



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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1921.

Red Trade Unions.

Discussion on Rosmer's Report.

We have read the draft of the manifesto which, the congress is to address to the whole world. This draft is causing some objections by representatives of various delegations. The Congress decided to adopt the draft of the manifesto as a base and entrust the Bureau with the final elaboration. The debate on comrade Rosmer's report was then continued.

Comrade **Guirallo** (Hungary) said that the work of the provisional council could not be subjected to detailed criticism, as all its activity until the convocation of the Congress aimed exclusively at indicating the general lines of the Red Trade Union International. Certain figures are not exact. As regards Hungary, we do not possess reliable figures, besides this is impossible under the regime of Horthy.

Comrade **Murphy** (England) said that the report is incomplete. He bluntly stated that the following points were omitted in it: 1. the difficulties which have arisen before the Congress over questions concerning the Italian Federation; 2. how far the working masses of various countries responded to the activity of the Provisional Council. 3. The inner work of the Council and the clash of tendencies in its midst.

Bartels (Germany) said that the system of founding groups in the midst of Trade Unions has not brought with it favourable results, of which Rosmer was speaking. In Germany, these groups have displayed a real revolutionary activity, they have been expelled from syndicates. As regards Germany, the figures are not yet known. The work of the German Bureau is not sufficiently known. The miners have not been supported, as they should have been.

Reichmann (Switzerland) remarked that there are no special Trade Union organisations in Switzerland. There are only Trade Unions of the Social-Democratic type, in the midst of which there is a fight between Amsterdam and Moscow. In his opinion the report does not sufficiently emphasize the importance of the character of the struggle of masses for Moscow. The fight between the Moscow and the Amsterdam International is not a fight between two tendencies, but a fight of revolutionary masses seeking to join Moscow against reformist leaders, who group themselves around Amsterdam. We must say that the real influences of the International is much stronger than could be supposed. The strength of the Red Trade Union International is based on the fact that it has the workers at its back.

Weiker (Germany) spoke in the name of the majority of the organisations, which are grouped round the V. K. P. D. He defended the tactics of conquering the Trade Unions from within, pointing out that this tactic would have greater success, if it were not been counter-acted by comrades, who blandly expound their revolutionary ideas, but at the same time forget the necessity of patient work of propaganda in the midst of workers' organisations. "You have tried to find a revolutionary tactic common to all the revolutionary workers' organisations. It is this point of view, which was adopted by the Berlin Bureau of the Red Trade Union International."

Lozovsky (Russia), The defects in the report lies in its praise of the former activity of the council and its attempts to trace its future activity.

Let us examine these defects. The Italian question was ignored when we signed the manifests with regard to the formation of the Red Trade Union International, we have not made it a condition to leave the Amsterdam International. We have done this deliberately, knowing how difficult it is for the masses to pass from one organisation to another. We have thus given them the possibility of making the experiment of a simultaneous adhesion to two organisations. This experiment is over. After some months we had to place before the Italian confederation the alternative of choosing between us and Amsterdam. The Italian Confederation which formally belonged to both organisations,

in reality does not belong to either. In passing to the controversy between the German delegates, comrade Lozovsky said that comrade Bartels in criticizing our activity has not raised the essential question namely whether we should remain in the Trade Unions or not. Our duty is to remain there and to remove from there those who do not suit us. What is in fact the meaning of the conquest of Trade Unions? It does not mean to get hold of the furniture or of the cash box of the unions, it means to conquer the minds of the workers. This is the most solid base of a real revolutionary work. What is happening in Germany? Hundreds of thousands of workers are formed into a special organisation and millions of workers are left to their fate.

Comrade **Murphy** pointed out that the report does not sufficiently deal with the results of propaganda work done by the Red Trade Union International. The result is the convocation of the Congress at which there present 250 delegates from 31 different countries. All the participants of the Congress agree in their condemnation of Amsterdam, but most contradictory opinions are expressed on the methods of fighting definitely to detach the workers from the influence of this international. These contradictory opinions are due to the diversity of conditions of life and of the activity of the organisations in different countries. We have come together here to mutually benefit by our experience and we should not conceal our differences of opinion as is done by Amsterdam. We must solve the contradictions which arise among us and must take into account mutual indications and the desire to preserve at all costs the unity of all those whom the revolutionary aims of the proletariat are really dear.

This aim is to seize the bourgeoisie by the throat and make it surrender its positions. To indicate the way in which this should be done—such is the task of the present Congress.

MANN (England), The long experience of our struggle with the reformist tendencies of the old Trade Union leaders prove to us once more the necessity at the present moment of making our tactics agree with the real necessity of the moment. I shall not speak of other countries, but I affirm categorically that 20 percent of the British workers are in a revolutionary state of mind. It is not necessary to work in such a way as to spend the energy of our rather scanty forces, in order to set up an independent organisation consisting of these twenty percent. We must concentrate our efforts on bringing about radical changes also in the theoretical methods of struggle in the midst of the old organisations, which we have created and developed in common with the revolutionary workers' masses. We must not leave the old organisations, but we must recruit more and more followers by gaining the confidence of the workers, which form part of them. In the name of the English workers among which it fell to my lot to carry on revolutionary propaganda of late, I express my firm conviction that not only shall we win the confidence of organised workers, but that we shall acquire new forces among those who even now do not take any part in the revolutionary struggle. We shall tear sunder the reformist ties, created by the old leaders and together with the proletarians freed from their influence, we shall overthrow the foundations of the old world.

GLINSKY (Poland) declared in the name of the Polish Delegation his solidarity with the theory and practice of the Red Trade Union International. He pointed out that the Polish movement confirms the justness of the line of action followed by the Moscow International. The necessity of uniting into one whole all the trade union organisations of Poland has become a truism in Poland. Yet this single organisation could not be created so far owing to the Polish men-

Continued on page 4.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Irish Negotiations.

Horsea, July 6. (Wireless.) Lord Midleton, one of the Irish Southern Unionists' representatives who attended the conference at Dublin yesterday with De Valera and Griffith, travelled during the night to London and reported to Lloyd George early this morning on the results of the conference. The "Evening Standard's" political representative learns on high authority that, although the Dublin conference, of course had no plenipotentiary powers, certain substantial and most hopeful agreements were reached. Meanwhile general Smuts, the South-African Premier, has arrived in Dublin, armed, it is believed, with considerable powers.

