

securing public order" were of such a nature that even a bourgeois journalist declared, not even in Tsarist Russia were such measures adopted, no Tsarist government would have ventured to throw away 700 million lei for a coronation. How much of this was spent for the "Police and Siguranza" (political police) will probably only come to light after the proletarian revolution.

The famous measures were directed above all against every element which appeared to be opposed to the coronation. As is always the case, the majority of those persecuted belonged to the proletariat. Exile and arrest were the order of the day. Workmen, officials, even bourgeois citizens of other nationalities were dragged out of their dwellings or places of work, taken to the police station, and then conducted directly to the frontier. Bourgeois papers speak of more than 10,000 expulsions from the country. *Argas*, the bourgeois industrial organ, reports that as a result of these banishments the greater part of the Transylvanian industry was thrown into stagnation. It is difficult to say how many of the banished belonged to the labor movement, as we know neither the number of the arrested nor of those banished. We only know that *Turzo* of Transylvania and *Uraf* of Bessarabia are among the active comrades who have been expelled from the country. *Turzo* was arrested in May 1921 and released on amnesty in June 1922, *Uraf* was released on amnesty after three years of hard labor.

The arrests were discussed in the ministerial council long before the coronation.

The restoration of the Communist organizations, the sympathy of the masses for our party—these are stumbling blocks for the present government, which also has to fight against a large part of the village bourgeoisie, and against the new provinces. The minister for home affairs, *Vartomu*, demanded as a preliminary measure, the immediate arrest of masses of communists, but this was not agreed to at once by his colleagues among the ministers.

A number of youthful comrades were arrested. Thus in Ploesti alone comrades *Florescu*, *Vlad*, *Nae*, *Georgescu*, and *Nivolescu*. In Galatz the women comrades *Piga* and *Jenn*. In Kischell the women Comrade *Sara* and comrade *Sternberg*. In Bucharest comrades *Seal*, *Mooscu*, and *Pleasa*.

In Alba Julia (Karlsburg) comrade *Cubruceanu* and 13 other comrades were arrested on the evening of the coronation, October 14th. They were not released again until after the coronation on October 16th.

The government is testing the strength of the workers' organizations by these persecutions and arrests. All protest meetings and demonstrations convened by the Communist Party are prohibited. The general council of the trade unions, the sole organization able to convene protest meetings, consists mostly of Social Democrats, who sabotage every attempt at fighting. The government knows how to express its thanks to the Social Democrats for this sabotage. Thus for instance in Cluj (Klausenburg), where the government has kept 25 workmen under arrest for four weeks because they acclaimed the Communist Party in a meeting convened by the Social Democrats.

The terror assumes still other forms, for instance, 15 metal workers, sentenced during the general strike and afterwards freed under the amnesty, are still kept under arrest and cruelly ill-treated.

In Craiova and Barlad all meeting houses of the party have been closed by the police.

A number of excellent comrades are still kept in the salt mines of Dolina, among them *Bupor*, *Soni*, *Enim*, *Atanasoff* and others. All the prisoners are so weak and ill that they need hospital care. But even in the hospital they suffer unspeakably. Food and treatment are not better than in prison. For sending a letter to his parents by a prisoner released on amnesty, comrade *Iushka* was imprisoned in a dark cell, chained hand and foot, without bed, without rug, on bare cement, and punished by the impositions of three days of fasting weekly. The wrist chain weighs 8 kgs, the ankle chain 12 kgs.

10 to 7 kgs of wood are shared out in winter for a room in which 100 to 150 prisoners are imprisoned. The private clothing of the prisoners is "kept" that is, stolen.

Another comrade, *Bupor*, is ill with tuberculosis. Comrade *Atanasoff* is also weakened and seriously ill.

Roumania threw off the last guise of democracy. In other times it was the custom to grant a military amnesty on occasions of royal weddings and coronations. On this occasion even this was omitted. The bestiality of the Roumanian bourgeoisie is so great that 11,000 soldiers who during the war were surrounded by the enemy and obliged to surrender, and who

have been in preventive arrest for four years, are now being tried as "deserters".

The insolence of the dominating class, the Roumanian Boyars, is beyond all comparison. On the occasion of his coronation the "affable" king did really perform a "gracious act". He "reduced" the penalty of those condemned to penal servitude for life to 30 years. No-one survives ten years in the salt mines, let alone 30 years. Those condemned for "rebellion against the state" cannot even "rejoice" in this gracious "act".

And "public opinion" is silent! The Social Democrats are mute.

APPEALS

A Manifesto of the Red Sport International

What we want. How the bourgeoisie uses and misuses sport. Proletarian sport.

The Red Sport International addresses an appeal to the workers of all countries in which it works, the proletariat and its youth against the pretended neutrality of the bourgeois athletic and cultural associations, which constitute a serious danger to the working class.

To the Workers of All Countries!

In the bourgeois sport movement, conducted politically and financially by the ruling class, the avowed enemy of the working class, the aim is to give the workers a nationalist education; it works systematically to imbue the proletarian youth with an ideology which will prepare them to fight against their own class. Physical education degenerates into a scramble for records and medals, which helps to smother in the heart of our youth that idea of solidarity, so indispensable to the working class struggle.

Healthy gymnastics, wholesome sport, real physical education are more and more debased by the perverted uses to which sport is put by the bourgeoisie: professional sport, capacity for profits, vanity, the desire to distinguish oneself at all costs—all emanations of the bourgeois code, which always places the individual above group interests. Thus the proletarian members of these organizations become under the guidance of their directors, docile instruments of the master class. The capitalists accomplish their principal aim, of side-tracking the workers who are lovers of sport from political and economic struggles.

