



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
No 31.  
July 2<sup>nd</sup>  
1921.

## Invitation to the Second Congress of the Young Communist International.

As has already been announced, the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International will be held at Moscow immediately after the close of the Third Congress of the Comintern. This congress will be of the greatest and most decisive importance, both in point of organisation as well as political principles, for the further development of the Young Communist Movement. The rapid development of strong communist mass parties in the West, and the fact that the Comintern has grown into a single, strong Communist Party composed of national sections now puts other problems before the Young Communists than those of former times. Years ago, when there were no such Communist Parties, revolutionary organisations of young socialists had to act as political parties themselves. The Second Congress of the Young Communists International will fix and clearly define the new functions of the Y. C. I. arising out of the changed conditions. At the same time the questions in connection with further and wider development of the previously small young communist organisations, the economic struggle of the young proletarians, led by the young communist organisations, the extension and intensification of educational work, agitation among young farmers, the attitude towards students, and the work among the youthful revolutionaries in the colonies and in the orient, will all form matters for discussion.

One of the most important questions at the congress, which will demonstrate the altered role of the young communist movement most distinctly, is the question of the relationship between the young communist organisations and the communist parties. In view of the high importance of this question, not only for the young communist organisations, but also for all the communist parties, as well as the general importance, as mentioned very rightly by Comrade Zinoviev in his executive committee report, of the winning over of the broad masses of the young workers to the communist movement by means of the young communist organisations, it is absolutely necessary that all communist parties and organisations should be represented at the Second Congress of the Young Communist International. The undersigned committee, authorised to call and make preparations for the congress, therefore urgently invites all communist parties, trade unions, and women's delegations to send their representatives to this second congress of the Y. C. I. Tickets, printed matter, etc may be obtained at the Hotel Luxe, Room 291.

E. C. of Y. C. I.

### Agenda

#### of the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International.

1. The Third Congress of the Comintern and the Tasks of the Young Communists.
  2. Report of the Executive of the Y.C.I.
  3. The relations between the young communist organisations and the Communist Parties, as well as between the Y.C.I. and the Comintern.
  4. The economic struggle of the young proletarians.
  5. Educational activity of the young communist organisations.
  6. Organisational questions: a) Establishment of national organisations, b) International questions (statutes, location of the E. C. headquarters, etc.)
  7. The young revolutionist movement in colonial countries.
  8. The young communist organisations and the young peasants.
  9. The young communist organisations and young students.
  10. Educational work and organisational forms in young communist children's groups.
  11. The question of the organisations of Jewish youth.
  12. Election of the Executive Committee.
- The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Irish Negotiations Deadlock.

London, June 30. It is announced that the Ulster Premier declined De-Valera's invitation to the Dublin conference for July 4th. Replying to this refusal, De-Valera stated: "Lloyd-George proposals, because of its implication, is unacceptable in its present form, as the Irish political differences ought to be adjusted on Irish soil and it is obvious that in negotiating with Britain, the Irish delegation ought not to be divided and should act as united, on some common principle".

#### Engineers reject employers' Offer.

Nauen, June 30. (Wireless.) The Engineers' union declined the employers' offer. Two thirds of the members are prepared to continue the strike.—The English press is rather pessimistic about Great Britain's economical outlook. The "Daily Telegraph" states that many captains of industry are in despair with regard to the future, owing to America's efforts, to Japan's exertions and to Germany's industriousness.

#### Imperial Conference.

London, June 30. The Imperial conference continues the discussion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It appears that the Canadian Premier delivered a strong speech against a renewal of the treaty, and Hughes spoke strongly in favour of the renewal. The South African premier Smuts proposed a conference between Britain, Japan and America, in order to discuss the disarmament question, as well as that of the respective spheres of influence in the Pacific.

#### Arab King Thanks British.

London, June 30. It is officially announced that Ameer Feisal arrived at Basra, was met there by the English authorities as the king of Arabia, and in his reply speech thanked the British representatives "for their desire to serve the interests of the Arab nation". In connection with Feisal's activities the Foreign Affairs committee of the French chamber adopted a resolution, reminding the government of the hostility, constantly shown to France by Feisal and Abdallah, and laying stress on the difficulties which would arise out of a realization of their plans.

### U. S. A.

#### Victory for the Compromisers.

Riga, June, 30th. "Chicago Tribune" states, that at a conference of the American Socialist Party, a resolution to join the III International was voted down 34 to 4. The membership of the Socialist Party decreased during last year.

### ITALY.

#### Ministerial Crisis.

Rome, June, 29th The Ministerial crisis is prolonged as a consequence of difficulties in forming a new Cabinet, which has not been entrusted to any one yet. It was unofficially proposed to the President of the Senate, Nikol to speak to several liberals about the possibility of forming a cabinet. Turratti was also approached but he replied that until the Party Congress, the Socialists will not take any part in the Government. In the opinion of Turratti the Socialists fraction in Parliament although not entering the Government will refrain from opposing. Nikol is not yet satisfied with the result of the negotiations.

#### Arrests of Communists.

In Northern Sweden, the Stockholm police arrested three Swiss Communists, the president of the district Communist organisation, Samuelson, the editor of the Finnish Communist paper "Banchaumen" and the President of the Young Communist Union, Tun.

### FRANCE.

#### Revolutionary Movement Growing.

Riga, June 30. "Humanité" of June, 24th states, that the revolutionary movement, among the workers of Alsace-Lorraine, is growing rapidly. The bourgeoisie and government circles are very much alarmed at the situation.

Repressive measures against the strikers are worse than ever. A recent action can be cited, where an average of 400 months imprisonment were meted out last year to the miners and workers of the metallurgical factories of Lorraine. The inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine hated the Prussian regime but the abuses of French militarism are equally abhorred by them.

#### Increased Army Estimates.

Nauen, June 30. (Wireless.) The French army budget for 1922 has been increased by 1,500,000,000 francs for the current year. When the finance minister intended to reduce the credit by 1,000,000,000, the war minister appealed to the supreme council of national defence.

