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Celebrations by the Universal Training Corps in Honour of the Congress.

On Monday June the 20th, the proletarian youth in the Universal Training Corps demonstrated before the delegates of the Third Congress of the Comintern, its united power and its devotion to the proletarian struggle.

About one o'clock thousands of Moscow toilers gathered at the Red Stadium on the Sparrow Hills to celebrate the festival of youth. They clambered upon the seats, near the rostrum and filled the slopes of the hills. The detachments of young working men and women attending the pre-mobilisation drills, members of sports' clubs, sporting student bodies pupils of physical training schools, arrayed in military formation presented a magnificent picture. These masses of young proletarians have hardened their muscles, straightened their backs, and readily learned the military art for the defence of the revolution.

Comrade Podvoisky took the salute in the Grand March post of the young army, and greeted it in the name of the Third Communist International. A loud "hurrah" resounded in reply together with the strains of the "International" by many bands, one regiment after another in fine formation marched for an hour, passing the rostrum, where representatives of the world's proletariat were seated.

The foreign comrades enthusiastically greeted the fighting forces of organised youth, especially the girls. The young generation of emancipated workers marched proudly ahead.

The military exercises and fencing performed by separate schools showed that much has been accomplished by the working youth in order to acquire the military art. The execution of Russian dances to the accomplishment of Russian music particularly charmed the people. An allegoric pageant "The fall of a Tyrant" presented a successful attempt at combining the theatrical and military arts. Slaves were straining at difficult tasks under the whip of a tyrant. They were powerless. Soon however, the slavery became unbearable. Some movements then expressed protest against the Golden Cap. The protests grew until they united, in a chain of muscular solidarity of the united slaves. They rose, straightened their backs, moved ahead, and the tyrant fell destroyed by the united power of labour.

The Russian proletarian youth demonstrated its power before the General Staff of the World Revolution. It has shown it is prepared and able to place itself at the disposal of its struggling brothers of all countries.

In spite of hunger and want, it was able to wield arms. The working youth in Soviet Russia breathes freely and happily. Its strength is rapidly growing and it is preparing to be the real bulwark of the Social Revolution.

M. Pavlovitch.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

British Note to Poland.

Odessa, June 19th. — The British Government has addressed a note to Poland demanding to know on what grounds the Polish authorities are asserting their power in Western Galicia when, as a matter of fact, this territory does not enter in the borders of Poland. In diplomatic circles this note is regarded as a thrust by Lloyd George against the Franco-Polish Treaty.

A Profitable Sale.

Nauen, June 22, (Radio). The English Minister for Commerce informed the House of Commons yesterday that the German ships handed over to England by the Indemnity Commission, were sold to the German firm Slomau in Hamburg, as the terms on which the English firm wanted to buy them were considered unfavourable.

GERMANY.

German-Chinese Treaty.

June, 21st. (Radio) The details published today of the concluded German-Chinese peace treaty were met with complete approval in German financial and business circles. The general opinion is that the treaty will ease the difficult economic struggle for Germany with her American and English rivals in the Chinese market which is of such great importance. Germany offers to pay China as an indemnity four million dollars in ready money and to leave at her disposal railway material valued at a high figure. On her part China gives to German traders and financiers every right for industrial and trade operations, and pledges itself to abolish all trade restrictions brought about by the war, and to abandon in future the confiscation of the property of German subjects.

POLAND.

Poland and Rumania.

Bucharest, June 22. Yesterday evening a Polish delegation arrived in Bucharest for the purpose of renewing negotiations and for the conclusion of the economic convention between Poland and Rumania.

Polish Cabinet Makers.

Warsaw, June 23rd. Polish papers of June 22nd, report that The Prime Minister Vitus did not accept the ultimative and definite conditions of the National Organisations. In view of this the Minister for Home Affairs, Skulsky and the assistant minister for Foreign Affairs, Dombrovsky, have both handed in their resignations. Hoinsky is appointed Minister for Food. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Skirmunt arrived yesterday in Warsaw, and immediately sought an interview with the Prime Minister.

FAR EAST.

The Semenoff Adventure.

Chita, June 19. (Dalta). The Vladivostock radio station, was handed over to Semenoff by Japs. Semenoff has established radio connections with Uрге.

Chita, June 9. The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Far Eastern Republic issued compulsory orders to consulates, prohibiting all transactions with the Merkuloff lands. This order has made an impression in Russian and foreign circles. Owing to the counter-revolution in Vladivostock the export of grain through Vladivostock has almost ceased. Only ten waggon loads are now loaded instead of 3000 loaded daily in May. The railway situation is critical. The grain exporters have stopped operation for fear of Semenoff's requisitions.

Declaration of Japanese Embassy in London.

London, June 17th. — The "Daily Herald" reports the Japanese Ambassador in London has made the following statement to the deputation of M. P. s and certain representatives of the Committee of the "Hands Off Russia" organisation: 1) Japan has no intention of transferring the Wrangel troops to Siberia, 2) the Japanese Government has no intention of occupying Siberia, 3) Japan is not preparing to keep her troops in Siberia permanently, and will withdraw immediately upon the re-establishment of order there. In reply to the Ambassador's statement the deputation remarked that judging by all available information the Vladivostock adventure was organised with the help of the Japs and that before this the Semyonov troops were in Manchuria which was occupied by the Japanese representatives openly acknowledged that their activity was hostile to the Far Eastern Republic and that, according to reports of the Japanese Press the Tokio Government based its condition for withdrawing its troops from Siberia on a demand which to a considerable degree is intervention in the internal affairs of that Republic. The Ambassador promised to communicate these statements to his Government, and inform the Deputation of its reply.

More Shootings.

Riga, June 21st. — "Sozial Demokrats" of June 21st reports that authentic information has now been received of the execution of two men out of the 97 that have been exiled to Soviet Russia.

White Terror. Resolution of Comintern.

The world war engineered by the bourgeoisie, ruined mankind and has brought despair to the large masses of the workers.