The Red Sport International is undertaking to counteract these dangers energetically. Its efforts will direct themselves towards the creation in all countries of athletic and cultural organizations of a strictly proletarian character. It proposes to give its members not only a physical and moral education entirely proletarian in spirit but also to create active fighters in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; it furthermore desires to imbue its members with a true international spirit; in a word, to place gymnastics and sports at the service of the class struggle.

The International of Lucerne (II International) likewise declares itself for such a purpose, and calls itself an International of the working class. But the truth has been proven: it presupposes the conciliation of classes and the cooperation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. It still harbors all the dogmatisms of the conquered and conquering imperialisms during over the booty of the war.

Men and women workers! Sportsmen and sports women of the working class!

Leave the bourgeois sport organizations! Rally to the banner of the class struggle and international solidarity!

The Red Sport International invites you to support your best efforts all the athletic organizations fostering the class struggle, and to energetically oppose the athletic and cultural movement of the bourgeoisie.

It is a question of making workers' athletic and cultural organizations recruiting centers of the revolutionary proletariat. Not one move for the capitalist fatherland! All for the proletariat!

Long live physical culture, and revolutionary intellectual culture!

Long live the Red Sport International!

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Comrade Lenin's Letter to the Congress

1. To Comrade Zinoviev, Petrograd, for the IV. World Congress of the Communist International.
2. To the Petrograd Soviets, the delegates of the Workers, Peasants and Red Soldiers.

I exceedingly regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress and that I can only greet you by letter. In spite of the enormous difficulties in the way of the various Communist Parties, the Communist International is growing and is becoming ever stronger. The chief task consists, as hitherto, in winning the majority of the workers. And we will fulfill this task in spite of everything.

The fusion of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals has brought great advantage for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Fewer illusions and less deception,—and this is always favourable for the working class.

To the Petrograd workers and their newly elected Soviets who are now receiving the IV. Congress of the Communist Inter-

national in their city I send my best wishes and warmest greetings. The Petrograd proletariat will also be one of the first on the economic front.

We have heard with joy of the commencement of the economic rebirth of Petrograd.

In reply to your invitation to come to Petrograd, let me say that I hope to come to you in the very near future.

The Soviet Power is celebrating its fifth anniversary in Russia. It stands firmer now than ever before. The civil war is ended. The first economic successes are already in sight. Soviet Russia is highly proud of being able to help the workers of the whole world in their hard struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The victory will be ours!

Long live the Communist International!

November 4th, 1922.

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin.

The Anniversary Celebration in Moscow

(Radio to Inprekorr.)

Moscow, Nov. 7.

At nine o'clock on a beautiful autumn morning, the delegates arrived in Moscow, coming from Petersburg. The city is richly flagged, the houses festively decorated. The streets are filled with soldiers of the Red Army, columns of armed proletarians, and processions of demonstrating workers. At eleven o'clock there was an army review in the Red Square, where Comrade Trotzky addressed a speech to the army, the workers, and the participants in the Congress:

On this anniversary of the Soviet Republic it is with Germany alone that the republic holds normal relations. All the other great powers have not yet recognized the Soviet government *de jure*. But the working class of all countries recognizes and fraternally supports the Soviet power. The bourgeois powers are holding back their recognition, for they still hope that even in Russia capitalism will return. But they wait in vain. Soviet Russia will hold out, and patiently await the development of the world revolution. The Russian workers, the army, and the peasantry, are united, and work in common for the realization of Socialism.

Soviet Russia's readiness for peace is proved by the disarmament conference held with the neighboring states. Russia wants peace; it is prepared to reduce its red army to one half, indeed to a tenth. Lloyd George declared that he would look quietly on and see who would

be taken on board the vessel named the "League of Nations". He has looked quietly on until he himself has gone overboard and fallen into the water. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, still stands firmly. The proof is thus established, that the Soviet power is no mere episode, but an historical fact.

Comrade Trotzky then greeted the IV. World Congress in the name of the Soviet Republic, the Red Army, and the Red Fleet.

The conclusion of Trotzky's speech was the signal for a tremendous storm of applause. The *International* was then played by eleven bands, and the great square re-echoed under the mighty tones of the international war song

During this part of the demonstration not only the masses of the participants in the celebration bared their heads, but also the representatives of the diplomatic corps who were present.

Short addresses were then given by *Henriett* (France), *Kolaroff* (Bulgaria), and *Katayama* (Japan).

This was followed by the march past of the Red Army and of the armed workers' columns. The workers of Moscow followed these, marching past in two broad columns, and bearing with them thousands of standards and flags. Many successful caricatures and symbolic models were carried in these mighty processions.

Revolutionary songs resounded during the whole procession. Enthusiastic cheers were given before the tribunes of the

delegates, for the leaders of the Russian revolution, for the Comintern, and for the IV. World Congress.

Many of the delegates mounted in a captive balloon, and thus obtained an overwhelming survey of festively decorated Moscow with its magnificent buildings. All the main streets were filled with demonstrating masses. No fewer than thirty aeroplanes circled above the Red Square.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the streets were still filled with masses of the people streaming towards the Red Square.

A Joint Session of the All-Russian Executive and of the Moscow Labor Organizations with the IV. World Congress

(Radio to "Inprecorr".)

Moscow, November 7.

This evening there took place in the *Big Theatre* a joint session of the All-Russian Executive and the Moscow Workers' organizations with the IV. Congress of the Communist International. The Congress was most enthusiastically greeted by the four thousand people present.