Fissures in the Empire.

London, July 5. The "Manchester Guardian" in a leading article discussing Anglo-Japanese relations, points out that Canada's opposition to the alliance between Great Britain and Japan took the British Foreign Office by surprise, especially as the Canadian Prime Minister made it understood that if the treaty were renewed, Canada might have proclaimed herself outside its scope. Some method of avoiding this had to be found, and this is the reason for the startling reversal of opinions of the law officers with regard to the necessity for an immediate renewal of the treaty, before it lapsed. The Canadian papers point out that Lloyd-George has, in this way, outmanoeuvred the Canadian Premier. Reuter reports that the Japanese ambassador in Washington has made a formal statement, denying that the alliance was ever intended as an instrument of hostility to or even of defence against United States.

U. S. A.

America's Decision.

Riga, July, 6th. New-York reports that the British Government evidently advised Japan to postpone the renewal of the alliance from July to October. This was done for the purpose of enabling the United States to consider the question as broadly as possible. It is said, that Japan agreed to this proposition.

RUSSIA.

Semenov Fired.

Chita, July 6. The Cossack Congress in Vladivostok has deprived Semenov of the title of Commander in Chief. He has been succeeded by Ivanov-Rinov.

Freedom.

Countless arrests and searches are taking place in Grodekovo.

Japanese Looting.

Shameless looting is taking place in Vladivostok. Everything that is movable is being carried away on Japanese ships.

Greetings From Consumptives.

The Commissariat for Public Health received the following telegram from comrade Varovsky in Rome.

"The Medical Section received an invitation to a congress of War Consumptives, which was held in Rome on July 3rd.

The "National Association for War Consumptives" (Rome Section) extends its greetings and expresses pleasure and enthusiasm for the Soviet Mission as a whole and its Medical Section in particular. It asks for information on the work accomplished by the Medical Service of Soviet Russia. It expressed sympathy with New Russia, which has proclaimed to the world a new and higher civilization, and sends greeting in the name of its members to the Proletarians of Great Russia.

ITALY.

Bourgeoisie Satisfied.

Berlin, July, 5th. The formation of the Bonomi cabinet in Italy was acclaimed with satisfaction in Paris. Bonomi is characterised as the partisan of friendly understandings between the allies. De-La-Torretta, Sforza's successor, will continue the same foreign policy as his predecessor.

A Tragic Understanding.

Rome, 2nd July. The Socialist' Fascisti agreement, reported recently in our paper, and which was considered even by the Italian compromisers an impossibility actually took place. According to the agreement but sides must disarm, and instead carry their campaigns with respect and tolerance.

Every province is to form a special commission of both Socialist and Fascisti, for the realisation of disarmament and investigation and liquidation of any new or contemplated collisions, and to hand to the authorities any comrades who break the agreement.

The agreement must be ratified by the leaders of the Confederation of Labour and the Central Committee of the Syndicalists. The above mentioned institutions will be called to a conference to hasten their decisions.

To-day a meeting was called of the Directorate of the Socialist Party. With the signing of this agreement the Socialist Party loses its independent existence, and has subordinated itself to Massolini and betrays its comrades to the authorities. The signing of this agreement is the death knell of the Socialist Party.

The entire bourgeois press is busy with this extraordinary situation. The "Giornale d'Italia" states that this agreement is an example of Socialist and bourgeois collaboration and that it leads Socialism into its historic channels and to the benevolent functions of a National Party. In his paper "Popolo d'Italia", Massolini writes that Bolshevism "a la russe" is liquidated and that Italy of 1921 is totally different from the Italy of 1919. According to Massolini the Socialist Party is facing a split upon the question of collaboration. The Fascisti organ thinks that the Confederation of Labour can break the heavy chains of Socialism that binds it and become independent. This, according to the Fascisti will be a great step towards the formation of a new united Labour Party, which will reduce the significance of Socialist political parties to a minimum.

GREECE.

The King Returns from War.

Smyrna, June, 29th 1921. Whilst the King of Greece was making a tour of the battle front he was whistled and hooted at by the troops. Whilst being sent to Rodosti a detachment of soldiers mutinied and disarmed their officers.

Attempted Assassination.

Smyrna, June, 29th, 1921. It is reported that an attempt was made to assassinate the King of Greece whilst returning home from the front.

Finnish Troops Run Amok.

The discipline of the Finnish troops is breaking down. Many wild outrages committed by soldiers are reported. Sergeants in Kuoval took part in revolver shooting. Drunken soldiers in Viborg behaved like hoodlums, and threw hand grenades. Soldiers in Salmes have been behaving indecorously for several days, and smashed the windows of many houses. They attacked innocent people and assaulted many children.

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Even Our Enemies Serve Us.

The French Government recently despatched a note of protest to the British Government in which it reproached the latter for ignoring the interests of France by concluding a Trade Agreement with Soviet Russia. The French Government was annoyed at the fact that the British business man, according to the agreement will be paid for their goods in Russian gold.

Messieurs the French bourgeoisie hold that this gold belongs to them as there are Tzarist debts owing to France to the amount of nearly 25 milliards. In their opinion, therefore England is robbing France. According to the French Government, England, being an ally should have protected the interests of France, and the gold received in payment for commodities should be transferred to the French bourgeoisie.

In "Le Populaire" of the 28th of June, Marcel Sembat wrote that England in its reply to France stated that it will protect the interests of France on the condition that France establishes relations with Russia. This as much as to say that England will maintain her present position until there will be some hope of France taking part in general negotiations with Soviet Russia. If France will be stubborn in its refusal, it will be left to itself.

Sembat writes that it is time to abandon the policy of continually raising the question of the Russian loans on the question of relations between France and Russia.

In its note England lays emphasis on its agreement to the establishment of an international commission for the distribution of the Russian loans, only on the condition however, that the commission will be composed of representatives of countries which either recognize the Soviet Government, or will be prepared to sign the first general agreement with it.