The bourgeoisie has betrayed all the hopes of the war weary nations, the peace made by it proved only to be the basis for greater preparations for new wars. Its attempts to re-establish the national economy ruined by the war proved once more its inability to continue to guide the economic development of modern society. In order to keep up its profits, the bourgeoisie could find no better means than to undertake a general attack on the working class and by means of lockouts and forced unemployment to lower the low wages still more. The proletariat could not meet this crusade of the bourgeoisie without showing resistance. In answer to the workers resistance, the bourgeoisie inaugurated everywhere an era of unparalleled white terror! All the attempts on the part of the workers to depose the capitalist government or even merely not to allow their position to become worse, met with unheard of violence on the part of bourgeois governments. Not being satisfied with its organised armed force, the permanent army, the gendarmerie, the police and the courts, the bourgeoisie organised everywhere blackhundred gangs, which rushed on the workers, devastating everything with fire and sword. The "Orgesch" in Germany, the Fascists in Italy, the officers gangs in Hungary, the Civil Guard in Finland, England, France, etc., — all these watchdogs of capitalism were let loose on the workers, who in most cases were unarmed. There was an orgy of persecutions. Mass murders periodically inflicted on the proletariat after each class action, alternate with ceaseless personal attempts on the lives, and murder of the prominent leaders of the labour movement. All this is wildly applauded by the whole of the bourgeois rabble, taken up with delight by the base bourgeois press, and the social traitors actively concur in all this. The governments support the blackhundred either directly or indirectly, and bourgeois justice closes its eyes when it is a question of reactionary bandits, and preserves all its thunder exclusively for the workers.

Germany.

There is no bourgeois country, in which the white terror is not rising to a greater or lesser extent, with greater or lesser shamelessness, a terror directed against the working class and its struggle for liberation. The victorious and vanquished powers and monarchies, all vie with one another in shedding the blood of the workers in the massacre of proletarian leaders. The lead is taken of course by so-called Great Powers, but the petty predatory States which follow in their wake wish to outdo their protectors in the matter of terrorising the labouring masses and to show themselves worthy of being received in the League of Nations. In order to be convinced of it, it will suffice to look at the map of the world. In Germany the peculiarity of the white terror consists in the social traitors being its chief initiators and agents. Germany was vanquished in the world war; its proletariat therefore finds itself under a double yoke: that of the German and the Entente bourgeoisie, and since moreover the German proletariat happens to be one of the most class conscious and organised, it is not surprising to find that it had thrice rebelled for its liberation. Each rising of the advanced German workers was answered by an outburst of white terror. After the November revolution of 1918, the German proletariat lost 35,000 men killed in the civil war, and an innumerable number of victims murdered judicially. The short lived Soviet Republic of Bavaria, which displayed the greatest mildness, as is usually the case with the triumphant proletariat, was followed by an unheard of orgy of white terror which lasts until to-day. The best leaders of the German working class became the victims of White guard murderers, inspired both by the central

Continued page 4 col. 1.

Exhibition of the Comintern.

The Dom Soyuzov (House of Soviets) is the scene of busy work for setting up an Exhibition of the III. Congress of the Communist International. All the necessary measures have been taken to ensure that the exhibition be completed tomorrow or the day after.

Though the exhibition, as a whole, lacks a complete set of exhibits which as yet, have not all been set up nevertheless, in all its departments, there is great scope, much variety and instruction. The multitude of exhibits show the work of our party and the work of the Soviets in a most impressive manner.

In the vestibule of the main entrance of the building the Exhibition commences with a very interesting department of the latest inventions of radio-technique, comprising radio-telephones and various charts illustrating the growth of our radio-net work for the last year our two, and many other accessories.

On the marble walls of the principal staircase, there is a rich portrait gallery of our revolutionary leaders and a num-

ber of photographs illustrating the work of the Party.

On the upper landing there are exhibits and diagrams of the Russian Communist Party and the League of Youth.

The first room contains exhibits of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and pictures illustrating the growth of the Communist parties all over the world. In a word, this room illustrates the growth of the Comintern.

The exhibits in the next room explain the watchwords: the Revolutionary War Council as the champion of Communist ideas; and, the Red Army as the Army of Communism.

The adjacent room is filled with exhibits of Labour Industry. In the largest hall, Soviet Re-construction is illustrated. Here also are exhibits of nearly all the People's Commissariats.

The first suite of rooms end with a department for the Communist Press of all the world.

There is a special department of the Commissariat for Ways and Commun-

ication, and most interesting is the exhibits of the Department of Foreign Trade.

In the very large hall is the Central Press Department, representing the palace of literature. The show-cases are full of books, pamphlets, and colored pictures ect, and run on in an endless file, representing the State Publication Department, the Central Press Department, and the Commissariat for Nationalities.

One of the most prominent things in his hall is a huge model of a monument in honour of the III International copied from the drawing by the artist Catlin.

In the Hall of Pillars, into which run all the other departments of the exhibitino concerts, and special lectures, are to be arranged for the delegates.

NOTICE

Delegates to the Communist International who are teachers are asked to leave their addresses at the Secretariat of the "Teachers International".

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Economic Situation of the World and the Third Congress

A year ago while the Second Congress of the Communist International was in session, capitalism seemed to enter a new lease of life and gradually recovered from the devastating disruption into which the world war had plunged it. True, the heralds of the coming crisis were already on the spot, but only at the remotest points of the globe. Japan and the United States, have come out of the world war far stronger than when they entered it. But well organized capitalism displayed stubborn resistance to the approaching crisis. Europe, on the contrary, was still under the spell of a general commodity famine, soaring prices, and to a slight extent of unemployment. The ranks of the revolutionary Communist proletariat were as yet very thin and surrounded by the huge bulk of the entire proletariat of the world.

A close analysis of the economic situation from the period of November 1918 to March 1920 showed that this high-tide phase of prosperity in the world economy was, predominantly, a speculative boom. In America, England and Japan this boom was mainly brought about by the transition from pre-war economy to a post-war industry. It was due also in part to the frenzied demand for commodities by central Europe which previously was blocked for a certain class of goods. However, the effect of this commodity famine soon ebbed down to zero, not because the commodity market was glutted, but for the lack of adequate foreign currency as a means of payment. Europe, and especially the defeated countries of Central Europe then entered the *selling out stage of the market* for what Europe exported was not the output of current industry, but the last commodity reserves, articles of luxury, machinery, and means for production. Despite the outward glare of prosperity, the economic collapse of Europe was clearly indicated by the constant slump during which period, the exchange rate of European currency was expressed in dollars.