Comrade *Kamenev* opened the session. He emphasized the fact that Soviet Russia as well as the Communist International is the fighting organization of the world proletariat. The Soviet Power united Russia from Archangel to Batum and from Petrograd to Vladivostok. The Communist International is growing while capitalism is preparing its own grave.

Kalinin points out the improvement of the position of the Russian working class.

Zinoviev declares that Soviet Russia has never been as strong as she is at present. The sympathy and support of the non-party elements is growing visibly. Since the demonstration during the S.R. Trial up to the present day a powerful influx of the non-party elements into the communist organizations is noticeable.

Bordiga (Italy) states that the Italian communists will fight Fascism with the methods of Fascism.

A declaration of *Berron* (France) that the French communists are united and convinced of the necessity of creating a strong communist party is supported by all the French delegates and enthusiastically received by all present.

Zinoviev on the Work of the Executive and the Tactics of the Comintern

(Radio to "Inprecorr".)

The First Day of the Congress

Moscow, 10. November.

Morning Session.

At 7 o'clock the session is opened by *Kolarov*. A number of commissions are appointed, for the French, Italian, Czechoslovakian, American, Yugoslavian, Spanish, and Negro questions.

Zinoviev then begins his speech, in which he reports on the work of the Executive during the past year, and draws broad outlines for the future tactics of the Comintern.

The III. Congress was followed by a sharp offensive on the part of capitalism along the whole line. The workers suffered many defeats. Russia too had to undergo a terrible time of famine, a fact utilized by the Mensheviks for slandering the Soviet Government.

The Comintern has been accused of being a tool in the hands of Soviet Russia. The Second International is however the tool employed by the bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. Clynes of the English Labor Party and of the General Labor Union, is with Urquhart, and fights on the other side of the barricade.

The working class has taken up a defensive attitude. Therefore our tactics are: *go to the masses*. Hence the slogan

An unending stream of singing human beings, poured over the wide square. The whole atmosphere was filled with enthusiasm. Not only the communists were there, but the entire proletariat of Moscow.

Evening comes. The Red Square is illuminated. Thousands of red stars shed their light on the multitude. The streets and many of the houses are festively lit up.

The stream ebbs away but slowly . . .

To-morrow the IV. Congress will commence its sessions.

A delegation of Moscow workers presents the Congress with an artistically executed statue of Lenin. Other factory committees present Lenin with statues of Marx and Engels.

Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), congratulates the Russian proletariat on the mighty economic achievements of the Soviet Power and promises that the Czecho-Slovakian communists will do everything to hinder the Italian Fascists from uniting with the South German reaction.

Kolaroff (Bulgaria), points out that the soldiers of the Wrangel army in Bulgaria are turning their backs on the counter-revolution.

Valetzky (Poland): The Communist Party of Poland is growing in strength in spite of the unbounded terror prevailing.

The following comrades then speak: *Webb* (England), *Orehan* (Turkey) and *Schuler* for the Youth International. *Radek* describes the progress of the Communist International.

Comrade *Clara Zetkin* expresses the thanks of the women to the Russian proletariat and the Red Army for the sacrifices made by them. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries prophesied the downfall of the Soviet Power within a few months. Today, on the fifth anniversary of the Revolution, Russia is stronger than ever. The world proletariat will follow the Russian example and overthrow capitalism.

With a moving speech by *Kamenev* the memorable session is closed.

of the united front. Our first great international campaign for the united front did not pass off without great disturbances on the part of various sections. The greater the masses that leave other parties to join ours, the more difficult is the process of clarification. Our tactics encountered difficulties in France, in part also in Italy. There is still a lack of proletarian discipline. If this is the case in preparatory actions, how will it be when days of real fighting come?

Last year the German party lived through a severe crisis, but has come through it well, thanks to the aid of the Comintern. To-day the German party is one of the firmest and politically clearest sections. The German and Czecho-Slovakian parties have carried out the tactics of the united front best. They have perhaps not always shown the face of the Party openly enough, but they have maintained the freedom of communist agitation and criticism. The courses taken by the last railway strike and the shop steward movement in Germany are exemplary for the united front tactics. The German party emerges from this movement with renewed strength. Although the number of members has not increased to any great extent, it nevertheless possesses more members to-day than the Bolsheviki when they seized power. . . Rapid revolutionary development is the case in Germany. Hence the importance of having a good party there in that country.

In France the Communist Party is passing through severe birth throes. The French proletariat is at present on the defensive. The French party does not yet understand how to lead the workers unitedly to battle. In France the struggle must be better prepared. The French party is still of the opinion that economic struggles are no part of party work.

The 21 points are now being confirmed anew. Despite this, the French press is still very far from carrying out even the first of these 21 conditions. There are three tendencies in the French party: right, left, and centre. There are still reformist elements remaining in the centre. These must disappear. The left has made many mistakes, but it is the only fraction which has really fought for the tactics of the Comintern. Our sympathy is with this fraction. There are good working elements in the centre and in the Renault group. We are willing to meet these half way. The negotiations with all the tendencies justify the confident hope that the French party will retain its unity. We must however criticize its faults with all severity.

The events in the Italian labor movement constitute an educational example for the whole International. The conflict between the Italian Socialist Party and the Comintern did not arise out of the question of immediate seizure of power; all that was required of the Italian Socialists was to exclude the agents of the bourgeoisie from their ranks, and thus to set their hands free for carrying out revolutionary actions. The guilt of having cleared the path for Fascism lies at the door of the Italian Socialist Party. Our tactics at Leghorn have proved correct. The workers belonging to the Italian Socialist Party will have to learn that when reformism is granted an inch, it takes a mile.