### POLAND.

#### Polish Rumours.

Riga, June 30. L. T. A. reports. Regarding the report in the German Press of a Polish Soviet agreement of the division of the Baltic coast, under the "Sphere of influence of the two States", the Polish Government sends the following communication by the Prime Minister Meyerovitz: "I have the honour to inform you that no such agreement was discussed between Poland and Soviet Russia. Be good enough to convey this information to the Press".

#### Polish Lithuanian Relations.

London, June 29. The council of the League of Nations adopted a resolution, providing for the establishment before September 1st an "association for the defence of common interests of Poland and Lithuania" and of a local militia under allied control. The Lithuanian delegates refused to accept this resolution and referred the matter back to the Lithuanian government. The council's attempt to induce the Polish and Lithuanian representatives to agree on terms for resuming negotiations was also in vain. "The result is a deadlock", says the "Manchester Guardian". Lord Robert Cecil, Clynnes and Wedgwood in a letter published in the "Times", in view of the failure of the Lithuanian-Polish negotiations, and of the Polish danger to Lithuania, urge the necessity immediately to recognize Lithuania "de jure", hinting that it is only Poland who oppose this recognition.

#### Textile Workers on Strike.

Textile workers at Bielsk, Poland are out on strike. They demand the formation of factory committees, 50 per cent increase of wages, and 50 percent rebate on any purchases of cloth that they make. The employers refused these demands. The workers decided to strike until their demands are granted.

#### Another Campaign of Lies.

The Helsinors correspondent of the "Times" falsely reports that a general mobilisation of all men up till 48 years of age took place in Russia. The "Times" states that the Soviet government wishes to throw itself upon the neighbouring states. This new campaign of lies has but one object—to create ill feeling Russian and Poland; and to destroy the establishment of mutual relationship. Rumours of concentration of military forces at the frontier of Poland are absolutely untrue. This press news is but a campaign against Russia and against her strengthening her growing international relations. No mobilisation or concentration of troops is taking place.

### GERMANY.

#### Orgesch Takes Up New Quarters

Hanover, June 30. (Wireless.) The communist organ "Rote Fahne" announces the arrival of Von der Goltz, Von Jagow and count Westarp at Breslau and comments on this as follows: "The extraordinary meeting of these well known reactionary leaders only means the establishment of Orgesch headquarters there. Important things are expected within the next few days in Silesia. Breslau is still a lively recruiting centre for the "Selbstschutz" and free corps.

#### Obstinate Monarchists.

Berlin, June 30th. The organiser and the chief of the "Orgesch" Escherich, has resigned. Addressing the "Orgesch" Escherich stated that complying with the order of the Imperial Government, and the demand of the Entente, the organisations of the "Einwohnerwehr" will be disbanded, but the spirit and the moral power of these organisations must remain.

#### Lying.

Riga, 30/6. "Rothe Fahne" of the 24th writes: "Freiheit", "Vorwärts", and other so-called labour papers report accounts of the Congress of the Third International as news received from reporters who work on the frontier". The papers do not make use of the direct communications from "Moscow". "Rothe Fahne" states that the German Menshevik papers print more lying information about Soviet Russia than the bourgeois press.

#### Majority Socialist Congress.

Riga, 30/6. "Rothe Fahne" reports that the party of majority socialists are calling a congress on September 16 at Galitz. Results of the Versailles Treaty, the foreign policy of Germany and a party program are items on the agenda.

#### White Terror.

"Humanité" June, 26 published a letter from Barcelona, which says the White Terror there is assuming a frightful character. Tens of Communists were killed. The Secretary of the National Confederation of Labour was killed on his release from prison. In two days 17 Communists perished at the hands of white guards. Within a period of 5 months 764 people were killed. The correspondent begs the journal "Spanish Revolutionist" to draw the attention of French workers to the situation of their brothers in Spain.

#### Easy Turkish Capture.

Lyons, June 30. (Wireless.) According to the Turkish press the Turkish Commander suggested to the Greek military authorities in Ismid, in order to avoid bloodshed, to evacuate that town within one week, under the control of Kemalist military units. The embarkment of refugees for the islands of the Archipelago, chiefly Lemnos, has already begun. The Greeks had already evacuated the town on Tuesday.

#### Congress of Compromisers.

Odessa, June 28th. The paper "Bassarabia", June 22nd communicates, that the Congress of the Rumanian-Socialist Party opened June 20th in Ploshty, under the chairmanship of Dunarine. The deputies Pistler and Kiser came with reports of anti-Communist character, and attacked the workers for their adherence to extreme movements. They demanded disassociation from the Comintern.

#### Russian Representatives Attacked.

Riga, June 30th. "Latvias Kareisis" communicates that on June 28th burglars attempted to enter into the house of the Russian Representative in Albert Street. The culprit frightened by the shots fired by the caretaker disappeared.

**"MOSCOW"**

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.

Editor, Denezny 5, room № 18. Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151. Hours from 3 to 5 (except Sundays). Responsible Secretary, Tyerskaia 48. Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05. Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).

# The End of the Miners' Struggle.

News has come that the miners struggle has ended by their acceptance of the Government's terms. The news as yet is not detailed enough to make it clear to what extent they have been defeated and what concessions they have secured.

This great struggle, the greatest working class struggle in England for many years past, has gone on for three long months. Only once before, in 1893 has there been a longer strike of the British miners. All the time this International Congress has been gathering from every country of the world, right up to the time of its first session over a million British miners have been stubbornly resisting the whole force of the bourgeois state, fighting alone, deserted by their comrades, starving through lack of food. Ten weeks ago when the transport workers' and the railwaymen's leaders deserted the miners at the last moment it seemed as though the colliers' resistance was broken. But, for these last ten weeks they have held on grimly and dauntlessly.

A week ago they made their last effort. They called together the cotton workers, the engineers and the agricultural workers in order to unite them in a combined struggle against the combined capitalists. Apparently they did not succeed. Reformism within those other unions was too strong for them.

It is ended, this miners' struggle, in defeat. But it is defeat with honour. It is their Brest-Litovsk and, like Brest Litovsk, it is not a real defeat. The miners go back to wait for an opportunity to strike again, this time with the certainty of victory. They go back embittered. For twelve weeks the miners have eaten the bread of bitterness and the fact of class struggle has been brought home to every family. The owners have won a victory costly for themselves and for the whole of the bourgeoisie. They have sown dragons' teeth amongst these British coalfields that in their season will grow up into harvests of armed men.