This seeming blaze of prosperity continued up to the middle of 1920, and at this point, the disruption of the Capitalist industry of the world caused by the world war became dismantled, and broke into several distinct units. The United States, Japan, and England, *overshocked the markets*. With its combined output of means of production and the product of the naval yards and metallurgic works, etc. and this eventually raised their productive capacity to far above the pre-war level. And still Europe suffered and still suffers from the effects of *underproduction*.

The people living in these European countries were unable to produce as much as they consumed, and this incapacity to meet their needs was mainly due to the lack of the means of production, to the breakdown of traffic and shipping facilities and to the inadequate supply of soil-fertilizers. This collapse was aggravated by the tremendous loss of human life during the war also by malnutrition, and the low labour efficiency of the proletariat. The rest of Europe have no goods to offer in exchange for English and American products.

Two parts of the globe stand in glaring contradiction for one half suffers from overproduction: the Capitalists who do not know what to do with this huge mass of goods; and meanwhile the other half suffers for lack of production, and all-round want and destitution. But the interplay of all these elements inherent in capitalism makes it impossible to do away with the inconsistency in a surplus in the means of production that cause the riches that cannot reach the poor countries. The poor countries can offer no equivalent and consequently are suffering. But what remedy can capitalism offer? Is it credit? Could not this American surplus be partly transferred on credit to Germany of Austria, or Poland or other poor countries of Europe? For capitalism even this way out is impossible. The war was launched and carried on with the object of breaking down

Germany's industrial supremacy in the world market by arms. But the economic and contradict the reason for the war with the Central Powers.

On one hand, France, Belgium and Italy should recover their economic position with the help of the indemnity. Germany can only pay with goods and only compelled to import food in order to feed her people. In order to pay the indemnity in industrial products, Germany must reconstruct her industrial apparatus. On the other hand, if Germany is to pay the costs of war to the Entente countries, in large quantities of manufactured articles, then the English, Belgian and French manufacturers will find themselves in a terrible predicament. Already free trade England has declared a protective tariff on all German goods, and France and Belgium have heavily increased their customs duties.

Hence we can see that one contradiction is followed by another, and that the capitalist world is unable to solve them. Nevertheless capitalism is still attempting to find a solution. All these attempts consist of the one aim to lessen the workers' share of the national income, and thus to make industry capable of withstanding competition in the world market. Capitalism knows no other method than that of placing their burdens on the back of the working class. We are watching the bitter struggle, in which capitalism is on the offensive and the proletariat on the defensive. We are watching the struggle of the English coalminers, and we are surprised at their stubbornness and stamina.

But by their methods of fighting, methods which do not go very far beyond the Capitalist system itself, they will not be able to win.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is meeting in altogether different world economic and political surroundings than when the Second Congress met. A year ago we had superficially brilliant surroundings, but to-day we have a profound crisis. We were, but small Communist groups, but to-day, we are powerful mass organisations. There was then a belief in the ranks of the proletariat of a possible capitalist recovery, to-day however, there is an awakening consciousness in the impossibility of this. A year ago, nearly every proletarian had work, to-day 15 to 20 millions are unemployed. Then we had to contend with the veiled deceit of the League of Nations, but, to-day — we witness open preparations for war, being made by the victorious countries. The United States of America, England, and Japan, are engaged in the race for armaments. Conditions have radically changed indeed.

Even if the revolutionary outbursts of the workers during the last year have ended in failure and even if the bourgeois States, dependent on the White guards, appear stronger than last year, — the forebodings of the world revolution, the collapse of capitalist economy throughout the world, the further destruction of continental Europe's industry, has still further increased. The Third Congress of the Communist International must determine the strategic and tactical lines upon which the revolutionary forces can be led to victory.

E. Varga.

The Communist Party and the Fascisti.

A very violent bourgeois reaction against the proletarian movement developed in Italy under the name of Fascisti.

Whereas the Socialist Party has fallen back to its rear line of defence, and evolution will throw it into the arms of counter-revolution the Communist Party, on the other hand, has taken up a definite stand in this fight.

Instances of encounters between Fascisti and workers have become more frequent of late. The Socialist Party has not ceased to recommend peace coupled with passive resistance or else non-resistance. The Communist on the contrary fight with all their energy and very often they meet support from the socialist workers. Many comrades have been killed. Many times the Whites have been beaten back and whole cities had revolted, but then the regular forces re-established order disarming, imprisoning and arresting the proletarians or else delivered them to the tender mercies of Fascisti vengeance, and the Fascisti bands were not slow to take advantage of this.

The provinces most affected by the reaction are Ferrara, Modena, Rovigo, Bologna, Perugia. In Lombardy, Tuscany and also in the Province of Venice, the Fascisti movement is spreading but it meets with the resistance of the workers. What is Fascism from the social polit-

Nationalism and Communism in Tchecho-Slovakia.

by Karl Kreibich.

At the very detailed discussions concerning the affiliation of the Tchecho-Slovakian Communist Party to the Communist International, the attitude of the leaders of that party towards the problem of nationalism was also carefully considered. In view of the fact that Tchecho-Slovakia is of vast importance for the proletarian revolution in Central Europe, and the national problem plays a great part in that country, it is no doubt of value to discuss these problems in the columns of the "Moscow".

