

have conquered the sympathy of the proletarian masses. That is the important part. That is a conquest which the atrocities of the imperialistic bourgeois and the persecutions and assassinations of the Bolsheviks cannot now take away from the masses. The greater the fury of the so-called democratic bourgeoisie, the more will these conquests live in the souls of the proletarian masses, in their consciousness, in their heroic readiness for the struggle.

The ice is broken. And for that reason the work of the Communist International Conference, at Moscow, which founded the Third International, proceeded with so much smoothness and regularity, so much calm and firm determination.

We have recorded the conquests already made. We have put on paper what was already established in the consciousness of the masses. All of us knew much more than this. All of us saw and felt, by the experience of his own country, that a new proletarian movement had begun to ferment with a force and with a depth that were unheard-of; that this movement would never fit into any of the old channels; that it cannot be restrained either by the "Socialism" of petty politics or by the Lloyd Georges and Wilsons of the so-called Democratic Capitalism of England and America, with all their experience and their cleverness, nor by the Hendersons, the Renaudels, the Brantings, and other empty heroes of social-Chauvinism with all their skill in reconciling opposites.

This new movement is heading directly for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." It is advancing in spite of all hesitations, in spite of discouraging set-backs, in spite of this "Russian" chaos which is so prominent in the eyes of those who judge from the outside; it is marching toward the Soviet power with a might which is carrying along on its path millions and tens of millions of proletarians.

This is the record of our accomplishments. In our orders of the day, our reports, our papers, and our speeches, we have printed the accomplishments already made.

The Marxist theory, illuminated by the bright light of reason and experience, reaching all over the world in revolutionary workers, has assisted in grasping the full logic of events. It will aid all proletarians in the entire world who are struggling to overthrow capitalistic slavery, to become clearly conscious of the object of their struggle, to march more steadily on the road already begun, to grasp more surely and consolidate their achievement. The founding of the Third International is the gateway of the International Soviet Republic, of the International victory of Communism.

II

A GREAT EPOCH

By Leon Trotsky

I suppose the Czars and the former priests who controlled the Moscow Kremlin, never imagined that there would gather within its venerable walls representatives of the most revolutionary party of the modern world. Yet this has happened. In one of the halls of the palace of justice, still haunted by the melancholy shades of the ancient Czarist penal code, are sitting the delegates of the Third International.

In truth, the tooth of war has done effective work in undermining the walls of the Kremlin.

This physical background for the Communist Congress is simply the external manifestation of the numerous changes that have taken place in the ten or twenty years just passed, in the conditions of the whole world.

In the days of the Second International, as well as of the First, Czarist Russia was the principal support of world reaction. In the International Socialist congresses, the Russian revolution was represented by emigrants whom the majority of the opportunist leaders of the European Socialists regarded with an ironical condescension. The functionaries of parliamentarism were imbued with an unalterable conviction that the misfortunes of the revolution were the lot of semi-Asiatic Russia, while Europe might rely on a gradual, peaceful painless development from Capitalism to Socialism.

In August, 1914, the internal contradictions that had been heaped up by Imperialism broke through the pacific crust of Capitalism, with its parliamentarism, legal liberties, and its political and other propositions sanctified by law. From the pinnacle of civilization, humanity was cast down into a terrible abyss of barbarism and bloody savagery.

Although the Marxist theory had foreseen the bloody catastrophe, the reformist Socialist parties were taken unawares. The prospect of peaceful development vanished in thin air. The opportunists could see no other duty than to invite the working masses to defend their nationalistic bourgeois fatherland. On August 4, 1914, the Second International perished ingloriously. Since that day, all true revolutionists, the heirs of Marxist spirit, have had no other aim than to create a new international for the implacable revolutionary struggle

against capitalist society. The war unleashed by Imperialism has thrown the entire capitalist world out of its equilibrium. All questions have been revealed as revolutionary questions. The old masters of social-patriotism have displayed all their talent in the effort to preserve the appearance of their former parties, their former lies, and their old organizations. But it was no use. Once more in history, war was the mother of revolution. The imperialist war was the mother of a proletarian revolution.

The honor of initiating a proletarian revolution belongs to the Russian working class and to its Communist Party, hardened as it has been in conflict. By its November revolution, the Russian proletariat not only opened the gates of the Kremlin to the representatives of the International proletariat, but it also laid the cornerstone of the edifice of the Third International.

The revolutions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, the lightning spread of the Soviet movement and of civil war, marked by the martyrdom of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and of how many nameless thousands of nameless heroes, showed that Europe did not have at its disposal any other methods than those of Russia. The essential identity of the methods in the struggle for Socialism, which has been proved by experience, has permitted the creation of the Communist International and simultaneously rendered immediately necessary the convoking of the Communist Congress.

This Congress is in session within the walls of the Kremlin. We were witnesses and participants in one of the greatest events of the world war. The working class of the whole world has captured from its enemies the most inaccessible citadel of the ancient Russia of the Czars, and from this citadel it launches all its energies for the final conflict. What a joy to fight and live in such a time!

Concerning the White Terror

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir,—May I call your attention to certain errors in an editorial paragraph in *The Nation* of May 17? The real facts are bad enough without being exaggerated, and constant efforts are being made to minimize or misrepresent those facts. It must be remembered that the civil war in Finland was started when the workers found that the illegally selected White Guard element was entering into a compact with Germany and was arming itself to put down the Finnish workers. Under these conditions, the workers got ammunition from Russia, though in insufficient quantity, and their Government was defeated because the White Guard got efficient military support from Germany. Following this defeat, according to reliable information derived from an investigation recently conducted in Finland, over fifteen thousand men and women were executed, over ten thousand of them being shot down with machine guns in batches of from fifty to five hundred by the Finnish White Guard and the German invaders, without any trial—and after the civil war was already over. These figures should be substituted for those contained in the paragraph above referred to. According to the official figures of the White Guards eighty thousand prisoners were in the prison camps shortly after the civil war was over and the head of the official medical commission of the White Guard Government, in a statement reprinted in Scandinavian countries, confesses that at least ten thousand died of starvation in the prison camps.

You are also in error in stating that the Socialist vote did not decline in the last election. The figures actually show a slight falling-off, but considering that about fifteen thousand Socialists fell in the civil war, ten thousand died of starvation in prison camps, and about fifty thousand fled to Russia, the conclusion is unavoidable that at least seventy-five thousand new voters must have supported the Socialist ticket at the recent elections. This they did despite the fact that the White Terror prevailed (and still prevails) in Finland, threatening with summary death anyone who dares to express openly his abhorrence of the Mannerheim rule; and despite the fact that the White Guard Government suppressed most of the Socialist papers, closed the labor halls, and prevented the Socialists from carrying on an election campaign.

The facts regarding General Mannerheim's visit to Stockholm are these: He planned to visit Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania, on invitation of the kings of the three countries concerned. He visited Stockholm, and was received with great ceremony by the king, but with still greater ceremony by the people of Stockholm, who stoned him with bricks and bottles during his travel through the city. Only the calling out of the army detachments in Stockholm saved him. He visited Copenhagen, and was accorded a similar demonstration by the workers of that city. He did not dare visit Christiania, as the Norwegian workers threatened a general strike if the "mass murder-