



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS
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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

To Italian Workers.

ENGLAND.

C. P. Affiliation to Labour Party.

Paris, June 23rd. Radio. The conference of the English Labour Party turned down the application for the affiliation of the Communist Party.

Losses Caused by the Strike.

Riga, June 22. "Vossische Zeitung" of June 18th published a report from London that the losses incurred up to the present moment by the British Government through the strike is estimated at 90,000,000 pounds sterling.

To help British Miners.

The Congress of the building industry of the Tartar Republic decided to set a side three days' wages of all the members of the Union, in aid of the striking miners of England. The money to be transferred to the English comrades will be sent on to the Comintern.

RUSSIA.

In Honour of the Comintern Congress.

Briansk. The celebration of the Third Congress passed off amidst great enthusiasm. Among those participating were military detachments, universal training corps, sporting and military organisations.

The Second Congress of Mordva in Samara sends greetings to the Congress of the Third International.

In Lugansk at a general meeting of the workers of the printing industry, the workers in response to an appeal to help the striking miners of England, decide to send their week's wages through the Comintern.

In Kerch a large international meeting was held in honour of the Third International. Speeches were delivered by many orators in the Russian, German, Jewish and Lettish languages.

Black Sea Fleet Greets Comintern.

The seamen of Sevastopol base sent the following greetings to the Third Congress: "We joyfully, and proudly greet the opening of the Third Congress and all the warriors-revolutionists who arrived to the Congress. The Russian Black Sea Fleet, is on guard on behalf of the World Revolution. The seamen are convinced, that in the West, the red fires of revolt of the workers will soon burst forth, and they at the first call of their General Staff, the Communist International, are ready to go armed, for the struggle with international capital, for its final overthrow.

On the day of the opening of the Third Congress of the Comintern a grand parade took place in Sevastopol, of the Auto-Military division. Thousands of automobiles took part in the parade. The division was presented with a banner.

SWITZERLAND.

Fritz Platten Still at Work.

"Temps" of the 18th states that the special compromiser Geyser declared in the Swiss National Council that there were elements making trouble in the ranks of the Swiss working class. Geyser mentioned the Communist Platten, a member of the Council as one of the agitators.

ITALY.

Socialists Delegation for Moscow.

Riga, June 22. According to reports from Rome socialists belonging to the groups of Serrati, Lazzari, Maffi and Ribaldi are leaving for Moscow to negotiate for admission into the Third International.

GERMANY.

Hölz Sentenced to Hard Labour For Life.

Nauen, June 20. The Berlin Court has passed a sentence of hard labour for life upon Hölz, one of the leaders of the March communist uprising.

Trial Against Communists.

Riga, June 20. A trial has been instituted in Munich against 17 Communists accused of having taken part in the March uprising.

Social Traitors Trump Hand.

Berlin, 21st June. The Congress of the postal federation, consisting of postal workers syndicates decisively expressed itself in favour of the Amsterdam International by 159 votes to 129 with 19 absentions. Only the Civil Servants syndicates voted in favour of the Moscow Trades Union International.

Plundering.

Nauen, June 23. The Conference of Ambassadors has demanded of Germany to surrender all aeroplanes built since the Boulogne Conference. The Allies demand the surrender of all aeroplanes serving military purposes, as well as 25 per cent of the others. Germany will be given the right to dispose of the remaining aeroplanes only upon the expiration of the period laid down in the Peace Treaty, in compliance with the terms of which she is forbidden to construct new aeroplanes.

POLAND.

The Workers Awakening.

Warsaw, June 23rd. At a large meeting on the 19th of June held in Lvov to protest against the arrests and attacks on the Workers Organisations, Scalion showed how an organised campaign was being carried on against political freedom. The constitution exists only on paper. The persecution of innocent people for their beliefs, and the coercion used against the Workers organisations have become everyday incidents. Provocation and espionage are part of the system in Dombrova. The proletariat must answer with all its forces against the onflowing reaction. Comrade Tanetski pointed out the bankruptcy of compromising governments, and the chaotic collapse of capitalism. He proposed two resolutions; one against the press, and the other against a levy of taxes on the workers.

The Lvov newspaper "Forward" writes: "One result of the Sunday meeting is that the workers are awakening and this is one of the best guarantees for the future".

Declaration.

The Executive Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, having taken cognizance of the transformation of the Left Wing of the B. C. P. into a communist party, declares:

I, that all the communist groups affiliated to the B. C. P. (section of the C. I.) recognise no other authority than their E. C. in their relations towards the new communist party; and

II, that all the communist groups as well as the organs of the Party will continue to energetically combat every action which they may deem in disagreement with the principles of the Third International, the congressional resolutions of the B. C. P., or the decisions of its E. C.

The E. C. of the B. C. P.
(L'Ouvriere Communiste, June 11, 1921.)

To the General Confederation of Labour, to all Federation, Borse di Lavro and organized members of trade and industrial unions of Italy:

The International of Trade and Industrial Unions received on the 15th of June following telegram from the General Confederation of Labour of Italy:

"Confederation of Labour proposes to hold the Congress of Labour Unions in Stockholm or Reval postponing it till August, so as to have the decisions of the Congress of the 3rd International and to extend the order of business, preceding it by a general discussion of the International position of labor unions and of the program of the 3rd International on these questions".

We, delegates who have arrived in Moscow for the Congress of the Red Trade Union International, have read this telegram with deep bewilderment. To postpone the Congress when three-fourths of the delegates are already here; to postpone the Congress after having made the tremendous efforts and expenses to get to Moscow despite all the barbed-wire entanglements erected by the bourgeois governments of all countries; to postpone the Congress, when many delegates (from America, Argentina, Australia etc.) have spent months to reach Moscow and to come to an understanding with their class brothers under such circumstances would mean to inflict the greatest injury to the working-class movement of all countries and to disorganise it for the entire coming period of acute social struggle. What has moved The General Confederation of Labour to propose the postponement of the Congress? Was it the desire to get acquainted with the decisions of the Congress of the 3rd Communist International? But with these decisions one could get acquainted better here being present at the Congress as a participant or as a guest, and then by discussing the matter with the delegates of labour unions from other countries and by jointly adopting whatever decisions may be deemed proper.