The Comintern has also had differences with the Communist Party of Italy. The Italian communists have saved the honor of the proletariat. Remains of anti-parliamentarism still exist in the party. The united front tactics have not been quite thoroughly carried out. The slogan of a workers' government came too late. Candid criticism has to be exercised here too. The Communist Party of Italy is one of the best fighting troops of the International.

The United Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia came into existence after the III. Congress, various fractions combining. The party has committed great sins of omission in trade union questions, and that at a time when it already had the support of the majority of organized labor. The united front tactics have been carried out in an exemplary manner. Successful result: the disintegration of the National Socialist fraction. The Czech party had differences with the Executive regarding the expulsion of the so-called left. The attitude of the Executive does not signify that it considers the left to be in the right, or that it intends to support the left politically. The Executive is however of the opinion that expulsion is too severe a punishment for the breach of discipline committed by these comrades. We condemn the breach of discipline, which is not to be compared with that of *Levi*. For the Czech opposition does not consist of traitors. It must however maintain discipline. Expulsion from the party is only permitted as a last resort. In our opinion it was resorted to too soon in this case. If the opposition cannot maintain discipline, there is of course no room for it in our ranks.

In Norway the trade unions form the basis of the party. No individual membership exists here.

The name of the central organ is still the *Social Democrat*. Articles against us may be found in this paper. Vestiges of syndicalism are still to be found among many communist workmen. Time must be left for evolution, but the social democratic residues must be finally swept away.

In Poland the party is illegal, but at the same time a mass party. Here there have also been differences between the party and the Executive, on the subject of the agrarian and nationality questions. The Comintern is in favor of the neutralization of the peasantry. The Polish party is not yet sufficiently elastic.

In Roumania the party holds faithfully to the International, despite much persecution. In Jugoslavia the party is also exposed to great difficulties through persecution. The labor movement however shows signs of revival.

In England development is slow. England is not a country of great political organizations. The lack of revolutionary experience in England is a cause of great difficulty to our party there.

In Austria the party is making progress. In Hungary the party movement is suffering greatly through fraction quarrels. The IV. Congress must put an end to these. This is of special importance, as the labor movement is increasing its influence in Hungary.

In Japan a communist party has been formed.

In India we have successes to record.

We have also groups in Egypt, Persia, China. This is of the greatest importance for our fight against world imperialism.

The *Profintern* also reports good results, and these will be even better in the near future. The Amsterdam fraction contemplates a split. We must use our influence towards creating unity in the trade union movement. We must however take measures against the expulsions. When the Amsterdam fraction causes splits, we must issue the slogan of unity.

The *Cooperative movement* also shows favourable progress. The *Communist Youth* movement requires new methods if it is to make greater advances.

This is the report on our activity. We have made many mistakes, and await severe criticism. But then united action! We must become a centralized world organization!
(Session adjourned at 10:30.)

Afternoon Session.

The session is resumed at half past eleven. *Zinoviev* delivers the second part of his speech on the tactics of the Communist International. He puts out that:

Taken as a whole, the economic world situation since the Third Congress confirms our theses of last year. A temporary economic improvement may be noted in America, Japan, England, France and other countries. This does not in the least alter the actual fact of the decay of capitalism in Europe. The crises nowadays are not merely periodical. There is no salvation for capitalism.

The objective position is revolutionary. In international politics the contentions become more and more acute. The Entente is falling to pieces with increasing rapidity. The Versailles peace treaty is on the road to dissolution. Bourgeois pacifism is bankrupt. The English general election is being carried on with an incredible lack of ideas. The struggle of the colonized countries has reached a high level; the liberation movement makes progress, despite the repressive measures taken by the imperialist governments. This movement is not communist, but now the less it is an influential factor in the proletarian struggle for freedom.

Bourgeois democracy is in the process of decay. In Italy we see this demonstrated by facts. The blow struck by the Fascists is not only against the Italian monarchy, but against the whole régime of bourgeois democracy. This is not merely a local phenomenon. We find analogies in other places, as for instance in Germany, where the movement has perhaps adopted other forms. Its essence is however the same. Austria's position is also a blow against bourgeois democracy. In Czecho-Slovakia the prospects are similar.

These are however transition periods. It is the duty of the communist parties to prepare the illegal period. Such periods are no sign of a standstill in the world revolution. On the contrary, the effect is objectively most revolutionizing. The path described by the world revolution is not a straight line.

What is characteristic for the present situation is the general and increasing acuteness. Small events may possibly form the starting point for great decisions.

In the Near East a repetition of the world war has been tangibly near. Perhaps war may not result, but coming events cast their shadows before. If the proletariat does not prevent it, there will be a world war.

On the other hand we see Soviet Russia strong as never before. The new economic policy is much more than a mere episode. It has not been caused merely by the economic weakness of Russia and the political weakness of the world proletariat, but is founded on important relations of forces between the Russian proletariat and the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. Other countries, even those farthest on the road of evolution, will have to adopt similar measures for neutralizing the small farmer and the petty bourgeois. The capitalist equilibrium is destroyed. The colonies are in the midst of wars of liberation. In the Near East the crisis is within view. But at the same moment the star of Soviet Russia rises higher and higher.