It was a gross misapprehension on the part of the speaker of the Tchecho-Slovakian delegation to consider the criticism of the attitude of the party leaders towards the national problem as an insinuation of nationalistic tendencies. Such a reproach would be unjustified. But a communist party may not content itself with the mere negative rejection of nationalism or with attempts to pursue an international policy be they ever so earnest. It is the bounden duty of a communist party to thoroughly investigate the national question, as every other question, and after having determined its attitude, to distinctly outline its policy in the matter. This must, above all, be done with due consideration to the role played by the national problem in the proletarian revolution. The assertion made by Comrade Burián that the Third International had already solved the national problem in the writings of its leaders and in its theses, is highly exaggerated. Problems cannot be solved in pamphlets and theses; they can only be discussed therein from the standpoint of principle, and of their application in the practical revolutionary class struggle while the theses of the Third International can merely indicate the general guiding lines. The task of the Communists in each country is to examine the national problem in their country on the basis of such writings and theses, and to apply the theses in a revolutionary manner under the particular conditions prevailing in their country. The German Social-Democrats in Tchecho-Slovakia, for example, immediately made use of these clauses in the theses of the Second International Congress, which stated that the Communists were bound to support the struggle for freedom of all oppressed peoples, by declaring that we, Communists, according to these theses, are obliged to cooperate with them in the struggle for so-called self-determination. It was our obvious duty to determine our attitude in the national problem at our inaugural congress. Whoever may desire to look into this matter, can refer to the pamphlet containing the discussions in this matter. (The Reichenberg Congress, third pamphlet entitled: "The National Problem". The address of Comrade Kreibich, the resolution and the appeal to the non-German proletarians. All published by the Volksbuchhandlung Runge et Co., Reichenberg).

Our own investigation of the national problem has convinced us that the aforementioned clauses in the theses are not applicable to our policy. We, too, must of course take a stand against national oppression. But in the matter of the German regions in Tchecho-Slovakia it is not a question of the oppression and exploitation of a nation by foreign capital; in these regions German capitalism is much more powerful than Tchecho-Slovakian, and it has already entered into a firm alliance with the latter for the exploitation of the proletarians of both nations. It is true that the German capitalists grumble at times, but only because they would prefer to bag all the profits themselves. They have, however, already reconciled themselves to such partnership, as they have discerned that the main-

ical standpoint. That is a matter which we cannot explain here in all its practical and theoretical bearings. The central organ of our Party, "Ill Communista" in a series of articles tried to prove, that fascism is not at all a movement of the extreme right of the bourgeoisie intending to do away with all the guarantees of a democratic regime, but that its immediate object is to force by violent actions of its gangs, the Socialist Party to renounce all revolutionary tendencies and to co-operate with the bourgeoisie. Having secured, if not the alliance, at any rate the virtual neutrality of the socialists, fascism will then hurl itself against the Communists, especially of the proletariat will make any attempts to obtain the dictatorship. Facts begin to justify these explanation, which we have only stated in a general form.

enance of the integrity of this old, consolidated industrial territory by means of a Tchecho-Slovakian state is of advantage to capitalism. Flirtation with national liberation on the part of the German bourgeoisie is at present only a manoeuvre to keep the masses imbued with nationalistic sentiments, while, for the future, it represents speculation on further triumphs of German imperialism, for the purpose of elevating the German capitalists to supremacy over Central Europe. It is not a question therefore of the liberation of their own compatriots, but of the sole exploitation of their own nation, and the exploitation and oppression of another nation.

From this point of view, we, of the "left wing" in the Social-Democratic party, demanded, at the congress of Teplice in 1919 as well, absolute noncooperation with the bourgeois nationalists, and the rejection of all flirtation with national liberation with national irredentism. We called for a cessation of the struggle for self-determination in the sense of a struggle for the mere revision of boundary lines between capitalist states. As, however, the Social-Democratic party continued to contend that the triumph of socialism would of itself bring the realisation of the right of self-determination, we were obliged to attack such chatter, because in the long run it only signified that the triumph of socialism was desired merely as an event good enough for the solution of the German-Bohemian question.

The first step on the path towards Communism is the conquest of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. When this has been achieved, the solution of the problem of nationalities will become a task of the proletarian dictatorship. Now there are two possibilities: where will the victory of the proletarian revolution first take place, in Germany or in Tchecho-Slovakia? If in the former, it would provide a specious, seemingly revolutionary, nationalistic slogan for the German proletarians living in the adjacent Tchecho-Slovakian regions: "Separation from capitalist Tchecho-Slovakia and union with the German Soviet Republic!" What would however be the practical consequences of such a watchword? Soviet Germany would obtain a territory of little value for its industrial reconstruction and one which it could digest only with difficulty, while a war with Tchecho-Slovakia would inevitably follow, burdening Soviet Germany with a region which, from a strategic viewpoint, would be very difficult to defend. For the sudden separation of its industrial border territory would signify ruin to Tchecho-Slovakia, and no government in that country would be able to view this passively. The menace to the economic foundation of the political independence of the nation, and the separation of the very numerous Tchecho-Slovakian minorities in the border regions, would drive the Tchecho-Slovakian nation into the arms of a most rabid nationalism. The German proletarian revolution would thus find an echo, which would greatly jeopardise it, as well as the proletarian revolution in Central Europe in general. As a result of these considerations, our congress decided that, in the event of the revolution breaking out first in Germany, the German communists in Tchecho-Slovakia would have to absolutely oppose every seemingly revolutionary, nationalist-bolshevist policy, and, in common with the Tchecho-Slovakian communists, exert every effort to bring about a revolution in Tchecho-Slovakia as well.

The second case would be the victory of the revolution in Tchecho-Slovakia first. For we do not share Smeral's dogmatic rejection of an "isolated" revolution. In that case it goes without saying that we German communists would have to nip in the bud every attempt to weaken and endanger the Tchecho-Slovakian Soviet Republic by any national irredentism. The German bourgeoisie, the German counter-revolutionary forces would undoubtedly make such an attempt. The duty of the German Communists in Tchecho-Slovakia therefore consists in creating a very strong shield for the protection of the Tchecho-Slovakian proletarian revolution in the rear.

Only when the proletarian Soviet Republic of Central Europe will have become firmly established and united in a close federation, will they take up the task of regulating their mutual boundaries, in common accord, and with a view to practical requirements. And the boundaries fixed by the Versailles peace will then be neither sacred nor sacrilegious to them.

Continued page 4, col. 4.

Political Parties and Groups in Russia

The Menshevik Party.

In what does the "last word" in Russian menshevism consist? First of all, in the assurance to every one that their prophecies have come true, that only they were the true Marxists, that their policy stood the test and that Bolshevism is bankrupt.