What of Black Friday? That day of the betrayal of the coal miners burned into the minds of the workers their leaders' treachery and faintheartedness. The leaders have been treacherous and fainthearted before. They have forgiven these leaders in the past, but even the forgiveness of the British proletariat has a limit. That limit began to be reached on Black Friday. Now, as the other sections of the workers, with the memory of Black Friday in their minds, face the reduction of their wages and see one leader after another betraying them, deserting them, reaching a "favourable accommodation", preserving industrial harmony, their resentment at this treachery will grow steadily. From that resentment will come a push leftwards and with the Communist Party of Great Britain taking advantage of this leftward movement, the class struggle will be sharpened and an issue made clear of not miners only or engineers only, but the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie.

# Blood Must Run.

The uncanny successes of the Bolsheviks incomprehensible to the great bourgeois politicians and to their General Staffs have found now a ready explanation. The wicked Bolsheviks turn out to be in alliance with "supernatural" powers. It has been known for a long time past that Lenin in framing his State policy is inspired by a mysterious female, who is possessed of a devil and exercises on him the same baleful influence as the monk Rasputin on Nicolas. Now it transpires that these infamous dictators of Russia have other uncanny connections with the powers of Darkness. Satan has enabled them to be present simultaneously at various places and to juggle with time so that the days of the calendar become hopelessly mixed up. While we are here conferring with our Russian friends over the fate of the Revolution, the German nationalists in the Prussian Diet have raised a question in which it is stated that the wicked Russian People's Commissary, Radek is at the present time

The session opened at 12.45 p. m.

Before the discussion of the agenda commenced, Comrade Lazzari made the following declaration in the name of the delegation of the Italian Socialist Party.

"As delegates of the Italian Socialist Party, we are compelled to take cognizance of the resolution adopted with respect to us, the more so as it completely coincides with the Ventivoglio resolution adopted at our congress at Livorno. Yet we are unable to conceal the painful impression made upon us by certain details in the explanation accompanying your decision, and which, in our opinion, do not correspond to the real situation in Italy after the Second International Congress. But we promise to do our utmost to induce the next congress of our party to approve your resolution; we are completely convinced of the necessity of revolutionary unity in the organisation of the various sections of the Communist International."

Lazzari, Tortantino, Maffi, Fabrizio, Reboldi, Ezio.

Further, a declaration of the Swedish Delegation, and a communication of the Tschecho-Slovakian delegation were, without discussion, referred to the Executive Committee and the Small Bureau.

Thereupon Comrade Radek took the floor on the next point of the agenda: "Tactics". He said:

"Comrades, the tactics of the Communist International do not form a problem separate from the concrete facts of the particular period during which it exercises its influence, but rather must the Communist International determine its tactics by a concrete analysis of each particular period. The Communist International must utilise even a prolonged breathing spell gained by capitalist society to prepare for the world revolution, and these preparations consist in organisation, agitation, and the formation of armies for the coming battles. Comrade Trotsky's report and the discussion on it, demonstrated that even though we are certain of the world revolution, we do not close our eyes to the possibility of periods, during which the world crisis will make way for temporary prosperity. We are at present, however, not on the eve of the ebb of the world revolution, but rather collecting our revolutionary forces for new struggles. Martov, whom we certainly never considered to be especially in favour of the world revolution,

in Germany and that there is no doubt that he had been seen there. What does this terrible Radek, wish to do in this peaceful Germany of ours? The German nationalists know all about it. Trotsky, the Generalissimo of the Red Army, appointed him to the chief command of the German Red Army and he is entrusted with the special duty of reorganising that army. The German Nationalists ask what was done by the Prussian Government to save the beautiful German Republic and to free Fritz Ebert, their dearly beloved president, of the terrible danger to which he is now exposed.

It now transpires that Radek's mission is part of a far-reaching Bolshevist plan. "Vorwärts" is in a position to lift up a corner of the veil which is spread over the secrets of the Soviet politics. Although the Third World Congress was only opened on June 22nd "Vorwärts" was able as early as June 16th to publish the following Helsingfors report on Trotsky, the great magician: Trotsky declared at the Third Congress in Moscow that new great wars are in store. He said that the duty of Communists consists in embroiling the bourgeois States.

When "Vorwärts" received this Helsingfors message a cold shudder run down its spine and it ejaculated pitifully:

"A similar idea, expressed by another high priest. Zinoviev we believe, was recently reported in the press. They want more bloodshed!"

"Vorwärts" is right in its complaints. The Bolsheviks are thirsty for the blood of "the noblest and best" of all nations. That is both terrible and criminal. But the good social democrats will only slaughter proletarians and that is commendable work, for firstly these proletarians are largely communists and therefore deserve to be murdered, and secondly these proletarians would gradually starve off under the beneficent reign of democracy, unless Hörsing deals them a coup de grâce.

tion, also admits, in the May 1st edition of the "Freiheit", that the world revolution is by no means at an end. And if the 2 1/2 International points out that we had been speculating on a swift victory, whereas they, as realist politicians, had been convinced of the slow tempo of development, we can reply to them that our idea of the slow tempo of the world revolution differs from theirs. The 2 1/2 International imagines that this gradual preparation of the parties; and when these parties shall have become big and strong, then the time will have come, and then even Adler and Crispian will be found fighting on the barricades. We, however, know that this period will be a long process of fierce struggle, for the Communists will not be able to work slowly and peacefully, waiting for something to turn up.

Neither in Central Europe nor in Western Europe will the Communists get the possibility of developing and preparing undisturbed; on the contrary, such preparation will take place amidst persecutions and conflicts. During the course of the coming battles, there will be no reason to give up a single one of the basic ideas with which we entered the battle.

The resolution of the Second and a half International on the methods and organisation of the class struggle, states among other things that wherever there is a danger of a proletarian class rule supplanting the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will as a rule attempt to put down the democratic development by force—only where the bourgeoisie does not have sufficient means of oppression will the proletariat be able to assume political power through democracy. But even then the bourgeoisie will use its economic power and try to disorganise the proletarian state by means of sabotage. Therefore even in this case the proletariat will be forced to apply dictatorial methods.

