



# MOSCOW

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OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Miners Strike Not Yet Settled.

Riga, July 5th. The Woolf Telegraphic Agency reports, that although a section of the Yorkshire miners decided to resume work, reports from other places state that the workers are not willing to support the decision accepted by the leaders. The approval by the leaders of the mineworkers proposal will be considered at a conference of delegates and union meetings of the miners.

#### Important English Conditions French Negotiations with Russia.

Riga, July 5th. Marcel Sembat writes in "Le Populaire" of June 28. "England has answered our note to the effect that she will protect French interests on condition that we resume relations with Russia. Besides this the English note says that it will preserve such an attitude as long as there is hope of France taking part in a general agreement with Soviet Russia. If we continue to maintain our opposition, England will leave us to ourselves. Our Government wants Soviet Russia to recognise the Czar's debts. The French Socialists, even before these loans were effected, uttered the warning that this money would be lost. These warnings give us still more right to demand that the everlasting question of Russian debts be dropped as a preliminary to the question of relations between France and Russia. England declares in her note that she supports the idea of creating an International Commission for the distribution of Russia's debts and compensations, but on the condition that this Commission consist of representatives of those countries willing to recognise the Soviet Government or to sign a preliminary agreement with it of a general character, to be concluded later. Krassin in his recent interview with a correspondent of the "Petit Parisien" said that now we can commence to talk. We of course, cannot refuse, now but the best way of reaching an agreement is to begin negotiations. We could do this through England, but it would be better to do so directly.

### SILESIA

#### Upper Silesia Agreement.

Berlin, July 4th. The situation in Upper Silesia has improved, according to a "Temps" dispatch from Sosnovitz. The members of the International Commission at Opeln have agreed on the question of the division of Upper Silesia.

Hanover, July 5. The Berlin correspondent of the ("Boston Monitor") reports the satisfaction that the evacuation of Upper Silesia by the Polish rebels has now been completed is somewhat marred by the collision which occurred yesterday at Beuthen between the German population and the French troops. The Breslau correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" telegraphs that the collision was due to the irritation of the French at the satisfaction displayed by the town people at their departure and at the arrival of British troops. The correspondent states that during the shooting which ensued casualties occurred on both sides: several French were wounded and a few German women and children were killed. The "Berliner Tageblatt" say the incident was due to the fact that the German population welcomed with enthusiasm the incoming of British troops whom, during the war, they regarded as their deadly and most hated enemy. — "That very circumstance should convince the French how foolish and false has been the policy which they adopted towards Germany". The situation in Upper Silesia has been occasioned by the arrogant attitude now being adopted by bands of German reactionaries who are seeking to use for their own ends the spirit of patriotism which the German population is now displaying at the Poles' departure.

### GERMANY.

#### Threatened New Kapp Putsch.

Hanover, July 5. (Wireless from Seldes) New dangers have arisen and threatening the German government. An army of one hundred thousand men, formed in Upper Silesia is now threatening a repetition of Kapp's revolution. All reports coming from Upper Silesia are causing great uneasiness in Berlin where the memory of the Kapp revolution is being kept alive by periodical outbreaks. While Germany forgot her internal strife to fly to the protection of Upper Silesia and almost overnight created a large army under excellent military leadership, the approaching end of Polish misadventure is bringing a new chapter of troubles for Germany. — After we have cleaned up the Poles we are going to Berlin to clean up the government." The old Baltic element is jobless and the monarchist leaders threaten a new coup d'état.

#### Regular Shipping to Black Sea Opened.

Nauen, July 6. (Wireless) A German shipping company under the name of "Deutsche Orient Linie" has been founded at Stettin for the purpose of establishing regular shipping facilities to the Black Sea under the flag of the Free City of Danzig.

#### Very Weak.

Paris, 5. (Wireless) An inquiry conducted by the Interallied commission in connection with the Beuthen riots has established that the French major Mentalegre was killed by a demonstrator firing a revolver shot from behind. It seems strange however, that the assassin managed to make good his escape.

#### Monarchist intrigues.

Berlin, July, 4th. Herlach states in the "Welt am Montag" that demobilised Bavarian "Einwohnerwehr" are being replaced by now organisations whose single aim is a monarchist revolution.

### POLAND.

#### Polish-Rumanian Treaty Ratified.

Nauen, July 5. (Wireless) The Polish Diet has ratified the treaty with Rumania. The signature of the commercial treaty is imminent.

#### Poland on Verge of Financial Collapse.

Hanover, July 4. (Wireless from Wiegand.) Poland is confronted with a grave financial crisis. A crash of national finances is reported from Warsaw never yet to have been imminent as it is now. The Polish mark has fallen so rapidly and so low that one dollar now buys 1920 marks. Grave fears are being entertained in banking circles that the Polish money will soon become utterly worthless and will not be accepted outside of Poland.

#### The White Eagles Appetite.

Riga, July 5th 1921. A new geography text-book has been issued in Poland under the title of "Geography of United Poland." According to this "geography" Courland and Kiev are included as parts of the Polish Constitution as well as White Russia and Lithuania. The text book declares that these peoples which have not yet become a part of "United" Poland, already express their desire to join their "Native" land.

### ITALY.

#### A Wicked Cabinet.

Nauen, July 5. (Wireless) The new Italian Cabinet, formed by the late minister of finance Bonomi is composed of three Reformists, three Popularists (Catholics), four Liberal Democrats, one Conservative and three non party.

### TURKEY.

#### Cilicia Evacuated.

Nauen, July 5. (Wireless) Kemal Pasha stated in the Angora parliament that both the French and the Italian troops have now been withdrawn from Cilicia.

#### Understanding With Turkey.

Berlin, July 4th. Speaking in the parliamentary financial commission, on a 350 mill. credit for the army in Syria and Silicia, Briand expressed sincere hopes of a possible Franco-Turkish understanding. The French administration in Syria will be substituted by local administration.

#### Turks Ask for Mediation.

Lyons, July 5. (Wireless) The Turkish government has applied to the allies, to intervene in order to prevent the continuation of the war with Greece. Rumours about a delay in the Greek offensive against Kemal are denied officially. The Greek ironclad "Kilkis" accompanied by several lighter vessels shelled Kara-Mursal on the gulf of Ismid, setting it on fire, as well all other Turkish villages on the southern shore of the gulf.

