch these criminals are apparently purposely working to entangle in foreign complications. If Germany will thereby be drawn into a new war, we shall have to thank for it, first and foremost the menshevik leaders and the Trade Union Bureaucracy, who have made themselves willing tools of the reaction.

Continued from page 6.

Only the result of an open active struggle which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has to prepare by means of propaganda and by creating fighting committees, and by creating an illegal organisation will prove whether the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia answers the demands which are made on a Communist Party.

After a further statement by comrade Kreiblich the resolution was put to the vote. Resolution of the Small Bureau was passed. The German section of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was immediately accepted in the Communist International.

Comrade Zinoviev. "The Third International has grown in strength by accepting a new great international party. I hope that not at the Fourth Congress but much sooner the Czechoslovak section of the Party will also completely merge in the Third Communist International. Long live the United Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.