



# MOSCOW

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## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

## Red Trade Unions.

### Opening of First International Congress on July 3rd.

### ENGLAND.

#### Inkpin Sentenced.

Riga, July 4. "Die Rote Fahne" reports that the Secretary of the British Communist Party, Inkpin, has been sentenced to 5 months imprisonment for the publication of communist pamphlets.

#### Still Another International.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless) The conference of the British Labour Party at Brighton resolved to invite all Socialistic organisations of the world to a conference which is to take place in the beginning of October in London for the purpose of creating an "inclusive" International.

#### De Valera to Meet Lovd Midleton

Horsea, July 4. (Wireless.) To-day De Valera is meeting Lord Midleton and other representatives of the British government who have come to Dublin at his request.

#### The Work of Provocative Agents.

Christiania, July 4th. It is reported from London that in spite of all official assurances the report of the arrest of the Russian Trade Delegation in Constantinople, has been confirmed. It is to be supposed that the whole incident was initiated with the object of bringing about a crisis in the Anglo-Russian relations, in the hope that it would lead to the complete wrecking of the trade agreement. The English Government however, will scarcely decide to sanction this evident and premeditated violation of their solemn obligations, and will in all probability hasten to repudiate the initiators of this incident.

### GERMANY.

#### You're Another!

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless.) During the trial of General Stenger at Leipzig several witnesses made statements about the cruelty of Frenchmen against German prisoners and wounded. These witnesses saw how wounded Germans, lying helplessly in trenches were shot down by the French "nettoyeurs".

#### All Equally Exploited.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless.) The Polish commission, after visiting the Ruhr region, has published a declaration in the Polish and German press, stating that Polish workmen in the Ruhr district are neither subject to any exceptional treatment, nor being discharged or deported.

#### Unemployed Demonstration.

Berlin, July 4th. Stormy demonstrations of the unemployed took place outside the Municipal building in Jena, to protest against the delay of the decision in connection with the Communists' proposal to raise wages, and to support the unemployed. The incensed unemployed commenced a struggle with some of the bourgeois members of the Municipality and locked the exits of the hall. The "Right" press in this connection condemns the chief of the police, who belongs to the Majority Socialists, because he did not immediately call the police out against the unemployed.

#### Disarmament!

Riga, July, 4th. "Rothe Fahne" communicates that in spite of the order to disarm the "Orgesh" and the self defence corps of Upper Silesia these detachments continue their disgraceful conduct. The paper reports a series of acts committed by the detachments of the self defence corps in Upper Silesia, entirely ignoring the order for disarmament. "Evidently", the paper remarks, "the 'Orgesh' will cease to exist only when the workers themselves will take their disarmament into their own hands".

### ITALY.

#### Probable Composition of Italian Cabinet.

Rome, 4th of July 1921. The probable composition of the Italian cabinet is given as follows:

Chairman of the Council and Minister for the Interior-Bonomi; Foreign Affairs-Marquis de la Torre; for Colonies-Rasparatto; Justice-Ferri; War-Lodiko; Navy-Senator Chancer; Finance—de Nava; Public Education-Senator Krocee; Public Works-Bertino; Labour-Oberdneci; for Liberated Provinces-Raineri; Post and Telegraph-Guffi; Agriculture-Maur; and Commerce-Bell'Okki.

#### Communist Victories.

Rome, July 1st. After the Livorno split the Railwaymen's Syndicate fell into the hands of the socialists. At the conference held in Turin the other day the Syndicate was captured by the Communists. The Italian Federation of Engineers, after a severe fight at the Turin-Congress, passed an overwhelming vote in favour of the communists.

#### Battle Between Communists and Fascisti.

Rome, July 1. A veritable battle took place in Grosseto between the Communists and the Fascisti. The Communists who barricaded themselves in the town were besieged. During the firing the leaders of the local Fascisti were killed. The infuriated Fascisti, receiving reinforcements from Florence, Milan, and Trieste, broke into the town wrecked the Labour Hall, and the clubs of the railwaymen and Communists, and commenced a veritable massacre, accompanied by the pillaging of private houses and the burning down of many premises. It is remarkable that the Fascisti were able to receive reinforcements from the most remote towns in Italy, using the railroads freely, and that the authorities did not succeed in time to reinforce the local garrison, which offered no resistance to the assailants. The Fascisti have published a "Comunique" from their "Punitive Expedition", reporting the death of 15 Communists and many wounded.

### U. S. A.

#### U. S. will not Ratify Versailles Treaty.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless) It is reported from Washington that President Harding, attached his signature to the peace resolution, immediately after the Senate had adopted it. The "New York Herald" states that the American troops will be now withdrawn from the Rhine provinces, as there is no possibility of the Versailles treaty being ratified. In spite of the government's denials, the Senate and the chamber of representatives has accepted a bill, by which the peace force of the army is fixed at 150,000 men.

#### A Brilliant Suggestion.

Riga, July, 4th. It is reported from London that at the Imperial Conference it was decided to propose to the United States of America that it become a third member of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

#### Adventures Cost Dear.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless) Owing to the fall of the Polish rate of exchange the closing of the session of the Polish Diet has been postponed. The Minister of Finance declared that the recent continuous and rapid fall of the Polish rate of exchange began with Korfanty's adventure in Upper Silesia. He announced stringent measures for the suppression of all not absolutely necessary imports into Poland and stated that a bill would be submitted to the Diet for the raising of a compulsory loan.

Last Sunday was a busy day for the delegates. After the morning sitting of the World Congress, which lasted until 5 p. m., the delegates were present at the laying of a memorial on the grave of Comrade John Reed at the Red Wall. In the great Pillar Hall the delegates of the World Congress met with the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the trade unions in order to be present at the inauguration of the First International Congress of Red Trade Unions.

Comrade **Lozovsky** opened the meeting with a speech of welcome addressed to the delegates.