We are utterly at a loss to understand why for the sake of these decisions it is necessary to postpone the Congress for several months. This proposition to us seems to be more than strange. Further — The Confederation of Labour of Italy proposes to postpone the Congress, as it is necessary to extend the order of business — but this could be done at the Congress itself. The Italian delegates who have been in Russia and know how long it takes to get here are very well acquainted with the fact that the postponement of the Congress two weeks before the date set for it, merely for the sake of adding some questions to its order of business would be sheer folly. Each delegation and each individual delegate has a right to propose to add or take off some question from the agenda and to put in all the questions of interest to the workers of their country. But our bewilderment passes all bounds and the feeling of indignation comes over us when we turn to the third proposition of the Confederation of Labour — to transfer the Congress to Reval or Stockholm. Have you thought this proposition over? Have you been negotiating with the Estonian and Swedish Governments to get their permission to hold in their countries the Congress of revolutionary trade and industrial unions? Do you take upon yourselves to guarantee the safety of all delegates coming from "democratic" countries often illegally? There is not a single delegation here who would object to the Congress being held in any one of the big centres of Western Europe. We all, including the Russian delegates, are ready to hold in your country not only the next Congresses, but to transfer the present one to any one of the Western European centres, even to your city of Milan. Are you ready to guarantee the safe passage and the safety of the delegates — or do you think that such questions do not require consideration? We are all deeply grieved and full of indignation at having such a proposal come on behalf of the whole working-class of Italy, but without its knowledge.

We are firmly convinced that the workers of Italy, who have shown in the many years of their struggle how much

revolutionary passion and energy they have, could not so formally and diplomatically approach this question which deeply stirs the revolutionaries of all the countries. What is the meaning of propositions? Do the leaders of Central Confederation of Labour of Italy want, against the will of their masses, to break with the Red Trade Union International? Do they deem the company of the Amsterdam element more suitable for themselves? Then let them declare that openly before the whole world. They showed no scruples in receiving the 50,000 liras, which the Amsterdam crowd had so kindly sent for fight against the Facisti. Do you not think however that for the struggle against counter-revolution the Amsterdam International could do much more if only its leaders occupied themselves, not with the propaganda for class peace and class cooperation with the very bourgeoisie which is organising murderous bands in all countries? Is it not true that the gentlemen who sent you the fifty thousand liras take part in the International Labour Bureau—Section of the League of Nations, which Bureau has also representatives of the same Italian bourgeoisie which is organising the murder of workers?

Is Albert Pirelli, the big Italian industrial business man, not sitting in this together with Messrs. Jouhaux, Oudegest, Wissel and others? Thus the crowd with the left hand is sending you 50,000 liras as a token of their solidarity with you and with the right hand they are shaking hands with Messrs Pirelli and such like, with the representative of your Italian government—Michelis, with the exploiters and business men such as Carlier, such as Pinot, the secretary of the organisation of the owners of the metal industry establishments and with such people who inspire these pogrom counter-revolutionary white-guard bands. It seems to us that fraternisation with the bourgeoisie somehow does not harmonise with the representation of working class interests. But if there are union men in Italy who think that they must remain in the Amsterdam International, that they must leave the Red Trade Union International whose only crime is, that it stands for the Social Revolution and Dictatorship of the Proletariat—if there are men with such ideas, let them say so openly. Why this double bookkeeping, why this leaving thing unsaid, why this ambiguity among workers—members of one class? The methods of bourgeois diplomacy are out of place here, we think. That is why we appeal to you organised workers of Italy, and with the full force of our convictions, with the frankness which animates the revolutionary workers of all countries, we say to you: beware of the diplomatic game and consider that the interests of the working class of Italy demand, that class-cooperation and social peace will save humanity from hunger, ruin and pauperism, if you are sure of this, then go to Amsterdam openly and frankly, without diplomatic trickery. Let all those who put their hopes not in class peace, but in class war, all who see in the Social Revolution and Dictatorship of the Proletariat the way out of the blind-ally into which mankind is driven by the great world slaughter let all such come to the International Revolutionary Class Labour Unions.

The delegates of revolutionary class unions of various countries who have arrived to the First Constituent Congress of the Red Trade Union International do not doubt that the Italian proletariat will reject with contempt the idea of class peace and class-cooperation, inasmuch as they reject this idea inasmuch as they see in the revolutionary struggle the means for realisation of all the aims and aspirations of the working-class, they will turn their backs on the Amsterdam International which is nothing but an institution organised sabotage of social revolution and will send their delegates to Moscow.

Continued page 3 col. 4.

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Second Session of the Third

Trotsky's Survey of World's

Trotsky's Address.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is convened under conditions decidedly different to those prevailing at the time of the first or second congress. The first congress, in the spring of 1919 was the first meeting of a small number of resolute, revolutionary proletarian fighters from various countries. The international political situation was pregnant with possibilities, the balance of forces of states and classes was shifting and swaying, the subsequent months seemed to promise events of incalculable importance. It is true that the first attack of the German proletariat had been repulsed, but beneath the surface there was violent fermentation; the revolutionary front at the Rhine was no illusion, but a potentiality to be reckoned with.

The situation was still more dubious in the summer of 1920, when the second congress assembled. The war against Poland was in its initial stage, and the victories of the Red Army was strengthening France's determination to participate in the hostilities. The German proletariat, robbed of the fruits of its victory after the Kapp putsch, commenced hesitatingly and irresolutely to take its stand on the side of the Russian Soviet Republic by preventing the transport of munitions and opposing the machinations of the white guard elements.

Today the situation has completely altered. German imperialism has accepted the certainty of future bankruptcy, in order to once more escape the present danger, the proletarian revolution. The bankrupt European gamblers are dancing their death-dance on the demolished foundations of their system, while America is stewing in its own juice. Speculators of the flesh and speculators of the spirit are attempting to lay the bridge from the here to the hereafter. But they cannot all cross at the same time, the water is much too deep".

And still the capitalist machine continues in operation. There are even optimists who maintain that it is running as well as ever. Meanwhile the missing link in the chain Soviet Russia is waiting patiently for the hands that are to construct a new chain, a chain of steel, forged by proletarian hands, that will strangle forever the old capitalist order.