On the other hand wherever the bourgeoisie has the power and means to assert its domination by force, it will destroy democracy and provoke the proletariat to an open struggle. The decisive factor here will not be the ballot box but the economic and military resources of the fighting masses. The proletarian dictatorship will have to be realised by means of Worker's, Peasant's, and Soldiers Councils.

It means that as a rule the proletariat must down the resistance of the bourgeoisie by force. Thus we see that the Second and a Half International did not succeed in discovering any new ideas and that in spite of all the small talk about our theoretical bankruptcy nothing remains but the banner of the Communist International, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet system. But they also held that the time will come when the state will be able to do without soldiers.

Lately the chief argument against the Communist International has become the assertion that the State of Russia is a proof that the Proletarian Dictatorship is not the way to Victory.

Russia—they say—proved by its concessions to foreign capital and the petty bourgeoisie, that the Dictatorship does not lead to Communism. If Russia proves any thing at all it is that an isolated and agricultural country finds it much more difficult to introduce Communism. On the other hand, the example of England and France proves that the way of democracy leads us to the rule of plutocracy, the rule of re-action. Our chief task from the very first day consisted in winning over to communism the proletarian masses to gather them into a revolutionary proletarian vanguard.

These tactics attacked some of the comrades who regard themselves as being more "left" than ourselves — Gorter and Pannekok. It is safe that the basis of proletarian dictatorship in Western Europe must be broader than in Russia, as the bourgeoisie is better organised. In this respect we are of the same opinion. The question consists only in how we should win the masses over to communist ideas, objects, and struggles. Is this respect Gorter and Pannekok maintains the view that the small group of communists should gather and take on themselves, so to say, the task of prophets, who will rouse the masses by their example. With what example? They cannot start a rising, for that is a matter for the masses; the same holds good as

# The Tenth Session of the Report of Session Comrade Radek on the

regards mass strikes, consequently all they can do is to carry on propaganda. Contrary to this theory of the Dutch, the K. A. P. D. is willing to take up the struggle with anarchy in all its aspects. The Communist International must object to this theory for experience has taught us that this theory has not helped the Labour Movement to make a single step forward. It is only where the masses gather, in the trade unions, where we also meet the counter revolutionary elements, that we have to conquer that part of the proletariat which will go along with us.

Our main task consists in conquering the great masses for the ideas of communism. This question can only be solved, if we examine critically all the teachings which the practise of former times has left us. Let us consider the little English Communist Party. Imagine England, where a great class struggle is taking place at the present time. We can see here that even the smallest communist party must show the way to the masses. It is not enough for us to rely on the motto "Don't trust your leaders", we must have the proletariat and must be in the front ranks of the fighters: We must therefore call on the masses to go forward; if we analyse the lessons of the three great mass struggles of the proletariat, the Italian struggle with the seizure of factories, the Tschecho-Slovakian struggles and the German March rising, we shall discover the great way which we have to follow. In Italy the most illused of the proletariat, the metal, textile, and chemical workers, took possession of the factories. The homeless proletarians took possession of the villas and palaces of the rich in order to utilise them for their wives and children. This is undoubtedly a great revolutionary mass movement. But Seratti states that this was a trade union movement. Half a million workers were taking part in the revolutionary struggle. The government was powerless. But the trade union bureaucracy thought that it had the control of production in its hands and broke off the struggle. The workers should have mainly attempted to use the actual control of the production as a means of consolidating themselves against the capitalist state, and as the means of arming the working class.

The spontaneous movement in Tschecho-Slovakia which started after the Peoples Palace had been robbed assumed immense proportions. The German workers of Northern Bohemia joined in the struggle and made several demands: the restitution of the Peoples Palace, the liberation of the prisoners, the formation of the Workers Councils, higher wages, the arming of the workers etc. The leader of the Left Socialist Party ever since its foundation, asserted that the masses were not sufficiently prepared and that we cannot openly form a communist party. The masses were not ripe, and now events have proved that the masses were riper than the leaders. However the party has not profited by the lesson of this great struggle. The great movement was allowed to slip without leadership.

The German March rising gives us an example of the opposite. Levi in his pamphlet represents this movement as if it had been engineered by a few hot-heads and in that case we could hardly draw any lessons from it. However we are not going to discuss this. Let us all try to learn things.

Comrade Radek then gave a short retrospective history of the V. K. P. D. movement since its foundation as the Spartacus union till the Halle Party Congress.

The German Party to this day has not a press that is closely connected with the broad masses of the workers. It is still to a large measure a theoretical and explanatory press which publishes articles yards long, but does not echo the demands of the masses. When we examine the files of the centre organ of the Russian Party the "Pravda" we will find that it gives expression to what the masses feel.

The most important question which confronted the Party was how to approach the masses. In Germany the masses are organised in Trade Unions which have a ten million membership, and a party which also counts its members in millions. The decision of the Party to commence a great campaign with the object of attracting the masses to the Party, and to tear them away from their Trade Union and Social Democratic leaders, found its

# Third Congress of the Comintern

of June 30th.

Question of Tactics.

expression in the open letter. The great movement of the railwaymen and postal servants should have been used to bring pressure on the Social-Democratic and Trade Union bureaucracy either to create a united movement, or in the event of their refusing to do so, to leave us a clear field.

The Right Wing in the Party crystallized itself on the Italian question. The Left comrades remained alone on the Executive, and had now to make it more active; and here I come to the fundamental error. You say that the sky is overhung with black clouds, of the danger of the sanctions, etc. All questions were real. Up to the 17th of March, the whole press was peacefully cruising in the old forewaters, and on the 18th of March, it banged its fist on the table. This is the main error. On the 17th of March, the National Council was called together and the representatives were shown the great dangers. Above everything else, the Party had to ask itself whether it was able to set preparations for the action going in the speediest possible manner. I assert that the Party spiritually was not prepared for the great struggle. It must be asked, how did the masses regard the dangers of the sanctions and Upper Silesia? The masses do not take up any attitude towards dangers which have yet to come. It operates under the pressure of events that immediately affect them, and the only aim of the Party should have been to increase the organisation work, and to rally the organisation under the motto: "Be prepared!". The representative of the Central German organisations asked what should be done in the event of Hürsing breaking into the Central Germany. The reply was "Easter Eve is an unfavourable moment for fighting, try and avoid battle". Only when the factories were occupied did the Party call upon the workers. When I asked a comrade from Central Germany why an armed struggle commenced on the 19th instead of waiting for instructions from the Central Committee, he replied, that if we had not commenced the struggle, we should have had to live through something.