Let us see how much truth there is in these bragging assurances and let us recollect a few facts from the Menshevik past.

The Menshevik Party declared the October Revolution to be a "criminal adventure" and led a stubborn struggle against the revolution. Now that we have destroyed the Menshevik, e.g. Axelrod and Martoff in a countless number of battles, the latter are conducting a "philosophic" argument as to whether one can rise against the Bolsheviks. During the days of October they had no doubts as to this matter. Together with the Social-revolutionaries the Mensheviks put themselves at the head of the white guard "Committee for the salvation of the fatherland and revolution", the aim of which was, with the help of the junkers, and officers, to destroy the newly-born power of the Soviets and bring Kerensky back again to the Winter Palace.

The attempt proved unsuccessful. The junkers were beaten, Kerensky's offensive failed and the latter was compelled to take to shameful flight and to deceive his staff, headed by General Krasnov.

Then the social-revolutionaries and the mensheviks placed themselves at the head of the sabotaging movement. It was a strike of the bureaucrats and the "toiling democratic intelligentsia" against workers' revolution. In the name of "democracy" physicians abandoned the hospitals, teachers the schools and life in these institutions came to a standstill. This was a base conspiracy of the educated and well-fed lackeys of the bourgeoisie, against the working masses. The conspiracy completely failed and the saboteurs were forced to capitulate before the revolution.

However, this second failure did not discourage the mensheviks and the social-revolutionaries. They consoled themselves with the idea that the Soviet Government would fall within the next few weeks. The struggle in the name of "democracy" against the dictatorship of a clique of "usurpers" continued. Conspiracies and revolts were planned throughout the country. Beyond the Volga and in the Urals, in conjunction with the social-revolutionaries, they set up fronts for the defence of the Constituent Assembly.

In June 1918, seven months after the Soviet revolution, a Conference of the Menshevik Party took place and, under the slogan of "absolutely irreconcilable struggle against the Soviets. In the main resolution, the Conference called for the "liquidation of the present regime of anarchy and violence which exists contrary to the will of the people; and to substitute it, by the power of the whole democracy, and the calling of a Constituent Assembly for the organisation of a democratic republic."

About the same time Teñeco-Slovaks also commenced the "liquidation" of the "anarchic" Soviet power. They were supported by the financiers of the Entente and by "governments" praised by the social-revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

After another 6 months the "democracy" gave birth in the east to Koltchak, in the south to Denikin. In Central Europe several thrones were shattered. The Soviet power, at the time of its first anniversary, was considerably strengthened.

The mensheviks became pensive. At their conference in December 1918, they reviewed the sad results of their year's activities. The Central Committee described these results as follows: "The Conference in its international and internal affairs conducted a policy irrespective of the fact that its political life had proved the elements of political ideology pursued by the party for the last year, to be erroneous. It further stated that 'no revolutionary path can pretend to be infallible' that profound revolutions in a day, change sense into absurdity and good into evil". The Central Committee continues:

"Our Party no longer holds to the political diagnoses of events which it held last year, and will not propagate the tactics without modification which it recommended to the proletariat last spring.

The "diagnoses" and the "spring" tactics did not withstand the severe winter. The question and serious revision of the programme of action became the order of the day.

The "revision" commenced with the question of power. The Menshevik Conference decided to abandon the demand for the constitutional Assembly. After performing this act, which, from the point of view of democracy, is an act of sacrilege, the mensheviks consoled themselves with the French saying: "Take a step back in order to go forward". We shall reach "democracy" they said, "through the Soviets", through these imperfect contradictory forms of power of the toiling masses.

By abandoning the demand for a Constituent Assembly as the watchword of the day the mensheviks naturally did not adopt demands for the Soviet Power as the new watchword of the day. Quite the contrary, they painted in the brilliant colours the beauties of democracy and signed "how nice it would have been had the bolsheviks not succeeded in dispersing the Constituent Assembly. They proclaimed "the necessity to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly the dictatorship of part of the proletariat over the whole democracy". The mensheviks accepted the Soviet system as a fact, but not as a principle. So long as this so-called "proletarian Party" had hopes for the removal of this unpleasant and undemocratic "fact and reality" by the critique of arms, they strove to secure it. Meanwhile, months have passed but "facts" remained "facts". They proved Lenin's favourite saying that "facts are stubborn things", and the mensheviks accepted the stubborn things, the "imperfect contradictory" Soviet power, "as the starting point in their struggle".

This is the way life "proved" the prophecies of the menshevik Party. This is the incomparable firmness which the policy of these amazing quasi-marxists revealed.

The consistency of the Menshevik Party will become more evident if we take the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of this Party passed two months before the December Conference, that is, in October 1918. Regarding the question of power the resolution states: "The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, as before, considers the people's will, unrestricted democracy, the political form which alone can prepare and bring the social emancipation of the proletariat. It regards a democratic republic, organised by a freely elected and sovereign Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage... only the best organ for the education of the masses and for rallying the proletariat around the banner of its own interests, but also, as the only basis upon which the socialist proletariat can develop its social creativeness, eliminate the old economic relations and organise the forms of industry and of exchange."

In October "democracy" is everything. Without it no step can be taken. The Central Committee states the "people's will" cannot be substituted, but, two months later it "finds" the Soviet power a "fact" and unanimously signs a resolution to consider it as "a starting point". Such is the conduct of a Party which claims to lead the working class along the fundamental and decisive question of power.

In October and November, 1917, the proletarian revolution was declared by the mensheviks to be simply a "made adventure" of the bolsheviks, the "anarchist bonapartists". The June conference continued to characterise the great revolution as a wild utopia, as a criminal mutilation of the essentials of the revolution and its soviet.

However, on our first anniversary the Menshevik Party brought forth its "surprise". The Central Committee passed the following resolution, "The world war is nearing its end amidst a heap of ruins. In all parts of the world the flames of the wrath of the great masses are bursting forth and this, slowly but surely, will lead to inevitable battles along the whole front, between the proletariat and capitalist society, to the social proletarian revolution".