#### Suspicious Magnanimity.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless.) An official statement has been made to the effect that Japan has renounced her right, conceded to her by the Versailles treaty, to confiscate German property in Japan.

#### Telegraphic Communication with Russia.

Riga, July, 5th. "Rul" reported from Copenhagen a meeting of the Northern Telegraphic Company. The chairman announced the renewal of telegraphic communications with Russia in the near future. This concerns communications, not only with Petrograd, but with Siberia as well.

#### White Terror

Riga, July 5th 1921. A court martial held at Reval has sentenced three communists to death, on the charge of high treason. The sentence has been carried out.

#### The Baltic Entente.

Riga, July, 4th. "Jaunakas Sinias" publishes a report of an interview between Mierowitz and a representative of the Press, in which the Premier announced that an alliance between Latvia, Esthonia and Livonia will be concluded in the near future. Teneson in the Esthonian Press writes against this alliance and points to its disastrous results to Esthonia.

#### For Democratic Convictions.

Riga, July 5th. The Military Court in Brussels has sentenced all those soldiers who took part in the Democratic Soldiers' Union at the front during the war, to 20 years penal servitude each.

#### Wrangel's Entreaties.

Riga, July 4th 1921. "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" reports that Wrangel has appealed to the Council of the League of Nations and the International Red Cross to save the remnants of his army in Turkey from hunger and typhus.

#### Greece and Russia.

Riga, July 5th. The Greek Embassy in Berlin, officially discredits the report, which stated, that a delegation went to negotiate peace. As to the Greek declaration of war with Russia, the report according to the Greek ambassador is so tendentious that it needs no refutation.

Lyons, July 5. (Wireless) The Albanian Cabinet, presided over by Elias-Beryvriani has handed in its resignation.

## Strong Russian Note.

POLISH GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

#### TCHICHERINE'S NOTE TO POLAND.

On July 4th Tchicherine despatched a note to Count Skirmount, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, drawing the attention of the latter to the continual violations of the Riga Treaty on the part of the Polish Government, by facilitating attacks by hostile bands on the territory of the Soviet Republics. The note points out that on the 3rd May the Soviet Government was forced to state to the Polish Government that the explanations contained in its note of April 19th could not be accepted as satisfactory. The Polish Government then energetically denied the charges brought forward by the Soviet Government. But as the Soviet Government later learned, the violations of the Riga Treaty committed by the Polish Government were indeed much greater than the former ever supposed.

After quoting Article 5 of the treaty by which both sides agree to refrain from interfering in each others' internal affairs the note points out that one of the chief organisations inimical to the Soviet Government not only has its residence in Warsaw but likewise enjoys the complete patronage of the Polish Government itself. The organisation in question is the so-called «Russian Political Committee, headed by Savinkov, the notorious counter-revolutionary. This Committee meets with the full support of the Polish Government, in its efforts to create revolts in Russian cities and villages and to wreck her transport and industry, etc. For the purpose of realising these plans of attack upon Soviet Russia via the former armies of Savinkov, Balakhovitch and Peremikin were released from internment by the consent of the Polish authorities, reorganised on Polish territory and augmented by recruits drafted by the Polish authorities from among Russian citizens.

Tchicherine further goes on to enumerate numerous instances of counter revolutionary activity by the above mentioned Committee, which, working in close cooperation with the Polish Government, drew up extensive plots embracing the capitals, provincial cities, railroads and industries of the Soviet Republic. The origin of the recent outbreaks of banditism in various parts of Russia have been traced to the Russian Political Committee in Warsaw, which worked in contact with the Polish authorities. Similar connections were unravelled in the plot that was discovered at Petrograd part of a general plan for overthrowing the Soviet Government.

The Note contains the important statement that the head of the counter revolutionary forces in Poland which, according to the plan, were to attack Soviet Russia simultaneously with the outbreak of the planned revolts, was the aid-de-camp to the War Minister of the Polish Republic, Count Sologoub-Devoine, a Colonel of the Polish General Staff. The note asserts that the Polish General Staff had a hand in all the plots against Soviet Russia. Almost all the agents of the Russian Political Committee are at the same time agents of the Polish General Staff. The Polish General Staff even facilitated the agents of the said Committee to convey 2 kilograms of poison to Russia with the aim of poisoning the Red Army men en masse on the eve of the planned revolt. Stating that the Polish Government has undertaken measures against lion marks from its State Treasury on the support of the Political Committee and in the furtherance of its criminal activity, the note declares:

«Under the guise of peace, the Polish Government has undertaken measures against the Soviet Republic which are equivalent to certain forms of military operations. The Government of Workers and Peasants, however, stands sufficiently firm and expresses the will of the wide labouring masses of Russia well enough to withstand the attempts and plots of the relics of the exploiting class, supported by foreign enemies. Soviet Labour Russia has shown that it is capable of defending itself against a world of armed foes, and fears no attacks by anyone. But it strives for peace, and all its efforts are directed towards

Continued on page 3.



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**Dictatorship.**

History will demonstrate the influence upon future civilisation of that apostolic rule, which was created in Russia by force, and which contradicts all the evolutionary and natural laws of life.

In my opinion, the idea existing in Russia and other countries, that socialism can be achieved by force amidst the suffering and misery of a people, that its beauty, justice and cultural superiority, can be materialised by the human brain during a rule of despotism and hunger, is nothing but an immense illusion; because socialism is a problem of human happiness and moral perfection, which can only be achieved by educating the people, by the improvement of their material conditions and raising of their moral standards.

This is what Norfi and Pozani write in their book «Russia as it is».

Recognizing: 1) that the communist regime has placed upon the country a proper economic relation, expressing itself in the absolute disruption of normal economic relations between the town and the village in the decline of agriculture, industry and transport, and thus resulting in the poverty, hunger, and dying out of the town and village population, 2) unexampled economic reaction is the result of the forcible planting upon the country of socialist foundations and orders which are absolutely irreconcilable with freedom and progress; the Congress expresses its profound convictions that only a complete break with the policy of the socialist experiments and the gradual re-establishment of private property and economic freedom can re-establish Russia and give it a new life and a powerful legislative system.

This is the general economic resolution adopted at the commercial congress of the Russian bourgeois-emigrés held in Paris from the 17th to the 24th of May 1921.