Have the prerequisite conditions for the progress of the world revolution altered since the Second Congress, or not? In his address on the international economic crisis, introducing the actual business activities of the Third Congress, Comrade Trotsky discussed this question in detail. In this he followed the principle underlying all highly conceived politics: to state plain facts. Not a single hollow phrase, not a single illusionary guiding line was to be found in that entire address of three hours. Cold, hard facts, cold figures were presented as evidence, to prove with undeniable certainty the objective inevitableness of the social revolution.

Comrade Trotsky declared quite frankly: we have to face boldly the difficult, intricate and possibly prolonged process of the progress of the revolution. The present situation, developing on the basis of a profound economic period of depression, is revolutionary today, just as it was yesterday. But the development will be accompanied by complications, for which the Communist parties must prepare by a clear determination of their policies. The organ sor of the Red Army characterised as an assential requisite for every Communist party in the present period: ability to manoeuvre. He summarises the difference between communists and menshevists concisely: the difference between them and us does not consist in our having awaited the revolution in 1919, but that the centrists support the bourgeoisie on every possible occasion, while we are prepared to conquer the political power at every opportunity.

Comrade Trotsky's address revealed the granite blocks which the Third Congress will lay as an unshakeable foundation for the future fighting policy of the international proletariat.

Fritz Rueck.

The Second Session of the Congress of the Comintern opened yesterday in the Andreev Hall, in the Nikolaeff Palace in the Kremlin at 7:45 p. m.

Comrade Zinoviev proposed the election and conformation of a Secretariat composed of the representatives of 15 countries. The resolution was accepted unanimously. The question of the Agenda was next taken.

Comrade Tomasi (France) proposed first of all, to examine the question of the Trade Union Movement, in view of the forthcoming Conference of French Trade Unions in Lille. The decision which the Congress will adopt on this question, will be of considerable importance for the French Trade Unions. The Congress however, accepted the Agenda as proposed by the Executive Committee. The Standing Orders were then unanimously accepted after which, comrade Trotsky's delivered his report on "the world situation and our tasks".

Comrade Trotsky said:

"In our manifestoes at the First and Second Congresses, we described the then prevailing economic position without however, making a detailed examination and analysis of economic relations. Since that time a certain change has taken place in the relation of forces, which in no way can be evaded. The question as to whether this change is a radical one or not, is a superficial one. It must be stated however, that at the present moment the bourgeoisie feels itself, if not stronger than it did a year ago, at any rate stronger than it did in 1919. It is only necessary to examine the most important sections of the capitalist press during the last few months of this year, in order to see to what extent the bourgeois State consciousness has become firmer, how it has become less susceptible to panic in face of the world danger of Communism, in spite of the fact that it realises that the Communists have grown during this period from small isolated groups into a large mass movement. But we need not go to the bourgeois press. We can find as striking evidences of the great change from quite other sources. Take for example the resolutions of the Polish Communist Party on the elections to the Seim. This change in political relations found its expression in that the social democrats and the independents entirely left the government.

In Germany this change took place at first only as a result of pressure from without. A not less striking example is served by the cohabitation of the Amsterdam International with the Second and the Second and a Half Internationals, which ménage à trois, by the by, does not seem to shock these excellent ladies. The years after the war are characterised by an unparalleled rise in the revolutionary movement. In March 1917, Tzarism was overthrown in Russia. In May 1917, a strike-wave spread over England. In November 1917, the Russian Proletariat seized political power. I will not deny that on seizing the power in our country, our cause in other countries seemed much riper than it actually was. In November 1918, the overthrow of the German and Austro-Hungarian monarchists took place. A strike movement spread over a number of European countries. In 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic arose. At the end of 1919, a strike wave spread among the metallists, miners and railwaymen of the United States. France achieved its highest state of political tension in May 1920. In September 1920, the proletarian movement developed in Italy for the seizure of factories. The Tchech proletariat in December 1920 resorted to mass political strikes. In March 1920—21, the workers of Central Germany rose, and the British miners commenced their gigantic strike. At the same time, the past year is marked by a number of defeats of the of the working class. In August 1920, the Red Army offensive on Warsaw ended in failure. In September 1920 movement of the Italian proletariat ended without result. If M. Turatti asserts that this movement failed because the Italian workers were not sufficiently ripe to seize the factories and manage them, then it is necessary to assert that the Italian Labour Movement has not yet purified itself from the MM. Turatti. The revolt of the German workers also ended without definite successes in March 1920. All this leads Herr Otto Bauer to the conclusion that the Communists have failed because it is alleged they had entered into a wager with the Second International that the

revolution would take place, well if not, in 1918, then in 1919, as if the fixing of dates is the quintessence of Communism in distinction to the reformist and opportunist tendencies.

Nevertheless, the question arises before the Comintern and the whole working class as to what extent the new political relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class corresponds to the actual relation of forces. Is there sufficient grounds to assume that the place of political shocks and class struggles will be taken by a prolonged period of re-establishment and growth of capitalism? Does it not follow from this, that we should revise the programme and tactics of the Communist International?