The "real politik" of the English bourgeoisie was like a cold water douche for their French brothers, while the Russian emigrés bourgeoisie, begging for alms and humbly crowding ministerial antechambers, are proudly promising their "honourable and generous friend" France to re-pay the Tzarist loans, the English business men, concealing their hatred of us, goodnatureedly slap the French "utopians" on the back, and abandon their idle dreams. They advise them, better to take the bird in hand, as they did, rather than wait for the two birds in the bush promised them by the landless landlords, capitalists without factories, and bankers without money.

This of course will not facilitate friendship between the French and English bourgeoisie, and cuts the ground from under the feet of the French bankers on the question of the Russian loans.

For the consolidation of the Soviet system that all countries recognise Soviet Russia, and here we have an unexpected advocate of recognition in the person of England. It is necessary to conduct our struggle with the enemy in such a manner as to compel the former, thinking to help himself, to manoeuvre in such a fashion as we require in order to defeat him. In military language this is called retaining the initiative, and to prepare the victory in the general engagement which world imperialism, sooner or later, will enter against us.

In the meantime, it is necessary to compel the enemy to manoeuvre with individual national detachments in such a manner as suits us. History and life is with us, the initiative is in our hand, and world imperialism gathering its forces after unsuccessful military attacks, for military battles is helping us in spite of itself.

Of course, bourgeois England is endeavouring to persuade stubborn France to join it in order to increase the economic pressure on us, but in every country there is a proletariat and a Communist Party. We too, are not asleep and are preparing for the battle, compelling even our enemies to do our work.

This is the destiny of the doomed bourgeoisie.

N. Kuzmin.

Trade Unions in Germany.

So far we in Germany lacked a thorough-going discussion on the part the trade unions played among the broad masses during the revolutionary epoch. Subtle observations were made and a exchange of views held here and there. The question of the role of the Trade Unions and the resulting consequences to the organisation and tactics of the class struggle were seen by all the revolutionary workers through the so-called breach of discipline by the Free Workers Union Gelsenkirchen.

This alleged breach of discipline consists in the following — the F. W. U. issued instructions to the masses to leave the reactionary Trade Union federations, although they belonged to the Red Provisional Trade Union International.

This Union is still engaged in the work of conquering the Trade Unions and recently took up this struggle with all its might, especially, after the late great risings. At the present time there are four organisations in Germany, which are fighting Amsterdam, and the reformist Trade Unions. Besides, there are several German Trade Unions of Amsterdam tendency, which are more or less controlled by V. K. P. D. There is a great dispute between the advocates of group organisations (Free Workers Union comprising 150,000 members, The General Workers' Union with 100,000 members, the Free Agriculturists' Union with 32,000 members, and the Union of Intellectual Departments with 45,132 members). This dispute turns on the conquest or destruction of the old trade unions, which have become useless. Unfortunately, in this dispute, the leading parts of which are being played by the Free Workers' Union on one side, and the V. K. P. D. on the other, while the latter tries to side track it and to make it a question of prestige of the party. The V. K. P. D. demands nothing less than the subordination of the revolutionary Unions of Germany to their decision and directions. The above mentioned organisations naturally reject any such idea. This would only mean a return to the counter-revolutionary organisations, i. e. the abandonment of revolutionary unions in favour of the counter-revolutionary ones. The leaders of the V. K. P. D. imagine that such a solution is a revolutionary action. They base their conception on the assumed possibility of doing away with the counter-revolutionary Trade Union bureaucracy, and thus transforming the unions, as a whole, into instruments which will work for the revolution. The revolutionary unions believe that it is impossible first to conquer the unions, and secondly, that even if the minority secedes (if the groups prove effective) the necessity arises of creating new organisations.

Therefore, they regard themselves as the pioneers not only of revolutionary action, but also of the new forms of organisation, as they are dictated by the necessity of the industrial control, etc. The unions, since their foundation formed the nucleus of revolutionary risings in Germany. They are born in the fight. They are also built on the Soviet system. They know no dictatorship on the part of the leaders; all the councils, and all the delegates can be recalled at any time. The organisational basis is the factory or the workshop. The differentiation according to speciality is rejected, as it is out of date and useless for prosecution of the class struggle in a stormy revolutionary period. Moreover, because it is useless for the tasks which will face the workers organisations on the day after they have come into power, it will have to give way to the factory organisations. The Unionist Movement in Germany is constantly growing, where as, the Free, Trade Unions after a short stationary period, have declined of late, having decreased over a million in membership. We cannot, within the space of this article, deal with the causes of this decline. However, we can state that the dissatisfaction of the workers, who form part of these unions, does not assume an effective opposition to their managing committees and employees, as they are not capable of countering their treacherous schemes, but we can state that their dissatisfaction drives them out of these unions and renders them indifferent and inactive. The revolutionary unions consider that they must wage, openly and widely; a ceaseless struggle against the Trade Union bureaucracy, and that they must adopt the Soviet system as the most appropriate form of the workers' movement.

Arthur Bartels.

MOSCOW

The Economic Position of Persia. The work of the Iran Communist Party.

Persia is one of the richest countries of the East but because of the criminal competition between England and Czarist Russia it is now in an extremely serious economic situation. The colonial policy of these two countries not only maliciously prevented the development of our national industries, but under the pressure of the import of cheap goods completely destroyed our never-too-brilliant small industry.

As a result of this unequal competition between machine and hand production, hundreds and thousands of destitute and hungry tradesmen were thrown on to the streets, faced by death from starvation in their own country and with a curse on their lips deserted their native country and sought help in other lands, in Turkestan, Caucasia, Baku, America and others. They were followed by the hundreds of thousands of the land proprietor and Shah-Governor exploited peasants, who with their own "sweat and blood" created the wealth of other countries. Such is the fate of all other colonial or semi-colonial countries.

The war and the Russian revolution somewhat altered the situation. The continual shortage of goods and the large demand again set our small industry on its feet. In many regions of Northern Persia many varieties of locally produced articles appeared in large quantities. Even in the South, where the English continue to import their goods the small tradesmen are meeting with tremendous success.

Many small private producers are making their appearance and hate with all their heart the economic supremacy of the foreigners.

