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## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Cost of Miners' Strike.

Lyons, July 9. (Wireless.) According to information received from London the miners' strike cost the British nation about 250 million pounds.

#### Irish Negotiations.

Horsea, July 9. (Wireless.) An important and hopeful development in the Irish situation took place yesterday, when it was announced that as a result of the resumed conference between the Sinn Fein and the Southern Unionist leaders in Dublin a truce had been arranged between the government and the Sinn Feiners, and De Valera, the Sinn Fein leader, had agreed to meet Lloyd-George to discuss the bases of a peace conference. Arrangements are being made, it is officially stated, for hostilities to cease from Monday next. This news of truce is hailed with the greatest satisfaction. The government was so desirous of a cessation of violent measures, that when the Premier issued his invitation to De Valera to attend the conference in London, instructions were given at the same time to the Crown forces in Ireland immediately to discontinue official reprisals. Some difficulty was, however, felt in urging De Valera and his colleagues to undertake an actual truce, because it was said that the negotiations might be compromised, if such an undertaking on their part was disregarded by the Sinn Fein extremists, over whom their influence was doubtful. It would appear that during the last two days De Valera has been able to bring the Sinn Fein extremists to accept this proposition. When accepting the invitation to come to London, De Valera said: "The desire which the Premier expressed on part of the British government to end centuries of conflict between the two peoples of these two islands and to establish relations of neighbourly harmony, is the genuine desire of the people of Ireland". He added that he was ready to meet and to discuss with the Premier on what basis such a conference as the proposed one can reasonably hope to achieve the object desired. All the newspapers devote leading articles to these developments and express the greatest hopefulness about the outcome of the proposed conference. It is recognized that De Valera's acceptance is carefully worded and noncommittal, but the fact remains that De Valera has chosen the path of negotiation in preference to that of continuing the war. The incident, connected with yesterday's conference in Dublin, is regarded as highly significant. General Macready, the Commander in Chief of the crown forces in Ireland, drove to the conference in full uniform, unattended and unmolested. His visit to the conference was regarded as being connected with the government's proposal, and he was cheered by the people, waiting outside the town hall. Such a demonstration is only one indication among many, that a new atmosphere is being created in Sinn Fein Ireland.

#### Anglo-Japanese Treaty Complications.

London, July 9. All to-day's papers print the following Reuter despatch from Washington: In connection with Lloyd-George's statement in the House of Commons "It is authoritatively stated", that the State department has not received any formal communication from Great Britain on the subject of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. Therefore the United States have nothing in the nature of proposals to which they could reply." A British semi-official statement, issued last night, declares that no formal proposal has been made to America and that it has been left to America to put forward such a proposal. So as "The Times" comments, everything depends now on whether the United States will formally propose that the conference should be held. The "Daily Express" suggests that the above reply of the United States was "Unexpected and creates new and surprising complications".

### The Dardanelles Bone.

London, July 7. In connection with the arrest of members of the Russian trade delegation at Constantinople, the British authorities have declared, says the "Morning Post", that these reprisals were not directed against the representatives of the Soviet government as such, but against private individuals who threaten the public security.

London, July 9. It is announced from Constantinople that the offices of the Soviet trade mission have been reopened, all property and papers being restored.

London, July 7. On the situation in the Near East the press maintains an expectant attitude in view of the possibility of an invasion of the neutral zone around Constantinople by the Kemalists. The diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" says that such a violation is not anticipated immediately, owing to the forthcoming meeting of Mustapha-Kemal with the British commander in Constantinople. The correspondent says that should Angora fail to appreciate the British conciliatoriness, it will be made to realize that the British determination to safeguard the freedom of the straits is unshakable. He also hints that Roumania might be interested in assisting the allies, if it is true that Bulgaria is involved in the plan of the Kemalists. A leading article in the same paper says that Britain cannot allow Constantinople "to fall into the possession of a single power, and that power being one which has entered into the closest relations with our enemies and vindictive assailants of Great Britain's Asiatic interests. This would mean that a new Russia would have come down to the Bosphorus, Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, which is more menacing to the peace and to the good order of the world, than Russia of the Tsars. It would be a defeat and a humiliation which would have the most damaging repercussion over all Western and Southern Asia and bring about fresh disturbances and confusion on the Balkan peninsula and in the Danubian countries." The diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" thinks there is a possibility of the Kemal army entering the neutralized zone while pursuing the Greeks. The allies' resistance would thus involve them into a war with the "self styled state of Angora." The "Daily Express" comes out strongly against warlike measures with such headings as: "Not a man, not a farthing for the Turkish war", "Tino must take his own chestnuts out of the fire". The paper appears to be prompted by the news about the concentration of the entire British Mediterranean fleet in

### TURKEY.

#### Kemalists Demand Abdication of Sultan.

Lyons, July 9. (Wireless.) Reuter reports that the Angora government demanded the abdication of the Turkish Sultan. It is said that Mahomet the Fifth replied he was disposed to abdicate in favour of any member of the imperial family, other than Prince Abdul Medjid, the legitimate heir, who belongs to the nationalist party.

#### Another Greek Defeat.

London, July 8. Reuter announces from Constantinople that Greek troops which were recently disembarked at Lara-Mursal, have suffered a severe check.

### NORWAY

#### Afraid of Infection.

Kristiania, July 8th. The trial was heard to-day of the chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party, Kirre Grepp, the sailor Torsen, the stoker Persem and the student Hilsen, accused of illegally bringing in and taking out Russian literature. Grepp was sentenced to pay 1000 kronen fine Persem discharged and Torsen and Hilsen to pay 100 kronen each. The court admitted that act of prohibiting the taking out and bringing in of Russian literature did not then exist. Appeals against the sentences have been lodged.

the Eastern waters. In a leader the paper says: "We have no quarrel with the Kemalists. If they want to fight the Greeks, let them do it from any strategic point of Turkey which they choose to occupy. There is no reason why we should attempt to exclude them from Constantinople at the moment when Greece is threatening to take a military advantage by seizing the Turkish capital. Who will fight for Tino, the king who was hostile to us in the great war?"