Only a few months have passed since the Red International Trade Union Federation was formed as a small group. Now it has grown to such an extent that at the present time there is no country which is not represented here. In Amsterdam also there is a Federation of Trade Unions representatives of the Yellow International, which represents 24 million proletarians, a sign that much work remains still to be done in order to revolutionise the whole of the proletariat. Our first Congress must lay the foundation of the Red Trade Union International. It is therefore of special historical importance, for it coincides with the Third International World Congress. The revolutionary proletariat must march along with the Red Trade Unions. However for this purpose a thorough purifying process must take place in the rather corrupt unions. This Congress will have to pass resolutions on this question, resolutions which will be authoritative for the further work of agitation and of the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat. Long live the International Federation of Red Trade Unions!

The Presidium was then elected, consisting of Comrades Lozovsky and Rykov (Russia), Knight (Canada and U. S. A.), Heckert (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), Tom Mann (England, South Africa), Rosmer (France), Macefski (Poland), Ney (Spain), Hampel (Czechoslovakia), Pavlovitch (Jugo-Slavia, the Balkans).

The meeting was then addressed by Comrade **Koenen**, as representative of the Executive Committee of the Third International: I welcome the revolutionary representatives of the world proletariat in the name of the Executive Committee of the Third International. We were filled with joy when we received the news that representatives of 17 million revolutionary workers will come together here in order to lay the foundation stone of a Red Trade Union International. This huge number proves that the rumours of an impending split are groundless, for they have come in order to unite the broad masses of the revolutionary proletariat. This meeting is necessary in order to start a counter movement to the Yellow International of Amsterdam. We shall call it the Yellow International, for these trade unions as well as the former Yellow trade unions support capitalism and have become open agents of the bourgeoisie. They have even proved themselves blood-thirsty watchdogs the moment they reached cabinet rank, as was demonstrated during the last few months (cheers). We therefore enroll for the cause of communism all those who rebel against the trade unions, who wish to fight until the final triumph of the revolution. The World Congress of the III International, is unanimous in the opinion that the gigantic struggle of the workers can only be brought to a successful conclusion if the revolutionary trade unions fight side by side with the Communist International. The telegram which has just reached us from Berlin shows how necessary it is that the International proletariat should unite. Weissmann, the reactionary chief of the German secret police had a conference with the chiefs the French and English secret police in order to act together against the Communists. This measure is due to the fear that they will be overtaken by the Red Wave. The Terror, which has

claimed hundreds of thousands of proletarian victims in Hungary and Finland has also taken some of the best in Germany, where the numbers now amount to tens of thousands. The Terror of the united Capitalism is raging in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, in fact everywhere, and the purpose is to eliminate the leaders. Zinoviev has stated even to-day that the Russian trade unions have remained independent, but their remains an organisational connection for the future. We shall and must go hand in hand in order to attain our object, — the proletarian dictatorship on the basis of the Soviet system. The Russians have shown us how to fight for the world revolution. Hundreds of thousands of dead proletarians remained on the field of battle. In the same spirit as those hundreds of thousands of heroes shall we continue our work in order to attain our aim — the overthrow of the capitalist Moloch and the liberation of the working class.

Comrade **Tom Mann** expresses his high admiration for the Russian workers. In all countries the workers are now engaged in a decisive struggle, and especially in England, America and Australia: those who stand for the cause of the workers are persecuted by the bourgeoisie. Our Congress is also attended by Comrade Haywood, who was condemned to penal servitude by American White justice. I am happy to be able to greet him here. The British delegation is not very numerous, but great work has been done in our country. The revolutionary consciousness of the great masses is beginning to awaken in England. England has 7 million organised workers. They as a body have rejected coalition and the ideas of class struggle are spreading among them. Twenty per cent of the British workers have entered the path of the revolution, and the present economic situation fosters the further spread of revolutionary ideas. Comrade Mann emphasised the importance of the miners struggle, who for 3 months without support from workers of other unions, have continued the struggle, and succeeded in having their demands partially satisfied. The miners strike is over, but new conflicts are about to arise.

Comrade **Siroille** greeted the Russian proletariat in the name of the French Trade Unions. The French delegation stands on a revolutionary syndicalist platform, but at the same time advocates a complete liberty of opinions. The Trade Union International must become a fighting organ which will enable the proletariat to achieve complete emancipation. The spirit and the structure of the French trade union organisations make it indispensable for them to preserve a complete independence in their struggle for their ideas. The French Delegation hopes to win over to these ideas the representatives of all countries, and to bring about unity among the working class, a unity which alone can lead to victory. The French worker hopes to draw from the new International the strength necessary for attacking the bourgeoisie. Therefore, this International should not find its expression in words only, but in actual revolutionary deeds.

Comrade **Rikov** greeted the Red Trade Union International and emphasised its importance at a moment when Russia has vanquished all her enemies but when it is in need of the support of the proletariat of the whole world in order to be able to engage with united forces in a decisive struggle against capital. We oppose the compromising tendencies of the Yellow Amsterdam with the ideas of a great revolutionary struggle of the working class for its complete liberation.

Comrade **Hausding**. I am proud to greet in the name of the German workers the First International Trade Union Congress which is attracting to itself the attention of the whole world.

There is a difference between this and the former congresses, which is shown even by the fact that it is not the trade union leaders who have come here together, but four fifths of the comrades are rank and file proletarians, actually engaged in industries. The Amsterdam International,

Continued on page 4.

# The Fourteenth and Fifteenth

## Reports of 2nd and Conclusion of

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### The Significance of the Miners Retreat.

According to the latest information to hand the Miners of Great Britain have accepted the terms offered by the Government and are ending their struggle after three months of single-handed fighting. Not one word of adverse criticism can be made against them for this retreat. The fight started with the advantages on the side of the bosses. They have been waiting for this moment from the day the Government took control of the mines in the early stages of European war. Then they planned to discredit Government control, fight the demand for nationalisation and to take up the cudgels for de-control, local settlements and reversion to pre-war conditions. How far they have been successful remains to be seen, but that they chose the right moment to effect the lock-out of the miners is evident. They have shown far more sagacity in prosecuting their interests than the miners leaders have shown in prosecuting the interests of the miners, and the three months bitter struggle and its consequences is the price they have to pay for the pitiable retreat of Hodges and Smillie after the Sankey award in 1919. Then was the moment for aggressive action. It passed, and the fight of 1921 opened in a period of great trade depression when unemployment was sapping the vitality of the trade union movement and the hour had struck for the opening of the war on the wages of the working class of Britain.