In coming to the review and analysis of the economic situation, I want to observe that this is a very complicated task, for the very statistics which should lie at the basis of such an analysis bears the traces of the prevailing economic chaos. However inexact these figures may be (I shall have to refer to this more then once in my speech) nevertheless, they give us some idea of the character of the world economic position. I will commence with agriculture. If we compare the harvest of 1920 with the average harvests of the 5 years before the war, we find that there has been no decrease, but if we take Europe alone, we find that in 1920 there is a reduction of 120,000,000 quintals, and in this connection America has a surplus as compared with a shortage in Europe. The same thing can be applied to cattle breeding. If we take into consideration that the population of Europe in comparison with the period previous to the war, has grown by 18,000,000 in spite of the colossal death rate as a consequence of the war, the fact that humanity has become poorer as compared with the period before the war, will become strikingly clear. If we take the mining industry, we get a much more striking picture. The world output of coal in 1920, was 76% of that of 1913 in connection with which, in Europe there is an under-production of 18% and an increase of output in America to the extent of 13%. The output of iron and other basic branches of industry presents the same picture. If we analyse the economic position of the world as a whole, and that of individual countries, the poverty caused by the war will stand out in striking relief. The national wealth of the countries participating in the war was valued before the war at 2,400 milliards of German gold marks and the annual national income was calculated at 300 milliards. According to authoritative economists, the war has destroyed not less than 50% of the whole of the national wealth. If we take into consideration the fact that the war could only have used up 1/3 of the annual national income, we are faced by the fact that the national wealth of the belligerent countries up till 1919, has been reduced by not less than one third valued therefore at not more than 1,600 milliards gold marks. Paper currency however has become inflated to an extraordinary degree. From the 28 milliard marks of pre-war times, it has risen to 300 milliards, an increase of over ten times. This latter circumstance is a proof of a decrease in national income, although not to the extent of the decrease of national wealth. As a consequence of the unparalleled to that period sharpening of the contradictions of capitalist society. This process superficially assumed the form of enrichment. Governments issued loan after loan and flooded the market with paper money, which swelled the material loss, which actually existed. Meanwhile, machinery and buildings became worn out, and were not renewed. Fictitious capital grew as productive capital deteriorated, and the means of the circulation of commodities, the credit system became a means of mobilising national wealth for the purposes of the war. This process of impoverishment is best of all illustrated by the extreme housing crisis in all the countries which had been dragged into the war. The building industry, is one of the most important branches of national economy proved to be completely neglected. This impoverishment of humanity is distributed equally among individual countries. In one zone there is Russia, in the other the United States. But of Russia as a non capitalist country one most speak separately. Therefore, the first place in our analysis must be taken by Germany. The present economic position of Germany is strikingly described by the facts and figures contained in Richard Calvert's

book on State Bankruptcy. In 1907 the number of people employed in producing the material wealth of Germany, was 11,300,000. now only 4,800,000 are employed, i. e. only 42% of pre-war time. In agriculture, instead of a harvest of 15,000,000 tons of the pre-war period, we get in 1919, 6,600,000, in 1920, 5,200,000. In the building industry also Calvert points out a worsening of the situation by more than 50%. The State debts of Germany have grown to 250 milliard gold marks. The amount paper money has increased more than 16 times while the actual value of the mark is not more than 7 pfennigs of pre-war time. The national wealth which before the war was valued at 225 milliard gold marks, is now valued at 100 milliards. The national revenue yield only 16 instead of 40 milliards, i. e. Germany has become 60% poorer. Germany, in the middle of the nineties, the beginning of the so called "storm and stress" period of capitalism. The so called duty of reparation which is simply contribution imposed on Germany amounted yearly to 2 milliard gold marks. Therefore it is but natural that Calvert establishes the complete inability for Germany to gradually restore the normal rate of exchange between the gold mark and the State finance and defines the position of Germany as State Bankruptcy. In Germany they have of late been writing and speaking a great deal of State Bankruptcy, from the economical, political, philosophical, moral and other points of view. However that may be, with the moral or without a moral these gentry cannot escape bankruptcy.

It is much more difficult to deal with France. The figures there are more often concealed and when they are given, they are too often false. The national revenue of France is expressed by the following figures. The amount of cattle has decreased by five million heads, the quantity of wheat by 23 million quintals, coal by 16 million tons, but if we count Alsace Lorraine and the Saar, by 6 million tons. Steel Casting has decreased by more than half. The trade balance of France is most characteristic.

It was closed for 1919 and 1920 with liabilities amounting to 5 milliard francs. It is true that the balance "improved" during the first quarter of 1921. Exports and imports balance each other, but as it is stated by "Temps" — only because the import of raw material has decreased not owing to any increase in the export of finished articles. The State debt from 1913 to 1921 increased tenfold. The circulation of paper money has increased seven times. The normal deficit-not counting the so-called reparation expenses, — the payment of which on the part of Germany appears to us rather doubtful — amounts to 5 and 1/2 milliard francs. There is nothing surprising when Mr Scherrer on one hand speaks of France as having been turned into a huge bureaucratic machine, incapable to do any work and when Chevons on the other — states there is only an undisguised bankruptcy, which can put an end to the flood of money. France is simply the most parasitical country in Europe and the world. It exists only by robbing Germany and the colonies and Germany loses twice as much as is being acquired by France. Such is the position of France, which is now undoubtedly playing the leading role in Europe. England was affected by the war less than any other country in Europe. If the agriculture improved somewhat in the course of the war, it was only for a short space of time and was due to extraordinary subsidies from the State. The coal industry, the mainstay of the British economy, decreased 20% since the war. The same took place in the steel industry. We leave out of our account the year 1921 during the first quarter of which the output of coal was steadily decreasing, the year which is marked by a gigantic strike. The export of coal the chief article of foreign exports of England has decreased during the 7 years, 76%. The output for the first 5 months of 1921, forms only 1/6 of the pre-war export. Foreign trade generally has decreased one third of its pre-war volume. As regards the British State debt it has increased eleven fold — the British war budget increased for the same period three times, and finally what is more characteristic for England which is losing and perhaps has already lost its former exceptional world position — is that the pound sterling — the sovereign — which by its very name symbolised the world preponderance of the

Congress of the Comintern.

Economic Position.

British currency, has lost all its halo and is deposed by the American dollar, in comparison to which the pound at the beginning of this month lost 24% of its real value.

If three of the most important capitalist States of the pre-war time were ruined by the war — American industry developed tremendously at their expense and the cost of the impoverishment of Europe. In America coal industry increased more than ten percent, the production of oil doubled and now America produces 45% of all the coal in the world, 30 percent of the world tonnage and possesses 85% of all the motorcars in the world. If you take the whole world, the average of one motorcar to 100,000 persons. In America there is a motorcar to every 12 persons. The American pre-war exports were made up, one third finished articles and two thirds of food and raw material. But after the war, this was radically changed and the finished articles formed 60% of the American exports. America from being the country of agricultural exports has evolved into almost the only great country of exports of industrial products. The surplus of exports reaches during the 6 years (1915-1920) 18 millions. It is interesting to note, that though the United States comprise only 6 percent of the total population of the world and 7 percent of its total area, they possess at the present time 20 percent of all the gold, 25 percent of all the wheat, 50 percent of zinc, 45 percent of coal, 60 percent of aluminium, copper and cotton, 66 percent of oil, 70 percent of Indian corn and 85 percent of all the motorcars. At the same time, the indebtedness of the United States amounts to 18 milliard dollars and increases daily by 10 million dollars. Thus, America is continually striving to obtain gold from the whole world. We have already referred to the world importance of the dollar.

