

Communist World Congress Is Told of New International Situation

ZINOVIEV TELLS HOW COMINTERN WARS FOR LABOR

Third Day's Session of the World Congress

(Special to the DAILY WORKER)
MOSCOW, June 20—(By Mail).—

The third session of the world congress of the Communist International was opened at 6 o'clock by Gebhardt. After the inauguration of the commission, Zinoviev spoke on the accomplishments and the tactical policy of the executive board. Storms of applause, lasting for minutes at a time and breaking forth again and again, greet Zinoviev. The delegates, standing, sing "The International." Zinoviev proceeds:

The Fifth World Congress must not only point out the path of the future; it must also test out the ground already covered. For we are without Lenin's guidance, and the international situation is an entirely new one. Glancing back over the history of the Comintern, the speaker wishes to insist that the Comintern, after its first Congress, was, without itself being aware of it, a propaganda agency. The elemental discontent of the masses,

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RUSSIAN RECOGNITION LIKELY BY JUGO-SLAVIA, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

(Special to The Daily Worker)

VIENNA, Austria, July 9.—Recognition of Soviet Russia by two of the members of the Little Entente seems more than ever likely since M. Litvinoff's arrival at Marienbad to take the cure. It is authoritatively stated that Foreign ministers Ninchitch of Jugo-Slavia and Benes of Czecho-Slovakia are planning a conference with the Russian minister.

Roumania has strongly opposed the intention of her two neighbors to recognize Russia because of the Bessarabian question. Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia are both opposed to Roumania's oppression of that territory which is so manifestly Russian. Czecho-Slovakia has been attempting to get France to recognize Russia, altho under the Poincare regime, France was encouraging the Roumanian militarist policy in Bessarabia.

Rival Rag to Seattle "Union Wreck" Raised By State Federation

SEATTLE, Wash., July 9.—The State Federation of Labor has just put on another sail to help their ship over the stormy sea. The new sheet is the Washington State Labor News, a 12-page "weakly," published here by William Short, president of the state federation, and A. E. Wolthers, managing editor. Short is supposed to be collecting funds for the Union Record, official organ of the Seattle Central Labor council, but if he's supposed to be running the other rag he's not likely to boost the Union Record far.

PHILADELPHIA PRESS CONDEMNS WILD "BULL" FOR DISRUPTING MEET

(Special to the Daily Worker.)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 9.—
"Cop Starts a Riot: Orderly Meeting Called to Consider Political Conditions in Italy Disrupted by Un-called for Intrusion of Gumshoe Gink Who Got an Awful Beating for His Pains. Fascists Suspected of Plot to Discredit Movement Opposed to Mussolini. Orators Held Under Extraordinary Procedure. No Badge or Warrant of Authority Exhibited."

DAWES WAR PLAN DENOUNCED BY FIFTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNISTS

(Special to The Daily Worker)
MOSCOW, July 9.—The report of the Dawes Committee of "experts" on German reparations has been denounced as "only a hidden form of war" by a manifesto from the Fifth Congress of the Communist International addressed to "the proletariat of the world." The occasion of the manifesto is the approaching tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, for which the Communist International blames the ruling classes of all the countries which participated.

The manifesto continues:

"The United States, whose pockets are crammed with European gold and supported by the French military forces, directs the economic policy of Germany as a penalty for Germany allowing herself to be beaten. Only imposters could say that the decision of the Dawes Committee embody a peaceful democratic solution of Europe's troubles. The Entente dictates its decisions by holding a revolver at Germany's head.

"The antagonism between Japan and the United States, growing out of the recent decision on the immigration question, gives the problem the color of a racial struggle."

Workers and peasants of all countries are called upon by the Fifth Congress to unite to prevent war and to join the revolutionary labor movement to safeguard humanity.

ZINOVIEV TELLS HOW COMINTERN WAS EVOLVED

Mass Party Arose from Propaganda Movement

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their disgust with Social-Democracy, seemed to us to be organized Communist strength. Since that time the Communist parties in a large number of countries have become mass parties. At the First Congress there was no battle to direct. The Second Congress built up the theoretical and programmatic foundations of the Comintern.

Lenin's Thesis.

The instructions of the Communist Party of Germany give as fundamental points in the program, Lenin's thesis the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin's thesis on the agrarian and national questions, the 21 points, thesis concerning the role of the parties, thesis concerning the building up of the workers' organizations. With all, the speaker is in accord. There was no quarrel about the significance of these questions. The disapprovements over the course to be taken arose only on questions of tactics.