The governing class were wise in their strategy. They adopted the plan of attacking the workers in sections and led off the attack on the miners, knowing quite well that if they could beat the miners, the others could be dealt with almost at leisure. That is a sound conclusion so long as the present trade union bureaucracy hold their power over the unions, and they can make use of the sectional contracts and agreements as a means to prevent united action.

Probably in no other struggle as in this of the miners during the last three months, have trade union leaders demonstrated their power to hold the masses in check by their control of the union machinery; the failure of the Triple Alliance to come to the aid of the miners was more a failure of leaders than the failure of defective union machinery. But the strength of the leaders was demonstrated in their ability to make their weakness the weakness of the whole organisation. This applies not only to the Triple Alliance, but to all the Unions as evidenced again in the failure of the conference of June 22nd to which the miners had invited all the unions affected by the wage cuts.

Each occasion was a greater opportunity for broadening and deepening the struggle. Each occasion found the movement with the same kind of leadership which dare not face the consequences of a united front against the enemy. Everyone in Britain knows quite well that united action on the part of the organised workers brings them face to face with a revolutionary challenge to the governing class. What trade union leaders are not deliberately sabotaging united action, and therefore are bewildered and fearful of such a situation. That is why the Triple Alliance failed; that is why the conference of June 22nd failed; that is why the whole organised working class movement of Britain is not led into action on the wage cuts.

The defeat of the miners means now the defeat of the cotton workers and the engineering workers. The cotton manufacturers have still large stocks in hand and can afford their mills to be closed for some time to come. The engineering employers want a lock-out or a strike. They have been steadily pouring workers into the unemployed market for months and to have a satisfactory pretext to close down altogether and to be sure of a victory is not an opportunity to be missed.

The defeat of the miners is indeed a defeat for the working class and the responsibility for its rests entirely upon the leaders. Time and again opportunities for united action have presented themselves, only to be allowed to slip away. Every

The Congress opened at 8.40 p. m. with Comrade Köenen in the chair. The discussion on tactics was continued.

Comrade Zinoviev said: "There has been much debate on the question as to whom we must combat, the left or the right. I think we must discuss this question from the point of view of certain tendencies which exist within the labour movement. At the Second Congress, the so-called 'left menace,' as an organised force, was not very great, but it represented a danger for the International in the future. The discussion has shown that this tendency exists now, as it existed at the Second Congress. Comrade Bell expressed dissatisfaction at my reference to the danger of sectarianism in England and America. Of course, this sectarianism has its root in the economic conditions of those two countries. Various incidents during the miners' strike showed that our English comrades still remain isolated from the masses. Much has been done to overcome this during the past year, but the Third Congress is not yet in a position to pass any definite judgement upon this. Another danger consists in young parties prematurely going into battle. In 1920 Serrati and the whole Italian Delegation was convinced that the situation in Italy was sufficiently ripe for a great revolutionary movement, that the majority of the peasants in the army were with us. And yet we must now start from the beginning. That is a step back, and the responsibility for this rests on the Serratis. The same thing happened with Germany. During the Kapp putsch, the counter-revolution was a spark which set the whole working class aflame. The proletariat was ready for battle, and were on the eve of taking power, but the proletarian party missed the opportunity. Of course when the revolutionary nucleus of the German working class experiences a crisis, part of the proletariat becomes impatient and strives to enter the battle prematurely. Again we have to emphasize that the responsibility for this lies with the social-patriots, the betrayers of the working class. Nevertheless, we must not disregard the danger from the left. Comrade Roland Holst, for example, said that the lefts are our best friends, that they are ready at any moment to sacrifice themselves for the proletarian revolution, and therefore, the danger is not great. But we must apply here the Russian proverb of the peasant with regard to his wife: 'The more I love you the more I beat you!' As for the Italian Socialist Party, it has already been stated here, that until the bourgeois agents are driven from its midst, it will not be accepted into the Communist International. When Serrati said that they work with Turatti, because Terraccini erred in his estimation of the threat and exhibition of force was not for these people a clarion call to united action and a vigorous prosecution of the fight, but the signal of retreat and for pathetic explanations. They have thus failed on every issue economic and political, and by their social pacifism, have given the governing class every opportunity to strengthen its military and civil forces for the maintenance of its dictatorship. By the preservation of sectional action among the unions and the failure to come to the support of the miners they have intensified the sectional bitterness among the masses.

At the same time they have intensified the development of forces which make for their ultimate defeat. The reaction against the leaders of the Triple Alliance after 'Black Friday' and the further reaction which will undoubtedly follow the compulsory retreat of the miners strengthens the revolutionary movement in the unions and opens the way to their dismissal.

The retreat of the miners, therefore is not a total defeat. Such fighting spirit, courage and endurance as they have manifested cannot be totally defeated. But it marks the stage of life for the whole of the working class of Britain. That the depression cannot be permanent is also certain. The employing class of Britain can no more solve their economic problems than any other section of the capitalist class hence the struggle widens and deepens, let the employers and the trade union leaders do what they may. The world revolution has begun and none can stop it.

J. T. Murphy.

tempo of the movement, we say that this is sheer hypocrisy.

Dealing with the German question, comrade Zinoviev said that the question of the March rising is approaching a satisfactory solution. Although there are some differences between the theses of the Russian Delegation and the amendments of comrade Zetkin on the United Communist Party of Germany, nevertheless unanimity is possible. We are on the eve of complete agreement and that will be an important result of the Congress.

No advantage can accrue from re-arguing the question of the March rising, we must discuss what will happen in future. One thing is clear and that is we must avoid another split in the German Communist Party. The German question is not a national, but an international question; and that is why the Congress is highly interested in achieving unity. The theses of the Russian Delegation provides the basis for this unity. Thus the bridge to unity has been laid, but the International must have guarantees that the majority of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, will carry out the resolutions of this congress, and the opposition must also give us such guarantees. The existence of opposition groups within the German Party cannot be tolerated, and if the comrades consciously strive to carry out the resolution of the Congress, they will dissolve the opposition group.