The English imperialists however are not relying on the bourgeoisie or small industry owners of Persia, they acquire their power through the rich landed aristocracy, which is the most corrupt in the whole of the East. 3,000 feudal land owners control 3/4 of all the useful land in our country. Over 10,000,000 peasants suffer under the yoke of these unscrupulous agents of the English bourgeoisie and are directing their growing hate equally as much against these native idlers supported by the Iran Shah of Shahs.

As a result of its economic backwardness the country lacks industrial workers, especially in the Northern provinces where now and again one finds factories having from 15 to 50 workers, but never more. In this respect things are a little better in the South. In the oil fields, owned by the Anglo-Persian Trust and some English firms, there are over 250,000 workers, scattered over 8 large centres: Suleiman, Shuster Mohamer etc.

Under such conditions it is evident that the Iran Communist Party cannot be, and is not trying to be, a mass party. It is attempting to gather around it the more advanced elements of the peasants, workers and artisans, organising and educating them under the banner of the III Communist International; at the same time creating trade unions in the towns and peasant labour unions in the villages.

Recently, after the congress of our party in Enzeli on June, 23d 1920 in spite of the unheard of difficult conditions the Executive Committee of the Communist Party has accomplished a colossal organising work. We now have 4 district and a whole-series of county branches with a total membership of 4,500. Last year we had more, but as a result of the provocation of a group of adventurers, disguised in a cloak of communism, our party work has come to a stop in some regions. This also explains the temporary cessation of our party organ "The Communist". This has made us much more cautious and conspiratory. However we have managed with the participation of our party to create workers and artisans trade unions having a membership of about 4,000.

The Iran Communist Party is soberly examining the semi-feudal conditions under which it has to carry on its work.

In comparing the class forces in our country, where the English imperialists together with our landed aristocracy exploit almost the rest of the other classes, the party has placed as its immediate and minimum aim the overthrow of the Shah-proprietor rule and the liberation of Persia from the economic and political yoke of the English brigands, and securing more democratic conditions to enable our party to carry on intensified party work. We are convinced that only by this means can backward country be brought into the sphere of development of the world revolution without which the oppressed nations cannot be finally freed from the exploitation of world capitalism.

A. Sultan-Zade.

JULY 8th 1921.

The Portrait Gallery in the Great Palace.

A small, but very interesting exhibition of portraits is shown in the corridor that leads to the Hall, where the III Congress holds its sessions.

The Petrograd cinema workers presented an interesting "Album" devoted to "October days" edited by Comrades Greboff and Putilovsky. A very small but remarkable gallery of portraits of members of the III congress are presented by our noted artists, Comrades Andrieff, Brodsky, Vestchiloff.

A striking and extraordinary portrait of Sultan Sade, who is listening attentively to Comrade Lenin's speech, is the work of the artists Andrieff. The portrait is a splendid achievement of artistic skill, as well as conceptions. Brodsky's work is also very good, especially the portraits of Rackovsky, Feliks Kohn, Lorient, Friedland, Tomazi. The face of the latter expressed by a most talented European portraitist, whose works were admired by Repin, is of a surprising artistic quality. Comrade Brodsky's sketches of this congress, in our opinion, are much better than his work of last year.

Of the works of the artist Vestchiloff the portrait of T. Stichki can especially be commended.

The delegates concentrated their eager attention upon the studies of both Vestchiloff and Brodsky, entitled "The Formal Opening of the Congress of Second Communist International in the Uritsky Palace".

This sketch excellently conveys the idea of a great work upon which Comrades Brodsky and Vestchiloff are now working at the Smolny. This creation of the artists will serve as a monument to universal brotherhood.

We hope that the finished work will express the power and strength expressed in the sketch.

M. Pavlovich.

Hilferding Agent of White Justice.

The Menshevist leaders in Berlin, witness with burning rage, that the proletariat is more and more understanding their treacherous policy, and are completely abandoning them. The severe cudgeling that Sabath, the secretary of the Berlin Trade Unions, and member of the U. S. P. received while that rowdie was dealing out blows to unarmed unemployed workers with an iron rod, does not let the scribblers of Breitestrass rest at night.

The trial of Hölz, which the accused took advantage of, to make a smashing attack against the Capitalist System, found such an echo among the workers, that the usual calumnies of Social Democratic and the U. S. P. press no longer has effect. In No 286 of the "Freiheit" that Stock jobber Hilferding gave utterance to insults that beat all records. We see from these lines an ill concealed pleasure at the conviction of Hölz. At the conclusion of this scandalous article the writer, with the rage of a mad dog, savagely attacks those fighters of the March Action, whom White Justice has allowed to slip through its fingers. In the last paragraph we read:

"When the communists call upon the workers to demonstrate for the release of Hölz, their conduct is exactly like that of that Mansfield blackguard Schneide and that young fool "Scholem" who have brought thousands of workers to prison, and who seek to bring added misfortune upon them. The characteristics of the communist movement is cowardice, meanness, and stupidity".

Hilferding should be the last man in the world to charge any one with cowardice, for during the Kapp putsch he hid in the boudiers of his numerous acquaintances of the demi-monde.

Hilferding and Jäger, the wise apaches of Justice belong to each other. Two words are enough for comment: "mean skunk".

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.

The Seventeenth Session of the Third Congress.

Lenin's Speech of July 5th.

Comrade Lenin said: "I do not propose to deliver a report, but to limit myself to supplementing the theses which have been distributed to you by a few remarks and observations. In order to discuss the tactics of our party, we must commence with a review of the international situation. The economic position of world capitalism, has already been reviewed by the Congress, and I refer to this question in my theses chiefly and exclusively from the political standpoint. In reviewing the international position of our Republic it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that, at the present moment, a certain equilibrium of forces seems to have been established, true of course, of two hostile forces, ready at any moment to commence an armed struggle. Such an unstable position may result in a crisis any day, and for this purpose there is sufficient inflammable material in capitalist countries, as well as in the colonies and semi-colonies. As however, all the military efforts of the International bourgeoisie to suppress Soviet Russia have ended in failure, we can speak of the establishment of an unstable equilibrium. The bourgeoisie is much stronger than our Republic, and it is only the peculiarities of the situation that prevents it from conducting war against us. During the last few days however, we have witnessed new attempts at intervention in the Far East, and there is no doubt, that such attempts will be repeated in the future. What is important to establish however, is that we must take advantage of this breathing space of this equilibrium, and to adapt our tactics to the present peculiar situation, without for one moment forgetting the necessity for being prepared for open battle. The approach of this unstable equilibrium signifies for us only that the revolutionary movement has advanced a long way ahead, but that during the past year it has not developed along that direct road that we presumed it would. When we made our revolution, we said that either the international revolution will come to our assistance, and in that case victory is assured, or we will carry on our modest revolutionary work with the firm conviction that even our defeat will clear the road for the next revolution. In spite of our clear understanding that victory for us is impossible without an international revolution, and in spite of all obstacles, we did everything in order to consolidate the Soviet System, for we acted, not only for the sake of our own interests, but for the interests of the International Revolution.