When the "Rothe Fahne" writes that everybody must arm, it is a signal for battle. The position of the party was unreal, it should have stated "if Hürsing invades Central Germany, we will stand by you" Its duty was to say to the Mansfield workers "You are in a minority and if you will allow yourselves to be drawn you will be defeated. It began an armed struggle but did not issue the corresponding battle cries, and during the struggle it lost all sense of perspective.

Comrades! I assert that we stand by the March action, we regard it as the duty of the Party to hasten to the aid of the Central German proletariat. The Mansfield workers were the centre, and not the hydrocephalus, — Berlin. Whoever points to this or that defect but does not say what the Party should have done, during the Hürsing attack, shows that he has nothing to say, that he wishes to criticize the struggle of the Party, but does not wish to learn from them. In Central Germany the number of workers that fought was not less than two hundred thousand, but that is not the point. The Party had a tremendous struggle, and it has to recognize the errors. This struggle was not a Bakunin putsch it was a struggle of a proletarian party in defence of the German workers. Mistakes however, were made. The methods of the offensive were not strictly defined. With the exception of Levi, nobody opposed this theory. On the 7th of April comrade Zetkin declared that a large party is duty-bound to take up the offensive. But she repudiated the March rising because, in her opinion, it was a putsch and not an offensive. Comrade Zetkin's criticism however lacks the suggestion as what should have been done when Hürsing attacked Central Germany. That military expert, Clausewitz, in his chapter on "Offensive and Defensive" says: "While on the defensive, I cling to what I hold; and keep in contact with the enemy; while during an offensive, my aim is to surprise him" Where is the base to which you will cling during the defensive, which is better known to you than to the enemy, and where is the possibility of surprising the enemy with millions of the proletariat? And Clausewitz says:

The defensive is a strong fighting method, for then I defend that which I possess. Up till now all the great fights of the proletariat were directed against at-

tempts of capitalism to oppress. What is Social Revolution? It is the evolution of the suffering working masses which for four solid years were decimated by the guns of capitalism, and if we cannot win without a great attack of the compact masses, we shall attack the enemy by trying to instil in the working class the idea: "Save your skin, unless you wish to become a slave". The idea therefore, that the Party is exclusively bound to offensive tactics appears to us altogether wrong and unpracticable. The Party which does not embrace the masses has very little scope left for manoeuvring.

We draw the following lessons from March the transition from agitational work to propaganda for a rising rising is by no means an easy one.

Even the great mass parties should not be over confident; you can only prove your metal in the struggle itself, and it is only then that we shall see which members really hold with the Party.

It is not so much by his arguments, as by the ways he acted, that Levi has shown that there is no organic connection between him and the Party, and that he is able to stick a knife in the back of the Party, at the time when the Party is in dire distress.

The March rising teaches us that our apparatus is not yet adapted to a struggle. The military and political departments have proved themselves mere illusions. First, because they did not actually exist; secondly, if they existed anywhere, they had no arms; and thirdly because they were undisciplined.

If we say: "Comrades! the March rising with all its errors is a step forward, we wish to suggest that you are faced by struggles in which you must expect even greater defeats, unless you learn to guard yourself against everything that can be avoided.

Comrade Radek then discussed the watchwords which were issued by the Executive with regard to the partial struggles and risings, which are in store for the proletarians, and which are encouraged by the Executive.

We must be clear as to the difference between the minimum program of the Social-Democrats, the activity and program of the Centre and the watchwords of the Communist International. The Social-Democrats counted on a long period, during which, the capitalist order will remain in existence. Rosa Luxemburg formerly gave expression to this idea, by declaring: "We fight rarely in order that labour may be bought for its proper worth; that the workers obtains wages which allow him to recuperate his labour energies." Social-Democracy wishes to create an impression among the ruins of capitalist world dominion that it is most anxious to co-operate in the reforms of the declining order of society. The Centre wishes to create an impression, that it does not share the platform of Social-Democracy. It professes to stand on the ground of the Social Revolution and is making only such demands which can be realised in the process of social revolution, and in the struggle subsequent to it. The U. S. P. in Germany and the I. W. W. in America have adopted the following plan; they quote Lassale who in the sixties told the proletarians: You must concentrate your strength on the main point; do not look to the right and do not look to the left, but ask every party and every man: "What is your attitude to Universal Suffrage. The Centrists say Democracy has realized it. And now the question is how are we to wrest the mines and factories from the capitalists. In answer they sketch a Lassalian revolutionary plan that the proletariat concentrate its action on the nationalization of coal mines. The workers must obtain the right to the coal, and the idea is that the struggle to obtain this right will lead to tremendous clashes which will be the lever of revolution. Now the case in England shows that it is impossible for the proletariat, at the present moment when the workers are bleeding from a thousand wounds, to concentrate a couple of months on the fight for the socialization or rather the nationalisation of the coal industry.

Rosa Luxemburg's minimum demands for the workers were: "All power to the Workers' Soviets, arming of the proletariat, confiscation of the State debt and seizing of the factories. This program arose in a situation when the Workers' Soviets were in power. Now the power has passed to the bourgeoisie and the

proletarian revolution is only in the initial stage. Thus we can neither advance nor organize when we come out merely with the program of proletarian dictatorship. If to-morrow the worker can afford to give his children a slice of meat because of a five marks increase in his wages, we shall have to help him in his fight for this increase and think at the same time that over and above this help we are to lead him to further and greater battles. When it is a question of foiling the sabotage of a capitalist, this slogan can unite great working masses who are not communists, but whom communists need in order to carry on further combats by the help of this united front. The second watchword which we must cling to for a long time is the demand for arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie.