The Comintern is composed of two main parts. The first element came from the Second International; the second is made up of the new generation which grew up during the war. Each element has both its strong and its weak points.

Relics of the Past.

The presence of the remains of Social-Democracy is also to be felt in the Comintern; but there is also a so-called ultra-left wing. There is nothing more radical than revolutionary Marxism. Bolshevism led the fight primarily against the right wing; but it also fought ultra-radical branches. The ultra-radicals appeared on the scene as early as the Second Congress, where they fought participation in Parliaments and in trade unions and preached the doctrine of separation from the unions.

Left Sickness.

Syndicalist elements disavowed the mission of the party and fought against the entrance of the Communist Party of England into the Labor Party. At the Third Congress appeared, in connection with the March uprising, the theory of the offensive as a left-wing tactic. We had to expel Levy and to do away with opportunism in Italy at the same time that we expelled the left-wingers, Bordigas and Terracini. The Fourth Congress formulated the policy of the United Front, understood the solution of the workers' rule, and fought the right-wing peril.

We can best pit ourselves against the mistakes of the ultra-radicals when we have wiped out the mistakes and the errors of the right wing. We follow Lenin's path in so far as we

lead the assault on the right wing tendencies and at the same time fight against the infantile sickness of Leftism.

Pictures Comintern as Battleship.

The battleship of the Comintern must steer clear of the explosive mines of left and right wing tendencies. Since the Fourth Congress, the Executive Committee has been waging the fight chiefly against the right wing. Frossard performed a great service to the Communist party of France, inasmuch as he took with him every element in the party that was bad and unhealthy. In Norway, there has split off the half-syndicalist, self-opportunist Tranmeal group, in which Lian, the most banal of social traitors, played first violin.

Errors of Policy.

In Italy, in the Socialist party, Nenni and the Vellag group have been fighting the supporters of the Third International. In Sweden, right wing mistakes have been noticeable, and it is not yet clear, how far these mistakes have been rectified. The Bulgarian Party has already corrected serious errors. It is said that the Executive Committee has entirely done away with right wing leadership in the Communist Party of Germany. The Executive Council has not this advantage, for it supported right wing leadership for much too long. And in the Communist Party of Russia, too, there have cropped up petty-bourgeois groups, on whose appearance the Social-Democrats founded high hopes. These hopes will never be fulfilled, but it is a good warning to Radek that the Vorwaerts is praising him.

In the Communist Party of France, dangerous illusions were built up in connection with the rise of the MacDonald government. It is to be hoped that Rosmer and Monatte will perceive their mistakes. Souvarine became hopelessly muddled.

The Party in England permitted grave errors in the use of the United Front tactics. And as the traitors of the Communist Party of Germany correctly said, there were errors of ultra-radicalism in the Comintern, too. In the German Communist Party there was present a strong tendency to get out of the trade unions. The Executive committee fought ultra-left radical philosophy.

Right Wing Dangers.

In nine cases out of ten the fight of the Executive Committee has had influence with the right wing, and this must come about in the Congress as well. The dangers of right wing tendencies are greater than was supposed. Between two revolutionary uprisings, dangers of right wing tendencies always crop up. The Comintern does not condition its fight on philosophic radicalism, but it wages war chiefly on the right wing dangers of petty-bourgeois opportunism. Graziadei is bringing up the half-forgotten Social-Democratic theory once more. Lakacs wishes to revise theoretical Marxism. Korsch, too, is revising Marxism. All three are Professors. Boris, who denies the facts of colonial exploitation is no Communist and no Marxist. The professors should study Leninism first.

Situation Revolutionary.

Going back over this analysis of the situation, the speaker wishes to emphasize, that events are coming to pass more slowly than was expected. The situation is nevertheless a revolutionary one. The accounting shows a balance in favor of the Comintern, since dozens of monarchs have been overthrown, one sixth of the surface of the globe has been conquered, Asia has been influenced in favor of the revolution, capitalism has shaken and partly destroyed, the Communist parties have grown.

Farmers' crisis exist in America and in the greater part of the world. If Hilferding points out this situation as a sign of normalcy, such normalcy is very much to be desired for us. The class war grows sharper; the levelling of the working class which will bring it new life, is proceeding more rapidly; a crisis is at hand.