We witness the same growth in Japan. The latter has also utilised the war for the purpose of extending its world market, but her development is incomparably less striking than that of the United States, and is very artificial in a series of industrial enterprises. However, we should note that the output of coal in Asia has increased by 36 percent. This industrial growth was followed by an immense growth of the labour army which now numbers about 24 millions of whom some 12 percent are organised in Trade Unions. Passing to other questions, I wish to make a remark concerning Russia, but a special report on Russia will be given by comrade Lenin. Bourgeois politicians and economists might say that the national economy of Russia has also not improved since the war. Hughes the Australian Premier in his letter to the notorious Mr. Gompers stated that in reference to the resumption of trade relations with Russia, that it is doomed to failure, as Russia is a gigantic economic "void", and that the disorganisation of Russian industries is in no way due to the blockade or to the mobilisation caused by civil war, a mobilisation which he states was far less extensive than the one before the Bolshevik seized the power. Of course I cannot now, in the middle of the demobilisation indicate the precise figure of those who took part in civil war, I can only state that both arguments of Mr. Hughes are absolutely false. On one part at the moment of the greatest tension the Red Army numbered several million men of whom about one fourth were skilled workers, a circumstance which must of necessity have affected the industries. On the other hand, my friends kindly supplied me with data on objects which have never been manufactured in Russia, and had always been imported from Germany and England, and without which whole branches of peoples' economy cannot normally exist.

This refers to a whole series of necessary tools and appliances for the coal mining, the textile, metallurgical and the paper industries, with which Russian industry could be set going immediately, provided every thing was granted, in order to surpass her pre-war production. Hence the blockade had no influence on the condition of Russian industry and such were the conditions for the resumption of trading relations.

Whilst examining the world situation, we must of course confess that the industrial rise and recovery of the Spring of 1919 was only an imaginary growth of national prosperity. The end of the 4 years war, the demobilisation and the change from war to peace, with its impending crisis as a result of the war,

the exhaustion and the chaos, apparently seemed to give way in a few months to an industrial recovery. Industry absorbed almost all the demobilised workers and although the rate of wages in general lagged behind the rise in the cost of living, nevertheless it increased and resulted in an apparent economic improvement. These satisfactory circumstances of 1919-1920, which eased the difficult period of liquidating the war, served to raise the hopes of the bourgeoisie and brought up the question of a new organic period of capitalist development. Nevertheless, the recovery of 1919 and 1920 was not the beginning of a recovery in capitalist economy, but on the contrary its imaginary growth as a result of the war.

The war resulted in an almost unbounded market for the main branches of industry and a complete protection from competition. The production of means of production was replaced by the production of means for destruction. If the recovery of stock exchange activities, the rise in prices, and the unusual growth of speculation, resulted in an apparently satisfactory situation in 1919 and 1920, the state of industry however presented a class picture of the illusion of this recovery. In the Middle East, the West and South-East of Europe, there was a fall in production, in France a recovery, due to the plundering of Germany, and in England, a state of stagnation if not regress.

Such is the manner in which we have to regard the absence of a satisfactory state of affairs for production in Europe, but in America this was only partially evident in the rise in prices, the increase in profits, a frenzied circulation and a fall in the European exchange as compared with the American. "That the after war situation is exclusively based on speculation" — said comrade Varga — can be most clearly seen in Germany. This satisfactory situation is due only to sales. The remnants of her State property is being sent abroad at absurd prices". As a result of this imaginary recovery in the economic situation there was a further flood of paper money and the transfer of the economic centre of gravity into the United States, which resulted in the political safety of the capitalist States. But does this similar situation mean a new organic epoch of capitalism? Many comrades were inclined to believe this, basing themselves on quotations from Engels and Marx, when speaking of the revolution of 1848, as the result of the crisis of 1847 and referring to the reaction of the following years as the result of the economic recovery of 1850 and 1851. Such ideas can only be treated as misconceptions. The main substance of the development of capitalist economy is that it is not at all exhausted by the alteration of trade booms and slumps or by the rise and fall of its industrial growth. The alteration is merely one of the attributes of economic development, the substance of the matter is explained by the resolute curve of these fluctuations. The latter are inevitable in any form of economic development, whether it be a recovery, a state of stagnation, or a slump. If the average curve of these fluctuations results in an upward slope then we have an uninterrupted condition of capitalist recovery in spite of any alterations, and, the root of the matter is this or that in analysing the economic development of the last 50 years we have an upward curve to the beginning of the war a downward slope after the war, in spite of any temporary booms and slumps, or temporary deviations in one direction or another, before or after the war.

This is why the present epoch must not be looked upon as an era of organic development of capitalism. The growing crisis commenced precisely in these countries where industry had reached its highest point. Japan and America were the first countries affected by it. The fall of the purchasing power of Europe had its complete indebtedness to the United States, were the first external causes of the present crisis. The hothouse development could not continue any longer. The world market became completely disorganised. The question that might present itself then, is whether this crisis will not be succeeded by an epoch of favorable conditions for industrial development, and a beginning of an organic period which might be considered as the postponement of the revolution for many years. There is no essential connection between these years of rise and fall and the revolution. Rem-

ember Russia after 1905. Then the years of the defeat of the revolution coincides with the years of an industrial crisis, whilst the years of 1908-12 of industrial upheaval were marked by the growth of the labour movement, expressed in open street demonstrations on the very eve of the world war. "Would you say then that the establishment of capitalist equilibrium is impossible?" I may be asked, theoretically. No. The situation has not changed materially since the first and second congress. We then marked our immediate aims and the direct road leading to them. Now that we have travelled a part of the road we see that this road is only a continuation of the previous one which rising and now falling yet always in the direction which we marked before us. It is not enough to state a theoretical impossibility. But it is very important to take into consideration the actual conditions which make impossible the restoration of capitalistic equilibrium. Opportunists love to talk of an automatic restoration of capitalistic development, which is very characteristic of them. As though the question is not of two fighting classes, but some automatic process, independent of the will of millions of people and free from the political relations of the two classes. This contempt on the part of the opportunists towards the masses is a striking example of their tactics.