Although revolutions have not yet been made in the highly developed capitalist countries, nevertheless, we can assert with pleasure that it has developed over the whole world; and it is precisely because of that, that the International bourgeoisie cannot suppress us in spite of it being military and economically a hundred times stronger than we are. The revolution is not developing along the direct line that we expected; nevertheless, the pre-requisites for it have proved much more numerous and significant than we supposed. Our present task is carefully to prepare revolutions in the capitalist countries and to study the concrete conditions of their development. The more developed and organised is the proletariat in the advanced countries, the more care and preparation does history demand of us, and the more energetically must we win the majority of the organised working class to our side. The International bourgeoisie would be absolutely unable to maintain power were it not for the counter-revolutionary support of that section of the working class, which is organised by the Second and Half Internationals (Loud applause).

I must also lay emphasis on the significance of the movement in the colonies. All the old parties including the petty bourgeois parties of the Second and Half Internationals continue to maintain their sentimental attitude towards the enslaved colonial and semi-colonial countries. As a matter of fact from the beginning of the XXth century millions and hundreds of millions, actually the vast majority of the population of the world have come on the scene as independently operating factors. It is important to emphasize that we were the first to raise the concrete task of preparing and developing this movement. The obstacles to this are tremendous, but progress has been made. The masses of workers and peasants, in spite of their backwardness will play a great revolu-

tionary part in the future phases of the International Revolution (Loud applause). In order to understand the internal political position of our Republic it is first of all necessary to deal with the relations of classes. The task of socialism is to abolish classes. Exploiters in the first place consist of large landowners and capitalist. In this case the work of abolition is easy and may be carried within several months, if not within several weeks. We expropriated our landlords and capitalists completely. They had no organisation during the war, and were simply vassals to the militant forces and the international bourgeoisie. Now that we have repelled the military attacks of the international counter-revolution the organisations of Russian bourgeoisie have been formed abroad of all Russian counter-revolutionary parties. All these parties from the landlords to the Mensheviks have their connections with the bourgeoisie in all countries from whom they received money for their press, and we have abroad a "free" press representing from socialist-revolutionist and menshevik, right down to the most avowed reactionaries. All this shows that the consciousness and instinct of the dominating classes are still higher than that of the enslaved classes, although in this respect the Russian Revolution has done more than any other revolution. It will be very instructive for our foreign comrades to observe the manoeuvres of the Russian counter-revolution; in some respects we can learn from our enemies. These counter-revolutionary emigres are bold, well organised, have good strategists and therefore, to observe how they organise would be of great propagandist importance for the working class.

Besides this class of exploiters, there exists in every country, with the exception perhaps of England, a class of small producers and small peasantry; one of the greatest questions of the Revolution, is the struggle against these two classes. In order to emancipate ourselves from these two classes, we must apply other methods than these which we applied to capitalists and landlords. In these cases we cannot simply expropriate and disperse them. The significance of the period into which we, in Russia, are entering from the international point of view, and regarding the revolution as a single process, consists in that we are confronted with the practical question of solving the relations of the proletariat to the last capitalist class. For Marxists the solution of this question theoretically is easy, but theory is one thing and practice is another.

For the first time in history there is a State in which there are only two classes, the proletariat and peasantry. The latter represents the large majority of the population and is very backward. The question is who is to lead this peasantry the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. How did we approach the question? We concluded an alliance with the peasantry; the proletariat will emancipate the peasantry from the exploitation and influence of the bourgeoisie, the peasantry unite with the proletariat for the purpose of jointly conquering the exploited. The Mensheviks say: "We are pure democrats; the peasants are in the majority, and the majority must decide. But as the peasantry is not independent this leads practically to the revival of capitalism."

When we speak of an alliance, we infer, of course, the consolidation of the proletariat. The first step was towards military unity. The struggle against the exploiters and the land owners was easily understood by the peasantry. The peasants were on our side, and our propaganda easily affected them in spite of their colossal ignorance. This proves that the masses at large, are more easily educated by practical means than by books. This practical education of the peasants was rendered over a tremendous area of Russia with the result that some portions were more fully developed than others. In Siberia and the Ukraine, the counter revolution was temporarily successful, because the peasants supported the bourgeoisie. But it only required a short interval to show the peasants the real state of things.

They learnt by experience that the Constituent Assembly was followed by the white guard, who in turn was superseded by the landowner. The mensheviks also benefit by this alliance, but do not recognise, that a single alliance is not sufficient. A military alliance is impossible without its economic counterpart, and without this economic unity we could

never have beaten the bourgeoisie. Of course this economic unity was very simple, the peasant was given land, which we defended against the landowner for him, on the condition that he gave us food. This alliance was somewhat original, and different to the usual relationships between producer and consumer. Our peasants grasped the situation quicker than our heroes of the 2 1/2 International. This alliance was of course, primitive, it resulted in many mistakes; but we had to act quickly. We had to organise our food supply. The civil war, meanwhile, cut us off from the granaries of Russia.

Our position was terrible, and it was miraculous how the Russian working class managed to survive in order to reach victory. (Loud applause.)

