



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Letter of E. C. of Belgian Communist Party.

To all the Communist Parties and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Dear Comrades:
The Executive Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, while taking note that the left wing of the Belgian Labour Party, i. e. "The Friends of L'Exploite", has, at its convention held May 29th, 1921 organised a Communist Party alongside with the existing Party. This Communist Party is recognised by the Third International and does not wish to be suspected on grounds of mere formality to retrospectively deny the right of the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party to perform this piece of dramatics. Nor does it wish to censure a fraternal party, the V. K. P. D. (United Communist Party of Germany), for having delegated a member of its own Executive Committee to represent it at the above convention, and that without getting informed of the facts and the merits of the case in question.

This Committee desires, however, that the entire Communist International and above all the Central Executive of Moscow take note of the following facts:
1) That the development and the experience of the Communist Parties during the last two years have sufficiently shown that a change of name is not enough to constitute a Communist Party.
2) That at the Rotterdam Conference of March 13th, 1921, this group by the signature of its delegate, Comrade Everling, committed itself to common action with the existing Belgian Communist Party. The locals never took any note of the tenor of the resolution adopted at the above conference and so were not legally qualified to pass resolutions on the above pledge which was taken before our delegates.

3) That this opposition group has not yet approached the existing bona fide Communist Party for the purpose of starting negotiations with the object of finding out the opportunities for unification. And, that this group has constituted itself into a new Communist Party, owing to the following considerations:

- a) The existing Communist Party is too much a closed party;
- b) Communists should participate in parliamentary action.

We lay a special stress upon these two characteristic indications, which for those familiar with the centrist international politics of Martov, Kautzky up to Levi-Serrati-Smeral type, sufficiently indicate the precise character of this new party, and especially the motives actuating its leaders.

Our organisation in "sects" (something the members of the new party knew nothing about, since none of them had ever applied for affiliation) shows our clearness in point of principles in whatever regards tactics and aims. We are organised on the tactical basis indicated by Lenin; and before organising we must be pure as to principles.

This line of action based on principles to be applied in the class war seems to them too sectarian. We had known this before they declared it openly, since they lack any guiding lines which could be grounded in some theory.

It is surely unnecessary to detail what they mean when they say: "Communists ought to go into Parliament". This does not even deal with the question treated by Lenin in his "Infantile Disease" when he regarded the task of revolutionary parliamentarism. It has still less to do with what the thesis of the Second Congress indicated.

Had they understood it in the above sense, they would have said:

a) To indicate the conditions for such revolutionary parliamentarism to meet the situation that has now arisen in Belgium.

b) To indicate the subjective forces capable of carrying out this sort of parliamentarism. You know very well dear comrades that the merits of a movement can be gauged only from inside, but its practical acts and its practical work as a whole. Anyone who was in

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Miners' Strike ended—Terms of Settlement.

Nauen, June 29th. The miners' strike settled to day at a meeting between Lloyd George and the representatives of the coal miners. The miners accepted the terms proposed by the government. The sum of 10,000,000 pounds to equalise the wages during the period of trade depression was guaranteed by the government. In every mining district 83% of the profits will be allotted for the increase of wages, and 17% will go to the employers. Out of the remaining 17%, the owners will have to pay some taxes which will come into force.

England and Ireland.

Nauen, June 29th. The Irish Premier Craig agreed to accept Lloyd George's proposal for a conference dealing with the affairs of Ireland.

Sinn Fein Conditions.

London, June 29th. Sinn Fein Leaders believe, that reconciliation with the British Government is possible on terms of self government in all matters except naval and foreign affairs.

England and Ireland.

Riga, June, 29th. It is reported from London that De-Valera accepted Lloyd George's invitation to attend a conference.

Russian Gold Secure.

Riga, June 29. "Information" of the 24th inst reports from London a new judicial decision regarding the question of Russian gold. Two timber concerns brought an action against the firm of Barrington Bros., with whom they deposited 35,000 pounds sterling for the Tzarist government, and which they demanded from the firm. The court refused their demands on the grounds that the English government recognised the new Soviet government, on March 16th, and declared that the plaintiff could not prove that the Soviet government is refusing its obligations.

Under the red Banner.

Riga, June 28th 1921. "Rohte Fahne" of the 23rd inst communicates, that the Central Council of Trade Unions of Manchester resolved to affiliate to the Moscow International of Trade Unions, by 76 votes against 74.

Workers Control of Production.

London, June 27th. According to a "Times" wire the Australian Labour Congress formed a "Council of Action", composed of 12 members, to establish a higher workers control on production. The congress accepted the program laying down the socialist basis as the aim of the Labour Party. To accomplish this the Labour Party must utilise all the advantages of nationalising industry. Furthermore, the congress decided to enter relations with other labour organisations, to decide on means to prevent war.