The capitalist offensive is an international phenomenon. The workers are beginning to counter this offensive with increasing energy. One of the most important events within the labor movement is the union of the 2. and 2½ Internationals. In actuality this signifies that the 2½ International is completely swallowed up in the Second International. Even *Martov* confirms this. A united reformist International means two things: first the preparation of the white terror against the communist parties; secondly an unheard-of splitting up of the proletarian forces. It is not by accident that in capitalist states leading positions are held by one-time Social Democrats of the Second International: *Mussolini*, *Pilsudski*, *Ebert*.

We are fighting for the unity of the trade unions. Regarded historically, reformism is losing the ground from beneath its feet. The influence of Communism increases more and more in the trade unions. Before the reformists leave the trade unions, they shatter these to pieces. Their conduct is such that we might think they were acting on the orders of the bourgeoisie. They are determined that we find the trade unions in ruins. The workers have established their great organizations at the cost of great struggles. The trade unions are the sole effective weapon possessed by the proletariat. The reformists destroy this weapon. Schisms in the trade unions signify an immense weakening for the workers struggling for freedom. In the present situation the division of the trade unions is a crime; perhaps a greater crime than treason in war. The reformists have become professional splitters. In this situation the united front is no mere measure of strategy, it is rather a measure against division, for unity.

The slogan of the Third Congress was: to win the majority of the working class. This goal has not yet been reached. The united front tactics are the best means to this end. The united front is no episode in our struggle, but an epoch. In the present situation the I. International is the sole support of the bourgeoisie. To win the majority of the proletariat is to decide our victory. Many are the successes already to be ascribed to the united front. It was necessary to create communist parties, even at the price of division. We must win the majority. It is our task to save the trade unions. In our own ranks the united front tactics encounter no difficulties. The one-time opponents of the united front tactics now reply: "We join the united front". Those who want to help the workers must bring about a united front in political and economic actions alike.

The united front does not signify the creation or maintenance of *union blocs*; neither does it mean amalgamation with Social Democratic organizations. We should rather cut off our right hands than lend such an interpretation to the slogan of the united front.

The right formula for the united front is: to show the way to the working masses in their daily struggles. We must fight side by side with all workers, regardless of tendency, for more bread, and to save the eight hour day. It is part of the bargain that we have to sit at the same table as the treacherous leaders. We fight against reformism, but for the partial demands of the workers. This is the only way to win the workers for the revolution. The united front tactics are being agitated for in almost every country.

The question of a workers' government only comes in question in countries where the comparative forces permit of the government being taken over. The workers' government is the concrete application of the united front; it will only be possible to realize it in exceptional cases. The workers' government is not an essential organic period of transition; it does not displace the dictatorship and cannot avoid the sufferings of civil war. The communist groups in the factories and workshops, and among the shop stewards, constitute the criterion for the influence of the Communist Party. A party which does not know how to bring about a shop steward movement does not know how to actuate great mass movements either. Under present conditions we have to demand unqualified discipline. Renoult's theses on discipline contain golden words; his former actions are however far from being in harmony. It would have been better if he had substituted these golden words by actual deeds of discipline. We have severe struggles before us. Iron discipline is necessary. Russia's material position has much improved. The example set by the Russian people should spur on other countries to revolution. Revolutions however, are not only made by following examples, but when circumstances urge revolution. The Russian workers have suffered much. Other workers will have an easier task; they will meet with the support of the sixth part of the globe. We must never forget to emphasize that the way to victory leads through suffering. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Discussion on the Report of the Executive

Vajtauer, of the Czecho-Slovakian opposition, holds a polemical speech against Zinoviev's assumption that the attitude taken by the Czecho-Slovakian party has been exemplary in the question of the united front. The party has made many mistakes. Does Zinoviev wish to conceal them? The Czecho-Slovakian opposition has not committed any breach of discipline. Its measures were perhaps necessary to save the party.

Meyer (Germany) approves of the measures taken by the Executive. He declares himself against the Czecho-Slovakian opposition, and welcomes the concrete formulation of the question of the Workers' Government. In the French question he would like to see organization measures applied as little as possible.

Varga speaks to the effect that the Mensheviks terrify the workers with the famine; they assert that the dictatorship is synonymous with want and misery. The Russian example proves the contrary. Here the workers are better fed than in Germany. It is our duty to put an end to the famine legend.

Ruth Fischer maintains that the Third Congress shares the guilt for the formation of the Levi group. The fault of the united front tactics is that it attaches too much importance to negotiations with the heads. During the Rathenau campaign the party did not show its real countenance. The Fourth Congress must free the International from opportunism.

Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia): The old opposition in Czecho-Slovakia fought against Smeral's tactics of delay. Smeral submitted and has since then worked loyally with the party. The new opposition is not one of principle. It maintains that Smeral aims at becoming a minister, it makes un-Marxian demands. (The speaker reads a few specimens of these demands to the general amusement of the delegates of the congress). At the national conference of the Czecho-Slovakian party the opposition was unable to prove its accusations. The expulsion was not too hasty. We must not tolerate lack of discipline any longer. Session adjourned about 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

Morning Session.

November 11th.

According to Rosmer (France) the Communist Party of France is rightly criticized. France is the gendarme of the counter-revolution; a more faithful fulfilment of obligations must therefore be expected from the French Communists. The speaker points out that the opponents of the united front tactic had no substitute for it. He finally demands the creation of Communist nuclei in the workshops.

Aqueveda (Spain) points out that the Spanish Party had successfully applied the tactics of the united front on the economic and political fields. The workers' government was only a reformist illusion.

Domski (Poland): The Communists with their tactics were to win the masses for the Communist parties; not however for any sort of milk and water concoction. He enumerates the bad results of the united front tactics and is of the opinion that the Communists must not issue slogans for mere manoeuvring, they must set up real demands.