After the civil war our problem, however changed. The peasants became independent, we had to take steps to show them that we were prepared to radically change our policy; to show every single peasant that the Bolsheviki wished to alleviate his intolerable condition at any price. Hence we changed our economic policy, we have replaced the requisitions by a food tax. We always said that revolution demands many sacrifices. A revolution differs from an ordinary fight, because it embraces many hundred times more people, and demands sacrifices not from a single person or even a single party, but from an entire class. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat demands more sacrifice from the proletariat, than has been demanded from any other class in any historic movement. Our industrial policy became more and more fruitful each year, and undoubtedly, as the situation improved the Russian peasant gained more from the revolution than the working class. This is absolutely unquestionable. Theoretically, of course, this means that up to a certain period our revolution was bourgeois. Undoubtedly, it would have been a bourgeois and not a social revolution, if the land had not been expropriated and divided. But we were the only party, which led the bourgeois revolution to its logical conclusion, and which made the social revolution much easier. The Soviet system which we created, is the institute of a Socialist State.

The improvement in the peasants status, as has oft been repeated was done at the expense of the working class, resulting from the fact that the Dictatorship was primarily in the hands of the workers. Without this improvement we could not have managed to exist. And now, that the peasant is somewhat worse off, it is our duty to go to his help. This means further sacrifice for the workers, but in the interests of the workers' Dictatorship it is essential that all our energy be exerted in helping the peasant at all cost. Some of our more advanced workers have not grasped this. They are too exhausted.

They regard it as an opportunistic step, a mistake. They say the peasant is our exploiter, he receives all his heart desires whilst the worker starves. Is this not opportunism? But without an alliance with the peasant the political power of the proletariat, is untenable. The only way we could approach the peasant was the change to a food tax. Practically it has not been fully tried, but theoretically this is the only possible way of approaching the economy of a Socialist Society, wherein the small peasant forms the majority.

It is true that the food tax means free trade. Free trade signifies freedom to capitalism. We say this quite frankly. But this is a new form of capitalism - State Capitalism.

State Capitalism in a Capitalist Society, and State Capitalism in a proletarian Society are two entirely different things. In the first case, it means that Capitalism is recognised and controlled by the State, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against the proletariat. In the second case, it is promoted in the interests of the proletariat. With this the question of concessions crops up. It is regarded with suspicion by some sections of the working class. Have we chased our capitalists out - they ask, - in order to invite new ones? But in spite of this, economically, it is easily explained to the working class. The seven years war nearly ruined us. The recovery of our industry will take several years. We have now to pay for our backwardness and weakness, because, when we wish to learn we still have to pay. At the same time we exist in the midst of capitalist States. We are now to pay for our backwardness and weakness because, when we wish to

learn we still have to pay. At the same time we exist in the midst of capitalist States. We are alone, just now, and until the revolution in highly developed industrial countries has freed us from this we are compelled to pay toll to international capitalism. We will thus win time, and this means winning everything!

At the same time we must not forget the only foundation of our economic policy is the large engineering industry. He who forgets this is not a Communist. We have not only to do this in theory but, we have to set ourselves down to practical problems.

Modern large industry implies the electrification of the country. Sweden, Germany, America have accomplished this while still under the capitalist regime. We have formed a special commission for that purpose composed of our best economists and technical forces of our country. We have already worked out the plan of electrification. More than 200 specialists took part in that work. In spite of the fact that nearly all of them were against the Soviet Regime, they nevertheless became interested in the work, having to admit from the point of view of science, that it was the only way to enable the country to emerge from the economic crisis, and to save the peasantry from want and starvation. To accomplish that plan is not so simple, it requires no less than 10 years for its initial work to be carried out. In comparison with Western European countries, what we have managed to do in that direction is insignificant, but the peasant is learning from even that meagre measure. He can see that something new is being achieved, where not everyone for himself but the whole state is working. There is no need to regret that we shall have to pay the capitalists hundreds of millions of kilograms of oil, for their help to electrify our country.

In conclusion let me say a few words on "pure democracy" as far back as 1884 Engels wrote that the united reaction not only of the Bourgeoisie but also of the "Feudal element" is grouping round "Pure democracy". To analyse the Russian social-revolutionists and the mensheviks, not according to their words but according to their deeds, they represent a purely petty-bourgeois democracy.

The wiser leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie who have now adopted the slogan "Soviets without Bolsheviki," present an extremely original spectacle of defence of the Soviet Power by Cadets, against the social-revolutionists. Such is the practical dialectic of our Revolution. The Cadets are defending the Soviets without Bolsheviki, because they fully realise that the social-revolutionists and the mensheviks are the people whom they must now aid in the struggle against us, because they hope to establish their rule on the backs of the social revolutionists and the mensheviks. That is why we must wage a ruthless war against their advanced guard of a united reaction of mensheviks, and social-revolutionists. A dictatorship is a state of acute war, and we are now in such a state. If at the present moment, there is no armed bourgeois expedition against us, it is due to the fact that the broad masses of the working class although not yet under the banner of Communism, nevertheless have advanced so far that they would not permit further intervention. While at war we act in a martial fashion. We do not promise freedom, nor democracy, we do not tell the peasant that he can choose between us. We are ready within limits to grant them concessions, so as to retain power in our hands, and thus lead them to Socialism or to open civil war. All the rest is nonsense, the purest demagoguery.

Notice.

On Sunday July the 10th an excursion to Sokolniki will take place (providing there is no session) to examine the institutions of the Commissariat for Public Health and for the delegates to witness the sports of the Universal Training Corps.

Delegates who wish to participate in the sports and games are kindly asked to report their wishes in good time, to the Organisation Department of the Executive Committee of the Comintern Tverskaya 15. Telephone Nos. 2-24-97 or 2-74-42.

Additional information will be given at the proper time to the Political Commissar of their residences.

Information Bureau of Comintern.

Max Hölz Puts the Bourgeoisie in the Dock.

The concluding speech by Max Hölz before the Berlin Special Court gives a splendid characteristic of the German bourgeoisie and its hirelings and deserves to be widely known. After the speech by his advocate Frank, Hölz was allowed to make the concluding speech.

Hölz. Most Supreme, respected, venerable Special Court!

President. (Sharply interrupting him.) Hölz, if you wish to offend us here, I shall at once stop you.

Hölz. It really does not make much difference whether you stop me in the beginning, the middle or the end of my speech. I shall speak as long as you allow me to speak and I shall say, what I want and what I feel. I don't want to defend myself, for I am not guilty. I regard myself innocent, particularly, before a bourgeois court, which I do not recognise. I shall not even refer to the speech of the public prosecutor. It was the funeral oration for the capitalist class, from which he holds his appointment and from which he must draw his salary.

