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The Situation in Spain.

The Opposing Forces and the Revolutionary Outlook.

We must know the revolutionary possibilities in every country at the present time in order to be able to forecast what aid the Russian Revolution can expect from each country, for under the present economic and political conditions of the capitalist world, revolutionary action is the most effective help to Soviet Russia. It is precisely the passivity displayed with regard to this question, which characterises best the betrayal of the old social-democratic parties. They look on Russia from a nationalist standpoint, i.e. they regard it as a community of citizens conscious above all of their nationality, and that revolution was national in character.

We, on the contrary, think that the revolution must be independent of any national politics and must aim at a world revolution of which Russia is the centre.

Therefore, the proletariat of every country must join together with Russia in this war of Communism and capitalism.

We the Communists, have the honour of being «traitors» to the State of which we are citizens, in order to become faithful soldiers of Communist Russia, not because it is Russia, but because it is the only Communist country in the world.

What are the revolutionary possibilities of Spain? Spain is ruled by the most reactionary parties. The question of leadership creates great divisions in the politics of the monarchy. This takes place both in the so-called conservative and the so-called liberal parties. It is for this reason that the premier is always a man of undoubted mediocrity, behind whom those aspiring to absolute control pull the strings. But at the same time, this game has to such an extent corrupted the government, that now no government party possesses real force. They all seek their support from the army and the police. Thus, the real masters of Spain are the officers, the police, and the spies.

The rights which are essential from the standpoint of bourgeois democracy, and which were conferred on the people by the constitution, have been suspended for several years. Spanish monarchy maintains itself by force and arbitrary rule.

The proletariat despite these facts, possesses the following organisations.

1) The Communist Labour Party with some 6,000 followers. This party seceded from the old socialist party — followers of the Vienna International — of which it formed the Left Wing, in April 1921. The P. C. O. has accepted the 21 conditions of the Communist International and also the theses endorsed by the Congress of the Comintern. This party has drawn with it all the younger, stronger, and more enthusiastic members of the Party.

2) The Spanish Communist Party (P. C. E.) with about 100 followers. This Party is a year older than the P. C. O. and seceded from the Young Socialist Society at the beginning of 1920. It is about to unite with the P. C. O., which asked for this fusion, when this action became necessary, and as a matter of principle. The difficulties which face this fusion, consist mainly of petty questions, — of personalities, and Party prestige were raised by the P. C. O. and should be examined by the Executive of the Comintern.

3) The National Confederation of Labour (C. N. T.) counts about half a million adherents. Police persecutions launched against this organisation, which is illegal makes control of its members very difficult. The C. N. T. has its centre in Barcelona and is composed mainly of anarchist and syndicalist elements. It is an anti-parliamentary and generally an anti-political organisation. It is valuable for its fighting and vigorous revolutionary spirit. But its theory is rather confused, and has a rooted objection to socialists. This is due to the old fights between socialists and anarchists in Spain, fights that have filled two long decades of our proletarian history.

4) The Red Groups in the Trade Unions affiliated to the General Union of Workers, the Union General de Trabajadores (U. G. T.) which is the other great workers' federation, has affiliated to Amsterdam. At the moment it is impossible to give a precise account of the movement and of the number of these groups and elements. In Madrid they are united in Labour Unions of wood-

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Irish Negotiations.

London, July 7. With reference to the Irish question, about which numerous rumours circulated yesterday, crystallizing in definite facts that Smuts visited the Premier upon his return from Ireland and that Earl Middleton, the Southern Unionist leader, and Craig, the Ulster Premier saw Lloyd-George later, the «Morning Post» suggests the government is wavering in the treatment of De Valera's alleged proposal for an armistice, which the paper describes as an insolent demand. The paper says that if this demand is granted, one for the independence of Ireland will follow. — The political correspondent of the «Daily Chronicle» echoing the idea which is found in one or two other papers, suggests: «If De Valera and his Sinn-Fein colleagues abandon their attitude of respect for republicanism or for a solution of the Irish problem by the immediate creation of a united Ireland, a solution might be found in the offer of two dominion parliaments in the North and in the South, with certain imperial reservations.» The Sinn-Fein official organ, «The Irish Bulletin» quoted by the «Daily Herald», states: «If the British government really desires an Irish settlement, the opposition of North-East Ulster to the national claims could be overcome at one sitting of the proposed conference: its people will receive from the Irish people terms more generous and a legislature more dignified and powerful, than Lloyd-George has conferred upon them, on condition they cease to allow North-East Ulster to be used as a bridgehead for the conquest of Ireland.»

Whirlpool of War in Near East.

London, July 6th. The «Daily Telegraph» Athens correspondent wires that the Greek offensive has not yet begun and will begin only after the Kings visit to the front. The «Times» states to-day that the Foreign Office received no confirmation of the reports that the Kemalists have advanced into the neutral territory beyond Ismid. The «Daily Telegraph» announces that the Greek troops are now in the southern part of the bay of Ismid. Contrary to the «Times» statement, the «Daily Telegraph» diplomatic correspondent believes that the Kemalists threaten to invade the neutral zone and that they were not more than two kilometers distant from it. The correspondent states the situation is so serious that the Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople had a special meeting for elaborating measures to prevent the Kemalists from advancing against Skutari, and it is reported that this meeting discussed the advisability of asking military aid from Roumania. The correspondent states further the Ismid situation is the more serious, because of the Bulgarian danger, Bulgaria having now over twice the number of regular troops that allows her by the peace treaty. — The «Daily Telegraph's» opinion as to the gravity of the situation in the East is supported by the «Daily Mail» which prints to-day the following: «There is again the risk of a new war in the Middle East. It is stated in British official circles that there are reasons to fear the Kemalists will concentrate their forces for an attack against Constantinople. The British Government's view is that any attempt by them to enter Constantinople must be resisted, and this would mean war against the Kemalists. The official British theory is that Constantinople must remain in allied hands in order to secure the freedom of navigation in the Straits and to prevent the Turks from joining hands with the Bulgarians. To deal with any possible action by the Bulgarians, Italy, Roumania, Yougo-Slavia and Tchekho-Slovakia are stated in official circles to have signed an alliance. The allied force in Constantinople consists of 10,000 British and 5,000 French; Roumania is believed to have offered to send 15,000 men to assist the allies. British official circles

ITALY.