Kolaroff (Bulgaria): The activity of the Balkan Federation left much to be desired. The united front tactics have been successfully employed. He approves of the action of the Executive in the French and Norwegian questions.

Seiden (Czecho-Slovakia) agrees with the action of the Executive but regrets the annulment of the expulsion of the Czecho-Slovakian opposition. He desires the Executive to establish better informative connections.

Katayama (Japan): The young Japanese Communist Party has propagated the united front with good results on the political and economic fields. The workers of the East desire the establishment of the united front with the Western proletariat.

Rakosi (Hungary) points out that the Executive had acted rightly in the Hungarian question. There must be an end to these scandalous faction fights.

The session is adjourned at 4 o'clock.

Evening Session.

The evening session was opened at 8 o'clock.

Marshall (America): The conflict in the American Party consists in the fact that the Carr fraction only seeks to extend the Communist Party (illegal) while his fraction wishes to place itself at the head of a legal mass party.

Sullivan (American): characterizes the Marshall fraction as opportunistic.

Vuyovitch speaking in the name of the Youth: The Communist Youth not only accepts the united front in theory but carries it out in practice.

Malakka (Java) describes the revolutionary movement in the East. The boycott movement which had been carried out although it was not Communist, nevertheless brought revolutionary results. Pan-Islamism is also playing a revolutionary part.

Concluding Words of Zinoviev

There are several kinds of Labor Governments. Every bourgeois Government is a capitalist bourgeois government, but not every labor government is a proletarian socialist government. The bourgeoisie has outposts in the working class but unfortunately the working class does not have them in the bourgeoisie.

One can distinguish four main types of labor governments. In Australia there was for a long time a liberal labor government. We find a similar grouping in England. Under the given circumstances such a government could not carry on a pure bourgeois policy. The Communists must support such a government from time to time.

A second type of labor government is the Social Democratic Government which must eventually be supported by us provisionally.

A third type is the coalition government of Social Democrats, Trade Unions and Communists. This can become the starting point for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fourth type, the real Labor Government, is only a pseudonym for the dictatorship.

Every labor government can become the transition point for the dictatorship. It is not the form but the political content that counts. The most important thing is: the bourgeoisie will not willingly resign its privileges. Therefore the overthrow of the bourgeoisie must be first brought about.

With the erection of the labor government two things are to be distinguished: First, — it is a means of approaching the workers, secondly, — the historical possibility exists for it. We have an enslaved working-class which is still spiritually dependent upon the bourgeoisie. The process of enlightenment must proceed in different ways. Zinoviev then refers to the tactics of the united front.

Whether a labor government will actually come is very questionable; perhaps its possibility is only an exception. The chief content of the labor government is the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

We must combat every illusion that the labor government signifies a peaceful and painless transition. The labor government is no substitute for the dictatorship or for the civil war.

The opportunist danger is very great.

Ruth Fischer complains that the 3rd Congress failed to deal with the Levi group as it deserved. But at the time some of the best elements of the German Communist Party were in this group. It was necessary to isolate Levi in order to save these elements of his group for the party. This has been done. The Executive had also criticized the errors of the Rathenau action. The united front without the possibility of independent propaganda is suicidal. It was right to fight the monarchists but not to awaken illusions regarding the bourgeois republic. We must not permit the party to be treated like "poor relations".

Ruth Fischer greatly exaggerates when she says the slogan of the united front has driven the German Independent Social Democratic Party to the Social Democratic Party and has made the Independent Party the prisoner of the Social Democratic Party. Inwardly the Independents differed in no way from the Social Democrats and therefore very readily became "their prisoners". Apart from this there was no variance between the Berlin organization and the Communist International.

Bukharin was too strict towards Duret. If Duret has erred and wishes to atone for his mistakes, so much the better. His argument that the tactics of the united front are only possible

in Germany where we are confronted with strong Social Democratic Parties is not correct. It is much easier to unfold the movement among large unorganized masses, where the revolutionary initiative has greater success. Duret was right when he pointed out the danger of a split. A portion will come to us. We shall submit to them not twenty one but forty two conditions.

Bordiga asks what criterion there is for testing whether the majority is with us. There are many criteria. It is not a question of embracing the majority in the party organization but of gaining the influence over the majority. The small Communist Party of New South Wales has succeeded in bringing 200,000 trade union members into the R.I.L.U.

The attitude of the Italian Party in regard to the trade union question is still narrow-minded. It detaches itself from the masses instead of going to them.

The successes of the united front tactics in Spain are certainly very important.

Vajtauer's program is very bad. This will not solve the problem of the Czech opposition. The Executive has acted rightly in the question of expulsions. The International must everywhere strive to retain good working elements. The opposition must either submit or it will have the whole International against it.

Domski claims that the tactics of the united front are not correct for Poland. But it is precisely in Poland where the Polish Socialist Party displays the sign-board of a labor government that the united front tactics have good prospects of success. At the time when the Red Army was marching on Warsaw, Domski was against military assistance. That was nationalism in disguise. If the bourgeoisie mutually assist each other with arms, the workers can also do the same. It makes no difference whether it is the Hungarian, Polish, Italian, German, French or Russian Red Army that brings aid (Stormy applause from the whole congress.)

The Norwegian group shall remain in the Party and not form a separate group.

In controversy with Varga, Zinoviev remarks that the workers must be told that the way to the dictatorship is thorny, and is eventually bound up with hunger.