#### British-Angorian Negotiations.

London, July 9. It appears that the proposed conference between Kemal and the British representatives is not so easy to arrange, as was anticipated. It is stated in British official circles that a new communication from Kemal reached London yesterday, in which he endeavoured to make it appear that the allies have initiated that proposal. The "Morning Post" suggests that Kemal's communication was couched in arrogant terms and Kemal regards that preliminary to any conference Smyrna must be completely liberated.

### ITALY.

#### Communist Manifesto Against Socialist-Faschisti Agreement.

The manifesto of the Italian Communist Party protests in strongest terms against the Socialist-Faschisti agreement which tends to the elimination of civil war. The communists cannot agree to such a position and rebel against the attempts to draw the communist members of the trade unions into this game.

### RUSSIA.

#### Vicarious Charity.

The Russian Soviet Government has sent a note to the Powers comprising the League of Nations drawing their attention to the publication in authoritative organs of the press of a statement to the effect that—the Powers comprising the so-called League of Nations have established a commission for the assistance of Russian emigrés, the means for which are to be drawn from the funds deposited by the Russian Government in these countries. The note emphatically denies the right of the Powers comprising the League of Nations to touch these funds and reminds them that the Russian Soviet Government alone has the right to dispose of the funds through its agents, and that any other action taken by a so-called League of Nations, will be considered as helping anti-Russian forces, and a hostile act against the Soviet Government.

#### Trade-commission.

Helsingfors, July, 7th. According to "Svenska Tidningen" Finnish commercial circles have decided to dispatch a commission to Russia for a dispatch investigation of trading possibilities and for purchasing Russian goods. The Government has been applied to for assisting and cooperating in the undertaking.

### FRANCE.

#### French-Angorian Negotiations.

London, July 8. Briand stated in the Commission for Foreign Affairs that French troops in Constantinople would not be employed in any operations of war or take sides in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The "Daily Telegraph's" Paris correspondent believes that Briand remains optimistic about the possibility of concluding an agreement with Turkey "which would be of a special character and would remain outside of the general Eastern settlement".—The "Daily Herald's" diplomatic correspondent announces that negotiations are proceeding between Briand and Bekir-Sami-bey, and apparently the chief stumbling block to peace is the Turks' refusal to recognize the spheres of influence, allotted to France and to the other allies under the Sevres treaty, although the Angora government is willing to admit France to a general economic collaboration in Turkish affairs. Furthermore the French, before evacuating Cilicia entirely, wish to place there their temporary gendarmerie, and also this claim the Turks are unwilling to grant.

### POLAND.

#### A Communist Fraction in Seim.

According to the "Rzecz Pospolita" a new club of deputies has been registered with the bureau of the Seim, "The Fraction of Communist-Deputies", with Dombal and Lantsutsky as members.

#### Recognising Defeat.

Helsingfors. "Hufvudstadsbladet" declared that the Communists are capturing the social-democrats' strongholds one after the other. The next Seim will have an equal number of communist and social-democratic deputies. According to the paper the two parties comprise about half of all the deputies of Seim.



EBERT: RRRRADEK IN BERLIN!..



**"MOSCOW"**

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Classes have their root in production; classes live as long as they fulfil a necessary rôle in the process of the social organisation of labour. Classes have their ground cut from under their feet, when the conditions for their further existence come into conflict with the growth of productive forces, i. e. with the further development of industry. This is the position in which the bourgeoisie finds itself at the present moment.

This by no means signifies that a class, which has lost its vital roots, and which has become parasitical, is by this doomed to immediate destruction. Although *economics* are the basis of class domination, classes however, may maintain power with the aid of the *State-political apparatus* and organs: the army, the police, parties, the Courts, the press etc., etc. By the aid of these organs, which represent the "super-structure" on the economic foundation, a class can maintain power years and decades, after it has become a direct obstacle to social development. If such a state of affairs continues too long, the outlived dominant class may drag the country and the people over which they dominate down with them.

From this follows the necessity for revolution. The new class having its roots in economic development — the proletariat — must overthrow the bourgeoisie, snatch power from its hands, and convert the State apparatus into a tool for the economic re-organisation of society.

The bourgeoisie became parasitical, and an anti-social class, even previous to the world war. The incompatibility of the domination of the bourgeoisie, with the further development, and even the further preservation of industry on a large scale, revealed itself during the war. Furthermore, the war, not only revealed this incompatibility, but extremely sharpened it, and brought it to the last stage of acuteness. The war shattered the economic foundation of bourgeois society. At the same time, the war to an extraordinary degree disorganised, weakened, discredited, and paralysed the political organs of bourgeois domination; the State, the army, the police, parliament, the press etc.

In the first period after the war, the bourgeoisie so to speak lost its bearings, feared retribution, lost confidence in the old methods of domination, warily felt its ground, wavered, and made concessions. In 1919, the most critical period for the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Europe could undoubtedly have seized political power with a minimum of sacrifice if it had been led by a really revolutionary organisation, with clear aims and the ability to pursue them, i. e. a strong Communist Party. But that did not exist. On the contrary, in its attempts, after the war, to secure for itself new conditions of life, and attacking bourgeois society, the proletariat carried on its back the parties and the Trade Unions of the Second International, all the efforts of which — consciously and instinctively — were directed to the preservation of capitalist society.

Taking advantage of the protection of the Social-Democracy, the bourgeoisie took the fullest advantage of the respite. It recovered from its panic; it re-established its State organs, supplemented them by armed counter-revolutionary gangs, and selected expert politicians to combat the revolutionary movement by means of the combined methods of terrorism, bribery, provocation, isolation, division, etc. The main task of these experts was to allow individual sections of the proletarian vanguard to bleed themselves white, and thus, to destroy the confidence of the working class in the possibility of success.