Fascisti Still Fighting.

Roma, 6th July 1921. The Fascisti besieged a Labour Hall in Sam Perdapena, near Genoa; they were assisted by the Royal guard, and Carabinieri and demanded the surrender of the besieged who consisted of Socialists, Communists, and Syndicalists. According to the «Epoca» the friends of the besieged dropped bombs from aeroplanes thus creating a panic amongst the besiegers. At the same time the besieged escaped by an underground passage.

POLAND.

Polish Democracy.

Minsk, July 6th. «Rabotnik» and the «Tribuna» sharply protest against the unparalleled violence committed by the Poles in the occupied ouezds of Volhinia and Galicia. The population is simply terrorised. The authorities close the orthodox churches, desecrate the cemeteries, persecute the Ukrainian language, and hunt down Ukrainian teachers. The Galician children are forcibly driven to Polish schools. The delegates of the Tomash-evsky Ouezd sent representatives to endeavour to obtain some mitigation of the severe regime.

TURKEY.

Approaching Constantinople.

Riga, July 7. The Kemalists are ten miles from Constantinople.

GERMANY.

Eve of Municipal General Strike.

Berlin, July 6. Berlin is on the eve of a general strike of municipal workers. A strike of the workers on the municipalities has been proceeding for the last three weeks, and the municipal authorities under no circumstances agree to concede the demands of the strikers. Yesterday a meeting of 3000 representatives of the municipal workers took place at which it was agreed to call a sympathy strike immediately, and to-day a vote is being taken on the question.

insist that any Kemalist attack against Constantinople has nothing to do with the Turco-Greek war and is deliberately aimed against Britain». In a leading article the «Daily Mail» strongly protests against the «war mongers», stating that Britain has neither men nor money for such an adventure.

The Voice of the Imperialist.

Berlin, July 6. The Japanese Minister for War in an interview with a representative of the press stated that he does not approve of the Japanese yielding to British Public Opinion, and thinks it necessary that Japan have a free hand in Siberia.

Australian Labour Party Congress.

The Congress of the Australian Labour Party ended on June 26th. The Congress accepted the programme in which Socialism figures as the ultimate aim of the Party, and its immediate aim being principally the nationalisation of the banks. For the purpose of preventing the war threatening on the Pacific Ocean, the Congress resolved to enter into relations, on this subject, with the Labour Organisations of the other countries affected. The Congress also discussed the question of unemployment. The number of unemployed in Australia is estimated at 50,000. The Congress sent a delegation to Premier Cooke and demanded the prohibition of emigration into Australia, as a means of preventing unemployment. The Premier however, refused to concede this demand.

RUSSIA.

Rumanian Troops Attack Russian Forces.

Soviet Governments' Note.

The People's Commissaries for Foreign Affairs of the Russian and the Ukraine Soviet Republics have sent a joint note of protest to the Rumanian Government against the attack made by the Rumanian troops stationed in Bessarabia upon the troops of the Soviet Republics. This attack is all the more unwarranted in view of the fact that negotiations were about to be opened between the Rumanian and the Russian and Ukrainian Governments for the regulation of the question of the Dniestr estuary.

The incident as described in the was as follows:

On the 5th of July, at 2.15 a. m. the Rumanian military detachments stationed at Lipkan near Benda opened a rapid fire upon the Russian and Ukrainian forces located on the opposite bank of the river. For two hours the Soviet forces bore the unceasing artillery bombardment until it was impossible longer for them to remain passive objects of Rumanian attack, and finally they fired forty five shells unto the Rumanian positions, after which, the firing from the Romanian side ceased.

Later investigations proved without doubt that no action on the part of the Soviet troops gave any ground to warrant this attack. It was alleged that a Russian boat attempted to leave the left bank of the river, but this allegation was proved unfounded.

In energetically protesting against this unwarranted attack, the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Governments demand of the Rumanian Government to state what measures it will take to prevent these repeated attacks on the part of the Rumanian troops stationed in Bessarabia.

Greek Government Officially Denies State of War With Russia.

The following note has been received by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, denying the rumours that Greece considers herself in a state of war with Russia.

«In reply to your telegram I have the honour to inform you that the Royal Hellenic Government has not declared war on Russia, and I hasten to publish the formal denial of the rumour, which is quite groundless. The Royal Government is inspired with the same sentiments as is the Russian Government with regard to peaceful relations with all peoples. The fact that the Hellenic people have been compelled at the present moment to resort to force against Angora, is due to the fact that it has consecrated itself to the service of the highest principles of morality and international honour. It is fighting for respect for treaties and for the establishment of a regime of freedom, justice, and civilization in the Near East. Having consecrated itself to this task, which circumstances and its historic mission has imperatively imposed upon it the Hellenic people hope to gather around itself the sympathy and moral support of all countries and count on the strict neutrality of the Russian Government, to which the newspapers ascribe an attitude which is very little in conformity with the sentiments expressed in your telegram, which I welcomed with great pleasure.»

Minister for Foreign Affairs
Baltazzi.

What Stinnes Owns.

Hanover, July 8. (Wireless.) The industrial and commercial enterprises controlled by Hugo Stinnes, or wherein he is interested, represent a total capital of eight billion marks, according to the investigation made by the metal workers' gazette.

The Trade Unions and the Comintern.—Clara Zetkin on

The Second Congress of Young Communists International.

Comrade Zinoviev has stated that the Second Congress of the Communist International was in fact its first congress. This applies with even greater justice to the Second International Congress of the Young Communists International, the official opening of which took place yesterday.