This was stated when the Western German front was tottering, when Bulgaria and Turkey had given up fighting, when the thrones of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs was shaking. The lightnings of the revolution lit up for a moment the political shanty of menshevism, and the Central Committee made a surprising confession: "The October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was an historical necessity... It was an expression of the strivings of the toiling masses to subordinate the tide of the revolution to their interests. Without this revolution the liberation of

Russia from the clutches of allied imperialism and the radical enforcement of agrarian reforms and the regulations in the interests of the great masses and their economic life.

A more perfect defence of the basis policy of Bolshevism would have been impossible. A more destructive criticism of the anti-sovietism of the mensheviks and the social-revolutionaries can hardly be found.

The October Revolution was historically necessary. It was a result of the interests of the toilers, and, therefore, any struggle against the Soviet power and the Party of the October revolution, the Party of the Bolsheviks was and is, a *white guard Don Quixotism*. Any attempt to cling to a "democracy" and Constituent Assembly is nothing more than an attempt to turn back the wheel of the revolution, to facilitate the victory of the landowning bourgeois reaction.

The resolution with an "historic" recognition of the October Revolution as a necessity for the toilers remained merely a scrap of paper... The activities of the mensheviks, especially in the regions where the white generals were in power, were directed against the Soviet power. Resolutions were amended and substituted by others, but the implacable hatred of menshevism to the proletarian dictatorship remained unchanged. The Menshevik Party continued to waver, it reconsidered its slogans, altered its diagnoses, "corrected" its tactics, but, throughout it all, it was full of hatred towards the proletarian revolution.

And now the mensheviks are crying from the housetops that history has justified their policy, that they alone knew the "secrets" of revolution. This is but the boasting of political bankrupts!

In December 1918 the Menshevik Party abandoned the demand for the Constituent Assembly and, a year later, on December 2nd, 1919, the Central Committee in a letter to its party organisations declares: "No matter how much the Party recognises the historic necessity of the October revolution and the insolvency of the Government overthrown by the bolsheviks, the party now as before, rejects the politics, which resulted from the revolution. What can one do with "prophets" who, in the course of one year, recognise the necessity of the revolution but reject the policy which served this necessity?"

What is to be done with "marxists" who, in decisive moments, have proven themselves totally lacking in character, principle and ideas? The Menshevik Party always had *two souls*, two programmes, two policies. One soul was open for the proletariat, the other for the bourgeoisie. One programme was written for the workers, the other was made for the bourgeoisie. During the Spring of 1918, Trotsky very aptly remarked that Martoff plays the part of a righteous man to cover the sins of Dan. The Menshevik Party is composed of righteous hypocrites who now and always have wished to cover the "sins" the avowed servants of the bourgeoisie. In the year 1919 the "righteous ones" in Moscow were writing resolutions against Denikin, and the "sinners" with Denikin blockades Russia in Kharkoff, Kiev, Rostov, Crimea and all over the "white" South, where the generals' epaulettes were glittering.

But the revolution severely punished their pitiful spineless party. At every turn of the wheels of history, this Party lost its best members. A great majority of the members, for the last four years, left and joined the Russian Communist Party. The Menshevik Party lost its active workers, who had played a leading part in the movement.

Since 1917 and until now the pages of the Soviet press, in the centre and in the provinces, systematically receive "letters to the Editor" from former Mensheviks who declare that they have left their Party. During the acute moments of the life of the republic these letters appeared in great numbers. The last typical letters are those published in the "Pravda" by the old mensheviks Nicol'sky, Bliacher, Bugnic and Kojevnikoff. Having been, for many years members of the R. S. D. L. P. has not and does not give us a clear answer to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only form of securing the social-revolution. The vague positions of the R. S. D. L. P. created among that part of the workers which followed it, constant waverings, hesitations and disbelief in creative forces of the revolution. Verbally the Party registered its support to the revolution and the Soviet power in deed,

however the R. S. D. L. P. very little revolutionary energy, especially at a time when certain groups of that party have frequently entered into a union with this or that bourgeois group becoming thereby a playing in the hands of the counter-revolutionary powers.

Therefore the R. S. D. L. P. ceased to be a political party, it has lost its connection with the working masses and has transformed itself into a group of self-righteous pseudo Marxians, untouched by our revolutionary epoch and reflected only inwardly by naive discussions and arguments.

It cannot be any more even in the future, it can no longer serve as the rallying centre of the forces of the proletariat. Such a standard bearer was and is now the Russian Communist Party.

The question is then why do the most active members of the Menshevik Party run from the party, if it had the foresight and the power of prediction? *Why does the old menshevik guard leave the party? Why does the spirit of dissolution and decay hover around it?*

Because the Menshevik party is a party of political corpses. "Centrists of all countries, Mensheviks of all shadings can see in the face of the Russian mensheviks their own reflections.

"Still the Mensheviks were right in some things. If for a proletarian party it is enough to be right in some things, and to fail on the basic questions of the revolution, then we say that the Menshevik Party is welcome that consolation.

Sometimes it was successful in its formulation of separate demands for the petty bourgeois and demanded them from the proletarian government. It marked the mistakes and shortcomings of the Soviet regime. True enough, the governing communist party in some questions made mistakes. This cannot be avoided. Do the Mensheviks guarantee the realisation of socialism without a single mistake? Have we not seen them in power in Russia, Germany, Sweden, Georgia? Where is their infallible socialism? Is there even a hint in any of these countries of a transformation, to a menshevik socialism? "No revolutionary party can pretend to be infallible" stated the mensheviks at the end of 1918. *This is true, and first of all for a party making its first experiment in the proletarian revolution, during an acute struggle with its own bourgeois and with world capitalism hunger and destitution. Such a party can be forgiven for many things. However the Mensheviks of the whole world forgive nothing, because in the struggle between capitalism and socialism they take sides with the capitalists.*

Communism gives clear and precise answers to the basic questions of the revolution. Communism makes a correct diagnosis and points the way in which the world proletarian movement is going. Isolated mistakes of the communist party, from the point of view of history on the scales of the revolution and in the light of the future are small things. Only historic old old men of the Martoff type can pick these little things for the purpose of increasing their insignificant political capital. Menshevism gives no answers, but vague and empty replies to the basic questions of the revolution. *Menshevism is lost in diagnoses and in determination of its roads. The whole fabric of Menshevism is woven from mistakes and crimes against the working class and the proletarian revolution.*

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, Vozdvizhenko 5, room 50-51. Visitors will be received daily, excluding Sundays, from 3 to 5 p. m.