In the sphere of the re-establishment of industry, the bourgeoisie, during the three years following the war, has done practically nothing; on the contrary, the full economic consequences of the war are only now beginning to be felt in the form of a crisis unparalleled in the history of capitalism. Thus, we see particularly clearly that although the political conditions of domination, in the

last resort, depend on political domination, they by no means follow the latter parallelly and automatically. Thus, while in the sphere of production and exchange, the capitalist apparatus has become completely disorganised so that the state of perfection in 1919 seems the height in which it was in 1919 seems the height of perfection in comparison with the present, — in the sphere of politics, the bourgeoisie, during this period has been able to a very great degree to consolidate the organs and the weapons of its domination. The leaders of the bourgeoisie very clearly see the chasm which has opened before them, but they are prepared to fight to the end. They regard the situation which has arisen as a question of political strategy. With cool heads, they watch every move of the proletariat, and strive to render it powerless — particularly in Germany — by inflicting on it, a series of individual bloody defeats.

The workers during these three years have fought much and suffered great losses, but they did not secure power. As a consequence, the working class has become more cautious than it was in 1919—1920. In a number of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous attacks, the workers met more and more organised resistance and were repulsed. They felt and understood that in order to achieve success, it was necessary to have firm leadership calculation — revolutionary strategy. If the workers now do not directly respond to revolutionary watchwords as they did in 1918—1919, it is not because they have become less revolutionary, but because they have become less naive, and more exacting. They demand organisational guarantees for victory. Only that Party can lead it to the decisive battle, which can indeed, under all conditions and circumstances, reveal, not only its preparedness to fight, i. e. its courage, but also its capacity to lead the masses in the struggle, to manoeuvre, to advance and retire, to lead it out of the fire when conditions are unfavourable, and to concentrate all forces and means for a blow, and in this way systematically to raise its influence and authority among the masses. There is no doubt that the Party of the Communist International has not sufficiently considered this task. Herein lies the main source of the tactical errors and the internal crises of individual communist parties.

The purely mechanical representation of the proletarian revolution, based only on the fact of the continuing collapse of capitalist industry, led certain groups of comrades to create a radically false theory of the initiative of minority, which with its heroism will break down "the wall of passivity" of the proletariat, the theory of unceasing offensives by the proletarian vanguard, of "new methods" of struggle, and separate fights, will flare up with the application of the methods of armed risings, etc. (the most glaring expression of this tendency is found in the Viennese journal ("Kommunismus") It is quite evident that such a theory of tactics has nothing in common with Marxism. Their practical application would be completely to play into the hands of the strategy of the military political leaders of the bourgeoisie.

There is not the slightest doubt that adventurist methods and theories arise as a reaction against the reformist and centrist tendencies in the labour movement, of which they are the direct complement. But while the reformist and centrist tendencies have become preponderantly an external force and an open enemy, the adventurist and subjectivist tendencies represent chiefly an internal danger, to underestimate which would be unpardonable. The error of revolutionary subjectivism lies, in the words of Herzen, in that the second or the fifth month of pregnancy is mistaken for the ninth. Such an error has never occurred without dire consequences...

The Third Congress has established the further collapse of the economic bases of bourgeois domination. At the same time, however, it has energetically warned the advanced workers against the naive idea that from this follows the automatic destruction of the bourgeoisie, by means of the unceasing offensives of the proletariat. Never has the instinct of class preservation of the bourgeoisie been so well armed by such various methods of defence and offence as at the present moment. The economic conditions precedent for the victory of the working class exist. Without this victory, in the more or less near future, the whole of civilization is menaced by collapse and disintegration. But this victory can only be achieved by the capacity to conduct battles, and above all by gaining over the majority of the working class. These are the principal lessons of the Third Congress.

L. Trotsky.

10.7. 21. Moscow.

**Australia and Communism.**

The political history of Australia is one which is picturesque if nothing else. Since it began its development in the fifties of last century we have had every conceivable kind of poultice placed on capitalism that the human mind could, invent. Nothing has been wanting in the attempts to prove to the masses that capitalism handled by a benevolent bourgeoisie is quite a good thing and that those who are fortunate enough to live in Australia could have nothing better. This with the active aid of the church has been the situation for the past twenty five years.

For thirty years the people have had universal suffrage and during that period had all kinds of party governments, including labour governments. Still the people are wage slaves with the same problems to face as the workers of other countries.

This Island Continent is divided into six States: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Westralia and Tasmania. Each of them with a parliament administering the affairs of each particular State. There is also a Commonwealth Parliament which deals with all matters, affecting the whole Commonwealth: such a customs, sea-going Transport, Defence Forces, Post-Office and Industrial matters beyond the limits of any one State.

If every here was an opportunity afforded to the reformist it has been in Australia. Yet to-day we find the workers marching the streets demanding bread, their families in a state of starvation and their sufferings similar to their comrades in the other countries.

Prior to 1920 there was not a revolutionary party in the country. There were several Socialist Parties with revolutionary tendencies but quite ineffective and certainly never parties of the masses. The I. W. W. of course operated and had very wide influence by their strong and very active propaganda, which had great effect in rousing the workers to the realities of the system they were in.

When the war broke out the Labour Party was in power and like many of the other so called proletarian parties throughout the world, the war found them out. They ranged themselves alongside the worlds' cut-throats, crying that they would assist "The King and country to the last man and the last shilling".

The workers thought differently and refused to submit to the "Last man" stunt, but their last shilling had gone long ago so they had nothing to worry over on that score.

In 1916 the question of conscription was brought before the people by referendum and the Labour Party rose to the occasion and advised the people to reject it. The people did so in no uncertain way, and in 1917, when the question was again submitted to them, the Labour Party split and those who favoured conscription were expelled from the party. These gentlemen found themselves in the laps of the bourgeoisie who took them to their cosy counting houses, feasted them and made them believe they were the salt of the earth and saviours of the Great Empire.