With regard to the Tchecko-Slovak Party, I think comrade Bell exaggerates when he says that Smeral is a bourgeois ideologist. The Tchecko-Slovak Party is a good proletarian mass party, as yet in the process of clarifying its communist conscience. The Party has yet much to go through, but the better it is prepared for these difficulties, the easier it will overcome them.

We hope that in the long run, we shall find a homogenous policy. Somebody may say, that this is a move to the right, but that would only be an evidence of stupidity. At the Second Congress, we had much to do with the so-called left, nevertheless, what we then resolved was a blow to the right and centre. I think that the decisions of the Third Congress will be the death blow to these gentlemen.

Comrade Teilman of the United Communist Party of Germany spoke next.

If the March incidents were simply confined to demonstrations of protest, the masses would not have understood such a policy and would never have forgiven the leaving of their Central German brothers to be slaughtered. The very fact of the March rising, disclosing the revolutionary impatience of the masses, shows that already the symptoms of the collapse of capitalism are forthcoming and that the masses are prepared to fight. Trotsky's estimation of German conditions is wrong Germany is facing an industrial decline and a rise in unemployment, and this behoves the German party to discover whether it does express the sympathies of the majority of the proletariat. To do this we continually demonstrate to the members of trade-unions and kindred organisations that a general strike is of equal value as an armed revolt. It must also be said that those comrades who regarded the March revolt as a Bakunist rising have now seen how mistaken was their idea.

The speaker then severely criticised the criminal conduct of Paul Levi, who struck a blow in the back of the party, as Kautsky did in his attitude towards the Russian Revolution in 1918. Under the slogan of free criticism the proletariat was disorganised and an attempt made to pit the working class against the communists. Zinoviev said that a split in Germany would not be tolerated. But Däumig and other are already organising in Berlin for a split. We are threatened not by the left but the right, the very side which is followed by comrade Zetkin but which is however only a small fraction of the party, not more than 5-7%.

He considered it absolutely unpardonable that members of the party, should discuss its vital questions outside the party. This was altogether contradictory to the general understanding of discipline in the communist party and considered that the Russian comrades were opening their doors to dangerous crises, which might make extremely uncomfortable for the Communist party in Germany.

Comrade Trotsky followed.

Comrade Teilman — he said — accused Comrade Lenin, without any evi-

dence, of almost refusing the delegation the right to amend the theses drawn up by the Russian delegates. Comrade Lenin did nothing of the kind. He stated that these theses were not the result of the labour of the Russians alone. Comrade Teilman could learn this from his own delegation. These theses were formulated after many debates and much compromising with all the delegations, including the German. Of course they do not satisfy every group, but we regard them as a compromise to the left.

Many delegates are dissatisfied with the time taken up by the German questions and the discussion of their own internal affairs. Such an attitude is not correct. The main point of discussion is the March affair. Too much detail has been stressed on purely personal affairs but we must not lose sight of the March revolt as it is a question of international importance.

The German party occupies a singular position amongst the other parties of Western Europe. Developing into an independent large party it independently led the revolt. And if the young parties of France and Italy are in similar position it is essential that they especially, learn a great deal from this question. In discussing the March rising I will begin with the amendments to the theses as we have the choose between two tendencies. We regard the March revolt as a fight imposed upon the United Communist Party of Germany by the attack of the Government on the Central German proletariat. We regard with pride the heroic stand of the United Communist Party of Germany which has proved that it is really the party of the revolutionary German proletariat. Then we pointed out their chief mistake and concluded with a number of instructions to the V. C. P. G. to avoid a repetition of such mistakes. Our comrades proposed that the congress regard the March rising as a step forward in the light of an attempt by the Communist Party to secure the leadership in the fights of the German proletariat, and to regard the revolt as valuable because it demonstrated to the party its serious mistakes and intensified party discipline. When we say that the revolt was a step forward, then I understand by this that the Communist party, from a mere propagandist party with a great deal of internal opposition from the independents, became a real, self-supporting and centralized party and at last had the chance of taking part in the struggles of the proletariat. But this does not mean that the first attempt of the party was successful. Some say that a great deal can be learnt from its mistakes but surely a revolt is not started in order to find out which mistakes should be avoided in the future. Com-Heckert explained to us the critical international and national conditions in force during the March revolt. But it is not clear why only a small minority of the proletariat took part in it. We had three descriptions of the situation. One was that there was an all pervading excitement, the other that there was complete inactivity, and the third that excitement reigned in Central Germany, when all around was stagnation, activity as it were enshrined in passivity.

All this makes an impression as if some members of the German Delegation continue to regard it their duty to engage in advocacy, instead of analysing and enquiring into things. I consider the comrade Tellman's statement that — "Even if we adopt the theses, with our amendments on our return to Germany, we shall be faced by a most important crisis in the Party. We shall have to go through a complete change".

The point is that when the representatives of the German Party saw that the comrades of the International do not see eye with them, they attempted a strategic out flanking movement. The amendments are dangerous not on account of what is definitely expressed in them, but by reason of what is left unsaid. It is an attempt to give in a rather nebulous form the thoughts on the tactics of the period of the offensive, ideas which were spread by the Central Committee of the V. K. P. D. in the heat of battle.

Comrade Tellman and others decided not to go home with theses, which amounted to their being repudiated. We do not want either, to repudiate the German Party — one of our best parties, but there are some things which it is necessary to disown.

# Sessions of the Third Congress

3rd of July.

Debate on Tactics.

The German comrades desire to secure a resolution which would approve and not give any exact estimation of the position. This we cannot permit, I think it will be better for our cause, if we make this question absolutely clear. The Congress must say to the German comrades that the first attempt of the Party to guide a great mass movement cannot serve as an example.

The same thing applies to our French friends. The Executive Committee discussed the question as to whether the French Party should have called for a refusal to answer the call up of 19 class. I asked one young comrade how he pictured the resistance to the mobilization. He said: "With arms of course. With revolvers in our hands". We poured a little cold water on his natural revolutionary enthusiasm, and I think that the comrade now will be better able to judge circumstances. The notorious theory of the offensive is absolutely non Marxist. Nevertheless, thousands of German comrades have been trained in the spirit and they are awaiting the reply of the Congress to this question. We must say frankly and clearly that the philosophy and tactics of the offensive is a great menace and any application of it in the future will be a crime.