This is how the «offended» Russian bourgeoisie and so-called Socialists affectionately and unanimously express the same thought and frame of mind towards the proletarian dictatorship. An examination of those two examples clearly and concisely demonstrates how the social compromisers of every country are the agents of the bourgeoisie, in the ranks of the working class. They help the bourgeoisie by criticizing the 'despotism', poverty, hunger suffering and torture' and strive to evade the main and fundamental question of — why is the dictatorship necessary. The crux of the matter is to find the most convenient, quickest and most correct manner by which the proletariat, who is generally speaking, little educated and is not accustomed to the institutions of government or industry, can learn to control government and industry, and take hold of education of the keenest weapon in the world.

The bourgeois State, in which the whole power is in the hands of the master class, keeps in the hands of the bourgeoisie the machines of education — the school, church and press — and justice — the court, police, and army. On the other hand these State institutions are used to poison and confuse the mind of the working class and on the other, the whole strength of their compulsory might is directed against the working class, with all the fierceness of the bourgeoisie, when the former rises to defend its interests.

No matter of what form the free democracy of a State may assume as long as its economic and political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, it will be difficult for the proletariat to attempt to improve its status or to obtain a proper education. The bourgeoisie will always prevent this. In order to establish socialism it is essential that the working class be equipped with knowledge and arms and that he throw aside any obstacles in his way and to do this it must seize the political power. But is it likely that the bourgeoisie will surrender its power, voluntarily and quietly? No, never. It behaves it as a class to fight every attempt and if vanquished to prevent, sabotage and disarrange any institutions which the proletariat may attempt to build. Hence it is evident that the first step of the proletariat in the sphere of government politics will be tremendously difficult, as is shown by the example of Soviet Russia. The problem which faces the proletariat of the world may be summed up as follows: It will have to concentrate all its energy and with a single decisive blow remove the bourgeoisie from power, take control of the whole State apparatus, so that with one hand it can defend its State power with arms, and with the other take up a book and equip itself with education and knowledge. But anyone who

thinks a little can see, that this can only be done when the bourgeoisie has been dislodged from every position, when they will be converted from a ruling class into a subject class, the frenzied resistance of which can only be broken by a mighty and ruthless power, in order that classes may be abolished.

If one were to scrutinise the proposals of the opportunists and take away the beautiful tinsel words on democracy, moral perfection, education, etc., they become very simple. They say it will be easier and more convenient for the proletariat to reach socialism if its class enemy stand at the head of the State, and guide and control every State institution. They try to convince the proletariat by continually saying to it — do not take hold of the State machine, let the bourgeoisie control every State department which may affect you, and you will calmly step into socialism whilst we say to the proletariat, that it will be much more beneficial, and much easier to learn to manage the State and industry, and to equip itself with education and knowledge if it rids the State and every State institution of the bourgeoisie and controls them itself. But this will not be easy, a wearying and extensive civil war will have to be carried on, its enemies will strive to block its way with countless obstacles, and detract its attention from education and the re-establishment of its industry and force war upon it, will destroy all that we may strive build and will hinder the materialization of its organising abilities. But the least little bit of thought will show, that with the government and schools in its hands, and the directing of the press and compulsory institutions against the bourgeoisie it will be able to equip itself much quicker with the necessary knowledge.

This is the substance and root of all the questions, this is what the opportunists of every country do not wish to demonstrate, and this is what the vacillating elements of the young Communist Parties of Europe do not wish to understand.

Hence there is the only path for the proletariat of every country the difficult path which has already been followed by Russia, — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The problem of every Communist Party of the world is to strive to convince the working class that it will be much easier, quicker and better, to educate itself and control every government and industrial department if it follows this path and overthrows the bourgeoisie. Such an organisation must be carried on whilst the social compromisers are cunningly attempting to veil this fundamental question, by pointing out to the workers that it will be better, more convenient and quicker to reach socialism by allowing the bourgeoisie to keep and retain power.

H. Kusmine.

**Preparation.**

Two small items of news which are of great importance to International politics. These are the very knots, that the bourgeoisie will have to unravel with the sword.

First: The English Government intends to transform Singapore into the chief Naval base for the English Fleet in the Pacific Ocean.

Second: The Portuguese Government is willing to yield the Azore Islands to the United States, for a large sum of money. The United States wants to convert these islands into a naval base in the Atlantic Ocean.

Thus they are making preparations. England as well as the whole of Europe, is up to its ears in debt. America is occupying a very convenient position for bringing military pressure on her debtors, stealing in almost to the borders of Europe, and building its naval stations on the chief sea routes. America will then be able to observe the vessels going from Europe to the Suez Canal, and from Northern Europe through the Gibraltar Straits, to the Mediterranean Sea.

America possesses an excellent base in the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaii Islands.

The English Government declares that the alliance between England and Japan is indissoluble and just having concluded one war, world imperialism is again preparing for another.

„Poor” England who merely went into the war to combat German aggression has found a new rival in America. Gradually but surely, the former allies are preparing for war.

We must also make preparations. The Communist Parties of the world must not lose any time. Three of the greatest bourgeois powers are arming, and getting ready for the strife.

They will arm the workers and the peasants in their countries. We must teach and prepare the masses, so that when the time comes they should turn the guns and rifles against their own enemies.

Let the bourgeois business men prepare for the struggle for the division of world power, the business of the Communist Parties is to prepare the proletariat to take the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie.

**Red Trade Unions.****Comrade Rosmer's Report.**

On the Proposition of the Bureau, the Congress decided to form the following three Commissions:

1. Tactics,
2. Questions of Organisation,
3. Workers' Control.

On the question of representation Comrade Lozovsky proposed the following on behalf of the Bureau:

Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain, Techecho-Slovakia, Poland, Russia, U.S.A. — 16 votes each.

Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Ukraine, Norway, Australia and Argentine — 12 votes each.

Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Rumania, Ireland, Canada, Mexico, Greece — 8 votes each.

All other countries one vote each.

The proposal was accepted unanimously.

A correction was made on the presentation of supplementary voting (one vote for every million organised workers). The Congress declined to distribute the votes within each delegation. This had to be done by each delegation independently. In case of disagreement the question would be referred first to the Mandate Commission and in the event of a further divergence of opinion the question would be examined by the Congress.

Comrade Rosmer communicated that Comrades Evelio Boaz, Antonio Felin, José Domingo Rodrigues and Arlandes had been murdered by Spanish White Justice. The Comrades rose as a mark of respect for these victims of Reaction.