The greater danger at present in the Communist International, comes from the Right and not from the Left which is grounded in the objective conditions. Opportunism is being combated. Bad times of world reaction will come, yet the Communist International at the given time will lead the working class to the offensive. (Sustained applause.)

Before the vote on the resolutions, Duret, Souvarine and Dornoy, in the name of the fractions, declare that they will vote for the resolution of the Executive to prove their loyalty to the Communist International.

The resolution expresses full approval of the actions of the Executive and declares the decisions of the Executive, reached in the interval between the 3rd and 4th Congresses to be binding, and their infringement a breach of discipline. The strict execution of the 21 points is demanded.

The resolution is adopted by the Congress, the Italian majority abstaining from voting.

Lenin and Clara Zetkin on: "Five Years of Russian Revolution and the Perspective of the World Revolution"

(Radio to "Inprecorr".)

Moscow, November 13.

The Session is opened at midday. Lenin receives an enthusiastic welcome; the delegates sing the International. Lenin begins his speech by stating that he will only deal with one phase of the theme: "Five Years of Russian Revolution and the Perspective of the World Revolution." He describes the results attained by the new economic policy. In 1918, when he was working with every available means for the immediate realization of Socialism, he had already declared that state capitalism signified a step forward for Russia, in comparison with the conditions prevailing at that time. An analysis of those conditions has forced him to this conclusion. In the country itself the petty bourgeois element predominated. Even at that time he had arrived at the conclusion that in such a country the best way to Socialism was by way of state capitalism. The idea of securing the line of retreat was

perfectly correct. It does not suffice to plan attacks, the retreat has to be thought of as well. This must be taken into consideration in the new program also. At times it is not difficult to gain victories, as there are moments when the enemy loses his head. But again there are moments when the opponent actually provokes a victory, in order to be better able to inflict a decisive defeat on the victor later. In such cases it is of double importance to secure the line of retreat. When securing the power of the proletariat, state capitalism is the given line of retreat.

In 1921 the civil war was ended for Russia, and the enemy defeated. But then the acutest inner political crisis began. Great masses of the peasantry were against us. Dissatisfaction was also noticeable amongst the workers. The masses felt that we had advanced too far on the economic field. It is not possible to effect a direct transition to Socialism. Our base was not secured. In March 1921 came the transition to the new economic

policy. The results of the following eighteen months have proved to us that we have passed our examination.

Lenin then gives a survey of the development of the situation in Russia. In the course of this he touches upon the financial system, with its astronomical ruble scale. This is, however, unimportant. The main question is the stabilization of the currency. When our economic base is firm, stabilization will follow. In 1921 we had a period of stabilization lasting three months. In the year 1922 the period lasted more than 5 months. This shows that we have learned to make progress. If we do not commit any particularly stupid mistakes, we shall succeed in stabilizing our currency entirely. It must be recollected that up to now we have been at war. Under these circumstances we may claim to have attained a great deal, the more so that we have been entirely dependent on our own resources. The stabilization of the ruble is also important for trade.

Referring to the social strata of Russia, Lenin points out that the peasantry is now satisfied. This was not the case in 1921. The famine endangered everything. Our opponents have represented the famine catastrophe as a result of our socialist economics, while in reality they were a result of the civil war and of the interventions of the so-called civilized world. The famine is now happily overcome. In this year one hundred million puds of grain have already been voluntarily delivered up by the peasantry as taxes in kind. There is not the slightest sign of discontent among the peasants. The peasantry is a decisive factor for us. The proletariat is in possession of the power; it rules the country, but not against the peasantry. Today we can maintain without exaggeration that a movement of the peasantry against us is now impossible. Really serious discontent with us cannot occur today. There can only be trifling complaints.

There is a general improvement to be noticed in the small industrial undertakings.

In connection with this Lenin draws attention to the improved position of the workers, and emphasizes that the Soviet Government never errs with regard to the trend of feeling among the workers, as it maintains the closest contact with them.

There is only a slight improvement to be reported in the heavy industry. Even fully developed states cannot exist without loans. We cannot obtain any.

The concessions which we have made are of no great significance. They enable us to save the cost of restoring heavy industry, and let others bear this expense. Without saving our heavy industry we cannot remain an independent country. Not only are good crops and the improvement of conditions in the light industry of importance; the heavy industry is of prime importance. Several decades will be required to bring it into a flourishing state. We have raised about 20 million gold rubles from our commercial activity, for the reconstruction of the heavy industry, and this money is to be devoted solely to this object.

The new economic policy has taught us how to conduct trade. The state has maintained its secure position in agriculture and industry, and we see that progress is being made. To be sure we still have very much to learn. Through five years of war we have retained our power. The peasants support us because they fear the return of the landowners. For us it is not only a question of driving away the landowners, but of retaining the power for the workers, and of securing the way to Socialism. And in Russia the way to Socialism leads through state capitalism.

Russian state capitalism is a peculiar state capitalism. The land, trade and industry, all these are in the hands of the proletarian state. Only the lesser undertakings are let on lease. The mixed economic commercial companies enable us to learn commerce ourselves. If the trading companies do not function well, we have the possibility of disbanding them. We have committed an enormous number of blunders, but we must remember that we had no help from abroad.

The Russian state apparatus is by no means good. The upper stratum of officials, some tens of thousands, belong to us, whilst the lower stratum of officials, recruited from the one-time functionaries of the Czar, have been working against us in part consciously, in part unconsciously.

We have erected many schools, to ensure efficient successors. Even if we do not succeed in this in the immediate future, within a few years we shall nevertheless have forces at our disposal enabling us to alter the state apparatus down to its foundation.