Even if we consider it merely from the numerical and organisational standpoint, the Congress of Young Communists International appears the first really great and really international World Congress. All the former international young socialist congresses such as those of Stuttgart in 1907, of Copenhagen in 1910, of Bern in 1915 and of Berlin in 1919, were only international conferences as far as their composition was concerned. None of these gatherings numbered more than 20 delegates from relatively few countries. But the present congress will be attended by well over 100 delegates from 8 to 10 central European countries, but even by actual representatives of the young communists organisations of Mexico, Northern America, Scandinavia, all the Balkan States, Italy and Portugal from the Far East, Khiva, Bokhara, Korea, China and elsewhere. The congress becomes the starting point of a new period of the young proletarian movement even more by reason of the questions of principles and tactics which will be discussed, than owing to its unexpectedly large and representative membership. The importance of the first congress of the Young Communists International which took place in Berlin in November 1910, lies in the liquidation of the last Social Democratic remnants in the International and the transformation of the latter into a Communist organisation, also in the open and definitive conversion to communism and the official affiliation to the Communist International. The present great international Congress of young communists will have to concern itself first and foremost with the further development of vital questions.

The report will be read at the congress on the III Congress of the Communist International. The Young Communists took part in the III Congress and they will have an opportunity of once more expressing their agreement with it and its resolutions. The most important point of the agenda is the second point, which deals with the relations of the Young Communists Organizations to the Communist Parties. The new position of Young Communists will be made specially clear in this connection.

From the theses proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communists International, it can be seen, that the young communist understand very well, that now, at a time of development of strong communist mass parties, it can no longer be their task as during the war to form independent political parties with correspondent political functions but that its first and foremost duty consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into Young Communists Organizations, to train and teach them in these organizations and then bring them to Communist parties as trained, capable and tried revolutionaries and communist fighters. The means of gaining millions of young communists is above all an economic struggle, which as proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communists International will soon take a very prominent part in the work of the Young Communists' Organizations.

The Young Communists' International which in the years 1917, 1919 and even 1920 has proved by its intensive revolutionary propaganda and far reaching communist agitation, by the active cooperation in the construction of communist parties, how well it understood the requirements of the moment, and which had the courage to and live up to their convictions, will prove the truth of their views at the Second Congress. The Young Communists will attach the foremost importance to become an integral part of the Communist International. They will thereby show their appreciation of the necessity of the strictest centralization and

The Session was opened at 8 p. m. with comrade Genarri in the chair. The debate on the Trade Union question was continued.

Comrade Rice (Australia) denied the statement of comrade Herzman made at the previous session to the effect that the Australian Communist Party was organised by the Trade Union leaders. The Communist Party of Australia arose in 1920 out of the Australian Socialist Party which had been conducting a revolutionary struggle since 1910. After the First Congress of the Communist International, this party applied for affiliation to the Third International, but did not receive any reply. It repeated the application after the Second Congress, and on the receipt of the demand for the expulsion of the sectarian left elements, a party conference was convened in October, at which the basis of the Australian Communist Party was laid. Comrade Rice also denied that the Party had not conducted any revolutionary agitation between 1917 and 1920. The Party during that period conducted an energetic agitation in favour of Soviet Russia, and for the conquest by the proletariat. It was also stated that at the last Trade Union Congress 85% voted in favour of joining the Red Trade Union International. "If that is so," said comrade Rice, "why do not the Australian workers establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?"

Comrade Knight (Canada) said: "According to comrade Haywood, fifteen years ago the I. W. W. had 80,000 members, and to-day that number has been reduced to 15,000 to 16,000. The whole policy of creating an ideal organisation of industrial workers, was ridiculous and absurd, and every attempt in that direction has proved unsuccessful. In the first place, it is absurd to strive to create a new society 'within the shell of the old'. The whole propaganda of the I. W. W. is directed towards the overthrow of the capitalist system, and 'perfect its organisation'. In the official organ of the I. W. W. we read: 'We will always remain a pure industrial organisation, and hope to solve all the social problems on the basis of industrial unionism. For that reason we cannot subordinate ourselves to a political party, no matter whether it is a Communist Party or any other one, without at the same time abolishing our independence. For us the acceptance of the programme of the Third International would mean the abandoning of the principle of world leadership, and subordination to the leaders of that political party'. Thus, the I. W. W. with a membership of 15,000 lays claim to 'World Leadership'.

The fear of the domination of the party is absolutely groundless. We do not go into the Trade Unions and declare that we propose to subject them to ourselves; we subordinate the Trade Unions to ourselves. The young Communists are precisely that part of the revolutionary proletariat which is best hated and most persecuted by the bourgeoisie of all countries. The International White terror is picking out its victims precisely in the ranks of young communists. In Hungary, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Spain, Italy and Germany thousands of youths were killed and shot, tortured to death, burned and buried alive, at the present time thousands of young communists are imprisoned in all the countries. In all the countries, with France at their head, the bourgeoisie is preparing new exceptional laws and campaigns for the persecution of the young revolutionary communists.

The composition, the course and the result of the Second Congress of the Young Communists International will once more prove to the bourgeoisie, that no persecutions, no barbarian penalties, no white terror will prevent the revolutionary youth from doing their duty as young communists, as successors of the imperialist war and the first proletarian revolution of Russia. Young Communists are fully conscious of the task which history has imposed on them, which was scientifically expounded by Marx and Engels, the realisation of which was attempted by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and which now the Russian Revolution has started to realise, to emerge from the state of necessity and enter the realm of freedom.

Münzenberg.

to ourselves by working within them, participating in their struggle, and winning the confidence of the workers, and finally becoming masters of the situation, to use it for the purposes of the revolution. It is for that reason, it is necessary to penetrate into the Trade Unions, and closely bind them with the Party, in order to create a great united revolutionary party for the overthrow of capitalism.

Comrade BECI (Spain) dealt with the question of the relation between the Communist Party, and the Trade Unions on the standpoint of the condition which prevailed in Spain. The Spanish Communist Party in working out its programme based itself on the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Comintern. Communist groups have been formed in the Trade Unions, who are working in the spirit of the Communist International. The comrade then dealt with the various organisations in Spain, and the attitude of the Communist Party towards them, and in conclusion emphasized the necessity of working in the Spanish Trade Unions on the basis of the theses accepted at the Second Congress, which in its turn will facilitate the speedy amalgamation of the two Communist Parties existing in Spain.