During the conscription campaign the I. W. W. were very active and were the real leaders of the masses. The bourgeoisie realised this and made a savage onslaught on its members. Dozens were thrown into jail, some getting sentences up to 15 years imprisonment, while others were deported, Tom Barker being one of them. Still the organisation lived and kept the flag flying until finally the government declared the I. W. W. organisation an illegal one. This was the beginning of the end. Battered and bruised with many in jail the I. W. W. after 1917 ceased to exist.

Then sprang up an organisation for the release of all political prisoners and this bound together all the militant elements in the country: Socialists, syndicalists and radical laborites, and for four years they preached Industrial Unionism and demanded the release of political prisoners, in particular members of the I. W. W. In 1920 this was accomplished.

A few months passed and during that breathing space the revolutionaries in the country had time to realise the full significance of the developments, in Europe and in particular the work of our Russian comrades. It has to be remembered that during those past six years the workers of Australia and New Zealand were absolutely isolated from the rest of the world. Little was known of the developments in Europe and in Russia.

In 1920 a small group of revolutionaries decided to establish the Communist Party of Australia, which they did as a secret organisation. We set to work among the trade unions and formed a number of groups, whose main object was

the spreading of communist principles and the white-anting of these unions. From time to time we issued leaflets to the workers advising them and instructing them in their every day struggles with the master class. Then we sent out a manifesto and program in keeping with the principles of the III Communist International and a call to form a Legal Communist Party.

The Australian Socialist Party then called a conference of parties who had revolutionary tendencies along with a number of well known men and women who had been tested in the movement. This conference decided to form themselves into the Communist Party of Australia which the secret organisation decided to join with. Since then we have had similar trouble in other countries is splits and breakaways, the Australian Socialist Party withdrawing and operating on their own. But the Communist Party of Australia is firmly established in every State in the Commonwealth with branches in all industrial centres.

Our main operations have been concentrated in the trade unions where the mass of the workers are, and when I left Australia at the end of March our influence was growing every day.

Needless to say the economic depression which exists throughout the world was beginning to be felt by the workers in Australia. There were open conflicts in the streets between the unemployed and the police. The police acting under instructions from the Labour Government.

This position is being fully utilised by the Communist Party and its members operating in the unions and by the time I return to Australia, I expect to find a well organised, disciplined party, acting as the vanguard and leader of the masses.

This is the first time that Australian workers have been directly represented in industrial affairs and we hope that the experience, knowledge and the close connection which shall be established, with the active assistance of the Third Communist International will be the means of assisting the Australian Proletariat to take place in the worlds' movement to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

W. R. Easman.

**The Wolves and the Asses.**

The German compromisers recently declared, that they cannot refuse a coalition with the bourgeoisie and therefore do not find a "common language" even with the German Independents.

As to the Italian compromisers — they treated the question still more simply. Modigliani and Turatti come to an agreement with Mussolini on the mutual disarmament of the socialist and fascist and conducting the struggle within the boundaries of mutual esteem and tolerance. It was decided to create commissions consisting of fascist and socialists in all the provinces, whose duty should be to see that the disarmament, is carried out to investigate and liquidate any new conflicts and to hand the guilty parties over the authorities.

This means that the gentlemen, who call themselves socialists, shall hand over to the police and put into prisons the Italian communists. One may judge from this fact, to what an extent the Turattist and the Fascisti found a common language. The Fascisti wolf sang the aria from the Kryloff fable "The Wolf in the Kennels": in which the wolf says to the sheep dogs "Let us forget the past, let us from now on live in perfect peace, and I shall not only guard the step, but shall be happy even to fight the other wolves" in order to protect them.

And the gentlemen, calling themselves socialists immediately entered into a contract with him, because the wolf's language appeared to be their own.

We imagine how the Italian Fascisti are now rejoicing, who with the cry "Avanti Savoia" rode on the back of the socialist asses, who imagine, that the Savoia cry is pronounced not in honour of the king but in honour of "Avanti", edited by Serrati.

But the working class of Italy knows their business well and probably will soon say: "Knowing your wolf's nature well, the only way of coming to terms with you is by skinning you first" he will put and end to both contracting parties, who found a common bourgeois-socialist language.



# Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Sessions of the Third Congress.

## Report of Sitzings of July 9th and 10th.

### Tactics.—The Co-operatives and the Communist Parties.—Organisational Problems.

The Congress opened at 8.30 p. m. with comrade Genarri in the chair.

Comrade RADEK delivered a report on the question of tactics. He stated that the commission was engaged mainly with the questions of Techecko-Slovakia and Germany. It appeared that the Techecko-Slovak working class displayed considerable revolutionary activity, and that there a number of Centrist tendencies in their ranks. Comrade Smeral, who succeeded in arriving in Moscow does not deny it. The Commission came to the conclusion that Smeral is inclined to carry out the wishes of the Executive Committee. With regard to Germany, the Commission states that the March rising signifies a step forward for the revolutionary working class movement in Germany, and that hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany participated in the movement headed by the Party. The remaining amendments in the theses were purely of a verbal character. Comrade Radek in the name of the Commission proposed that the Congress accept the theses unanimously.

Comrade ZINOVIEV in the name of the Russian Delegation proposed to accept the resolution, and stated that the Congress has very carefully examined the German question, and has arrived at the conclusion that the unity of the German Party, at the present moment is more important than at any other time, and demands of the Central Committee of the German Party above all, to maintain the most correct attitude to the former opposition. On the other hand the Congress demands of the former opposition that it immediately disperses its illegal organisation, and its unquestioned subordination to the decisions of the Congress. In the event of any members of the former opposition refusing to submit, he should be immediately expelled from the German Party and from the International.

Comrade Zinoviev then quoted a letter he had received from the representative of the Executive Committee in Germany which states that the opposition in doing everything to bring about a split. A few days ago, a meeting of the opposition took place at which Daumig and Levi spoke. They pointed out that the Congress was developing more and more towards anarcho-syndicalism, and a rapprochement with the K. A. P. D. As a consequence it was resolved that the opposition must strengthen their organisation, and Levi in a long speech pointed out that the Russian Party was hanging in the air.