Our opponents boast that even Lenin admits Russia to have committed many foolish mistakes. But our follies are of a very different nature than the follies of the capitalists and of the heroes of the Second International. For instance—the agreement with Koltchak and the Treaty of Versailles, both made by civilized powers.

The perspective of the world revolution is good. It would be much better if the organization of the communist parties were better developed. Lenin advises a detailed study of the organization theses of the III. Congress. We Russians are learning very much but our comrades of the West must also learn. The Russian example of a developed organization is no sacred idol. It is of importance to understand the creation of an organization. The import of revolutionary work must also be understood. When this has been done, we can assert that the perspective of the world revolution is not merely good, but excellent. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Clara Zetkin speaks on the same subject, saying that the Russian Revolution decided the struggle between reform and revolution. The Second International theoretically rejects reformism, but in actual practice it is expressly opportunist. The course taken by the Russian Revolution characterizes the struggle of reformism against the revolution. After the February Revolution the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries proclaimed their slogan of creating a constitution as against the slogan for the creation of Soviets. They fought against the demand for a dictatorship with the slogan of democracy. "Democracy" had already been characterized by Engels as the sole enemy of the victorious proletariat after the revolution. The October victory of the Russian workers and peasants was not due to a bold putsch made by a minority; it was a well prepared mass action under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. The Bolsheviks ventured further and further. The Mensheviks sabotaged the October victory with their demand that a Constituent Assembly be convened. The Soviet Power stands higher than the Constituent Assembly. The idea of combining Constituent Assembly and Soviet Power is nonsense. The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the disenfranchisement of the bourgeoisie are historically justified. The creation of the Red Army is the greatest deed of the Soviet Power. The intensification of the dictatorship into the terror is an historical necessity; its severity liberates millions of human beings from capitalism.

(At the close of the report comrade Zetkin is still speaking.)

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Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III
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The Contradictions of the Soviet Policy

By Leon Trotsky.

No one studying French politics, even those following it in the closest detail, need trouble to read "Le Populaire", the organ of the French reformists and social patriots. The paper offers neither facts nor ideas, and it is a true reflection of its Party. Its articles are written as a general rule by people, who devote at least nine-tenths of their attention to questions and affairs which have nothing in common with Socialism. Some of these gentlemen are associated with the socialist movement merely by old habits, others are merely disgruntled over blighted hopes in other spheres, and the third section is associated with it for purely careerist motives. There is not a hint in the paper of socialist thought which from a single standpoint analyzes conditions, estimates contending forces and draws revolutionary deductions. It is written in a conventional style, representing a jumble of casually memorized passages from the old speeches of Laures and Guesdes embellished by the petty culinary talent of a filthy political kitchen. On reading the latest number of the paper it seems to us that we have read it several times before. Notwithstanding the fact that among the contributors to the paper are people, many of whom enjoy a reputation for cleverness in their own way, and who understand a thing or two, the paper as a whole bears as it were a polish of stupidity which, however, is quite expedient from the standpoint of the principles that "Le Populaire" advocates.

It is not necessary to read this paper, but to glance through it once in a while will do no harm, because in it we find in its purest form the germ which—alas!—is infecting quite a number of well-known representatives and leaders of the French Communist Party. Thus it is precisely in the pages of "Le Populaire" that you will learn best to appreciate the reason why all these gentlemen, lawyers, journalists and free mason careerists who at labor meetings masquerade as Socialists, attribute so much importance to "liberty of opinion" to "free criticism" and all other higher values indispensably required for the politicians who magnanimously consent to make use of the lever of the proletarian organization, but absolutely refuse to submit their sublime individuality to its discipline.

Just now we would like to deal with what might be considered a classical article written by M. Leon Blum, the actual

leader of the dissidents—on the policy of the Russian Communists towards France and the French Communist Party. Basing himself on reports in the bourgeois press of M. Heriot's visit to Russia, Leon Blum proceeds to draw conclusions and make generalizations which excellently reveal, not the policy of the Russian Communists, but the unprecedented confusion reigning in the heads, not only of M. Blum but the members of his party. Blum states that the Soviet Government offers France "everything or nearly everything"; not only the recognition of the pre-war debts, but even more—"an alliance: an economic, intellectual, moral and even, if necessary, political and diplomatic alliance". Much as M. Blum considers peaceful relations between France and Russia desirable, he emphatically protests—in anticipation, i. e. very timely and sagaciously—against the restoration . . . of the old Franco-Russian alliance which would be directed against Germany. Nobody, of course, doubted for a moment that the Party of Renaudel, Boncour and Blum would be at its post as soon as the security of Germany was endangered by a new Franco-Russian alliance. Yesterday's actions of this party are a sufficient guarantee of this!

But is it really proven—you may ask—that Soviet Russia is ready to help capitalist France to strangle Germany? But can there be any doubt about it?

"M. Heriot was cordially received as an honoured guest, while Verfeuil and his friends were expelled from the Communist Party, and the same fate awaits others. M. Poincaré and the French capitalists are offered all kinds of alliances, but the adherents of Tours*) are censured for not submitting to absolute discipline, and refusing to be absolutely orthodox. Concessions are to be given to capitalists while social-revolutionaries are kept in prison" . . . These words fully embrace the philosophy not only of Blum, and of the expelled Verfeuil but also of those of his bashful sympathizers who remain in the French Communist Party.

But, is it not a howling contradiction to cordially receive M. Heriot and unceremoniously expel Verfeuil from the party; to

*) At the Tours Congress in 1920 the majority of the old French Socialist Party joined the III. International.