Comrade Rosmer was then allowed to present his report on the activities of the Provisional Council of the International Trade and Industrial Unions. The speaker said that the first attempt at creating an International Trade Union Organisation was made by the Russian workers in 1917 at the Third Conference of Russian Trade Unions held during the Kerensky regime. But the subsequent civil war and blockade did not give our comrades a chance to materialise. The leaders of the Trade Unions succeeded in forestalling them; they sent the workers of their own particular country to the war at the call of their governments, and now are trying to regain their reputation among the workers. They created the Amsterdam International, which however, did not refrain from going hand in hand with their governments and which has taken a part in International Labour Council organised by the League of Nations. The Russian Comrades were only able to put their plan into action during the Summer of 1919 while the English and Italian delegations were here. The speaker then analysed the history leading up to these negotiations, which resulted in an appeal being sent out to the workers of the world to build up the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, which was to carry on a war against the Amsterdam International, to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to cooperate with the Communist International. The appeal was signed by Lozovsky for Russia, D'Aragona for Italy, Pestanna for Spain, Rosmer for France, Shablin for Bulgaria, Mikadze for Georgia and Milkitch for Jugo-Slavia. But it was agreed that the first constitution of the International Council would be formulated at a Congress and that each delegate make it his duty to propagate the idea of the revolutionary fight in his own country and to attract the trade unions into the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The speaker then reviewed the further activity of the International Council after the publication of the manifesto. In the Latin countries the idea of the Red Trade Union International found a response in the minds of the local Comrades; who on their own initiative began the struggle against Amsterdam on a national scale and immediately supported the idea of conducting the struggle on an international scale. More difficult was the struggle in Germany and England, where the old settled Unions with a well-organised trade union bureaucracy standing on the platform of Amsterdam, put up a stubborn resistance and counteracted this struggle. In these countries the Red International Council organised Bureaux whose activities immediately yielded palpable results. In Germany about 2 million members of the Social-Democratic Unions are now affiliated with us and in England about 300,000, but our moral influence there is greater than our immediate organisational successes. The speaker then quoted figures illustrating the number of members of Trade Unions standing on the platform of the Red International in various countries, which reached a total of 17 millions. These figures are not exact, but they are valuable in so far as they show

what influence the Red International wields in all countries.

Comrade Rosmer then spoke of the circumstances that influence the activities of the Red International Council. He observed on the one hand the prevalence of the economic crisis, which is inevitable. This creates a favourable atmosphere for infusing the revolutionary idea into the minds of the proletariat. On the other hand one must reckon with the stubborn counter-action of the old labour bureaucracy, which is not prone to give up its positions without a fight. The split in the French Railwaymen's Union which was caused by the followers of Amsterdam refusing to submit to the majority of the Congress which expressed itself in favour of the open fight against us, the followers of Amsterdam advocate the cause of no politics, by which means they succeed in misleading part of the workers.

The bourgeoisie, has surpassed the workers in discovering and applying new methods of struggle. In Western Europe the workers have not succeeded in creating their Red Guard, whereas the bourgeois White Guard is at the apex of its power. The speaker mentioned the methods by which the bourgeoisie endeavours to use the impending crises for bringing down wages. The weakness of the Trade Unions renders the workers incapable of putting a sufficiently powerful resistance to the attack of the employers. Besides using direct violence, the bourgeoisie exercises moral influence over the proletariat, insinuating that parallel with the decrease in the cost of living there should be a proportionate decrease in wages for the purpose of maintaining industry. In this regard the speaker mentioned the shameful activity of the Belgian Socialists of the II International. He contrasted this by the attitude of the British miners, who consider that it is not the concern of the workers to pay for the ruin caused by the war, and that they have the right to demand better conditions of life than those existing before the war. After examining various questions connected with the strike of the British miners the speaker explained the tasks confronting the Red International. The chief of these tasks is to work out definite methods of struggle against the old Amsterdam Unions. To capture them from within or to abandon them — this is the question evokes diverse answers by various organisations present here. The experience of France, partly of England and of other countries, suggests the solution to be the capture of the trade unions from within. The workers of Western Europe expect much from us. It would be a great disappointment to them if we failed to unite into one whole, all the revolutionary labour organisations, at the same time preserving intact all their individual peculiarities. „Our fundamental task” concluded the speaker — “it to draw up a program capable of drawing all on to the path of revolutionary struggle, to set up an organisation capable of defending the interests of the workers from the attacks of capital and from the treachery of the compromising leaders”.

**The Communist Movement in Upper Silesia.**

An article in the „Tageszeitung” of the progress of the Communist movement in Upper Silesia. Even if we make all allowances for the exaggerations of the special correspondants, we can have no doubt that the Reaction regards the so-called Bolshevik menace with fear. „A few days ago the flag of the III International was flying from the offices of the miners in the Tarnovitz and Buethen districts. When the Korfanty troops attempted to damage the mines, they were dispersed by both the Polish and German workers, who declared that the mines were Communist property. In many places the Korfanty troops went over to the Communists, and Soviet Republics were proclaimed in Gleiwitz and Bismarkhuetten. This in brief is the report of the situation in most of the districts in the revolted. Even if we make allowance for such impossible tales in the reports as that of Comrade Radek holding conferences near Kattowitz, and that Comrade Frölich has been acting as recruiting officer for Red Army troops, we nevertheless see that the workers have properly estimated the situation, and that they are preparing for the time when they will send the whole of the reactionary gang to the devil and destroy the criminal bourgeoisie system.



# The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Sessions of the Third Congress of the Comintern.

## Reports of Evening Session July 4th and Morning Session, July 5th.

### Speeches on Clara Zetkins Birthday.

The 15th session of the Congress was opened by comrade Kollarov at 7.20 p.m.

Comrade VARGA presented the report of the Commission on the investigation of the world economic crisis.

He stated that the Commission has arrived at a unanimous decision by adopting certain amendments — the proposals of all delegations and amendments can be summarised in four groups.

The first group consists of the question how best to investigate the special conditions of the existing economic relations in separate countries. No changes were effected here.