In conclusion comrade Zinoviev pointed out that the dangers of a split in the German Party undoubtedly exist, and that the Central Committee nevertheless, must exert all its efforts in order to prevent it. On the other hand, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, will carefully watch what is taking place in Germany, and if the opposition does not subordinate itself to the Executive Committee, serious measures will be taken. Comrade Zinoviev expresses the conviction that the delegation of the right section of the Party, will unreservedly carry out the decisions of the Congress and use its influence in order to prevent a split in the Party.

Comrade MALZAN in the name of the opposition of the German Communist Party, speaking on the above resolution, said that his group was deeply interested in preserving the unity of the Communist Party. They would unreservedly carry out the theses on the tactics accepted at the Congress. The situation which has been created at the present moment, the attacks of the Menshevik parties, Social-Democrats and Independents, the sharpening class contradictions in Germany, all imperatively dictates the necessity for preserving the unity of the Party. But the resolution of the Russian Delegation suffers from oneness, and therefore, they put forward another, which calls upon the whole party to subordinate itself to the Executive Committee, whereas the Russian resolution simply refers to the opposition. Comrade Malzan added that if it was desired that the complete unity of the Party be brought about in the quickest and least painful manner, the Congress should vote for their resolution.

Comrade THALHEIMER in the name of the United Communist Party of Germany, stated that the Russian resolution dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's", whereas the resolution of the opposition was vague. He therefore proposed that the Russian resolution be accepted. Com-

rade ZINOVIEV declared that the opposition did not insist on their resolution being put to the vote, but that they desired merely to have it recorded in the minutes. Comrade Zinoviev added that if the comrades of the opposition abroad unconditionally submit to the decision of the Congress, all the better. But if they will conduct another policy as it is hinted in the letter read to the Congress on the activities of Levi, Daumig and others, our resolution will be a weapon in the hands of Zetkin, Malzan and Neiman in their struggle against these intractable comrades. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Comrade MESTCHERIAKOV then reported on co-operation. He said that previous to the revolution, the labour movement was divided into three groups entirely independent of each other, namely: the political Party, the Trade Unions and the co-operative societies. At the present moment the labour movement must unite all its forces, and while we have achieved this with regard to the parties in the Trade Unions, nothing has been done in this connection with regard to the co-operative societies. Usually we revolutionaries did not take much interest in the co-operative movement and peaceful economic work, and devoted our attention chiefly to active political struggle, with the result that the co-operatives fell into the hands of the opportunists, who have converted them into their fortress. We must take possession of the co-operatives at all cost, and make them a bulwark in our struggle for Communism. Not only have the opportunists captured the co-operatives, but they have imbued them with their ideas. This we must combat, and completely re-construct the idea of co-operation. Formerly co-operative societies took no part in politics; this must now be altered. Formerly co-operatives were composed of voluntary members, now, the whole of the working class must belong to the co-operatives. Formerly, the aim of the co-operatives was to adapt itself to bourgeois society, and to ameliorate at least some of the evils of capitalism. We must now convert it into a weapon to combat capitalism; thus, the very essence of the old co-operatives must be radically changed and our task must be to capture the co-operatives at all cost.

Comrade Mestcheriakov read the following theses on the co-operatives which were carried unanimously.

#### Theses on the Work of Communists in the Co-operatives.

1) During the period of the proletarian revolution, the revolutionary cooperative movement must help the workers in their revolutionary struggle for political power, and where this power has already been seized must help them to build the socialist system.

2) The old cooperatives followed along the track of reformism and avoided any revolutionary struggle by every possible means. They propound the theory of a gradual growth of socialism without a dictatorship of the proletariat.

They believe in political impartiality, whilst, they subordinate the cooperatives to the political aspirations of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Its internationalism only exists in words. In deeds it replaces the international solidarity of the workers by cooperation between the workers and the bourgeoisie of their own country.

The whole policy of the old cooperatives is not to advance the revolution but to retard it, not to help but to hinder the proletarian in his struggle.

3) The different forms of cooperatives cannot be of equal service to the revolutionary aspirations, of the proletariat. The most useful are the consumers' cooperatives. But the latter include many co-operatives with bourgeois elements. Such cooperatives can never support the proletarian in the revolution. Only the workers' town and village cooperatives can be of any service.

4) The problem of the communists in the cooperative movement is to propagate communist ideas and to transform the cooperatives into weapons for the revolutionary class war, without however isolating separate cooperatives from their central organisation.

All the Communist cooperatives must form a well organised fraction in their respective cooperatives and must aim at the creation of a central communist cooperative in every country.

These groups must be in close touch with their central organisation, with the Communist Party and with the latter's cooperative representatives. The Centre must define the tactics of communists in the cooperative movement of their own country and must guide and organise the movement.

5) The practical problems facing the revolutionary cooperatives of the West will crop up as their work goes on. But to-day some of them can already be determined.

a) Oral and written agitation and propaganda of communist ideas. A struggle for freeing the cooperatives from the control of the bourgeoisie and compromisers.

b) The approach of the cooperatives to the revolutionary and trade union organisations. The direct and indirect participation of the cooperatives in the political struggle by making them take part in the demonstrations and political campaigns of the proletariat. The material assistance of the Communist Party and its press organs, and the material assistance of strikers and workers locked out.

c) A struggle against the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and a struggle against interference in the affairs of Soviet Russia or other countries.

d) The creation, not merely of ties of principle and organisation between the cooperatives of different countries but real business relations.

e) A struggle for speedy conclusion of trade agreements and the resumption of trading with Soviet Russia and other Soviet Republics.

f) As broad a participation as possible in trading with these Republics.

g) The participation in and benefiting by the natural resources of Soviet countries by means of taking up cooperative concessions.