Resolution on White Terror.

The Comintern to the Workers of the World.

Continued from page 1.

A crusade has begun against the General Confederation of Labour the Trade Union organisation combining the revolutionary masses of the Spanish workers. The prisons are filled with advanced workers. In the chief industrial centres, particularly in Barcelona, that city of martyrs, the gendarmerie, and detachments of White Guard volunteers organised a regular hunting down of workers. Literally, not a single day passes without an assassination taking place, not only of leaders, but also of rank and file workers and even of advocates defending labour leaders at the courts. It is impossible to calculate the number of victims of the white terror in this land of the Inquisition, their number is legion, and when the workers driven to desperation reply to these acts of violence against the criminals and those who inspire them, the bourgeoisie use this as an excuse for a further outburst of white terror.

America.

The microbe of white terror fills the atmosphere in all capitalist States, even of those which have not experienced revolutionary outbreaks of the proletariat. In the United States of America, this El-Dorado of bourgeois plutocracy, this revolutionary labour movement, trade union and political, has practically been declared outside of the law. This Trans-Atlantic "great democracy" strives to exceed the most reactionary monarchist state in its violence against the workers. Not only Communists, but members of the industrial organisations of the I.W.W. are thrown into prison where even comparatively moderate leaders like Debs are confined on a sentence of ten years hard labour. The local militia, that body-guard of capital, the Pinkerton agents, and the inhuman courts, strive to emulate each other in proving to the American workers that the most "democratic" bourgeois State is a prison for the workers.

England.

Liberal England strives not to lag behind its neighbours in this connection. Up till now this State, which in fact is an organisation of bourgeois dictatorship over half the globe, has not had occasion to adopt systematic violence against its own workers, although it is striving its utmost to prepare for that by organising civic guards, extending the principle of volunteer police, and the placing of tanks, guns, and machine guns in the industrial centres during the recent miners' strike. Nevertheless, it has developed white terror to the full, in its colonies, and particularly in Ireland, where according to established tradition, the annihilation of a whole is taking place.

France.

In France white terror has really never ceased since the days of the Commune. There, the bourgeoisie with the aid of the police and the "republican" guard recruited mainly from the Corsicans, and which is thoroughly imbued with the Bonapartist spirit is constantly terrorising the working masses, especially in centres such as Paris. Now with the awakening of the French proletariat, the bourgeoisie, not being satisfied with the usual means of oppression, is opening a new era of mass persecutions of the workers' vanguard, arresting communists and revolutionary Syndicalists and starting a campaign against the Young Communist movement. If we have not witnessed so far a massacre of proletarian masses in France, it is merely due to the circumstances that lately there were no mass labour movements there. But we are well acquainted with the French bourgeoisie, its police and courts, and have no doubt that the descendants of Galiffet and Thiers are only waiting their opportunity to make a new blood bath for the French revolutionary proletariat.

Finland.

In Finland, where the workers' rising was suppressed with the aid of German bayonets, a terrible white terror was inaugurated, which was later on kept up and inspired by England and France. Some 70,000 Finnish workers were killed, tens of thousands were imprisoned or had to flee from their country. Even now the white terror of the government and the bourgeois volunteers is raging in this unhappy country which has become a step-mother to its best sons.

Hungary.

In Hungary where the Soviet Republic was destroyed owing to the treachery of

the social traitors and the invasion of Czech and Rumanian nationalists, the Entente developed such a White Terror which makes the vengeance of the bourgeoisie after the Paris Commune pale into insignificance and which can be compared only with the activity of the bloody Russian Czarism. During the whole period of the domination of the proletariat in Hungary the number of victims of the Red Terror, about which so many lies have been spread by bourgeois calumny, was some tens of avowed counter revolutionaries captured with arms in their hands in the endeavour to drag the workers back to slavery. For this the whole Hungarian proletariat was sacrificed, the whole vanguard of the Hungarian workers was literally wiped off the face of the earth. The gangs of officers and whiteguard sons of the bourgeoisie are committing such acts of violence that even horrifies the blackhunder in the hands of these murderous gangs. Murder, assault, drowning, tearing out of hair, castration, are examples of the violence and baseness which these Sadists of "respectable society" perpetrate. Side by side with the beating up of the workers, a systematic persecution of Jews is proceeding. It is impossible to calculate the number of victims of the unceasing White Terror in Hungary. It is sufficient to say that they comprise tens of thousands of men and women, the aged and children. All this takes place with the blessing of the Entente and the acquiescence of the social-democrats who sabotage the International proletarian protest against the White Government of Hungary.

In Smaller Nations.

In Teckho-Slovakia, Yougo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Poland and Romania, all participants in the "Little Entente", the same spirit prevails as prevails in the countries of the Big Entente, its creator. In all these countries the proletarian movement has been placed beyond the law. Everywhere communist parties have been dispersed, labour newspapers closed down, labour organisations dissolved and mass-arrests take place; in a word, on this barbarous ground of semi-feudal and semi-eastern States, a system of White Terror is directed with all its severity against the working class, more shameless and unrestrained than in the old capitalist countries. Even in small Latvia and Lithuania, which, together with Finland comprise the Baltic combination of the Entente, there prevails a pogrom spirit and the same police orgy, with this distinction that Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, comprising at one time part of the Romanov Empire, can employ in their struggle against the working class the old servants of the Czar who found a more grateful fatherland, and employ the same methods of torture which were successfully applied to prisoners in the prisons of Czarist Russia.