As to the passage in Trotzky's solution on the importance of essentials we emphasize the following points. Capitalism is breaking down, but not in a straight line. Revolution advances, but has its ebb and flow. Good revolutionary propaganda is the best preparation for action. And as we are approaching great battles, we say to you: "be the great alarm bell to arouse the living to the fight". But so far we are only a small bellclapper. And so our slogan is "First get your hold on the masses by all means and then get ready for the great struggle, that to-morrow has in store for us. Make the best out of every situation. It is a mistake to believe that this a shift to the right, it is just as wide of the mark to harp on the mistakes made by good elements of the left. They are at the left end of the Communist International who are getting ready so as to be able to lead in the fight. And any one who obstructs their path by opportunistic theories is at the right end.

We see the road to the world revolution running through the conquest of the great masses. And we shall lead the better if we use every available form of energy to rouse the masses, weld them for action, and utilize every agency to draw out their revolutionary energy coupled with clear, cool insight. If we act thus, our victory is secured (Applause). The session closed at 4.20 p. m.

## Solidarity.

### Russian Red Army and its gift to the British Miners.

One of the happiest moments of my life. I experienced at the III Congress of the Communist International on June 27th when Com. Leder, member of the Editorial Board of the Mejsoproff informed me that the soldiers of the Russian Red Army, the 104 Battalion of the troops of the Ukraina All-Russian Extraordinary Commission had declared their sympathy and solidarity with the brave and stalwart miners of Great Britain, in their magnificent struggle against the capitalist exploiters and handed over to my charge 1,169,600 Russian paper roubles as an expression of that sympathy. The Red Army officer with his big heart, giving not from fullness and abundance, but from very limited resources, expressed his willingness and the cooperation of his Comrades, which he represents, to fight the battle of the workers and to lay down their lives on behalf of the exploited workers of all lands.

What a thrill of joy accompanied such a glorious expression, when I clasped his hand. I endeavoured to express my highest appreciation of such a splendid action and the fine spirit underlying it.

This is the forerunner of what hope to be in future the complete unification of the soldiers and workers of all countries for the final overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. Comrade Hlewlett joins with me in expressing our heartfelt thanks to our comrades of the Red Army on behalf the British miners.

Long live the Russian Red Army.

(N. Watkins.)  
(W. Hewlett.) Miners.

## New Anti-communist offensive.

Marcel Cachin writes in "L'Humanite" of June 17th. "The Communist Party has put up a strong fight against militarism during the last few months. In has resumed with new vigor the battle previously waged by the French workers on all occasions since the first timid, protesting murmurs were raised against the army of class domination. Now capitalism cannot tolerate any attempt to shake the stronghold of its class privileges, or any tampering with the army, the sacred ark, the citadel of its rule, and this is dictated by the instinct for selfpreservation of the bourgeoisie.

Any one daring to assault it is a criminal against whom the courts pass their heaviest penalties. The stupid order to call to the colors conscripts of the class of 19 has aroused all over the country and in the army itself the deepest resentment against militarism.

The governments of the National Bloc were forced to act against the results of the campaign which their stupidity had brought about. They owed it to themselves and to the proletarians upon whom their ministerial lives depend, to line up against us all the force at their command.

After the recent house searches and the articles in their ministerial press, we expected repressive legislation which the ministers were urging to bring in against us. These laws have come. Really these ministers "are the limit".

All the gentry of the Bonnevay, the Ignace, the Rollin and the Bartorn type rush to vote on a bill, the most brutal and reactionary that any government ever dared to launch against the working class.

From now on the fight will begin all over the country. All the trade unions and communist locals will be called upon to take up the fight. We will keep the workers and peasants of France in touch with this new onslaught of the National Bloc. Let us get ready Communist Comrades for the most courageous and fearless response with which our foe means to destroy the party!

### From the Frog Pond of Latona.

In his "Abderites" Wieland portrays the character of a high-priest, who, remote from human society, seeped himself in the sublimest problems of religion, and with petrified brain fills vast volumes with most trivial cogitations on the problems pertaining thereto. He develops a senile fecundity of sterile ideas, the while all the world chuckles clandestinely. And yet high-priest of Latona he be, and so his fellow priests are in duty bound to make obeisance before him, their divinely endowed hierophant, with scarcely suppressed augurian smiles.

A certain kind of "Marxism" also has its priests, and they have their high priest. Karl Kautsky is his name. In some former, better time he learned to write somewhat and now he cannot cease this exercise, although his brain is only capable of performing the movements of a galvanised corpse. He, the high priest, at one time astounded the world with the miraculous discovery, that the world war was not an imperialistic war, since it began with a shot at some arch-duke or other. The once Great "Marxist" later instituted the profoundest of investigations as to the origin of the war, using as a basis for his studies the diaries of William the Last. And of a sudden he divined that the politics leading to the outbreak of the world war, were "of a purely personal nature. William had arranged the starting point of the events, which led to the world war, within the four closed walls of his study in collaboration with the Austrian Ambassador and Bethmann-Hollweg. He therefore bears the responsibility, and not the German people, who were misled". (Kautsky, too, the great Marxist, was cruelly misled). Moreover, William was personally a coward, only he unfortunately missed the proper moment for retreating into a hole before the sabre-rattling Russians, French and English. This the fate of the world depended on that moment. The pitifulness of William was however a bit tardy, and ergo: the international slaughter and the naughty revolution.

Kautsky tells us this, and Hilferding must provide the columns of the "Freiheit" for such nonsense, for he too is one of the priest-breed, and he may only exchange augurian smiles with Rudi Breitscheid and Stampfer, of the "Vorwaerts".

### Persian-Afghanistan Treaty.

London, June 30. The "Times" Teheran correspondent wires that the Persian government will submit the diplomatic treaty with Afghanistan to parliament for ratification.

# Executive Committee

MOSCOW

JULY 2nd 1921

## Report of meeting of 18th of June.

The meeting was opened by comrade **Zinoviev** at 6.30pm.