If I were to speak of Italy in the language of Heckert or Thalheimer I could describe a country destroyed by the war, and given over to violent conflicts between the working class and Fascisti, and conclude by saying that a Party who could not immediately call upon the proletariat to take up the offensive, is an insignificant party, which will be condemned by history. But if we take a sober view of the situation, we will have to say with comrade Zinoviev, gain the confidence of the workers, and prepare for the fight.

There are there groups or temporary tendencies at this congress, which, if we do not properly understand, we shall not be able to estimate the co-relation of forces at this Congress. In the first place there is the German Delegation, which comes directly out of the fire of March events, and the extreme representatives which developed the theory of the offensive. This group also includes the Italian comrades; besides these there are those who think that the March events took place as a result of an order from the Executive, and that Levi was expelled for refusing to carry out the orders of Moscow. Some French and Techecho-Slovakian comrades fear that similar orders will be given them, and that they will be expelled if they do not carry them out. There is a third group whose opinions we hope are expressed in our theses. They say that it would have been madness for the Executive Committee for the sake of an offensive to have acted by means of artificially-created revolts. Our task is to lead the mass movement as a centralised Party and for that reason, it is our duty soberly to examine the situation in every country and only where circumstances allow to take up the offensive with all the strength at our command. We must conquer capitalist society and overthrow the bourgeoisie, and for this purpose we must be able to combine the sober language of statistics with the passionate language of revolutionary will. We will learn to do that and we will be victorious.

The chairman stated that a resolution had been sent in to close the discussion, and give comrade Radek the final word.

After considerable discussion, it was resolved to adjourn the conference for ten minutes. On the resumption comrade Zinoviev proposed to close the discussion, after comrade Radek, and then to proceed to take the vote. If any delegation desired to introduce any amendments to the theses, they could be submitted to the Commission. This was agreed to and the floor was given to comrade Radek. He said, "Allow me, after the two days' discussion, to sum up and determine the facts which it has exposed. The first to second the theses was comrade Lazarri, even before they were expounded by me. He fully agreed with them, excepting the place which makes mention of Italy, the representatives of other countries also agreed with the theses except where they referred to their respective countries. This means that in judging we should be guided by the general principle of the International. The danger of Opportunism

in the labour movement is by no means overcome. We still have the Amsterdam International. Everywhere, with the exception of France, there are powerful opportunist parties. Opportunism has not yet been overcome within the International itself, and the danger will be enhanced in proportion as the course of events will develop. I consider it a dangerous symptom of Opportunism that there are here representatives of parties who hold that all is going well with them. We spoke quite differently about the relations to the Techecho-Slovak Party, than was our original intention before the Congress, for we have convinced ourselves that here it is a question of a slow process of development, but a development leftwards.

The path of revolution is a thorny one, and upon which people are prone to make thousands of slips and blunders. Take the British comrades. I assert, that from their Party press, one cannot observe the slightest appearance of real activity on the part of their Party in relation to the miners' strike. I gathered information about this from the Comrades. They painted to me a very dismal picture. In the meantime representatives of the British delegation came here and protested against it. I can, however, corroborate my assertion by English newspapers, three quarters of which are filled with illustrations, and not a word about what interests us. It is most deplorable that such a young party as the English party, with such insignificant activity and brief experience behind it, should come up here and declare that everything is well with them. The British comrades contend that Lloyd George's party is also a small one. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that power is in Lloyd George's hands and not in yours. When we tell you, get to the masses, and you reply that Lloyd George also has a small party, I consider it a most intolerable situation. Of other parties, the French for example, we have hardly spoken here. We recognise that conditions must ripen in France, but in future we shall see to it that the French Party carry out the theses which it has opposed here.

Most attention was here paid to the German Party. This controversy is destined to be of cardinal importance not only to the German Party, but to the whole of the Comintern. It is the destiny of the German working class to be the bearer of the first great revolutionary movement in an industrial country. The lessons of the Russian revolution have supplied the International proletariat with the slogans of dictatorship and the slogan of the Soviets. But the path by which we achieved victory in Russia, will be shorter in all capitalist countries. We have disputed much here about the United Communist Party of Germany and the Communist Labour Party of Germany, not because one are better communists than the other, but because the Communist movement in Germany, by its errors and reverses, shows other parties how to avoid blunders. I did not accidentally compare the three instances of the Italian, Techecho-Slovakian and March events. I did this because the comparison of these three movements will enable others to appreciate the exigencies, possibilities and dangers of direct action, and the duty of the Party during such action.

We fight the left because their blunders augment Opportunism, strengthen our deadly foe, to crush whom is our first duty. The discussion on the German events has furnished us with two conclusions. First that the Party acted properly when it called upon its members to hasten to the aid of the working class which was being subject to an attack by the capitalist government. This was not a Putsch, but a genuine revolutionary action by hundreds of thousands of proletarians. Secondly that a number of blunders of a practical nature were committed in the leadership of this mass movement. Later a part of the comrades, impelled by the prospect of new battles, created a fallacious theory about the necessity of the Party taking the offensive. We have proved that this theory of an offensive was a fallacy because, under the prevailing conditions, it did not stimulate a sober appreciation of the state of affairs.

The March events could not be the product of an offensive policy, because the workers of Halle replied to the exile

of Stern with a strike which was declared without the sanction of the Central Committee. This proves that the desire to fight has taken root among the proletarian masses. This was the principal factor which impelled the Party to fight, and impelled it in such a manner that it entered the battle in March perhaps earlier than it should have done. We now tell them, that it is necessary to prepare for battle proportionately to the strength of the enemy, for our task is not to display the courage of the proletariat but to defeat the enemy. We, too, have committed blunders, and that is why our attitude to the blunders of others is not like the attitude of those who consider blunders to be the product of bad reasoning. In drawing the balance of the German movement, it must be stated that some of the leaders of the Party sabotaged the fight. I will further observe that a large part of the good comrades whom we wish to have in the Party sided with Levi, who betrayed the fight to the bourgeoisie.