The Imperialist governments, in normal times which cannot sufficiently develop themselves in their own countries, give full play to bourgeois brutality in their subjugated colonies. England — in India and Egypt, Japan — in Corea, United States, in Mexico, all the bourgeois governments in their respective colonies commit unspeakable barbarities in order to put down the discontent of the awakening oppressed nations. Suffice it to mention such instances of violence as the shooting at an Indian meeting in Amritsar, where in a few minutes some 1,500 men were killed, and the latest bombardment of Alexandria, or finally, the systematic extermination of the much suffering Korean nation by the Japanese — and we shall get an idea of the orgy of white terror which is practised by the bourgeoisie on the nations which it had subjugated.

The Communist International protests against these atrocities by means of which the bourgeoisie hope to stave off their inevitable doom. It denounces before the face of the whole world these unheard-of methods of Terror, with which the old world hopes to suppress the embryo of the new world of free labour now being born. At the same time it denounces the hypocrisy of bourgeois and social democratic politicians and hired scribes who howl against Red Terror, while practising or covering up the practise of White Terror directed against the many millioned working class or against whole nations which are subject to conquest and exploitation.

The Necessity for Organisation.

It is necessary to utilise the III Congress of the Comintern for laying the foundation of an International League of Communist Culture.

The Communists of Russia are working to build up a school that will turn out people possessing a Communist outlook on life, and also imbued with Communist instincts, and so be well prepared to build up a new life on Collectivist principles. So far, relatively little has been accomplished. Work had to be conducted under incredibly hard circumstances, in an atmosphere of war, and unutterable destruction; the work was carried on in a groping fashion, and frequently the correct path was missed, which involved numerous retreats. It meant work without a previously organised body of adherents. In spite of all, the correct path is followed, and as we think, it is marked out correctly.

But we need greatly the support of our foreign comrades, especially those teachers who are Communists and other Communist men of education. The majority of them are working in countries which are a much higher industrial standard than Russia, and where development of Capitalism compelled the Capitalists in some measure to interest themselves in setting a certain standard of education, for example, the introduction of compulsory education for all, the raising of the instruction etc. All these measures, it is true, and in the nature of "Greek gifts", the masses are served with knowledge that is steeped in the poison of Bourgeois Ideology. Nevertheless our American, German, French, Dutch and other comrades maintain a thoughtful attitude towards the school practise of their respective countries, and extract rich experience from their observations. Fecundated by Communist conceptions of life, this experience represents a thing of measureless value in the cause of building up Communist schools and Communist Culture.

Wilhelm Liebknecht was a thousand times correct when he wrote that the schools, together with the press and the barracks, were the most powerful weapons in the hands of the bourgeois State for the mental enslavement of the working masses. It would be a mistake to imagine that the Communists would be able to introduce, on a somewhat large scale, Communist ideas with the popular education of countries, where the State power is still in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie will never relax its hold on the public schools as long as it controls the government. Nevertheless, the spreading of Communist ideas by men and women Communist teachers is of tremendous significance.

We are living in a period of great upheavals, when the bourgeois world is already doomed to destruction. Nobody can predict the moment or the place where the first outbreak will take place, but the world revolution is clear and inevitable.

And it is important that at the outbreak of revolution in each country we should have a united body of Communist teachers who know what has to be done in order to impart the necessary economic and social knowledge.

That is why an international organisation of the advocates of Communist culture is imperative. We hope that we shall have the opportunity of holding a series of consultations with the delegates to the Congress in order to discuss the question of public education and as a result to form the above mentioned organisation and establish its bureau.

N. Krupskaja.

The Communist International calls upon all workers and all oppressed nations to make a decisive protest and calls them to a decisive battle with this reign of Terror everywhere established by the bourgeoisie. Understanding perfectly well that White Terror is the inevitable result of power in the hands of the bourgeoisie during the period of the awakening of the working class who refuse any longer to bear the yoke of capitalism, understanding perfectly well that to put an end to White Terror means to put an end to the domination of the bourgeoisie, the Communist International calls upon all the workers and all the oppressed to rise in order to overthrow the existing bourgeois system and establish a World Federation of Soviet Republics by which an end will be put to the system of suppression and annihilation of toilers which is bringing shame to present-day humanity.

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.

To All Foreign Delegates Arriving to the First International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions

The International Council of Trade Unions begs to request the delegates arriving to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions to register their credentials with the Communication Department of the International Council of Trade Unions

PETROVSKY LINE, formerly HOTEL ELITE, Room 3, Telephone 5-33-65. The present notice refers to delegates to the Congress having a decisive or consultative vote, as well as to those who came to Moscow with the purpose of attending the Congress as guests.

On all matters concerning the Congress, Comrade LOSOVSKY, General Secretary of the International Council of Trade Unions, receives daily from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. in the office of the International Council

PETROVSKY LINE, HOTEL ELITE Room 3

For information apply to Com. AROSEV, Manager of the International Council at the same address.

Tchecko-Slovakia.

Continued from page 2.

These are our general guiding lines in the problem of nationalism, to the extent that it concerns national boundaries. It must be left to every Communist reader to judge for himself whether that which the German communists have thus laid down as their policy towards the Tschecho-Slovakian state may be considered opportunism, and whether our Tschechian Comrade Vanek was right in placing our attitude on this matter on a level with the assurance of the Tschechian communist Smeral, that he desires not to disrupt the Tschechian state, but to conquer it.

In conclusion we wish to say a few words concerning the reproaches to the Tschechian comrades and to the leaders of the Tschechian party. We do not doubt, for a single moment, their good intentions or their honesty in international politics. We desire merely to state facts. The central organ of the Tschechian party has not only not published in full the resolution adopted at our national congress on this very important Tschechian question, but has not even allowed it to be discussed. As a matter of fact, the party has never yet held a thorough discussion of the principles underlying this problem. This question was completely ignored at the inaugural congress of the Tschechian Communist Party on May 15th, just as no distinct policy was adopted in all the other important questions contained in Smeral's address, on nationalism, except the single remark that the nationalist sentiments of the workers belonging to the national socialist party must be treated with forbearance. If we point out that the initiative in all attempts to bring about a unification of the German and Tschechian Communist has always been left to us, can we then be accused of exaggeration when we maintain that the leaders of the Tschechian Communist Party have not fulfilled their international obligations in the manner a Communist Party undoubtedly should?

Karl Kreibich.