This means their total failure to take account at what a tremendous rate the clash of class interests is developing side by side with the industrial crisis. While commodity production has fallen, class differentiation and the intensification of the class struggle are marching ahead with giant strides. The rate of this process is so rapid that we are confronted not with a single working class, but with a whole aggregate of different layers of workers. Along with the elements politically trained in the traditions of the labour movement, we have an immense class of workers brought to life by the war, including a great number of women who have only recently stepped on the stage of the class struggle. Alongside of those sections of the working class who at times show a high degree of tactical circumspection, we have layers caught up by the up-tide of the revolution and eager for aggressive action; but without fully realizing all the consequences of such action. On the other hand there is also an abrupt change of the whole situation within the bourgeoisie. While the forefront of the political struggle and political power in bourgeois countries is manned by the trusted cohorts of the bourgeoisie, the non-trusted elements of the petty bourgeoisie are sinking into relative and absolute poverty, sinking down the social scale and lining up with the open opposition to the trusted bourgeoisie. We do not in the least intend, as do the reformists and independents, to assume the leadership of this non-trusted middle class, but we must state that in proportion as the proletarian forces become consolidated, these middle layers will be neutralized if they are not carried along by the revolutionary tide of the proletariat at the time of its decisive onslaught. This applies to considerable sections of the peasantry, who seem to have made their pile in accumulating an abundant supply of paper money, but practically were the first to suffer ruin caused by the downfall of large industry.

To these hopes of restoring social equilibrium perfectly correspond to the hopes of restoring the international balance of power. If the immediate aim of the imperialistic war were to replace the numerous national states by one world-wide state, we must say that those responsible for the war failed to achieve full success. The outcome of the war is just in the opposite direction; the formation of a number of small states in Europe was the result, which proved that the giants of imperialism were unable to divide world power among themselves. This has given rise to a series of ceaseless international crises in the political field. France plays the part of the leading state in Europe, clashing at every step with England's policy which is growing ever more antagonistic to the interests of France, especially as regards Germany. If we may speak of an automatic clash of interests anywhere, it is exclusively in connection with the relations between England and the United States. To begin with two American workers produce as much as five Englishmen. The United States own 45% of the world's coal supply and above one third of petroleum. In the case of petroleum matters are not so simple. It is one thing to speak of

the geological forecast of the potential oil supply, it is quite a different matter when speaking of actual oil supply. American economists already sound the alarm that in ten years time the supply of American oil will be exhausted, which will spell the total stagnation of the colossal motor car traffic, and shipping facilities now amounting to six times the auto-transportation of the globe. We must add to this the indebtedness of Europe to America, the successful attempts on the part of the latter to concentrate in its hands the entire cable system of the globe, the unusual rapid growth of her marine tonnage, which even now amounts to 35% of the total tonnage of the world. When we take all this into consideration, it will be perfectly easy to understand not only the motives behind the political alliance between England and Japan, but also all the consequences of this alliance. In 1924, the American navy will exceed in tonnage the combined navies of England and Japan. But since "Britania rules the waves," he will rule the world, who rules the ocean—and herein lies the meaning of all England's world politics—one does not need to be a prophet to say that we are nearing an armed clash between the United States and England, and in this case it is almost for the first time in history when the time of a conflict of this kind can be foretold with almost calendar precision.

England is faced with the alternative—either to finally abandon its world supremacy or to stake her fate, and all her national wealth on the fortunes of war. On the other hand the armies of Europe have increased considerably in comparison with pre-war times, by about 30%. This is explained by the colossal position of European states, by the necessity for every new state to retain its customs, frontier guards, its gendarmerie, and the military pacification which commenced after the war. Thus we can without a doubt say, that our description of the world situation seen at the First and Second Congress remains valid. No social equilibrium has been established, not even partial equilibrium has achieved in the international capitalist policy. The international proletarian lands, as it stood faced by the growing imperialist conflict on the one hand the growing social antagonism on the other. The ruin of the productive forces of Europe, the growth of the workers movement in the East, the growth of social antagonism in America, all leads to consolidation of the working class, to the continuous gaining of experience in the class struggle, all this speaks of the correctness of our tactics and methods adopted in the struggle. It is necessary for us to carefully examine our tactics to adapt them to the conditions and needs of each country separately, and in this lies the main work of our congress. Our fundamental task is to form out of the communist party, a party of Action. It must stand at the head of the struggling masses, it must clearly and precisely formulate fighting slogans of social democracy. It must adopt broadly the strategy to the class struggle, to learn to manoeuvre with the various sections of the working class, with the object of teaching them new methods of struggle, striving to create of them, for the moment of the upon collision with the opposing forces, an invincible army. Every respite must be used by the Party committee for learning the lessons from the struggles of the past, to deepen and widen class contradictions on the national and international scale to unite them in the openness of aims, and action and in the manner to overcome all obstacles in the road to the Dictatorship and the Social revolution.

Continued from page 1.

to the International Congress of Red Labour Unions.

We submit this question — Moscow or Amsterdam — for your decision organised proletarians of Italy.

General Secretary A. Losovsky.
Members of the Bureau: Rosmer, Dmitroff, Watkin, Neckert, Ziperovitch.

For the delegation of Russia: Andreef, Sergeef, Smidt.

France: Rosmer, Tommasi, Godonneche.
Germany: Neckert, Rachmann, Schonback.

England: Watkin, Hewlett, Murphy.
United-states: Flynn, Dixen, Haywood.
Spain: Nin, Ibanez, Arlandis.

Canada: Morgan.
Switzerland: Boms, Brunner.

Hungary: Kiraly, Landler Szanto.
Holland: Caton, Devisser.

Norway: Stospad, Nilssen.

Poland: Maciejewsky, Gliniski, Kamocki.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Bulgaria: Dmitroff, Kovalew, Tabatchkin.

Australia: Howie, Farsman.

Luxembourg: Bukovac, Zeuor.

Denmark: Johansen.

Yugo-slavia: Pavlovitsch, Korun, Djakovitch.

Mexico: Ramirez.

Executive Committee of Comintern.

Evening Session of the Executive Committee on June 16th.—Loriot's speech.