6) The problem of the cooperatives after the triumph of the revolutionary proletariat will themselves crop up in that period. But from the experience of Soviet Russia some of their general outlines can already be determined.

a) The consumers' cooperatives will have to take up themselves the responsibility of distributing goods along the lines laid down by the proletarian government. This will place the cooperatives in unparalleled conditions for development.

b) The cooperatives must become the organisations uniting all the small producers (peasants and tradesmen) with the central economic organisations of the proletarian State. The latter will then direct the work of these small producers on a general scale by means of these co-operatives. The consumers' cooperatives will then become in part the collectors of the produce and raw material of these small producers and will distribute them to the consumers and the government.

c) Besides this these consumers' cooperatives can unite several small producers in common workshops which will allow the introduction of mechanical labour and technical skill. This will create a technical base under these small producers which will make it possible to create socialist production, and will replace the individualist psychology of the small producer by a collective psychology.

7) Taking into consideration the colossal role which the revolutionary cooperatives will have to play during the proletarian revolution the Third Congress of the Communist International wishes to impress Communist parties, groups and organisations with the importance of continuing an energetic campaign in propagating the idea of revolutionary cooperation in the cooperatives, the transformation of the cooperatives into weapons of the class war and the creation of a single front between the cooperatives and the revolutionary trade unions.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Comintern to form a section for cooperative work, which must work out the above named problems; if need be, meetings, conferences, and congresses must be called for the solving of revolutionary cooperative questions on an international scale.

The twenty-second Session Opened under the chairmanship of Comrade Kolarov at 8 p. m.

Comrade Koenen spoke on the report on the structure and organising work of the Communist parties. He said:

"The Communist Parties as the vanguard of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism, must adapt their organisations to suit, first of all, their primary aims and activities, and then the historically determined conditions of that century wherein the party works. That is why the leadership of the party must aim at organic Unity, the greatest possible fighting preparedness and adaptability changing conditions of the struggle.

Successful leadership can only be attained by a very close alliance with the proletarian masses. This alliance is attained by democratic centralism. The fight against the bourgeoisie demands the greatest co-ordination and centralisation of the Party activities; the internal co-ordination inside the party is attained by means of a broad democratic centralism.

The fundamental tasks of the party, such as the organisation of its activities, demands from every member his uninterrupted and continuous work in this or that particular line. The theses gave a detailed list of all the various kind of work and forms of organisation. It is essential that all this does not remain a paper but be put into actual deeds. Dealing with branches and worker's groups as the fundamental forms of the party's organisation, the speaker said that the mere mechanical division of the parties work amongst these various groups was not sufficient; only those groups which can fulfil their appointed tasks can be of use to the party. A training in the different departments of the party work is also essential. However the workers must not be allowed to remain too long in any one department; a change from one department to another is of great importance as it helps to freshen the work and is necessary so as to form a group of Versatile party leaders.

No matter how varied be their forms, propaganda and agitation must always keep one basic view in mind: a close and direct touch with the mass movement. Wherever a fight is taking place, no matter whether it be the every day or small conflicts of an insignificant local movement, the communist must be their with their propaganda and agitation. The most important thing is to show the workers that we are their defenders and so win their confidence. This participation in their every day struggles will give us that experience which is so essential for our future big fights. The struggle with the trade union bureaucracy must be carried on in harmony with our aims and plan: not so much by means of mere word fights as by actual demonstration of our worth in the proletarian struggle as opposed to the underhanded and treacherous policy of the compromising trade-union leaders.

Special tactics must be applied in approaching the semi-proletariat such as the peasantry, clerks etc. We must first of all free them from the fear of communism put into them by the bourgeoisie. If they cannot be made to join our side then we should at least aim at their neutrality as these strata will play a decisive role in the moment of the proletarians struggle for power of course the press is the best method of propaganda and agitation and the party should pay special attention to this.

The speaker then dealt with political activities and pointed out that there was not a moment in any country when the communist party had no opportunity of taking part in political activities, experience shows us that such demonstrations as the English "Hands off Russia" Committees and the Polish demonstrations during the advance of the Russian army, met with great success.

The general structure of the party organisation must always keep one thing in mind: that the centre of gravity of the party must rest in the chief towns and large industrial centres, where large masses of workers are concentrated.

In conclusion the speaker dealt with the question of relations between the Executive Committee of the Comintern and local organisations, and proposed a resolution, which said that the period when separate parties were merely propaganda organisations has passed and that to-day all parties had to be organisations of deeds. In order that our International be a really active International it is

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# The Trade Union Question in Germany.

## A Rejoinder.

MOSCOW

JULY 12th 1921

Number 36 of the "Moscow" contains an article by comrade Arthur Bartels on the Trade Union Movement in Germany, which contains assertions to which we, in Germany, are already accustomed, but which cannot remain uncontradicted, but our foreign comrades are not to go home with a false idea of the Trade Union Movement in Germany.

1) It is asserted that up till now no discussion has taken place in Germany on the role of the Trade Unions in the period of revolution, except at private gatherings. The fact is that the revolutionizing of the Trade Unions in Germany since the beginning of this year has been achieved as a result of the intensive propaganda, and the discussions connected with it at thousands of labour meetings, which have been held during this period. Further the editors of the Communist newspapers particularly in the Rhineland-Westphalia were severely attacked by the representatives of Bartels' union because they brought the question of the capture or the break up of the Trade Unions up for discussion before the broad masses of the workers. It is not true that, as Bartels says, that the ball was set rolling only after the so called breach of the discipline in the Free workers' Union". In passing we must say that here there is no question of any "so-called breach of discipline" but an actual breach of discipline of the worst kind; for the Trade Union leaders without consulting the representatives of the Red Trade Union International, acted contrary to the obligations which they undertook with regard to the latter. The Trade Union leaders had curious ideas of discipline in a revolutionary organisation, as it should be applied under all circumstances and particularly during periods of crisis. More will be said on this at the Congress.