The second group dealing with the economic conditions in Entente countries, mainly in France, was revised at the instance of the French delegation. The third group was also revised — in the part played by the peasantry in Western Europe. In this question the commission devoted special attention to the contradictions between the middle class and rich peasantry and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat class peasantry. But the latter not wishing to bear the burden of restoring the capitalist industries refused to pay the taxes. In view of the above, amendments were made both in the economic and in the political part of the text of the report. The fourth group — are questions of tactics, closely connected with the conditions of world economy. The text has been accordingly altered on the question of the offensive and the defensive of the proletariat in its political and economic struggle.

After reading the text of the amendments, Varga proposed to the Congress to adopt them without discussion.

After comrade Varga's report comrade FROLICH declared on behalf of the V. K. P. D., that it endorses the theses with the amendments made by the commission. The amended theses were put to vote and carried unanimously.

The next question were the elections to the commissions. The proposal of the presidium was carried. It provided for the composition of the following commissions:

- 1. On the question of tactics — Chairman comrade RADEK.
- 2. On Cooperation — Chairman — comrade KHIRTCHUK (R. K. P.)
- 3. On the question of Trade Union Movement — Chairman HECKERT and ROSMER (V. K. P. D.) (France)
- 4. On the Eastern question — Chairman to be appointed by the Small Bureau of the Comintern.

The chairman then stated that the Commission on the Trade Union Movement will as far as possible work conjointly with the corresponding commission of the Trade Unions International.

The Congress then passed on to a debate on the Trade Union Movement, having previously offered to the K. A. P. D. to appoint a speaker on this question in view of its opposition to Comintern on points of principle.

Comrade BERGMAN of the K. A. P. D. said: "I agree with comrade Zinoviev, that the Trade Union question has a great economic and political importance. I must point out that the mere conquest of political and economic power is not sufficient. We must be able to maintain power. We saw this in the instance of the German revolution of 1918, when the proletariat after gaining a victory, was compelled to give up its positions to the bourgeoisie. The Communists must therefore even now, within the limits of a bourgeois State, create organisations which when necessary will be able to take the economic power in their hands and keep it. Yesterday, comrade Heckert after analysing the part so far played by the Trade Unions, pointed out what they should be in reality. But even he agrees that the tasks which the unions have to perform cannot be fully realized within the limits of bourgeois society. Comrade Zinoviev was right when he pointed out that the Trade Unions are only one of the contrivances by means of which the bourgeoisie deceives and holds the working class in bondage.

The Communist groups in the trade unions possibly do carry on destructive propaganda but the wide masses of the proletariat know nothing of it. The Communist Labour Party of Germany in creating its own workshop committees, declared that other methods must be adopted than those allowed by the Work-

shop Committees Law. Our revolutionary workshop committees do not merely exist in name like the legal workshop committees. They spring from the masses, lead them, and on the day of the revolution will stand at the head of the movement. Such workshop committees must be created everywhere, in every country. Organisations similar to ours in Germany are springing up in other countries. In England, for example the shop stewards are fighting the trade unions, and have and take part in a political struggle. It is the task of the Communists to make the trade unions Communist and revolutionary by organising them on the basis of the workshop committee. Just now the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions is holding its first congress, in Moscow with the object of formulating a revolutionary line of action in the trade unions. The idea, however, that the trade unions can be utilised for the revolution by means of contact from inside is absurd, and the fact that a trade union has declared itself in favour of Moscow by no means proves that it will work in the spirit of Communism. We do not oppose working in the trade unions but this policy need not be placed in so prominent a position. We must always emphasize our ultimate object.

Comrade TARSMAN (Australia) said: "We listened with great pleasure yesterday to comrade Zinoviev's speech. When he stated that the Communist International was not determined to control the Trade Unions, I must say that if Comrade Zinoviev had stated the opposite, that the party should rule the trade unions, then we Australian workers, would not have recognised this. We are not opposed to the party controlling the unions, so long as it is done from within and not from without the trade unions.

The trade union workers of Australia were always more developed than those of any other country. Consequently the danger from bureaucracy was more significant than anywhere else. For in all the parliaments of Australia, both in the Lower and Upper Chambers, the Australian labour parties played a big role and at times held the government in their hands. A trade union official position is merely a step to parliament. But since 1917 the situation has radically changed.

The members of the Labour parties have discredited themselves in the eyes of the workers and now they dare not speak in parliament in the name of the working class.

We received news from Australia to day to the effect that at the Trade Union Congress 85% of the members have declared themselves in favour of the Red Trade Union International. We only counted on 40% and the result surpassing all our expectations. It is a clear demonstration of the victory of Communist in Australia. It is rather remarkable that the congress was convened by the conservative elements of the trade unions, with the hope of consolidating their position and now they have been cruelly deceived.

The Industrial Workers of the World carried on an intensified propaganda amongst us with but little results.

In conclusion, speaking on passivity, the speaker declared that he was convinced that the workers would sooner or later have to devote their attention to various political questions.

The Morning Session opened at 12 noon under the chairmanship of Comrade Kollarov.

The Chairman stated that to-day Comrade Clara Zetkin celebrated her 65th Birthday (loud applause). Comrade Heckert then delivered a commemorative speech.

**Heckert:** Comrades, to-day our old heroic fighter, Comrade Clara Zetkin, celebrates her 65th birthday. For the International Clara Zetkin is a programme in herself. From her youngest years she joined the labour movement with a full and fervent heart, and to this very day is still its true and self-denying guard. Clara Zetkin has a great and glorious fighting past. Persecuted and cursed by the bourgeoisie and even by some of those with whom she has worked for many a long year, our old comrade Clara Zetkin, was always in the forefront of the socialist movement. After the repeal of the anti-socialist law and when the German Socialist Party had taken a turn to the Right, Clara Zetkin went over to the left. She was the most inexorable opponent of

all revisionist ideas. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring she fought the revisionist movement from the very first moment of its inception, supported the radical tendency in the International, and opposed the ideas of Bernstein. She supported at that time, Karl Kautsky, who was still a member of the Left Wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. She was always in the ranks of the fighting proletariat. During the war, as editor of "Gleichheit" she opposed the German Social-Democrats, the flag-waving patriots and the social Chauvinists. At the end of the War and during the revolutionary period Clara Zetkin joined the Spartacus Unions, and was one of its most clear minded members. She was the most fearless leader of the small Socialist movement of Germany. But when the United Communist Party of Germany was formed she became one of the leading forces on its Executive Committee.