**Zinoviev:** We shall continue our debate on the French question.

**Laporte:** The preceding orators have chiefly spoken against the so-called "Left" tendency of the young communists of France. But I do not think your concepts could be styled "the infantile disease of Communism." A question was raised concerning our relation to our party, we have declared that since the Tours Congress the general line of policy of the Communist Party has not changed. The 21 conditions have been accepted, but in practice they were left without application. We have cited as an example the case of class 19 to show that we were in complete disagreement with the Party. If, as comrade Lenin said, we have committed some follies, we must state here that we were not the only ones to do so. If the position which we have adopted was wrong, the Management Committee of the Party had not adopted at all and it is precisely that which we reproach it with. It is only after the class was called up that the Communist Party produced the manifesto referred to by Bela Kun.

The activity of the parliamentary Communist group since the Congress, was essentially anti-communist. Vaillant Couturier was the only one who fostered a genuine communist propaganda. On the other hand the activity of Chachin in the Chamber was rather that of government opposition. As regards the exclusion of the comrade Frossard, I think that the comrades of Luxemburg are exaggerating. We hold undoubtedly that Frossard is not a Communist. But he is a genuine sincere revolutionary. He cannot be held responsible for the deviations of the Party. If Frossard guides this Party unsatisfactorily it simply means that the Management Committee wishes to allow itself to be led by Frossard. They will unanimously rise against the a misguided proposal to expell Frossard.

**Van Overstraeten** (Belgium). Any reformist folly committed in France finds a ready response in Belgium. Comrade Trotzky proved to the comrades of the French Communist Party that their most urgent task is to seek a rapprochement with the Syndicates. All the orators have stated that the French Party was not sufficiently communistic and it is this circumstance which places it at variance with the traditions of the French revolutionary Syndicalism. It is only in the struggle itself that the rapprochement will take place between the Communist Party of France and French Syndicalism. It is significant that Frossard has not attempted to bring about an understanding between the French Communist Party and the Syndicates. He feels that it would be dangerous to himself and to all opportunists to bring into the Party the enthusiasm and energy of revolutionary syndicalism. The opportunism of the Party must be vanquished by such a rapprochement. Unless the Party gets new blood in this way, it is bound to decline.

**Hekherth.** Lenin and Trotzky have come down heavily on the so-called opportunism of the left as represented by comrade Laporte and the comrades from Luxemburg. I believe that they do not deserve the irony with which they were met. Their speeches contained some incontestable truths, and we ought to make use of these ideas. We have not come here to make fun of each other or to squabble, we are here to further the proletarian revolution in the whole world. One of the most urgent tasks, before our congress is to help to bring about a union between French communists and syndicalists. We must supply the French Party with guiding principles. We must tell them: to be active, and not let important questions go by without taking up a definite attitude with regard to them. You must gain a footing in the Trade Unions and place yourselves at the head of the Syndicalist Movement.

**Koritzshoner.** Every country has its Frossard, a type of trimming opportunist as well as its Lorient, who by his revolutionary reputation covers the opportunist tactics of the former. But the leadership of the Party must be entrusted to opportunists. In any case there is a greater danger from the common sense of the Rights, than from the follies of the Lefts.

**Lorient:** No new arguments have been brought to bear on the question of the question of the French Party.

We can endorse nearly all the criticism which we have been subjected. However, we cannot accept a few of them. The Executive Committee must not for a moment believe that a delegate of the French Management Committee could have said, as we are told by Bela Kun, that the Party was opposed to the propaganda of not being in a position to control its own activity and on the other hand that the seceding tendencies of the young communists are being encouraged. Is it natural that the young communists come before the Executive of Moscow as an autonomous organisation, in order to attack and criticize the French Party? Imagine what would have happened had the Party in obedience to the wishes of the young communists, taken on itself to follow them and had called on the masses to rise. Thalheimer expresses himself in favour of the abolition of the Committee of the Third International. But it can only disappear through our efforts and then only gradually. We have resolved to do our utmost to bring this about.

If a Communist Party is to be absolutely equal to its task, from the moment of its formation, it must from the very beginning consist exclusively of tried Communists. Now that is impossible. The formation and development of a Party cannot escape certain ethnical laws, the influence of a certain collective mentality which is characteristic of the race, and certain historic facts.

Then there is individual responsibility, but it does not rest on the French comrades. When comrade Lezovsky and other comrades after him were in Germany did not give their communist point of view with sufficient clearness. Their position then was not nearly as definite as their criticism now. If they have not acted as they should, it was because they lacked experience to understand the situation as real communists do. I go further -- the responsibility of the formation of the French Party rests on you all, and on the Executive Committee, represented by Zinoviev. Have they not indeed accepted the proposals, which we submitted to them and which determined the constitution of the P. C. F. (Parti Communiste Francais)? After all if we were to be guided by comrade Zinoviev we could have Longuet a member of the Communist Party.

If after our return to France the Executive expresses itself against the exclusion of Fressard, we will not expel our opportunists, we shall only make them act as communists. Must we make of L'Humanité the tribune of all opinions, or limit ourselves to an internal work, which is ignored by the masses? Such is the dilemma and the Executive must shed some light on this question. We are offered a commission. We accept it. But it is above all from the Congress that we expect to receive our instructions. It is mainly on these instructions that we rely to make Communists of Cachin, Frossard and comrades who held similar views, since we are thoroughly convinced of their honesty and straightforwardness.

**Jullien:** points out that the debate should not turn exclusively on the personalities of Cachin and Frossard.

**Vaillant Couturier.** We accept the responsibility for everything that our Party in its collective ability has done. Our comrades in parliament have been attacked and rightly so. As regards this I am as much to blame as the others. As long as we continue to take part in the parliamentary activity, we in France, place ourselves in a rather difficult position with regard to the syndicalists and with regard to the masses. We are thus fostering in the masses democratic illusions. Let us now examine the question of class 19. The Young Communist wanted us to refuse to answer the call. But we advised them not to do so. For, when you refuse to follow the gendarm—you must kill. As regards Fascism, we have conducted a violent campaign against the French Fascism. (The League of Chiefs of Sections and the Civic League). We are not yet a Communist Party but we have already taken on ourselves the initiative of creating important secret organisations for the arming of the proletariat. As to our policy with regard to the Syndicalists, I wish to hear our Syndicalist comrades themselves.