I have also nothing to say with regard to the arguments of my advocates. My advocates are intellectually my superiors, but as revolutionary practice I know more than all the three put together. They are treating with a human beast. But I am going to cut open that beast.

Hölz then gave a very detailed description of his youth, of his surroundings, his mode of life until his entrance in the political arena. In the course of the last three years—he continued:

I have come to the conviction that the revolution must come not because we want it or wish it, but because it is rendered necessary by the historical development. We cannot make a revolution we can only help it. I regard myself as a rank and file soldier of this revolution. I am convinced that the revolution will come for it must come even if the workers declare themselves against the revolution.

The accused then gave a graphic account in his wanderings in the country. In long periods the accused described the events of the Vogtland and then spoke of the March rising. He himself organised and led at that time an armed fight in Central Germany, as he was convinced as the idea of the liberation of the proletariat could not be realised without violence. Hölz further declared that the workers have not murdered a single monarch or leader of the parties of the right, whereas bourgeois society has thousands of murders on its conscience.

President. This has nothing to do with the case.

Hölz. Yes, you don't want to hear it. It is not I who am the accused but bourgeois society. Your sentence on Max Hölz will not hit me, you will hit yourself. By this trial you will do more for the revolution, than I have done by my whole activity. I answer for all my deeds it only remains for you to pronounce the sentence of death and to execute it. You can try Max Hölz, but not his spirit. You can kill one Hölz, and thousands of others will take his place. And some of the latter will be very tough ones, whose revolutionary methods will not be limited to mere blows. The proletariat will fight without arms, it will squash its enemies with fists and hands. The so-called November revolution was only an interlude.

The coming German revolution will exceed in cruelty all the former revolutions not because the proletariat is more cruel, but because the bourgeoisie is treating the workers in a cruel fashion. The day will arrive when the revolutionary proletariat will be like a raging beast. I will regard your sentence as the marks at a school examination. If you were to acquit me-of course I do not for a moment entertain that idea,—there would be four dead men to-morrow: three judges and one accused. You should have to hang yourselves, for you could not show yourselves after that to your friends of the bourgeois class. I should have to hang myself for I should be too ashamed to face the revolutionary proletariat. Ten years imprisonment means a bad examination mark for me, life imprisonment on the other hand will be a good mark. If you condemn me to death, I shall receive A. 1, the best mark, for you will then prove to the revolutionary classes of the world that a genuine revolutionary is prepared to sacrifice his life for his class consciousness. I have never possessed the so called bourgeois sense of honour. I understood by it only

The Teachers International.

The "Teachers International" was organized in Munich with the first "Socialist Teacher Alliance", when the first socialist school paper "Foehn" appeared. Owing to the victory of the reactionary forces in Bavaria, the socialist teachers' movement declined, so that the "Foehn" had to suspend its publication, and the headquarters of this organization was transferred to Berlin.

The "Socialist Teachers' Alliance of Germany" changed last year into the "Free Teachers' Union of Germany" and intends to join the "Afa" (Association of Employees). The organ of this organization (The F. T. U.) is the weekly "Der Socialistische Erzieher", Berlin W. 9. Verlag Sturm. This Union amid an uphill fight against financial distress could spare little time or means for international work. Joerg Mayer, the founder of "Foehn" and the Bavarian Socialist Teacher Group, published in the first issue of the "Foehn" an international appeal in 7 languages; and later he sent out an international circular of questions about school reform abroad. By means of this preliminary work connections were formed with the French and Italian Teachers' Unions and finally, with the Communist teachers of Holland. The French Teachers' Union at the general meeting held last year at Bordeaux decided to found a "Teachers International". For this purpose it organized a provisional bureau, and together with the Italian Union invited Joerg Mayer who was living in Berlin and whose paper was suspended by the Orghesch Government of Bavaria, to be its executive head. Mayer accepted the invitation and has been acting in this capacity for the last few months. The first conference of the "Teachers International" is scheduled for the coming August in Prague on the occasion of the Esperanto World Congress. This International uses Esperanto as the official correspondence and conference language. This step, proved by practice, to be of great benefit in simplifying to a considerable extent the transaction of the official business of this International. The first conference was postponed in consideration of the Trade-Union Congress in Moscow. Besides the above groups this International includes smaller groups in Czecho-Slovakia, Spain and Hungary.

Connections must be established in Moscow with the Russian Teachers' organizations. In order that the "Teachers International" may comprise within a short time all the socialist teachers' groups of the world. It is imperative that the delegations of all countries, especially those of America, Australia, Asia, the Balkans, and Northern Europe, should address any verbal or written information on the socialist teachers' movement in their respective countries to the "Teachers International", c/o Joerg Mayer, Moscow, Pretshistensky Pereulok.

the monocle in the eye, full stomach and empty head. I understood only proletarian honour. I should feel offended if you do not deprive me of my civil rights.

The accused continued to speak in the same strain, and the President interrupted him with the remark that this had nothing to do with the case. Hölz, however, was not in the least abashed by the remark but continued his speech without even stopping.

President. I deprive you of the right to speak.

(The Court retires to consider the judgement.)

Hölz. (Exclaims loudly.) You can forbid the words, but you cannot kill the spirit!

Notice

The Delegates of the III Congress who work among the Jewish workers or those who are interested in this work are invited to visit the

Central Bureau

of the

Jewish Sections

of the Russian Communist Party, Vozdvijenko 5, room 50-51. Visitors will be received daily, excluding Sundays, from 3 to 5 p. m.

An Italian Affair.

Fascisti Attack on Deputy Misiano.

Comrade Misiano on June the 13th was standing in the parliamentary corridor, when by pre-arrangement a party of Fascisti appeared, and attacked him.

Comrade Misiano had already warned comrade Bombacci of the intentions of the Fascisti.

"So this is you—deserter Misiano" asked Gay, the Fascisti deputy, who approached him.

Having received the answer that he was deputy Misiano, Gay said:

"Well! clear out!"