A slight divergence of opinion arose between the E. C. of the U. C. P. G. and Clara Zetkin. This, however, did not create for a single moment any personal animosity, for we entertain too deep a reverence of our aged fighter. We know how much she gave to our Cause, and that she will always remain on the side of the proletariat. We not only hope, but we already know that she will again take up the fight on our side. We know that the difference of opinion that arose between us will not outlive the Congress, and I think that the Communist International will see Clara Zetkin for many years to come as one of our chief fighters and the leader of the great Red proletarian army of the workers left wing movement. (Loud cheers).

Comrade ZETKIN then took the floor. The entire Congress stood up and gave her a prolonged ovation. Deeply touched, and her voice breaking with emotion, Clara Zetkin said:

"Comrades, your praises have deprived me of strength. I feel overwhelmed with a sense of depression, as I find that I have not yet accomplished all that which I set out to perform. The life and spirit of the Revolution have given me a great deal but I am still in debt to the Revolution. Comrades, that which I have done is only a small fraction of all that should have been done, I only obeyed the call of my own conscience, and hence deserve no praise. I could be no other than that which I am. Would you marvel at the stream which flows ever onward? Would you praise the birds for their song? I served the Revolution because I had to satisfy the call of my soul.

I consider it my duty to point out that all that for I was able to do, I must thank the German theory and practice; and the history and example of our French and German brothers. For my revolutionary morale, I have to thank, my deeply inherent ties with the Russian Revolution as far back as the 70-ties and I shall be eternally grateful to the Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats and the Bolsheviks. I cannot but recall those who were and will always remain a part of my existence—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. All that I did, all that I lived for, was a product of the work done in conjunction with Rosa Luxemburg, and I can hardly restrain my emotion when I think that she is no longer with us.

There is only one desire, which comes from the depth of my heart—that is to work and fight, that before I go down to my grave I may yet live to see the Revolution in Germany, and if possible in other countries (stormy applause).

The garland to crown my work, my struggle, can only be the Proletarian Revolution, only the victory of the Revolutionary Proletariat. Prolonged cheers.

**Loriot:** "Dear Comrade Zetkin. Not being a brilliant speaker, I will speak simply, and I am confident that I will thus express the general feeling here. To-day the Communist family that has gathered here interrupted its difficult work to render praise to your excellent and noble activities. The German Delegation, in the person of Comrade Heckert sketched in general outline the stages of your glorious life, but to you only, dear Comrade Zetkin, are known how much suffering, how much violence, how much

pure and deep joy and also the many bitter tears the forty three years of the stern struggle represent.

Only just now, from the platform, with deep emotion, which was shared by all, you recalled to mind your dear friends, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only you can realise what the memories of these deceased dear ones mean, who fought together with you during the forty three years at Stuttgart and Copenhagen. You belong to the International proletariat and the latter cannot think without enthusiasm of you in their tragical periods. They cannot forget that in 1915 you were the initiator of the Berne Congress, where you said to the women worker's what no one else could have said to the deluded proletariat.

We, the French Communists, especially remember your visit to the Tours Congress, but we were in no doubt as to your success. We had known that the French police knew you too well to allow you into France. But we did not know that a woman, even with your energies, could get the better of the police. How great was our joy, and at the same time how the French bourgeoisie was dumfounded, when you passed the frontier and were in our midst.

Dear Comrade Zetkin, the Revolution to which we have sacrificed so much, has now to a considerable extent begun to be realised. The Russian Revolution and the development of the German movement give us confidence that you will witness the crowning glory of your activities. The Revolution is going on at full speed, and you will gather the harvest of your labours, the complete and final liberation of the world proletariat. These are our wishes (cheers).

*Continued from page 1.*  
establishing friendly relations with all other nations."

The note goes on to point out the obstacles placed in the way of establishing diplomatic relations by the Polish Government, and its failure to allow the Russian Ambassador from taking up residence at Warsaw.

Tchitcherine once more denies the charges levelled against the Soviet Government by the Polish Government to the effect that it renders aid to various persons acting hostilely to the Polish Government, and declares that they are merely unfounded excuses for evading the point at issue.

The Russian Government demands from the Polish Government a statement of what the latter has done to put an end once for all to this state of affairs. The Russian Government demands the immediate banishment from Polish territory of the two brothers Savinkovs, and Filosofov, Miakoff, Odinz, Dikhorf, Derentala and the other members of the Russian Political Committee, as well as his agents; and also Bulak-Balakhovitch with his brother, Peremikin, Elwengren, Vassiliev and the other members of the (National League for Defence and Freedom) together with its agents; further, Petlura, Tiutunik, Mordolevitch, Orlik, Struk and other Ukrainian counter revolutionary chiefs together with their agents, Zlotsky, and other chiefs of the White-Russian counter revolutionary organisations; Colonel Gniloribov and other persons and their agents at the head of Cossack counter revolutionary organisation. The Russian Government demands the immediate formation in Warsaw of a Mixed Russo-Polish Commission, having representatives of the Ukrainian and White-Russian, Soviet Republics, for drawing up final list of persons to be exiled, apart from those already mentioned. The Russian Government demands the official disbandment of all the armies and detachments that were formed with hostile intention against Soviet Russia and the internment of their followers. Further the Russian Government categorically demands that the Polish Government adopt actual measures for severing all contact with separate counter revolutionary groups, and that the above mentioned Mixed Commission should equally be entrusted with the task of seeing to the realisation of these measures, as well as all measures to avert any danger that may threaten the Soviet Republics from the former counter revolutionary groups that remain on Polish territory. Finally, the Russian Government demands, that just punishment be meted out to all officials and other Polish citizens guilty of the above-mentioned actions, which punishment is to be carried out under the control and supervision of the Mixed Commission.



## A Menshevist Workers' Council.

When the Austrian working class rose in rebellion, under the spell of the Russian revolution and in consequence of their wretched condition caused by the imperialistic war, the first workers' councils suddenly came into being as instruments of a determined class struggle. In January 1918, the masses heeded the call of the small, but clear-sighted group of communists (left radicals); the initial illegal workers' council was the predecessor of the one later legally recognised.