In fact, whenever there is a question on direct action, we are always met by the objection that the syndicates will not follow us. We must show the

the Syndicalists that we are on our part also good revolutionaries and that we can take part in the struggle along with them. The Party must take up a definite attitude in order to combat opportunism and the spirit of class co-operation. But in the meantime you cannot expect a chicken to crow like a cock.

**Delagrangé Lozovsky** said: "There are two tendencies represented in the syndicates: the reformist and the revolutionary. But the revolutionaries in their turn are subdivided into communists, the pure revolutionary syndicalists and the anarchists. If we so much as hint at any subordination of the syndicates to the Party, we shall immediately be faced not only by the opposition of the anarchists but also of the revolutionary syndicalists. It is for this reason that we must preserve autonomy. But when we go to the Trade Unions contrary to what was said by comrade Lozovsky, we go there not as syndicalists, but as communists." Bela Kun reproached the party with not having issued instructions to the socialist municipalities. Well, apart from a few great cities, which we were able to win, it would be wrong to assert that we possess the majority of municipalities in France. Besides the mobilisation order is transmitted directly through prefects and sub-prefects, so that the municipalities are really unable to do anything in this matter.

**Radek:** "The Communist International must fight against the two tendencies the right and the left -- both of which can be called opportunist. But the danger from the right is the one by far the more important. What was the attitude of the French Party? There is no trace in its press of a really active agitation nor of discussions on the tasks of the French Party. The whole of the bourgeois press is excellently informed of all that is taking place, where as the French Communists have just told us that they are not aware of what is taking place and that is why they cannot take up a definite attitude with regard to this or that question. This proves first that the French Party is not a fighting party, and secondly that it evolves very slowly along the lines of communism. And yet the French Communists work in the midst of a nation which inspired all the revolutions, and which possesses a working class exceedingly susceptible to propaganda.

We want above all that the French Party realises thoroughly that it forms part of the Communist International. We do not demand of the Party anything in a dictatorial fashion but. We must demand of it a definite attitude to problems which will face it to-morrow. And when these demands will be fulfilled, we shall be able to assert that the French Party is in a state to face the final struggle.

**Zinoviev:** proposed to close the debate. The motion was carried.

The following were elected on a Commission of Enquiry into the French situation Lorient, Souvarino, Vaillant Couturier, Thomasi, Zinoviev, Trotzky, Valetzki, Thalheimer, Genarri, and Bela Kun.

**Zinoviev:** We have received to-day an official telegram announcing that three members of the Italian Party, already are on their way here. Two days ago, the Bureau of the Red International of Trade Unions received a rather strange telegram from the Italian Trade Union Board. It expressed a wish that the International Trade Union Congress should be postponed until August under the pretext that the Italian Trade Union Commission wished to know the decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International before taking part in the Trade Union Congress. Moreover, the Italian Trade Union demand that the Trade Union Congress take place not in Moscow, but in Stockholm or in Reval. This is Serrati's policy. We have informed the Socialist Party of Italy that we agreed to postpone the debate on the Italian question until after the arrival of its delegates.

The meeting closed at midnight.

### Persecuting workers.

Riga June, 30 th. Rote Fahne of June, 25th reports increasing persecutions of Communists in Jugo-Slavia. The trial of members of the Dalmatian Communist party will take place in a few days. The Ministry for the Interior. Proposes to make the wearing of Red badges punishable by long terms of imprisonment.

### Notice to Delegates.

We beg to remind the delegates of the various countries of the arrangement by which the editor of "Moscow" was to receive a short article concerning the Communist movement in each country. It is requested that the manuscripts be sent in as soon as possible.

### Notice

To all Teachers, Delegates to the Congress to the International Council of Trade Unions and the Communist International and those interested in the question of education.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Educational Workers in convening a conference on the question of establishing permanent international connections etc. on Sunday, July the 3rd 1921 at 12 a. m. Hotel Elite, Petrovsky Linie.

The Central Committee.

### NOTICE

The Organisation Information Bureau of the Comintern has been requested by Comrade Podvoisky, Commander of the Universal Training Corps, to ask those delegates, who were present at the Universal Training Corps display on Vorobievi Gorki on June 20th, to write in any language, their impressions on the following points and hand it to the Organisation Information Bureau by means of their house interpreters.

1. General impressions of the display.
2. Any defects which they noticed.
3. Make suggestions for furthering the work of physical culture.
4. Their opinion on pre-mobilisation training and sports for the proletariat.

V. Ivanoff  
Secretary of the Department.

### A Lecture

The International Secretariat for work amongst women is arranging a lecture by Comrade Rolland Holst on the "Development of Society and Morals" on Saturday July 2nd, in the Kremlin, (the Congress room) at 7 p. m. Delegates and guests invited. Admission by ticket only.

### Notice.

The delegates are notified that there is an assistant of the Organisation and Information Department of the of the Comintern always on duty in HOTEL LUXE Room 2 from whom all enquiries can be had relating to the Department.

### Letting the Cat Out of the Bag.

Riga June 30th. "Poslednia Isvestia" of June 28, reprints a chapter of a book, which is being prepared for publication written by one Vensiatzky entitled: "Memoirs of a Monarchist" in which Vonsiatzky relates his activity as a member of an officers terroristic band in the Crimea. He reveals documentary particulars of the cruel torture meted out to captured revolutionists.

"Ruhl" of June 28th is very much dissatisfied with the published frank revelation of Monsiatzky which, it says, will serve as excellent agitational material for the Bolshevik press.

### Arming.

Riga, June, 30th "L'Information" of June, 26th reports that the Japanese Admiralty has decided build 8 dreadnoughts and cruisers, and has under consideration the question of hydroplanes submarines, destroyers, light cruisers and torpedo boats to be used chiefly for defensive purposes. the Japanese justify this arming by stating that it is much cheaper to build in Japan than it is in other countries.

### Looking for a pretext for War.

Nauen, June 30. (Wireless). An attempt has been made upon the lives of the prince-regent Alexander of Serbia and of the premier Pashitch, when leaving the national assembly. Neither the prince nor the premier were hurt.