Comrade KOLLAROV (Bulgaria) stated that formerly in Bulgaria there existed two Trade Union organisations. The Social-Democratic, and the Revolutionary "The Techniaks" and these two organisations naturally differed on the important question on the relations of the Party and the Trade Unions. The Yellow Unions advocated the principle of the neutrality of the Unions and on the other hand, the "Teshniaks" advocated the other organic connection between the Trade Unions and the Party. The Yellow Unions limited themselves merely to the immediate struggle of the workers. Previous to war, the neutralists had considerable influence among the masses, and the majority of the workers belonged to their organisations. But gradually the Communists won position after position, from the Yell-ws. During the war, the falsity of the theory of the neutrality of the Trade Unions became clearly revealed, and the workers began to see, that only the revolutionary Trade Unions really defended their interests. Now the Bulgarian Party has the support of the whole of the organised workers. The Revolutionary Unions were in complete contact with the Communists, and many of the comrades who are the head of the Trade Union Movement are active party members.

Comrade TOMASI (France). The question the relations between the Trade Unions and the Party is closely related to the great revolutionary problems. Bourgeois parties have their agents in the Trade Unions, who declare that the organisations must only be used for improving the workers' conditions and must steer clear of politics.

On the other hand there are members of the Anarchist school in these Trade Unions who try to put their doctrines into practice. Although demanding the neutrality of the Trade Unions in so far as politics are concerned, these elements nevertheless preach politics there so that the Trade Union is the arena where all political tendencies meet in conflict. And whenever there is any question of syndicalist activities in the Trade Unions, then it is always determined by politics. The French Trade Unions were founded by the Socialist Party, which instead of leading them along the path to revolution merely interested them in election campaigns and one or two improvements in the economic status of the workers. It is no use accusing the Amiens Charter. Those people who formulated the Amiens Charter have rapidly evolved since then and are daily coming nearer to us. I agree with comrade Lozovski that we must wage a revolutionary mass struggle; we do not desire a split and far from this taking place I am convinced that the Trade Unions will only have a single revolutionary front in France. We did not ask the Comintern, whether it was going to subject us to it because a force cannot be disciplined. We wish to define a clear, strong and accurate revolutionary Party.

Those who have not yet agreed to work with us, now confess that there is no arguing over the question of leaving the Amsterdam and joining the Moscow International.

Just think of the difficulties we have had to encounter, and the tendencies from the right which are still a danger. Do not forget the French working class, poisoned by jingoism and nationalism during the four odd years of war, still believes a victory over Germany would ease its position.

However I am convinced, that the next year when we again meet at the Red Trade Union Congress we will have only one revolutionary front.

Comrade ANDREWS (American Communist Party) refuted the statement of comrade Haywood purporting to show that if the Russian workers were as technically and revolutionarily organised as the I. W. W., then the Russian revolution would have been more successful and that chaos, which reigns in Russia to-day would not have been in existence. "Comrade Haywood should know" — said comrade Andrews, — "that the chaos in Russia is not the result of no technical organisation, but that of the seven years war and other economic reasons. An altogether false impression exists in the I. W. W. that the Trade Unions should prepare for their future economic role within the shell of the capitalist system. As a matter of fact the function of the Trade Unions under a capitalist regime, is merely the continuation of the struggle on the economic field, and the experience of Russia has shown us that the Trade Unions can only prepare to control economy after the proletarian revolution."

The statement of comrade Haywood, that a section of the American delegates to the Red Trade Union International wishes to liquidate the I. W. W. is not without foundation. But the Communist Party and the American delegates to the Comintern Congress disavow this. On the other hand, we consider that we must work both in the American Federation of Labour and the I. W. W. The exit of the Communists from the latter organisation would not liquidate it, but on the other hand would strengthen the influence of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, who are already powerful enough.

Our delegation supports comrade Zinoviev's theses and believes the neutrality of the Trade Unions unpermissible, as there are already many responsible communists in America, of the ordinary Trade Unionist type, who discard the robe of Communism when in their Trade Unions and believe in the non-interference of communism in their Trade Union work.

In conclusion comrade Andrews dealt with the question of organisation. The Red Trade Union International has its bureaux in all countries and these bureaux must work hand in hand with the local Communist parties. Communists who are members of these bureaux must still be dominated by Party discipline. In order to have no confusion or friction here it is essential that the future constitution of the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International should be drafted in a collaborative form.

Comrade BELL (Britain) said: "We quite agree with comrade Zinoviev's conclusions. The Communists can only be victorious when they have become closely welded to the masses. The Trade Unions must become the schools of Communism, but we must educate the masses in these unions in the spirit of Marxism and the revolutionary struggle."

The bourgeois Trade Union bureaucracy uses to its own advantage the workers craft unions and counteracts any attempt of the workers to organise their unions on an industrial basis. They know that the small craft unions play into the hands of the bourgeoisie by scattering the workers' strength. The slogan of the English Trade Unions should be "From craft to industrial organisation". One trade union for one industry, such should be the immediate task of the English Communists.

Neutrality in the English Trade Unions is very prevalent. The English working class movement has always rejected any attempt to transfer their economic fight into the political field. The Communists must show in deeds that these two problems are indissolubly bound together.

The Amsterdam International by itself creates no furor in England. The most active way of fighting it is by attacking the bureaucrats who have found such a comfortable nest in the English Trade Unions.

Comrade FIUR was the next speaker. He supported the I. W. W. because of the personal contact he had with it

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whilst in the U. S. A. and Canada. "Those quotations", he said, which purported to show that the I. W. W. rejected Soviet Russia were brought out by persons who are no longer members of the I. W. W.

The words of a few persons by no means represented the actions of an entire organisation. In examining the activities of the I. W. W., comrade Fiur declared that during the whole period of its existence this organisation had taken part in every industrial conflict which had taken place in the U. S. A. But in its fight for the workers' interests it was not only brutally persecuted by the Government, but was left in the lurch by all workers and socialist organisations. Let the Communists not repeat the mistakes of the American Socialists. The Communist Party of America was very small. Where could it draw its energy, but from the I. W. W.