2) The repeated assertions of Bartels with regard to the size of the four organisations, which he represents have been refuted and besides these organisations vie with each other in their "yellowness". The Landworkers' Union, which calls itself revolutionary committed the incredible act of seeking affiliation to the organisation of Lipart and Co. The fact is that it stands on the basis of the Amsterdam International which Bartels thinks has already been conquered. The fact is that the membership of the Free Workers' Union given at 150,000 has been exaggerated by at least a third. Herr Bartels should know that many of his factory organisations understand more about revolutionary organisations than he does, and are returning to the central organisations to carry out their duty. If this is questioned, we are prepared to prove this by the most exact statistics.

3) On the same level with the previous assertions there is the assertion that the V. K. P. D. demanded the unquestioned subordination of the Trade Union organisations to the Party. Not a single statement in the whole of the Communist press can be quoted to prove this statement. What the V. K. P. D. demanded and what every revolutionary organisation must demand, is the subordination of its Party members to the decisions of the majority of the Party, and the unquestioned carrying out of revolutionary discipline. Contrary to the practice of the former Social-Democratic parties, the Communist parties must not permit a single one of its members in the Trade Union organisations to deviate from the path outlined by the party, and to run counter to the policy and tactics of the Party. The situation in the Social-Democratic Party was that. Legien and Bernstein acted contrary to the agreed policy of the Party, and this led to reformism and opportunism and finally to the shameful betrayal during and after the war. Against this the V. K. P. D. in its future tactics will know how to protect itself.

4. Bartels further asserts that the V. K. P. D. in the discussions made it a question of the prestige of the Party, and evaded the principles involved in the discussions. We place at the disposal of whoever so desires, the contents of the "Freien Arbeiterunion", the organ of the F. A. U. of which Bartels is the editor. Every impartial observer who has acquainted himself with the contents of this revolutionary organ will come to the same conclusion. As comrade Belinki has already stated at the congress of the District Economic Councils of the Union on the 1st of February 1921, it is nothing more than phraseology of the worst kind, cloaked in the mantle of revolution, a waste of paper in the discussion of things with which a revolutionary paper should

not be concerned. Here, we would recall to the comrades of the F. A. U. the official minutes, and particularly the speech of comrade Belinki, Contrary to the publications of the F. A. U., the V. K. P. D. in all its sections, and in all its organs all its leading comrades strove to make clear the question of Trade Union tactics, which is so important for the revolution. Bartels will not succeed in bringing the slightest evidence to prove his assertion.

We shall not discuss here the question of the capture or the break up of the Trade Unions. That will be discussed at the Congress. But we will deal with one thing more. It is claimed that the union is led on a Marxist basis, but Karl Marx lays it down, that it is not the form but the spirit of an organisation which determines its activity, its self-sacrifice, and fighting spirit. These conditions, the will to fight and revolutionary spirit undoubtedly prevails among the majority of the members of the union, but whether the leaders possess it will be proved by the attitude of its representatives here to the decisions of the Congress.

Will Schoenbeck.

### Notice to Delegates.

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

### Notice to Woodworkers.

DELEGATES TO THE COMINTERN and FIRST RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Second Inaugural International Session of Red Woodworker Trade Union will be held on Wednesday July 13th, at the headquarters of the Central Executive Committee of the All Russian Union of Woodworkers, Leontevsky, No. 18 room 3, at 7 p. m.

#### AGENDA

1. Confirmation of the Constitution of the International Committee of the Red Woodworkers Trade Union.
2. Elections of a Bureau and General Secretary.

For the Provisional Presidium.

B. Isakoff.

### Intractable.

Nauen, July 9. (Wireless). The Polish insurgents in Upper Silesia last night attacked a village in the plebiscite district, bombarding the houses with grenades. They openly boasted that after July 20th Upper Silesia would be either Polish or a heap of ruins.

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absolutely essential that all our parties be kept in close touch with the Executive Committee. Every party must feel itself a section of the International, and to do this every party of every country must, as far as possible organise local conferences and congresses with neighbouring parties. Thus the international character of individual parties will be clearly expressed. Steps must be taken in Western Europe to have all important agitation and propaganda information translated into all languages.

The representatives of the Executive Committee must see to it that instructions and information be sent to every local party.

The secretariat of the Executive Committee must be re-organised and consist of at least three members, as far as possible representing the three most powerful countries. The Secretariat must stay in Moscow, as the centre of the World Revolution, but the Executive Committee must take the necessary steps to organise as many congresses and conferences as possible abroad.

After Comrade Koenen's report, the Congress decided on the proposal of Comrade Couturier to create a special sub-Commission to deal with the question of re-organising the Executive Committee parallel with the organisation commission.

## Sub-Lieutenant Poskakukhin.

Certain military events that are unprecedented in history in which the Red Army of the workingmen and peasants have participated remain unchronicled to this day. The legendary exploits of the fervent warriors remain, however, fresh in the memories of our comrades. They are exploits which, if made known to the world, would fire the heart of the coldest and most unemotional creatures. They are the exploits of little inconspicuous men, who have accomplished titanic deeds without even the slightest claim for reward. It is about one of these inconspicuous but remarkable heroes that we shall attempt here to relate to our foreign comrades.

### IN THE CZARIST ARMY.

During the mobilisation of 1914 reserve Artilleryman, Yegor Ivanovitch Paskakukhin, was called to the colours in the Czar's army. The surroundings in which he immediately found himself will be seen from the following facts.

The 220th Skopinsky Infantry Regiment, in which Paskakukhin was drafted was part of the 55th Infantry Division of the 35th Corps. During the review in Revel, before the division was to be despatched to the front, the chief of the division, major-general Zakharov, declared to the whole division, accompanying his speech with a coarse oath: "I swear that I will cover all the fields and valleys of Poland with your bodies".

This is spoken in the vernacular with cynical insolence and was carried out at the front almost immediately.