Socialist Pacifist Era

As concerns the situation in world-politics, the speaker wishes to explain matters as follows: The Fourth World Congress foretold what has actually happened during the democratic-pacifist era in England, France, Denmark and so forth. The Fifth Congress predicts the end of this era and prophesies an era of reaction and of fascism.

The experts' report will be fought by the Communist parties. The French left wing bourgeoisie urged the continued occupation of the Ruhr, and thereby the French Socialists showed themselves as the left wing of the bourgeoisie. The Labor party will be a factor in English politics for many years to come. The longer the Labor party rules, the more quickly will illusions be shattered. Illusions can penetrate Communist parties too, and we must struggle against this.

Fascist and Socialist Allies

A new factor in the situation is that Social-democracy as a third bourgeois party, is splitting its power. This shows that the problem of power has gone a step further. Social-democracy and Fascism are allies. As far as taking over the majority of the working class is concerned, anti-Leninistic views sprang up in the Czech parties. It is not a question of a united majority, but rather of a majority of the class-conscious proletarian stratum. When the good Czech Communist, Hulla, longs for a unified majority, there are probably many other reformist elements present in the Czech party. Numerically, we are almost as strong as the Second International, and for this reason the same dangers confront us. Whoever desires a unified majority is in conflict with the Comintern. At the present time, our main tasks are these: first, to build up the Communist parties industrially, bit by bit; second, to formulate a correct trade-union policy; third, to use proper tactics in national questions; fourth, to use sound methods in agrarian problems. Grave mistakes on the agrarian question were committed by the Polish and Balkan parties.

Hesitating Leaders.

The question of the trade unions presents new problems. In England, the effort to liberate the working class by reform is already in full swing. The Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International must not be under-estimated, and neither should it be overestimated. The leaders hesitate, but the masses press forward. At present English trade union leaders are taking their stand with the left wing, which shows that objective preliminary conditions for the building up of the party have been fulfilled. The English workers will soon find their illusions shattered, and will build up a strong Communist party. In contrast to the factional tendencies of French and German Social-democracy, we desire the true unity of the labor movement. We will formulate these questions.

United Front

At the elections in the Carpathian sections, certain comrades, such as Tausik and Gati, have done brilliant work, and yet the party as a whole has not yet quite grasped the agrarian problem. The United Front policy is to be applied, not as a general tactical move, but in concrete instances. The policy of the United Front arises from our knowledge that we are not in a majority, that Social-democracy is still strong, and that we find ourselves placed in the defensive. We look on it as a revolutionary policy during the period of the slow development of the class struggle. Many comrades, however, turned it into an evolutionary policy. It is the chief failing of young parties that they wish to extend every bit of strategy in a pseudo-marxian manner.

A good many Comrades do not seem to understand, that the United Front policy is only a method of the rousing and mobilizing the working class. We, too, made mistakes, and were entirely too lenient. When my formula: "The United Front, a pseudonym for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—was assailed, I believed that the attacks arose out of an error of policy. Only later did I note the obvious opportunistic interpretation.

South Dakota Man Reports St. Paul Meet to Farmers

(Special to the DAILY WORKER)
CENTERVILLE, S. D., July 9.—August Peterson, who attended the national Farmer-Labor Party convention in St. Paul, Minn., on June 17, wrote up an interesting account of his experiences in the Parker Journal, one of the newspapers of south-eastern South Dakota. Peterson tells of his trip with John A. Dahlin, who drove his machine, Joel Dahlberg, Ole Swedine and Frank E. Hult, to the convention and of the historic events of that meeting.

Peterson relates how an 85 year old farmer of Ohio had said that he had at last found the farmer and labor convention for which he had been looking thru 40 years. He tells also of the young Danish chap from Chicago who was getting material for a radical Danish paper.

The reporter tells how wildly hysterical the capitalist press went in giving accounts of the supposedly "red" convention and really ignored the big movement that was being made into an organization.

NEW YORK! TAKE NOTICE!

NEW YORK, July 9.—The general membership meeting scheduled for July 11 has been postponed to July 23. Be sure to keep this corrected date in mind and be on hand to hear William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg explain the program of action for the party in this most interesting of times.

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P. M.

Party and the on Campaign

Members and Sym-
Worker Who is Interested
tical Action.

Park Hall

North Avenue