The first act of this newly founded revolutionary body was counter-revolutionary. Under the influence of Otto Bauer, the strike, that was assuming unexpected proportions, was suddenly called off, because it was beginning to jeopardise the Imperialist State. Austrian social-democracy thus succeeded in once more saving the Hapsburg throne from collapse, and misused the workers' council for the accomplishment of this purpose. The same thing happened in June 1918, when the masses urged opposition to the imperialist war. When the Austro-Hungarian monarchy disappeared, the workers' council represented the sole unshaken authority in the State. Due to this fact, the social-democratic leaders did not dare to carry out their original object of transforming the council into an appendage of the party, as an expression of its democracy, but was compelled to proceed to the extension of the council system. The workers' council of Linz took the initiative in calling a national conference of workers' councils and the newly formed Communist Party was admitted to participation.

When the Hungarian proletarian revolution called upon the labouring masses of Austria to join in the struggle, when two proletarian republics arose on the borders of the country, the example of our Bavarian and Magyar comrades produced a powerful effect on the Austrian workers.

The appeal for assistance issued by the Hungarian Central Council to the proletariat of our country, was responded to with empty phrases by the Central Council of Austria. The workers' council acted as a shield for the democratic republic and the menaced interests of the bourgeoisie. When, on April 17, 1919, masses of unemployed and demobilised soldiers held a demonstration to demand economic reforms, the coalition government, composed of majority socialists and clericals, attempted to beat them down by the use of armed police troops. The mounted police were repulsed by a handful of armed workers and the entire troop formation scattered. This incident aroused a very revolutionary spirit among the masses. The Austrian central council exerted every effort against the revolutionary masses, warning them against the dangers of communism. The fact that as a result of this demonstration the State dole to the unemployed was considerably increased, proved that the mass movement had been deemed dangerously strong.

This armed force of the proletariat, constituted during the stormy November days, and based on the military power of the soldiers' councils and their cadres represented a permanent menace to the bourgeois class government. Both the native and foreign exploiting classes, which were endeavouring to direct the fortunes of the Austrian state, now commenced a systematic attack on the fruits of the revolution. Up to June 15, 1919 the Entente continued to send ultimatums demanding the disarmament of the proletarian armed forces. The mass demonstrations of the proletarian troops imbued the bourgeois-socialist government with fear, while the spread of communism within the ranks of the civil defence organisations and the existence of two armed batallions gave evidence to the government of the resolute spirit of the revolutionary workers. The partial struggles of the unemployed, compelled to make new demands on account of the increasing cost of living in spite of the higher state dole; and the partial struggles of the demobilised and wounded were combined in order this to support the work of the Communist Party in maintaining the proletarian armed forces. It was quite obvious that this struggle could only end either in a victory of the working class and the proclamation of the dictatorship of the workers' councils, or else in the disarmament of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and the restoration of the bourgeois state. At the last moment, the government yielded and declared its intention temporarily to cease its attempts at disbanding the civil defence forces. But the movement was now in full swing. Compelled to action under conditions that

had grown much more unfavourable, and driven forward by the collapse of the Bavarian Soviet Republic and the distressing reports from Hungary, the Communists proceeded to a relief offensive.

At this point the workers' council showed its hand. "No mercy to the communists" shouted Friedrich Adler to the workers' councils. The forces of reaction heard and gained heart. Although the Communist Party had at the last moment decided not to unleash an armed revolt, its leaders were flung into prison, the leaderless proletarians lured into an ambush and shot down. The incitement to massacre by the workers' council, and Fritz Adler's watch-word were being heeded. Seventeen workers, among them some social-democrats, were shot by the police. The proletarian opposition, called forth by the brutal acts of the reactionary forces, enabled the Communist Party to drive through a demonstration of the entire Viennese proletariat on July 23, 1919, in spite of all the violent exertions of Friedrich Adler.

The men who had just drowned the proletarian dictatorship in Austria in blood, professed to be in favour of the Soviet governments of Russia and Hungary. The moral support of the Austrian workers came too late and Soviet Hungary was destroyed by the attacks of open enemies and owing to its own defects in organisation and sabotage of the Social-Democrats. Even at the first Congress of the National Workers Council the question whether it was ripe for the Soviet Dictatorship was negated by no means unanimously. Many Austrian leaders in the Workers Councils and party such as Haubrich and Kaufi took pride in regarding themselves as peoples commissaries. Now the Austrian Social-Democracy are triumphing over the corpse of the Hungarian Workers State. The notorious leaders have openly and brazenly confessed their effective sabotage in the press. But the Austrian Workers Council began to decline. It was no longer necessary as an instrument for the oppression, of revolutionary mass movements, and in spite of its composition, there was always a danger of its becoming the centre of proletarian resistance in times of economic crises. The attempt on the part of the Social-Democrats to abolish it altogether and substitute for it a gathering of officials after the fashion of Zurich Workers Union Failed. The Communists left the Union and thereby forced the majority in the councils to preserve the old form of the Workers Council.

The Second National Congress of the Workers Council revealed an appreciably different aspect. The revolutionising of the masses, furthered by the bad experience which the workers had obtained, of the coalition government, forced them to adopt energetic measures with regard to the policy by the old party. The National Workers Council decided on the formation of proletarian armed forces of reliable republicans and one to bring about a rapprochement with Soviet Russia and to send there a commission of inquiry to strengthen the economic relations between Austria and the Soviet Republic. All this was decided upon, although this was not clearly and definitely stated in the resolution. A year has elapsed, Freiderich Adler got the best of the opposition in his own ranks, the workers councils are reduced to the passive tools of the opportunist leaders of the social democracy, the rebellious elements were thrown out and had to swell the fighting ranks of the communists. The decisions of the Second congress which were taken in conjunction with the opposition within the Social Democratic Party, were annulled at the Third Congress. The "Home defence" of the reliable republicans still remains without realisation, whereas the armed white formation of farmers are spoiling for a fight. The defence force is being systematically deprived of its political and proletarian character. The non-political character of the union forces, which so far was only provided by law, becomes a reality now, and the command has now passed in the hands of reactionary officers. But the workers council at its last sitting was only concerned with listening wild inciting speeches made by the Menshevik leader, who declared openly that the workers council must be utilised in the interest of the Second and a half International in its struggle against Bolshevism.

The workers council was reduced to a mere shadow. It ceased to be a controlling body and became a debating society. In spite of this we communists remained in the workers councils, we shall use them as the arena from which we can best appeal to the indifferent and hostile proletarians. We can reveal before the whole

working class the traitorous policy of the social patriots, and by raising economic questions we can prevail on the social democrat working councils to oppose the policy of their party leaders. Every speech made in the workers council reverberating in the mass meetings in every factory far more effectively than any activity in any state body. However there is something else that binds us to the workers council. It is the question of the control of arms and munitions. The controlling commission of the workers council exposed to a general sabotage, is impelled by the communist minority, which displays useful activity and often prevents large stores of munitions being sent for the equipment of Polish and Hungarian White Guards.