In conclusion comrade Fiur contradicted the impression that the I. W. W. supported neutrality, by quoting a resolution of the I. W. W., which comrade Haywood for some reason or other forgot to mention in his speech of the previous day. It says that the aim of any revolutionary movement can only be the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the workers' dictatorship by means of the Soviet system and, further, the subjection of the Trade Unions to the Party must not be merely a formality handing over the control of the latter but must be done during a process of active work.

Comrade Genarri, the Chairman, declared that the list of speakers was exhausted. The final word on the report would be given to comrade Zinoviev after the work of the Committee, which was discussing that question with the representatives of the Red Trade Union International, was concluded.

The session opened at 7.45 p. m. with comrade KOLLAROV in the chair.

The item on the agenda was the Young Communist Organisation, which was introduced by comrade MUNZENBERG. The speaker began by surveying the economic conditions in which young workers are living at present. Previously he said apprenticeship presumed future independence whereas to-day, the young workers, from the very first day of his apprenticeship, binds his fate with the workshop and factory, in the capacity of wage workers. The labour of young persons is the most badly paid category of labour. The war has still further deteriorated the position of the young workers. In a number of countries, the wages of young persons is falling much more rapidly than that of adults. But the most important factor is that the war, and the crisis that followed it considerably increased the ranks of exploited young workers. The army of young workers is greatest in the Western countries, where in some cases, it represents almost 50 per cent of the working population of the country. In Germany at the present moment, it is estimated that there are four million young workers. Such an economic situation naturally facilitates the spread of Communist ideas among young persons, and facilitates their organisation under the banner of Communism.

It was necessary to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the young people and to train the workers which the Communist Party so much requires. After pointing out the importance which the bourgeoisie attach to the organisation of young people, the endeavour of the Second and Second and a Half International to Youth, the successful efforts of the Young Communist League to combat this, and the growth of Young Communist League, comrade Munzenberg said that the Young Workers' Movement during the war, became the centre of revolutionary propaganda against the imperialist war, and gradually became one of the branches of the mighty Communist Movement. It is quite evident that the independent development of a Young Communist Movement would create the danger of parallel Communist parties growing up in each country, divided by the each of their members. In order to avoid that it is proposed in the theses presented to the Congress that the Young Communist Organisations submit to the political guidance of the Communist Party. The task which confronts the Young Communist International is to extend the leagues into mass parties. Secondly, to create and consolidate young

workers' organisations in those countries where they do not yet exist, or are very weak (England and America) and to extend the work of the leagues to the petty peasantry, the youth of which are susceptible to Communist ideas. For this purpose it is necessary to have a special organisation politically and tactically subordinated to the Communist Party. An independent organisation is necessary and desirable for the reason that special methods are required to work among young people, which the Party as a whole, is not able to conduct.

In conclusion comrade Munzenberg, referred to a statement made by comrade Trotzky to the effect that the adult workers of Central Europe were weary and that their minds were poisoned by the ideas of Social-Democracy it was therefore necessary to organise cadres of the proletariat firm among the young workers, as yet untouched by the poison of compromise. The question of the organisation of young workers is an extremely serious one, and comrade Munzenberg expressed the conviction that the Congress will devote to it the attention that it deserves.

A discussion on the report then followed. The first speaker was FRÖLICH, he said that the theses submitted by the Young Communist International was very significant for the reason that it abandons political independence in favour of the political hegemony of the Communist International. Comrade Frölich added that the young workers during the war, and even previous to it, were revolutionary and it was thanks to them that many international groups were formed. Besides that, the Young Communist leagues did much preparatory work for the Communist parties of all countries and for the International. In Germany, for instance, the best workers originated from the Young Communist Leagues with the assistance of the Party complete contact with it. The Young Communist Leagues were able to do very much important work, much better even than the adults. It is necessary that the two organisations support teach other, and that the Party keep the Leagues informed of its undertakings. The International should also support the Young Communist League.

On the debate on this subject coming to end, the chairman reported that several delegation had submitted amendments to the theses, and that the presidium proposed to appoint a commission composed of comrades Frölich, Buchain, Chatskin, Munzenberg and Kollarov, to deal with it. This is carried unanimously.

The next item on the agenda was the women's question, and comrade ZETKIN was called upon to deliver the report. She stated that she wished to report on the result of the activity of the International Women's Secretariat, in connection with the International Women's Conference, which has just been held. The revolutionary movement among women during the past year has made considerable progress, both in the West and the East she regretted to have to state that in many countries the work among was conducted without any support from the Communist Party. We know from experience that in revolution the woman plays a part almost as important as that of the man. Women are taking a great part in the economic and political conflicts which are now being waged for improving the conditions of the working class and for the final overthrow of the Capitalist system, as a result of which, the relations of forces between men and women have changed, as a consequence of the war, women have been drawn into industry, and consequently into the class struggle of the proletariat. Not only the proletarian woman, but even the bourgeois woman cannot remain passive in the growing struggle. The Communist Parties must revolutionize the women, equally with the men. The Executive Committee of the Comintern had devoted all its energies in this respect by trying to attract as many women as possible into the revolutionary movement. The Russian Party as well as the Spartacist Union worked in the women's movement together with the men. We hope that this will be the case in every country after the Second Conference of Women Communists. This Conference when compared with the First is a big step forward, at the first there were 20 delegates representing 16 countries, whilst this year there were 82 delegates from 28 countries, 61 of the

delegates having a decisive vote. This Conference is of great historic value as the women of the East were represented in it for the first time. This fact in itself shows that revolutionary consciousness has made a tremendous stride forward this last year. The Conference always worked in the spirit of the Third International of which it is a part. In considering the form of organising the woman's movement the conference was governed by the idea that there could be no special womens movement, as the proletariat has only one organisation and one aim. However, in view of the specific conditions under which the proletarian women had developed the Conference proposed to organize special departments in all parties, for working amongst women. These departments, of course, must work hand in hand with the Party. They must carry on an oral and written propaganda, must perform all the agitational and organising work among women, always bearing in mind that on the education of these women masses will depend whether they will be for or against the revolution. We believe that the proletariat women must be instructed by the Party in carrying out legal and illegal work. She must work hand in hand with the men and take her rifle and fight in the workers struggle. The Conference also took note of organising branches in all those institutions where women are predominant.