These comrades are necessary to the party, but they must remember that such action will not be forgiven by the Communist International. Comrade Teilmann is wrong when he asserts that there must be no criticism in the party press because the enemy will use it to its own advantage. We consider criticism essential for our activities but every comrade should use tact in considering whether criticism is permissible at any particular moment. Comrade Zetkin wished to know what she should say to Crispian, when he asks her attitude to the March revolt. She should answer "I do not wish to argue with people who helped to defeat the Mansfeldt movement". It is important to us that the German party should look to the future and not the past and should prepare for new fights, independent of whether we wish them or not. We must now devote all our energy to forming a new, powerful active and revolutionary party in Germany.

I will now deal with the C. L. P. of G. which I have already remarked is a small party with ideas of a new International. If Comrade Sachs imagines that a small party can lead millions of people then this can only be done where these masses are amorphous and are not organised in large historic parties. We ourselves must organise these large organisations, and how can this be done by a small party without securing the confidence of the masses or fighting for the vital interests of the proletariat? If this party continues to avoid the real issues by avoiding trade-unions and parliament then our ways must part. We demand that you join the party which showed by the March revolt that it wishes to, and can fight. A fight against opportunism, a struggle against the right—and the left, which has been forewarned of its mistakes—this is our policy, from which we cannot deviate.

The Russian Communist Party feels that it bears a great responsibility as a party which has already had a long revolutionary existence. And if it admonishes you, it does so because it cannot wait twenty years till you gradually achieve victory. The proletariat can nowhere be left alone for any length of time in his fight.

The E. C. warns you of mistakes because of its sense of responsibility. Comrade Bukharin is a thousand times right when he says that we will regard in a different light those who allow a suitable chance for fighting to pass by after our warning.

We must strive to create a revolutionary army, ready to fight and spring into action and not a mere library of revolutionary books. The enemy is powerful and the Communist International must by sufficiently organised and capable of judgement to win the tremendous struggles which confront us.

We must win over the masses to the Communist International, prepare them to revolutionary struggles, lead them into these struggles, take every advantage possible, avoid unnecessary sacrifice and place our plan in opposition to that of the bourgeoisie.

After Comrade Radek had finished, the theses of the Russian delegation were unanimously accepted. The amendments were sent to the committee for preliminary discussion.

## Afternoon Session of July 3rd.

The session was opened at 2 p. m. The order of the day was the report on the relations between the III International and the Red Trade Union International in the struggle against Amsterdam. Comrade Zinoviev was given the floor to report. He said:

"Comrades, the II Congress of the Comintern theoretically laid down its relations to the trade union movement, and there is therefore no need for theoretical formulae. The fact that during the last year the trade union bureaucracy in England, Germany, France and America has been ejecting the communists from the unions is sufficiently clear proof of the justice of our position. Our task now is to coordinate and organise the struggle against the Yellow International and to work out the inter-relationships between the Communist International and the revolutionary Trade Unions.

The entire activity of the Amsterdam International demonstrates that the latter is a thorough bourgeois institution. Many have disputed this assertion on the grounds that it is an exaggeration. We categorically declare that it is no exaggeration or a polemical method; it is the statement of an actual fact. The Amsterdam International is a toy in the hands of the bourgeoisie, it is the combined product of the trade union bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, it is the bastion of capitalism. During the strike of the miners in England Thomas played the part of a traitor. When the workers in Germany have to be bled, Hersing, an old participant in the Amsterdam International, comes upon the scene. All the economic and political coups of the international bourgeoisie against the working class are carried out under the leadership of the Yellow International. This, of course, is most deplorable for the working class, and we must understand that the struggle against Amsterdam is not a simple, struggle of factions within the trade union movement, but a class struggle. This class struggle is all the more intricate and difficult that it takes place on the basis of the trade union movement. Nine tenths, however, of our difficulties will have been overcome if we but emerge the victors in this struggle and destroy this last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. The chief task of the communists in the trade union movement at present is to expose to the proletariat of the whole world the true face of the Amsterdam International.

We have had definite successes in the international trade union movement during the last year. The General Secretary of the Red Trade Union International informed me that the latter organisation now unites about 16,380,000 members. This figure, of course is very large, but we should not exaggerate its importance. There are also countries where our Communist parties have not yet taken the lead of the trade union movement, have not yet come to appreciate the full extent of the importance of working in the trade unions. There are other countries, for instance Spain, where the revolutionary proletariat is most progressive, and where the syndicalist organisations have a huge membership; the Communist Party has not succeeded in assimilating all these revolutionary elements. In Italy the Confederation of Labour counts two to three million workers, led by the reformists. In Sweden the former Socialist Party has become converted into a Communist Party, but the leadership in the trade unions is still in the hands of men who, although they belong to the Comintern, still look up to Amsterdam.

The Red Trade Union International has received an influx of syndicalist elements. During and after the war they experienced the same crisis as the Socialist parties. The outcome of this was the evolution of three kinds of syndicalism. The first is arrant reformism, of which Jouhax is representative, which suffered complete bankruptcy and whose spiritual leaders are in Amsterdam. The second is most sharply expressed in German and Swedish syndicalism. In Germany it is small trade unions which do not belong to Amsterdam, but all the same pursue the usual Scheidemannist line in their Central Organ "Syndikalist". The Swedish Syndicalists are typical Centrists, wobbling between Moscow and Amsterdam. The third (most representative of which is France) are our friends the genuine revolutionaries.

What should be the inter-relationships between these Syndicalist unions and the Third International. This is a question that we must solve right here. In connection herewith the questions of the Party, the neutrality of the Trade Union and the significance of the political struggle, arise also.

# Report of Congress

Red T. U. International and the Comintern

Continued From Previous Page.

The idea of neutrality of the trade union movement in the political struggle is a phantasy. The coal strike in England, for instance, could that be called a purely economic question? The idea of neutrality was artfully exploited by the bourgeoisie in their own private interests. Thus, the trade unions that are even revolutionary, objectively become counter-revolutionary when they cultivate political neutrality.

Our Congress is confronted with the question of the inter-relationships between the Party and the Trade Unions, between the III International and the Red Trade Union International.