Loriot admitted that the French comrades had committed many errors from the point of view of the Third International, but to be able to pardon and comprehend these errors it is requisite to be intimately acquainted with the entire history of the French Labour movement. Loriot then gave a short general outline of this history up to the first important victory of the communist movement at the Strassburg Congress. From that moment the rise of communism in France proceeded very rapidly. The rise was favoured by two circumstances: first, the fiasco of the strike on May 1st, which aroused the political instincts of the working class on account of the subsequent arrest of a great number of participants; and secondly, the journey of Cachin and Frossard to Russia. Loriot then discussed in great detail the Congress of Tours, which was of such decisive significance for the formation of the Communist Party. He told of the laborious struggle of the young party after the split, when it was threatened with the loss of its party funds and official organ. The split caused considerable disorganisation in the party ranks. Whereas the membership books issued on March 31, 1920 was 130,000, the total number issued up to May 31, 1921 was only 121,000. On the day of Loriot's departure, however, the former total of 130,000 had again been reached. "In view of the fact that we had spent such a long time in prison, and after our release had been occupied in making the preparations for our journey to Moscow, we were not in a position to resume our activities among the labouring masses. We have no doubt, however, that the successful propaganda of the Executive Committee of our party will soon augment our ranks to the former total of 200,000 members.

As for our press, we are at present in possession of five dailies, "L'Humanité" circulating in 80,000 copies in Paris, and 200,000 in the provinces. Besides, we issue quite a number of weeklies and propaganda literature.

Loriot next touched upon the question of the relations between the French Communist Party and the French syndicalists. With extreme thoroughness he submitted evidence to prove that, by unabated effort and diligent propaganda, they were succeeding in gradually drawing into the revolutionary ranks those masses of French trade unionists who harbour traditional opposition to everything savouring of politics. That he considers the main task of the party. The chief problem is to find the proper policy to attain the subordination of the French trade union movement to the Communist Party.

Loriot concluded by pointing out that the French Communist Party is still confronted by a prodigious organisational task, the successful execution of which will raise the party to the leadership of the revolutionary movement in France.

Comrade Reiland: The Luxembourg Communists are convinced that the policy of the French Party is ambiguous and anti-communist. The attitude of its press and its conduct in the Chamber is open to severe criticism. The article written by Frossard during the mobilisations for the occupation of the Ruhr District was a scandal, it was directly anti-communist and proved that men like Frossard had no honest will to communism. The attitude of the Party towards the trade unions is the same as it was before. It did not raise a single protest against the occupation of Luxembourg by French troops. We are of the opinion that the policy of the leaders must be made clear to the workers, and the best way to do that is for the Committee to secure the expulsion of Frossard.

Comrade Lekan: The French Party, failed at the critical moment. The Executive must not be satisfied with words but must demand deeds. One of the gravest errors committed was that no rigid organisation was carried out in France after the Congress. The Communist Party of France has a membership of 30,000, when the old Socialist Party has 9,000 members. But with such a loose organisation it is impossible to organise a strong movement, in spite of the fact that the members do not lack a desire for the struggle. If we were to analyse the movement led by Longuet and Renaudel and that of Cachin and Frossard, we would find no difference between them. The present ideology of the whole party must be completely eradicated, and the Executive must clearly and

definitely declare that it is not in agreement with the French movement.

Comrade Trotsky: Although I too am dissatisfied with the tactics of the French Communist Party, nevertheless I will commence my criticism not against its tactics but against its critics who base their criticism on a wrong point of view. Comrade Laporte charged the party with having at the moment when the 1919 class were being called to the colours conducted themselves not only incorrectly but cowardly. I would ask what should the workman or the peasant have done when, having on the instructions of the party, refused to respond to the call to the colours, a gendarme pre-empted himself at his house? He would either have to respond to the call or employ violence against the police. What possibilities were there for a successful appeal to the '19 class, these 150,000 young men, to resist the calling up by a general strike or a revolutionary action. It would mean calling upon class '19 immediately to make a revolution. In reply to the charges of the comrades from Luxembourg we must first of all order to prevent the military occupation of Luxembourg? In order to do this it would have been necessary to make a revolution against the French State. If at the moment when the French bourgeoisie were driven into war, at the moment when Germany is defeated and being plundered to this very day, no revolution has been made, it is impossible to make a revolution on the grounds of such a minor incident as the occupation of Luxembourg.

With regard to the tactics of the French Party we must say that it has sinned considerably, that its will to revolution and its conceptions are confused and that it has allowed possibilities for action to slip by. The situation in France is difficult, but on the other hand it is a high degree favourable for the revolutionary development of the French workers.

The gravest charge that one must make against the French Party is its vacillation with regard to the syndicalists. The duty of the Party is to attract the syndicates to itself by means of its revolutionary conduct and to clear their ideas and conceptions. We will not demand that the French party promise to make a revolution or a rebellion when the 18 class was called up. The Congress, however, must demand of the French Party that it prepare for the revolution and that it have a clear conception of proletarian revolution. We must openly combat the Opportunism of the Party, but also warn it against a too Left orientation. For the rest comrade Lenin completely supported the standpoint of comrade Trotsky.

The Sitting of June 17th.

Comrade Loriot: If the Communist Party had nothing to teach to the young then in France at any rate we should merely have to leave the fate of the working class in the hands of the young communists. We can only reach our goal by a hearty cooperation between the young communists and the Party, not in the split or in the manifesto issued on the occasion of the mobilisation of the '19 class, which incited to revolution.

Loriot then referred to comrade from Luxembourg. He thought in unnecessary to refute him at length as he was already brilliantly refuted by Comrade Trotsky. Dealing with the question of Frossard's expulsion from the Party, Comrade Loriot said "As regards this decision which apparently is a sort of trial for us, viz. to exclude comrade Frossard from the Party, I trust that the Executive Committee will not insist on that, as the vote which will have to be taken to carry it into effect will lead to disastrous consequences". Loriot expresses the view that the masses do not regard Frossard as an opportunist or an enemy of communism, but on the contrary, the French proletariat regards him as a man who went to Moscow in order to reconstruct and who is animated by the desire to act as a communist".