The 35th Corps was put under the 1st Army, which was commanded by Rennenkamph, a general in the Russian service. The commander of the German opposing army happened to be a near relation of the Russian Rennenkamph, who, as his name shows, was of German descent. What happened subsequently, may have been accidental but it was a suspicious accident nevertheless, and this is what happened:

The Corps was ordered to occupy Lovitch. It was further communicated that the road to Lovitch was entirely clear and the regiments were to advance, but not in battle order. The Corps headed by the 220th Regiment had hardly gone a few miles before suddenly, in the dark, they came up against strong enemy positions that barred the road. The commander of the Regiment, Colonel Larionov, gave the order to form in to battle line, but General Zakharov dashed up to him and ordered the march to continue. Upon Larionov refusing to submit to such a monstrous absurdity the General struck him across the back with his riding whip and shouted:

"Get on, you villain, or I'll shoot you dead!"

The soldiers' blind submission to military discipline triumphed. Larionov and his Regiment flung themselves in marching order to storm the positions. Larionov was killed, and after a few minutes hardly 75 men remained out of the 5,000 men of the Skopinsky Regiment. The commanding officers received honours, and among them Zakharov. Looking at the bodies scattered along the valley, the latter said quite audibly:

"They asked for land, these Muzhiks, — now they have it."

Among the 75 survivors was Paskakukhin, for whom now began years of a hellish life at the front. For his quick understanding, presence of mind, and conspicuous bravery, he was rewarded with all the signs of military distinction, and was subsequently promoted from private to ensign. This is the highest rank he could attain in the Czar's army, owing to his low birth and education. Even the Czarist officers, however, were compelled to acknowledge his incredible bravery and appreciate his remarkable military gifts.

The entire division was ruled by a brutal regime of the knout and the rod. For the slightest misdemeanour the men were cruelly beaten and whipped by Zakharov's orders. A scout, who dared to tell his officer that the latter as well as he had to do his military duty, was ordered to be flogged to death.

On one occasion however, a similar order was withdrawn. A sailor named Babenko, who had been banished from the Navy and sent to the army for misconduct, was to be flogged in the presence of the Regimental Commander. When the giant Babenko was brought before the colonel, the latter cried:

"Tie that ruffian up more tightly, and let him have 50 strokes."

"Don't touch me, you hangmen" roared Babenko, throwing off the men with Herculean strength: and tearing off shirt he turned to the colonel and said:

"Well, your Highness, I will go quietly. But you had better order them to flog me to death for if I live it will go hard with the hangmen and those who give them the order"

Startled by the bold earnestness of the giant confronting him, the Colonel ordered:

"Kick him out."

And the flogging did not take place, for he knew that if the sailor were not killed he would carry out his threat.

Nevertheless flogging went on in the division masses. This is how it was usually done. And officer would shout, "Hey there! That man and give him 25 hot ones!" "Your Honour" — pleaded the culprit, numbed with fear. — "Have mercy, have mercy!" "Give him fifty" — was the reply.

### OUTBURST OF PROTEST.

Sometimes a movement of protest broke out among the soldiers. Thus, during the most difficult military periods, the soldiers were given the most disgusting food which they refused to eat. They were nevertheless ordered to share it out. Instead of doing so they immediately poured the contents of the field kitchens out on the ground.

"What!" roared the officers, "What would you? Very well!"

Lining the men up round the field kitchen the commander ordered them to gather up the food from the ground and eat it. The soldiers remained silent, and did not move.

"Shoulder arms" cried the commanding officer, and ordered the whole detachment to run round the field kitchens. They ran round the field-kitchens in full equipment for two hours without resting. Finally the ground began to fall, in whole ranks, exhausted to the ground.

"Will you eat?" — demanded the officer — otherwise I'll make you run all day long until you find your appetites."

The men yielded, and went down on the ground like animals and ate the food.

### A Sensation.

Ensign Paskakukhin was now the star of only of the Skopinsky Regiment but of the entire 55th Division. He was given charge of the communication column, which is the nerve of all the fighting forces, particularly during operations. But, because he was only a peasant soldier, he always had an air of the privileged class over him.

The officers were given a free hand over the soldiers. Maltreatment, flogging and slaughter were their customary practice. The Czar's Government however took care of its officers. When an attack was made it was usually the masses of soldiers that went like herds, while the officers maintained a respectful distance between themselves and the firing line, coming up only or two hours after the positions had been captured.

During some hot night fighting battle commander, Staff Captain Petrov, was seized by a fit of cowardice and in order to stop the development of the operations, ordered the telephone wires, which had been laid out by Paskakukhin's brigade in proportion to the progress of the Regiment to be cut. Communication between the respective detachments of the regiments was immediately cut off and confusion set in. Paskakukhin, upon being informed by Telephonist Radchenko of the cause of communications being cut off sent an official despatch to the commander of the regiment, General Bonch-Bogdanovskiy — a brave and able officer who however was exceptionally severe, however, both with the soldiers and his subordinate officers. Bonch-Bogdanovskiy ordered that Petrov be immediately found. Radchenko and Paskakukhin found him in the dark lying across the communications. The Staff Captain feigned death. The giant Radchenko and Paskakukhin in the situation in a flash.

"Get up, your Honour" — requested Radchenko.

Petrov did not move. Radchenko jumped on the body of the feigning captain and beat with all his might to trample it under heavy boots, exasperatedly striving to crush the cowardly officer to death. Petrov groaned, but still remained prostrate.

"Hit him on the nose" — ordered Paskakukhin.

Radchenko gathered his strength together and kicked Petrov in the face. There was a sound of cracking of teeth and broken bones.

"Help" — yelled Petrov, unable to move himself any longer, and springing up his face covered in blood. "Help! Help!"

"Is that you, your Honour?" — roared Radchenko with feigned astonishment. Here comes the Regimental Commander said Radchenko pointing to the figure of Paskakukhin, faintly visible in the darkness.

Hearing of the approach of the man he feared more than death itself, the Captain made dash for liberty and hurled himself into a hail of bullets and shrapnel shells.

(To be continued.)