The discussion in the "Humanite" on the question as to whether the Trade Unions should be subordinated to the party or not, evidently shows that the French party does not yet understand the role of its trade-unions. We, Russian Communists, have now been fighting for fifteen years to influence the trade union and each party member on joining a union was expected to work intensively not only during large strikes but in their usual everyday work of organising. We are not opposed to a certain amount of independence to the trade unions, not of course creating opposition between them and the party as do the opportunists. The party must not interfere in the usually routine work of the trade unions, it must work along general lines.

The Red Trade Union International was created by the initiative of the Comintern, but as yet is only in the stage of organisation. Although we aim at a co-ordination of these two organisations, owing to the vast differences in the world's trade union movements there must be a certain differentiation. The Communist is not a mere arithmetical sum of different organisations but a definite whole, the head of the entire revolutionary proletarian movement. Hence whilst allowing a certain organisational independence to the Red Trade Union International, we still keep the political leadership in the hands of the Comintern.

Every Communist must realise that these problems are vital to the international revolutionary movement. If we can destroy the Amsterdam International and on its ruins unfurl the Red Banner then we will be on the way to victory. This is the problem of our Congress the Inaugural Congress of the Red Trade Unions.

Comrade **Heckert** then gave his report on the practical work of the trade unions. The old trade unions stood for the mere betterment of the workers' conditions, but the satisfaction of these meagre demands was impossible under the capitalist system. As a result there developed two tendencies in the trade union movement. The one hoped to achieve these demands peacefully and the other by revolutionary force.

Capitalism was shaken to its very foundations by the war and we know that its collapse is merely a question of time, irrespective of any attempt made by the proletariat to overthrow it. What then are the trade unions to do? To wait till the temporary apparent recovery of capitalism is over or strengthen our revolutionary organisation to overthrow it?

The social patriots say that the socialism is only possible with the full development of the productive forces and proposes cooperation with the bourgeoisie. But we communists say that the existence of the working class is not possible with the preservation of the capitalist system. Hence the trade unions must concentrate all their energy in overthrowing capitalism, by means of strikes, demonstrations, revolts etc.

Capitalism is united nationally and internationally by means of powerful trusts. The contemporary organisation of our trade unions does not coincide with the contemporary organisation of capitalism. We must create a centralised workers organisation, built upon the basis of industry. Other countries must follow Soviet Russia in doing this as this is the most suitable form of organisation. The concentration of capital drives to the centralisation of our trade unions and we must strive to do away with any form of Federalism because the latter spells the doom of trade unionism. There are some workers who imagine that the immediate uninterrupted revolutionary struggle is of more importance than the struggle for the workers immediate needs. But we communists say: "Fight for the immediate needs of the working class for this is, at the same time a fight for the organisation of the

working class as a whole". Capitalism in its collapse, is throwing millions of workers into unemployment. Our problem is to have them re-absorbed into industry, but this is a difficult question. We must let workers understand that the return of the unemployed into the workshops is for their own benefit, so that they themselves may not be thrown out of work. This agitation must be carried out everywhere. The trade unions must prevent the closing up of the factories, in order not to increase the number of unemployed.

The trade unions must take up the offensive and compel capitalism to defend itself. Capitalism is curtailing and sabotaging production in order to weather the crisis.

The issue then is clear we communists must organise the English, Belgian, German, French and Italian workers internationally and not nationally. Capitalism is already seeking to pit the workers against each other by taking advantage of the less developed element. The trade unions must put a stop to these tricks. The miners of England should have been supported by the transport workers and railwaymen, not so much for the benefit of the miners, as for themselves, so that they could prevent the capitalists splitting the ranks of the English workers. The capitalist have now adopted a new dodge. They offer the workers part of their profit. (Surplus value) What an irony—our chief task is the destruction of surplus value. Some propose nationalisation and socialization but only in a peaceful manner. A real socialization means the seizure of power by the proletariat.

In summing up, I must state that besides the indicated forms of trade union organisation (existing on the principle of centralisation and the international basis of industry) the workers must arm themselves in every country as a permanent organisation against the armed and advancing capitalism. Then our chief problem, as Comrade Zinoviev pointed out, is the controlling of the trade unions by communists in order to transform them into communist trade unions.

The session ended at 5 p. m.

## Soviet Note to Greece.

The following is a translation of the note sent by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, to the Grecian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Athens, July 2nd 1921.

To the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Russian Government was extremely surprised when it learned from various sources that Greek newspapers have published the statement that Greece has declared war on Russia. Not having received any such declaration from the Greek Government, considers it utterly unlikely, that the Greek Government should believe the statements cited as examples of imaginary motives by these newspapers, and which are contrary to the truth and that it desires to cause more bloodshed, and compel the citizens of Greece and Russia to enter a struggle. The Russian Government, on its part, desiring nothing so much as the preservation and the development of peaceful relations with other countries, decided immediately to ask the Greek Government to explain the true state of affairs in connection with the above mentioned statements in the press. The Russian Government hopes that the Greek Government will disperse the erroneous information spread by the organs of the Press, who were evidently misinformed.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs *Tchitcherine*.

## Anticipation Repetition.

Nauen, July 4. (Wireless.) All the German parties and trade unions of Upper Silesia transmitted to the Inter-allied commission a declaration stating the conviction of the population of Upper Silesia that the present Polish insurrection was not the last one. The declaration energetically demands that proceedings should be taken against persons responsible for the insurrection and those who held responsible posts during the insurrection, and especially against Korfanty, for all crimes, committed in Upper Silesia.

## A Declaration-

by Comrade Egidis Gennari, a member of the Delegation of the Italian Communist Party.

Since the conclusion of the discussion of the Italian question deprived of the opportunity of replying to Maffi in plenary session, I desire the insertion into the congressional minutes of my absolute denial, of and my protest against, the falsehoods concerning me which were told by Maffi, the delegate of the Italian Socialist Party.

I declare that:

1. He lied when he declared that I have been a reformist and compromiser in the past. On the contrary. During all the 24 years of my activity in the Socialist Party, I have always fought as a member of the extreme left wing of the Socialist Party, and from 1910 up to the present day I have always combatted reformism and opportunism wherever they have manifested themselves.