I consider it of vital importance to create an International line of communication with the international Secretariat in Moscow. The removal of the Secretariat is explained not only by the proximity of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, but by the fact that the Secretariat can benefit by the experience and practice of the Russian Communist Women's Movement.

Russia has shown us that women cannot be freed without the conquest of power of the proletariat, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without the participation of women.

In Soviet Russia woman takes part in all the spheres of political and industrial life, and suffers all the hardships of the battle field and economic chaos. The tradition of the Russian revolution must be made our slogan. We women are the greatest enemies of the bourgeoisie, and in spite of the dangers of civil war, we must always say "Forward to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Communism".

Comrade COLLIAR of France then spoke and said that the French Communist Party had never yet taken any steps to organise the women proletariat. After our approach to the party for help we decided to organise a special sub-department for propaganda amongst women. Unfortunately our comrades do not yet realise the importance of such work. The last list of May Movement has shown us that these strikes in which women took a part were the most successful. She understands that her emancipation lies in the emancipation of the proletariat. It is essential that we establish such propaganda papers in France as exist in Russia, Germany, and Bulgaria. Whilst the Party has a daily organ, and the Young Communists their own paper in Paris, the woman has none. "The Woman's Voice" although published by Communists is not a Party paper. The Executive Committee of the Comintern must compel our Party to undertake work among women, and give us, women communists the possibility of carrying on such work on a wide scale. It is this done we will be able to create the necessary condition for the success of the revolution and will be able to avoid those mistakes which we made during the war.

Comrade KOLLONTAI: Comrade Zetkin has already outlined the problems of the women's Communist movement and very little more needs be said. Our chief task is to win over the broad masses of women into the communist movement. The fact that women are not organised, in any political movement greatly facilitates the task of the Communist Party in carrying on propaganda amongst them.

In order to attract women into our movement, we must create a propaganda which corresponds to their particular social and economic conditions. But the emancipation of woman will only be achieved when the dictatorship of the proletariat will have attracted her to the new creative work.

In Soviet Russia, woman has a tremendous influence on any legislative acts, which in any way affect the position of women. All our women's departments have many privileges in the sphere of legislative initiative, such as the protection of labour, public welfare, etc. Has this policy weakened Soviet Russia? No, we have benefited and enriched it, as is clearly demonstrated by three years of experience (Applause).

Comrade Kollarov, the chairman, then put the resolution on the form and methods of working amongst women to the vote. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Angora Government States its Position.

Paris, July 7. (Wireless.) The Angora government's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Yonssouf-Kemal-bey, made important declarations to the National Assembly with regard to the foreign policy, of which the following is an extract: "Being convinced that France had decided to abrogate the state of war with Turkey we made to the French government certain propositions which were in accordance with our national interests. We have not yet received an official reply whether these propositions were accepted or rejected. During an interview we had lately with high French personalities we endeavoured to find means to finish the state of war between Turkey and France. Our foreign policy will unhesitatingly follow our national interests and rights, our complete independence within our frontiers our full sovereignty, our free development without any foreign intervention. We want to follow the progress of civilization, but the Turkish people wants to remain neutral within the frontiers of its empire".

Dutch Merchants Wish to Trade.

Riga, July 7th. In Holland the question of trading with Russia is being very seriously discussed. The Dutch farmers have demanded of the Government to take energetic measures to facilitate the export of agricultural produce. Certain merchants have attempted to enter into direct business relation with the Russian agents abroad, but have been told that no business can be done until a trade agreement has been arrived between the Russian and the Dutch Governments.

Strike of Textile Worker's.

Berlin, July 6th. The worker's in the textile industry in Lille have declared a general strike. The question of other workers of other industries joining the strike is being discussed.

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.

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.

Found.

In the Hotel "CONTINENTAL" A Grey Travelling Basket evidently belonging to an English Delegate. Apply Hotel "LUXE" Room 286.

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.

The German Agricultural Proletariat and the Revolution.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS.

The German agricultural proletariat took no part in the revolution of November 1918. There were to be sure many agricultural workers and peasants among the mutinous soldiers, but these had been pulled out of the barracks by the industrial workers and so dragged into the revolutionary movement. A few days later they disappeared from the scene of the revolution and were swallowed up in the great mass of the politically indifferent. They had simply been averse to royalty, nothing more. They had not yet awakened to political life.

In South-Germany the small peasants and tenant farmers made unsuccessful attempts arbitrarily to satisfy their need of land at the expense of the landed nobility. But the Independents and Social-Democrats (Crispien in Württemberg) in close collusion with the bourgeois Democrats and the Centrum, nipped this movement in the bud, promising the small peasants later the «legal solution» for the land problem. No did the social-democratic municipal «workers' councils» prove capable of awakening and utilising the latent revolutionary spirit of the agricultural proletariat. According to the December-decree of the Independent Socialist Secretary of State Wurm, «peasants councils» were to be elected by the small peasants and agricultural workers in common with the large farmers and landlords, and these councils were to operate as auxiliary organs of the state departments.

During the struggles in January and March 1919, the agricultural proletariat remained absolutely inactive. Although a part of the Bavarian small peasants were not sympathetically inclined toward the Munich Soviet Republic, the great masses of Middle and North German agricultural workers seemed to have no conception whatsoever as to what the struggle was about. On the contrary, they joined the German Agricultural Workers' Union of the social-democrats by thousands. This was quite comprehensible, for social-democracy had liberated them from contract labour, and won for them freedom of movement from place to place, the right of association and political equality. The agricultural workers therefore set all their hopes on the social-democrats. They had been almost bondsmen until then, and now they believed they were freemen. But they were to be sadly disillusioned.

One of the first important legislative measures of the new «revolutionary government» was the law regulating agricultural labour. Only two months after the November revolution, this law once more abolished the eight-hour day for the agricultural workers and restricted his freedom of movement again. The land workers remained passive. He still considered his German Agricultural Workers' Union his best weapon against the Junker's lust for exploitation, within two years, the membership of the Union increased from 70,000 to about 700,000.