Then Loriot turned against the Hungarian comrade, who reproached the French communist with their policy which, he said, did not in any way differ from that of opportunist seceders. Loriot admitted that the organ of the French Communists "L'Humanité" is not entirely permeated with the spirit of communism, but this was bound to come in time.

In answer to the reproach not to have taken up a definite line with regard to

the Levi affair, Loriot stated that he got Levi's pamphlet only the day before his departure. It is for this reason alone that the Central Committee of our Party has given us no instructions with regard to this question.

Loriot spoke with enthusiasm of Trotsky's criticism, who—in the opinion of Loriot—made a very clever distinction between Trade-Unionism and Syndicalism. Yet up to now the Communist Party of France was unable to give practical effect to the views of Trotsky for fear of being misunderstood by the workers organised in the trade unions. But Loriot proposes to start this activity and will make the first steps in this direction immediately on his return home.

Comrade Losovsky stated, on the ground of Loriot's speech that the French Party is suffering mainly from its old traditions and therefore cannot be regarded as a purely Communist Party. He believed that the struggle against Renaudel, Longuet and others is not being consistently fought. He considers it most peculiar, that in the French Chamber, the Communist deputies exchange greetings and shake hands with Briand. The Speaker reproached the French comrades with a lack of consistency, a lack of class consciousness and hatred which must be felt by a genuine Communist against the bourgeoisie. He accused them of having altogether neglected an opportunity, which was specially favourable to a mass action viz. the occupation of the Rhine provinces. He concluded with the remark that the most pressing task of the moment facing the French Communists is the revolutionising of the Trade Unions.

Comrade Laporte discussed in detail the question of the Young Communist Movement in France. He demonstrated the absolute necessity of the youth organisations operating independently from the party, as, in his opinion, only the Young Communists of France were really imbued with true revolutionary, communist spirit whereas the party, in spite of its acceptance of the Theses and the 21 conditions of the Communist International was still far from evincing any active revolutionary communism. The Party in no way, for example, aroused any opposition to the mobilisation of the 1921 class, and it was the Young Communist movement alone which commenced a real revolutionary struggle against the French militarist-imperialist government. It was unpardonable neglect on the part of the Communist Party to permit an excellent moment for revolutionary action to pass, an opportunity that will not soon return. Action of this kind is imperative, as only thereby can we hope to win over the vast French syndicalist masses. So long as the party does not proceed along this path, it will not be Communist Party, and will never be able to exert any influence on the broad masses of the French working class.

Comrade Schwab (K. A. P. D.) Owing to the short time which I have at my disposal I shall only deal with the question of the syndicalists. Comrade Trotsky has stated that we must criticise the syndicalists in order to obtain clearness and unity in this way. Comrade Losovsky on the other hand says that the communists must obtain a majority through propaganda. Both methods do not give us the solution of the problem.

It is impossible to expect that the revolutionary syndicalists will be persuaded by arguments that it is necessary for them to submit to the leadership of the communist party. The present Communist party in France as a parliamentary party is not a fit instrument of revolution. So long as the International maintains the view that the communists must go to parliament the Syndicalists and other groups related to them all over the world will not acknowledge that communists ought to be entrusted with the leadership of trade unions.

Com. Bela Kun related an episode from the period of March rising referring to a discussion he had with a French Comrade. The possibility of a very small propaganda in the French army, if the Rhine provinces were to be occupied, was discussed. The French comrade was simply frightened out of his wits and said "but surely that would be high treason".

This ejaculation is typical of the spirit which reigns among the French Communists Party. If we consider L'Humanité we must say that "Freiheit" is a revolutionary paper. As regards the questions

of the reparations and sanctions, every pacifist is agitating and writing against the contributions and annexations. What has the French Party done? It has done positively nothing during the whole course of the mobilisation and previous to that. Trotsky treated the young communists rather ironically and declared the youthful comrades had made stupid demands on the leaders of the party. But this is only in consequence of the inactivity and the anti-communist ideas of the French party leaders. Unfortunately it is not only the privilege of youth to commit follies — the party makes much greater opportunist blunders. In a most critical situation the French Party was incapable of acting otherwise and Comrade Frossard wrote an article on "a cool head and discipline". We do not demand of the French party a revolution, we only demand a revolutionary propaganda. I propose that the Executive Committee should send a commission which will thoroughly investigate the French conditions and make various conditions to be fulfilled in the shortest time before the party is definitely accepted.

Comrade Thalheimer. In Germany we were also under the impression that the attitude taken up by the French comrades in parliament and the press on the questions of reparations did not give adequate expression to the temper of wide circles in the country.

Comrade Schwab has made a proposal that the French party should more or less adopt the tactics of the K. A. P. in the question of trade unions. If we observe the influence of the K. A. P. D. in the trade unions, we shall understand at once what this offer means.

Comrade Lenin, argued against the left orientation of Com. Bela Kun. He exposes not only opportunist errors but left errors as well. If we were to follow Bela Kun's advice in the French question we would thereby for a long time destroy the French movement altogether. I don't want to defend the French Party. I no that it is by no means thoroughly communist and does not always act as a communist party. If the party appeals to the coolheadedness and discipline of its members, the lefts should not make any capital out of this fact.

Comrade Zinoviev. The form of the old Executive agreed to accept the French Party. Seratti at that time complained that we were making too great concessions to it, but the position in the French party was quite different to that of Italy. In France, for example, we had a Party which had not yet experienced its first split. The Communist group was very weak and its leaders without exception were in prison. For these reasons we had to adopt less stringent measures. Of course in an opportunist party the younger element as the vanguard must not be opportunist. Bela Kun's statement that "Humanité" was worse than "Freiheit" is not true. "Humanité" is progressing, "Freiheit" is regressing, Humanité defends Russia, Freiheit carries on a campaign against the only Proletarian State. The Executive, in a resolution or in a letter must clearly and definitely say to the Party what has to be said. We will assist the Party to remain a mass Party, and the policy which we have laid down at the II Congress must be maintained at the Third.

Red Trade Unions

To the Delegates of the Organisation Committee.

On Saturday 25th of June 1 p. m. at the Round Hall of the Moscow Provincial Council of Trade Unions the Inaugural Session of the Organisation Committee will take place.

General Manager of the International Council

of Trade Unions

Aroseff.