"I will not", emphatically answered our comrade, "I have a mandate from my electors and I will see that I carry it out."

"But I",—quickly answered Gay,— "have an order from my electors to see that you are cleared out of here."

Whereupon the deputy Fascisti flung himself upon Misiano, to whose help came two or three Communists. But they had not yet time to reach him when the Fascisti deputy exclaimed "Up Fascisti". All the deputies Fascisti then threw themselves upon the Communist Deputy. They took hold of Misiano and dragged him to the exit with the help of other Fascisti who had come up at the call. There were about 30 of them, all armed with revolvers.

Several Communist and Socialist deputies tried in vain to help Misiano. The Fascisti more numerous and determined, kept them away from Misiano at the point of the revolver, and by this means covering the rear of the group which was dragging our comrade away. The latter was holding out bravely. Covered by blows from fists and butt ends of revolvers, he still defended himself as much as possible and continually shouted "Long live Communism".

Many deputies who had witnessed this scene, strongly protested in the Government who however, refused to intervene. Deputy Mirgini, a socialist,—stepped forward and strove to shield Misiano, but the latter had already been carried out on to Montecchitorio where many large groups of Fascisti were assembled. The Fascisti handed over Misiano to them. Misiano was badly knocked about. In vain did Mirgini attempt to shield his comrade and he was also badly maltreated.

The disgraceful conduct of the Fascisti provoked a lively discussion in the chamber. After many Socialist and Fascisti had spoken, comrade Bombacci went to the rostrum and said: "On behalf of my fellow Communists, I add my emphatic protest to the protests of my colleagues of other groups, who marked the illegal and brutal deed perpetrated on Misiano. This deed, as some would think, not only insulted him, but all those who elected him here.

If it is desired to open up a military front here, and stop holding free and honest discussions, then let them say so directly, we are ready to fight. We are sent here to express our opinions without interruption, in order to insist upon our programs. We believe in a similar right to all groups acting legally. Every single group has the same privilege (Fascisti: "Yes, but not deserters").

Bombacci: "The deserters elected here represent many thousands of those who understand such a desertion to be not a crime, but an ideal. (A noisy interval ensues). We have no deserters here, only the representatives of the people. You, respected colleagues of the extreme right are supposed to be parliamentarians, you believe in parliamentary order and therefore have no right to protest. Or else, perhaps you are attempting to establish a White Dictatorship. If so, then say so directly, as we do when we say we stand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (Commotion). And now I must answer the charge brought up by Fascisti that Misiano drew a revolver. Misiano had to defend himself. It is true that Koda warned me of his and his fellow-Fascisti's intentions, it is true that I fulfilled my duty, but Misiano answered that he would still come. As a comrade and as a man I can only approve of Misiano's answer. He said "My absence would be a sign of cowardice, caused by outside influences. Therefore, I will come. And is it not a fact that you always call us traitors and provocators".

Modigliani proposed that the Chamber does not open its session until all the deputies be guaranteed their privileges. We support this proposal, but in the event of it failing then we shall meet force with force".

"Ordini Nuovo". June 14th.

Resolution.

The Call of the International Congress of Trade and Labour Unions to the Spanish Proletariat.

With deep anxiety and great interest do we watch every phase of your struggle against the exploiters and their protectors the military and governmental casts. With undescrivable horror do we learn of the crimes of the white terror, directed against us. The horrors of the bourgeois power reaches its climax in these bloody acts. By such means the bourgeoisie is trying to behead the Revolution and reestablish the capitalist regime, which is falling apart under the incessant attack of the organised proletariat. The ruthless repressions against which you so heroically struggle, calling forth spontaneous admiration, shall become one of the most ignominious pages in the history of the bourgeoisie, and one of the most glorious pages in the history of the proletariat. Comrades! the rulers of to-day are showing you great honour, indeed; because by putting you in prison, by exiling, and killing you they clearly show their fear of the great danger that your class-consciousness and your will to struggle threatens them.

If they deal your hard blows, that is simply because your blows strike them hard. And if the yoke of reaction daily increases isn't this a testimony of the tremendous growth of your revolutionary advance. Be firm, comrades. In spite of the ignominious violence perpetrated against you, do not give up a single inch of ground in your efforts to overthrow the bourgeois power and the entire bourgeoisie. Remember, those who had fallen in the struggle, they are near to us, but do not weep; for they shall be avenged. In opening its session, the Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions sends you its fraternal greetings and expressions of complete and close unity with you, in these days of hard trial, so courageously endured by you. We send you our advice to prepare methodically, to organise systematically to fortify your militant detachments so that you may, with one blow, achieve the victory over those, whose remorseless and cruel yoke oppresses you. To expiate, by force, all the means of production, to take into your own hands the mechanism of social construction and victoriously protect the achievements of the revolution.

Long live the Spanish Proletariat!
Long live World Revolution!

The First International Council of Revolutionary Trade Unions.

The Presidium: Losovsky, Rykoff (Russia), Heckert (Germany, Austria and Hungary), Knight (America, Canada), Tom Mann (England Australia), Nin (Spain), Hampell (Czecho-Slovakia), Pavlovitch (Balkan countries), Matzevsky (Poland).

Continued from page 1.

sheviks, who by the whole of their activity have prevented the proletariat from acquiring a revolutionary class consciousness. Bearing in mind the character of the next revolution, we continued our work by conquering one organisation after another, and in spite of the arrests of our leaders, in spite of the dissolution by the police of the Trade Unions where our influence has taken root, we feel justified in declaring that 40 percent of the Polish workers are now massed round the standard of revolutionary struggle.

As regards the watchwords: "Leave the Trade Unions!" It is styled counter-revolutionary in Poland, for it can only be useful to those, whom our successes prevent from sleeping in peace. This is why the secessionary movement in the midst of the Trade Unions movement can only be the work of the P. P. S. and not of communists. We stand for unity for a revolutionary unity and our future tactics will be in accordance with the tactics of the Red Trade Union International for we are convinced that the future belongs to us, to the International, and to the Communist Party.

LOZOVSKY proposed to close the debate on the report of the provisional Council and to elect a special commission composed of seven members, charged with drafting a resolution after having considered the report, when it is actually published.

The motion was unanimously carried and the session was closed.