The D. L. V. (German Agricultural Workers' Union) however, soon proved to be a very dull weapon. The Junkers would not think of recognising the Union or to adhere to the wage scale agreed upon. While the prices of all the necessities of life rose, the actual wages of the agricultural workers dwindled. The Union did absolutely nothing to enforce its demands. On the contrary, it opposed every strike, saying it was detrimental to the food supply. Spontaneous strikes of the workers were characterised and denounced by it as «wild». The position of the Junkers was strengthened still more by the action of the social-democratic Minister of Agriculture in Prussia in deliberately promoting the establishment of large, powerful employers' organisation, in order to confine the regulation of the wage scale to negotiations between the organisations of employers and workers.

Consequently the Junkers were soon able to proceed to an offensive. The initial action of the agricultural proletariat, a wage strike, was immediately responded to by the bourgeoisie with its final word: the declaration of a «state of emergency» and the use of machine guns. But they were not satisfied with legal counter-revolution. The Junkers and their dependent provincial officials proceeded against the strikers on their own initiative. During the winter of 1919/1920, vast numbers of agricultural workers were arrested. New strikes during the spring and summer of 1920 were as usual denounced by the D. L. V. as being «wild», and broken with all the means at the disposal of the government. Agriculture was declared to be an «indispensable» industry.

No wonder the revolutionising of the agricultural workers progressed with great rapidity. During the Kapp putsch in March 1919, they began to play an active role in Middle

Germany and Mecklenburg. In the latter region they organised their own red armies, and of their own accord supplied the city workers with food. The vengeance of the Junkers was correspondingly bloody. Fearful and his Baltic friends in the land workers' villages. Many of our best comrades were shot, some in their beds, others at the doors of their houses. The landlords pointed their victims out to the bestialised white guards with their riding-whips. Next time we shall not lock the landlords up in the pig-pens», workers, «but we shall nail them up on the barn-doors.»

Since then the class conflicts in the extensive agricultural regions of East Prussia, Pomerania and Mecklenburg became even more aggravated. The Junkers have gathered more ponies and white guards on all the estates, to be used in driving labourers to work like slaves in the event of strikes. Agricultural workers suspected of «Bolshevism» are ruthlessly thrown out of employment, with the tacit or active assistance of the D. L. V. bureaucracy. The wage scale fixed in the spring of 1921 provides worse instead of better terms for the workers. The Junkers complain of an alleged lack of farm workers, but this is only a pretext for the importation of Galicians and Poles, and the exploitation of children, while thousands of male land workers are without employment. The housing conditions of the land proletariat are horrible.

The agricultural labourers are still novices in politics and trade unionism. Disappointed with the tactics of the leaders of the D. L. V. and the social-democratic parties, they turn away from the struggle disgusted. As a consequence, the membership of the D. L. V., in East Prussia alone, dwindled from 70,000 down to 37,000 in a few months. Many of these disappointed agricultural workers turn to the christian union or the yellow organisation of the «Landbund», which lures members into their ranks by all kinds of insurance funds etc. Most of them, however, remain unorganised. Another organisation formed by these elements in Middle Germany and East Prussia, proved unable to survive.

The V. K. P. D. is attempting to keep the land workers in their organisations, and to demonstrate to them how they can fulfil their duties in a revolutionary manner. The struggle against the trade union bureaucracy is impeded by the fact that the members of the D. L. V. have practically no rights. Communist union officials or members are simply expelled. During the coming harvest and the autumn a renewal of the spontaneous strikes is expected. It will then be the duty of the V. K. P. D. to exert every effort to extend these conflicts, assume the leadership, and to call upon the industrial workers to support the fighting agricultural workers. The industrial proletariat must be made to understand more clearly than ever that his own miserable condition with respect to food is mainly due to the power of the Junkers over the agricultural workers that the struggle of the land workers against the exploitation and tyranny of the agrarian capitalists is at the same time a struggle for the increase of food production and the supply of provisions to the industrial proletariat.

This becomes quite clear on examining even superficially, the figures of the diminution of crops in Germany, as well as the diminution of the cultivated area and the yield per hectare, and the increase of meadow, fallow and forest lands. The Junkers allow enormous areas to lie fallow, or turn them into meadow land. In the province of Pomerania alone 125,000 hectares are left uncultivated. The ploughed area has increased by only 18 percent. The yield per hectare has frequently diminished to half, sheep raising has considerably increased. The Junkers buy practically no machines or fertiliser.

Such neglect of cultivation previously carried on so intensively means unemployment for the agricultural workers and higher prices and starvation for the industrial proletariat. Only the mutual revolutionary struggle of both groups for the expropriation of the landlords, the disarmament of the Junkers and their petty bourgeois officials, and the management of agricultural production and distribution by the working class, in other words, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, will prove of any avail. The land workers will undoubtedly take up the struggle, if the industrial proletariat will indicate and lead the way.

II. THE CONDITION OF THE SMALL PEASANT.

There was a time, towards the end of the war and shortly after, when the Middle and South German small peasant had saved money

lived without debts on his little «estate», and fancied himself almost a lord. This has changed very rapidly, however. The thousand-mark banknotes he had piled up proved a deception on account of the devaluation of money. His savings had been garnered for the greater part at the expense of the proper upkeep of his establishment. When, after the war, he proceeded to make repairs, to buy fertiliser, machines and implements, and to restore his house, barn and stable, he discovered that the prices of industrial products had risen twice as high as those of his agricultural products. Then came the officials of the «Society of Landowners» and those of the «Landbund» and explained to the small peasants that what was to blame for these conditions was the revolution, the wage demands of the labourers, and state compulsion. And the small peasant believed this. Under the watch-words: «united action of the farmers for free trade and reduction of wages», the Junkers succeeded in getting the backing of the greater part of the small and middle peasants. This manoeuvre was facilitated by the treacherous policy of the social democrats in the trade unions, who, fearing the revolutionary struggle against industrial and agrarian capital, kept pouring forth their execrations at the egotism of the peasants. What drove the small peasant in to the reactionary camp completely, were the threats and discontinuance of transport (e.g. in the Frankfurt district) by the trade unions, and the military requisitions made by the government in the villages.