The economic crisis which is now breaking out in Austria, and which renders it impossible for the worker to vegetate as a coolie not to mention the wage slave who lives up to the European standard of life, is driving the masses to revolution. The evolution proceeds apace. To precipitate the same is a difficult task which fell to the lot of the numerically weak communist party. We are firmly convinced that economic disaster will complete the work which the communist party was not successful in achieving to educate the masses for the coming revolution, to organise the same, to apply all its energies on a wide activity, is the problem of the moment. In the coming struggles the workers council will become the centre of the working class revolution, will become the centre of the working class resistance and attack.

Franz Koritschoner.

## Russian Affairs.

### From the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

The following is a note of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Yougo-Slavia, Belgrade June 24th. 1921.

On information received, Russian prisoners of war, are forcibly detained on the borders of Yougo-Slavia, and are kept in prisons, where they are exposed to terrible suffering. Recently by the order of the Minister of the Interior, M. Pribitcheff, they were transferred to Belgrade, where they were thrown into prisons, and casemates, and are treated very harshly. The brutal regime, which is applied to Russian citizens, imprisoned in Belgrade, is so much more severe, than the ordinary imprisonment, that it acquires character of systematic torture, which is even arousing the protests of the European bourgeois press. In its desire to live at peace with all nations, the Government of Soviet Russia refrained from adopting repressive measures as reprisals, for the clearly hostile acts of the Government of Yougo-Slavia, which permitted the formation of armed bands on its territory, and supported and aided all Russian White Guards, Tzarist generals, and various adventurers, who were preparing to attack the established power of the workers and peasants in Russia. The Russian Government however, cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of its citizens forcibly torn from their families, and their native land, exposed through no fault of their own, against the most elementary demands of International law, and justice, to an unparalleled regime of revolting cruelty. The Government protests against these acts of violence against Russian citizens, who are deprived of all means of defence, and demands the immediate release and repatriation to Russia of all the Russian citizens confined in prisons, and kept against their will in Yougo-Slavia. The Russian Government, considers it necessary to warn you, that if it does not receive a favourable reply to its just demands, it will be forced to regard and treat as hostages, responsible for the action of its Government, the numerous citizens of Yougo-Slavia, who are now residing in Russia, who belong to the bourgeoisie and the Intelligenzia, and chiefly Serbian ex-officers, who fought against the Russian workers and peasants, but who nevertheless have enjoyed perfect freedom. The responsibility for any and every repressive measure, which the Russian Government will be enforced to adopt towards the citizens of Yougo-Slavia, will rest entirely with the Government of Yougo-Slavia.

G. Tchitcherine.

### Trade Union Protest.

Riga, July, 4th 1921. "Social Democrats" of the 3rd inst. published a protest by the Riga Trade Union Executive Committee against the death sentences and executions and the deportation of 97 persons into Soviet Russia.

## Communist Women.

Resolution passed at the session of June 11th the report of Com. Kolanti, seconded by Com. Zetkin.

The Second International Conference of Women Communists, calls upon the Communist parties of all Western and Eastern countries to select in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Third International through their respective Central Women's Committees' all international correspondents.

Each of these correspondents is pledged, in accordance with the regulations we referred to, to maintain constant regulations with International women correspondents of other countries, as well as with international Secretariat of Communist women in Moscow, which is the administrative organ of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The various Communist parties must supply their respective correspondents with the technical means required for the maintenance of relations among themselves and with Moscow. Once every six months, the International women correspondents will gather together for consultation and for the exchange of views with the representatives of the International Womens Secretariat, who are empowered to call emergency meetings.

In conjunction with the Executive Committee, and in close touch with the international correspondents of the various countries, the International Women's Secretariat at Moscow is to fulfil duties imposed upon it by the regulations. In particular, it must foster by word and deed the development of the Communist Women's movement in these countries, where it is still weak. It must further the Communist Women's movement in all the Western and Eastern countries, giving it unified directions for activity and combat; it must inaugurate national and international action of women under the guidance and vigorous support of the Communists, and must also initiate national and international acts, tending to widen and intensify the class struggle of the proletariat through the impetus lent to it by the women. In order to establish close and regular connections with the Communist Women's movement of all countries, the International Women's Secretariat of Moscow attaches to itself an auxiliary secretariat organ for work in Western Europe. This latter organisation is to do preliminary work for the Women's International Secretariat and is to be merely an Executive and not a legislative organ, bound in its activity by the decisions and directions of the General Secretariat of Moscow and of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

The Western European Auxiliary organisation is to have at least one permanent representative of the General Secretariat for constant work. In so far as the composition and the scope of activity of the general Secretariat is not already fixed by regulations, the Executive Committee of the Third International, in conjunction with the International Women's Secretariat, decided upon these questions, as well as upon the construction, composition and activity of the Auxiliary organisation.

### Trade Union Bosses Shoot at Unemployed.

The Berlin unemployed held a great mass-meeting to protest against unemployment and to announce their demands on capitalist society. The secretary of the Trade Union Commission refused to address the meeting, declaring that he would not talk to unorganised workers. As a matter of fact, by far the greater part of those who took part in the demonstration were members of the trade unions. This provocation aroused the unemployed to assemble before the Trade Union Building, where 12,000 of these wretched proletarians protested against the insult.

How did the "representatives of the workers", the trade union bureaucrats, reply to this protest? They armed themselves with clubs, cudgels and other weapons, and prepared to tender a good beating to the unemployed. The chief bureaucrat, Sabath, seized a big iron rod for this purpose, and only after much persuasion could he be induced to lay it down. This was not sufficient apparently, for the trade union leaders summoned the White Guards to their aid and at the behest of the leaders of the General German Trade Union Organisation two hundred men of the "safety police" took their stand in battle formation before the unarmed proletarians. One trade union official fired into the crowd and severely wounded one man.

The "Freiheit" and "Vorwärts" rival the reactionary press in violent incitement against the unemployed. This is an example of the conduct of the representatives of yellow Amsterdam trade union international. Instead of lending every assistance to these victims of capitalist mismanagement, they endeavour to beat them down.