2. He lied when he asserted that although in my capacity as secretary, I was in a position to act, I did nothing at all when Turatti presented himself for election to parliament in 1919, as a representative of the Italian Socialist Party. Firstly at the time in question I was not the secretary of the Italian Socialist Party. Secondly in the sessions of the maximalist fraction at the Congress of Rome in 1918, I urged the necessity of expelling Turatti and his followers from the Italian Socialist Party. Thirdly, when prior to the Congress of Bologna, at a meeting of the party council, I saw that a split was not desired, I urged the necessity of at least declaring that all those who would not accept the new program to be adopted at the Congress of Bologna, should be deprived of the possibility of being party candidates in the parliamentary and municipal elections. This may be confirmed from the report that appeared in the "Avanti". The majority of the party council and of the congress decided differently, allowing the reformists to be party candidates, merely making a proportional arrangement between the various fractions of the party for the list of candidates for the elections.

I, and sometimes I alone, declared all this to be a very grave mistake and a danger to the party. Fourthly, when, prior to the elections in 1919, Turatti, Modigliani and several other reformists designated by the provincial federations, declared that they would accept candidacies for the parliamentary elections with certain reservations in the matter of party discipline. I proposed and together with Bombacci, who was at that time the Secretary of the party, drew up a resolution of the secretariat, rejecting all the reservations with regard to party discipline made by those persons. All this was well known to Dr. Maffi.

III. Maffi stated that I should have brought my accusations before the congress of Livorno. He knows that, at Livorno, I submitted, for three long hours, and despite the din caused by his friends that is, the reformists, the documentary evidence for my accusation and the necessity of the expulsion of the reformists.

IV. He alleged that, after the Fascist outrages in Bologna, I agreed with the statement made by Turatti, as the representative of the Socialist fraction in parliament, Maffi knows that on that occasion the socialist parliamentary fraction held a meeting very suddenly, and without notifying me, and that I was not present at that meeting for that reason Maffi knows that I protested against this, in my capacity as secretary of the party, at the following meeting of the management committee of the parliamentary fraction. Maffi knows furthermore, that I reproached Bombacci at the meeting held by the Communist fraction at Imola for preparations made for the congress of Livorno and for his attitude in the above occasion. Maffi knew all that. He uttered so many falsehoods quite conscious that he was uttering such. He merely wanted to show the international congress specimen of the methods of slander and calumny always used by the reformists and opportunists in Italy. Lazzari is also in a position to submit some information with respect to the fighting methods of the reformists, if he will recall the unworthy campaign carried on against him by Turatti and his friends, at a time when he was not a defender, but an accuser of Italian reformism.

*Edigio Gennari.*

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in spite of the invitation has sent no representatives, as it is afraid of Truth. The old trade union bureaucracy finds that its foundations are cracked, and it attempts to preserve its decayed structure, be it for a short period, by wholesale expulsion of communists. We are still divided as to details, but this Congress must lay down the basis on which we can agree, in order to defeat our common enemy. Therefore it is necessary to us to join the communists, in order to fight in perfect agreement with them, a fight that is destined to overthrow the capitalist order and liberate the working class.

The following members were elected to the Mandate Commission: Sergeev and Reinstein (Russia), Watkins (England), Santo (Austria), Gorbunov (Bulgaria), Leval (Spain), Labonne (France).

Comrade **Orlandes** then read the draft of an appeal to the Spanish workers. The appeal describes the persecution to which the workers are exposed in Spain and proposed that the First International Congress of the Red Trade Unions should protest against the cruelty of the Spanish reaction, and encourage the fighting comrades of Spain to continue their struggle. The proposal was carried unanimously.

A motion by comrade Lozovsky entrusting the Bureau of the Congress with the drafting of an appeal to the workers of all the other countries, where the reaction is no less rampant than in Spain, was carried.

After a few business announcements the meeting was closed with the singing of the International.

## Foreign Affairs.

### Soviet Note to the Rumanian Government.

The following is a translation of a Radio-telegram from the People's Commissaries for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia and Ukraine to the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Take Jonesey, Bucharest the 1st of July 1921.

"Immediately after the receipt of your Radio-telegram of June 16th No. 21660, an order was given to investigate the reasons for the attack on the Rumanian patrol, which took place, according to your Radio-telegram on June 1st and 3rd. As a result of the investigation it has been ascertained, that no one belonging to the Red Army detachments posted in that district, took part in the above mentioned incidents. The armed persons, who on the days mentioned attacked the Rumanian patrol in Bessarabia, belong in all probability, to some bands, or division entirely unknown to us, whose presence on the banks of the Dniestr, is a result of the excessive indulgence shown by the Rumanian military authorities to Petlurists and other Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik elements. Several such persons accompanied by a Rumanian soldier proceeded along the Dniestr, and appeared on the left bank of the river, where they were arrested by the Ukrainian authorities, and sent to Kamenetz-Podolsk. The investigation of the identity of those under arrest is still proceeding. These incidents are a result of the insufficient number of Red Army detachments, in the vicinity of the Dniestr, which in its turn is explained by the desire of the Russian and Ukrainian Governments to avoid any groundless suspicion, and misunderstanding which it might arise, if more Red Army detachments are posted near the Dniestr in the neighbourhood of Bessarabia. At the same time, the Russian and Ukrainian Governments protest against the repetition of the bombardment of the left bank of the Dniestr carried out by the Rumanian troops. On the night of June the 5th, the left bank of the river was again subjected to bombardment from the Rumanians, when the village of Luka, which is situated from 20 versts from Kamenetz-Podolsk suffered most from the Rumanian fire.

The Russian and Ukrainian Governments once more demands of the Rumanian Government to take all measures to prevent the Rumanian military authorities in Bessarabia from giving any sort of support to anti-Soviet elements, which are continually crossing the river for the purpose of attacking Soviet territory, and that Rumanian troops on the Dniestr should cease all hostile action against the other side of the river, and against Ukrainian villages and the Red Army detachments posted there.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs *Tchitcherine*.  
The President of the Council and People's Commissaries for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.P.

*Rakovsky.*