At present the «National Landbund», embracing almost all the junkers' and peasants' organisations, is apparently at the height of its power. But its foundations are already beginning to crack. The small peasant is beginning to see the reverse of the medal, after the Junkers had only allowed him to see the bright side. The junkers demanded free trade, but that only meant free usury. The small peasant, however, who usually, and often exclusively, produces for his own needs and not for the market, is not at all benefited by the high prices. For the prices of the industrial articles he needs, rise even more rapidly. And he is exploited by the Junkers as well, through the increase of the price of seed, cattle, fodder, and last though not least, of the land. There are places where a «morgen» of land, about an acre, costs as much as 15,000 marks today. Besides there are the ever-increasing taxes and freight rates.

The small peasant also feels the consequences of unemployment and food difficulties in the cities. Whereas in former times there was a migration from the country to the cities, today the opposite is the case. The unemployed, underfed relatives of the small peasant come to prey upon him. Thousands of small peasants depended on extra earnings in industrial enterprises. These earnings have now ceased. The surplus agricultural population can now find no employment in industry. What is the result? Continually greater scarcity of land. The bourgeois government cannot make good this deficiency, because it cannot expropriate the Junkers. The state settlement law is an excellent example of a law against settlement. The land distribution associations are composed of landlords, and these landlords naturally distribute as much or as little land as they deem necessary for the settling of such workers as will be prepared to live as bondsmen.

But if the condition of the small peasant is still sufferable, that of the small tenant has grown quite unbearable. The small peasant feels only indirectly that he is being exploited by the industrial and agrarian capitalists, whereas the small tenant knows the Junker to be his extortioner. Rents have increased 10, 15, 20, even 30-fold. The commissions for fixing rents almost always decide in favour of the landlord. It may also be pointed out that the rents of large landholdings has risen only 4 or 5-fold. Frequently the small tenants have had to sweat for years to pay interest to war-profiteers in the cities. In Lower Saxony the lot of the poor peasants is absolutely inhuman. As a result, there have already been sporadic outbursts of typical peasant risings in Hanover, and a number of land owners have already seen their houses go up in flames.

Everywhere the small tenants and small peasants are organising in separate organisations. In the «Landbund» the opposition of the small owners is growing. The small tenants have already held demonstrations against the land usurers in various regions. They have also put up their own candidates to the provincial and district diets at the Prussian elections. Even in this only semi-proletarian stratum proletarianisation is making progress and paving the way for revolution.

On the whole, the V. K. P. D. has hitherto been neglecting the small peasants. The few

comrades who have been seriously and intelligently carrying on the propaganda among the farmers, have been obliged to content themselves with destroying the impressions made by the calumny of the bourgeois press, and to dissipate the notion prevalent among the peasants that the communists mean to take away their land, and rob them of their last cow. They should on the contrary be taught to understand that the Communist State would liberate them from exploitation of big capital, diminish their taxes, supply them with land, and enormously increase agricultural production by furnishing articles of industry, machines, oxen, electric current, credit facilities, by clearing their fields, establishing agricultural schools and courses.

Today the V. K. P. D. must take another step forward. It must loosen the connections between the petty bourgeois peasants and the Junkers, get a foothold in their organisations, become their champion, and put forward concrete aims for their struggle. The epoch of mere country propaganda is at an end in Germany. It is our duty to enlist the rural semi-proletarians in the ranks of the active revolutionary fighters. We harbour no illusions as to the extent and condition of the petty bourgeois peasant movement. As a party aiming at seizing and maintaining political power, we must not underestimate its part to be played by the agricultural proletariat and semi-proletariat in the control of agricultural production, the supply of food-stuffs, and the repression of the reactionary great land owners. Our present task is to win the confidence of these masses, in order that at the decisive moment we may not find them on the other side of the barricade, in the camp of the Junkers, but on our side, in the ranks of the revolutionary workers, under the leadership of the communists.

Continued from page 1.

workers, printers, metal-workers, etc. Quite recently the Metallurgical Federation and the Miners' Federation of Asturias succeeded in joining the Trade Union International of Moscow. The members are led by the Communist Spanish Party and the Communist Workers' Party.

These groups are young, but they are fulfilling their task valiantly. We can hope that their persistent activity will be followed by good results. Their purpose is to wrest the leadership of the U. G. T. from the hands of the social reformists and cause its affiliation to the Red Trade Union International.

Arrayed against these genuinely revolutionary forces, besides the government, are ferocious and stupidly reactionary parties and, other forces, still more dangerous, because they profess to be friends of the proletariat.

1) The Socialist Labour Party; the membership recorded after the April split is about 10,000, which includes the young socialists who did not join the P. C. E. It is only the prestige of some of the leaders which keeps this party together. Its daily «El Socialista» must vegetate and its circulation does not exceed 7000. The death of this vanguard of the bourgeoisie in the proletarian field is imminent. This will be hastened by the union of the two Communist parties.

2) The General Union of Workers (Union General de Trabajadores) with 200,000 members, is affiliated to Amsterdam. Its high priest — Senor Largo Caballero is a lackey of Jouhaux and Gompers. This is the organisation with which the P. C. O. and P. C. E. will have to fight their sternest battle. Thus, the union of two parties will precipitate victory.

This is all, for it is not worth the trouble to mention the old republican parties, which only exist in name. Their most prominent leaders Melquiades, Alvarez and Alexander, Lerroux, declared themselves monarchists. They have no influence.

Under these conditions, and if the Spanish proletariat succeeds after the Third Congress to form a single front and chooses to enter the great battle, things might undergo a thorough change. The king's government is incapable of coping with a genuine revolutionary situation. The government is corrupt and has decayed and must fall to pieces. The proletariat will then be able to enter the best and thorny path, which it had never trod before, — the path to its emancipation.

The trials will be difficult and painful. Reactionary forces are ferocious and will do anything to gain their object. However, the Spanish workers begin to realize that if they do not bring about the proletarian revolution, their sufferings will in no way be mitigated, for the economic situation of the country — as the economic situation of all the other countries — promises them in the future only misery, unemployment, slavery and even death to the best of their soldiers.

No doubt for our success is possible under such conditions. The Spanish workers know this only too well.

E. Torralva Beci.