U. S. A.

A Campaign Against Harding.

Riga, June 29th. "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", communicates that the Republican papers, who supported Harding during his election campaign, have now sharply criticised his policy. Harding is reproached with not having attained any results during the 14 weeks of his office. The President has not fulfilled a single one of his promises.

White Terror.

Riga, June 29th. The Governor of West Virginia has proclaimed martial law in many sections of the State, and armed thousands of Whiteguards against the miners. The miners declared a strike as a reply to martial law. The West Virginian Whiteguard punish the workers with court martials; other workers were shot in broad daylight and many are jailed and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

GERMANY.

Underground Channels.

Extraordinary things occurred in Germany in connection with the party strife in the V. K. P. D. Even with regard to the Italian question, "Freiheit" was able to publish a scandalous letter of Dr. Paul Levi, who at that time was president of the Party. "Freiheit" declared that the letter had been obtained in such a way that it could be assumed that the author desires its publication. "Freiheit" declared that this was not the first case, but that it got to know other things concerning the inner life of the V. K. P. D., in a similar way. Later, "Freiheit" was able to publish a document containing slanderous lies concerning the March rising, before it was actually published by its authors Geyer and Daumig. "Vorwärts" was able to re-print in its number of June 16th the minutes of the meeting of the Executive of March 9th and 10th, which Kurt Geyer brought with him to Germany, and which was delivered to "Vorwärts" by reliable persons. It seems that certain channels lead to the Social Democrat and the Independent Parties, channels which have not yet been disclosed. We may assume that those people who keep up such good relations with the right will sever their connection with the Communist Party. We wish them to do so, be it only to clear their character.

Kempin Sentenced.

Nauen, June 29th. Halle. The leader of the Central German revolt, Kempin was sentenced to imprisonment for life in a house of correction.

The Disbandment of the Einwohnerwehr.

Following the example of the Imperial Authorities, the Bavarian Government has also declared their "Einwohnerwehr" disbanded and any one guilty of disobeying that order will be liable to heavy fines and imprisonment.

FAR EAST.

Japanese Defensive.

Riga, June 28. "Information" of 21st inst reports from Tokio that the Japanese troops occupied Neivlaevsk and other parts of Eastern Siberia.

Supreme Governor.

Riga, June 28th 1921. "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of the 23rd inst. reports from Vladivostok, that a provisional agreement has been arranged between Merkuof and Semenov, which recognises Semenov as Supreme Governor. The Vladivostok government exists on the basis of local councils subordinated to Semenov.

SILESIA

The Evacuation of Silesia.

Nauen, June, 29th. Consequent on information of the English General Heniker, that the evacuation of the first zone of Upper Silesia had been systematically carried out by the rebels, General Jeffrey's ordered the immediate regrouping of the German self defence.

Polands demands.

Riga, June 29th. The Commission of Foreign Affairs of the Seim passed a resolution on the Vilna question, demanding the unconditional transfer of Vilna to Poland, and expressed its dissatisfaction with the Hymans proposal. The Commission demands the immediate settlement of the question.

Communist Units.

Riga, June 28th. "Rohte Fahne" of the 23rd inst. reports that the Techecho-Slovak Communist Party passed a resolution demanding the unity of all the Communist organisations in Techecho-Slovakia, and the unconditional affiliation to the Third International.

ITALY.

Fascisti Madness.

Berlin, June 28th 1921. The demonstrations of the Fascisti in Northern Italy still continue. "Avanti" reports that the Co-operative Society buildings in Ferrari have been destroyed by Fascisti. In the province of Emille a religious procession united with the farmer-Fascisti against the local proletariat.

Bloody Conflicts in Fiume

Rome, June 29th. During a demonstration in Fiume, against the pretences of Jugo-Slavia, bloody conflicts took place between the nationalists and the "Arditti" (the braves), as the Fiume Fascisti call themselves, and with the police. There are some killed and wounded.

Social Traitors and Mensheviki.

Rome, June, 28th (Via Riga). At yesterday's session of parliament the socialist compromiser Treves, in a speech on foreign policy declared his sympathies with the former mensheviki of Georgia.

His declaration was met with a stormy protests from the entire Communist group. Owing to continued protests of Bombacci, Tentare and other Communist deputies, Treves was unable to resume his speech.

Statistics of Raids.

Rome, June 28th. In his last speech Giolitti presented some remarkable statistics, characteristic of the time, from June 20th last year to May 30th of this year.

During that time 50,000 raids were carried out. 52,850 kilos (115,700 Lb.) of dynamite and 40,500 kilos (89,100 lb.) of highly explosive materials, 31,710 rifles, 50,000 revolvers etc. were confiscated.

These figures created a sensation in the Chamber.

Cruelty of Christian Democrats.

Minsk, June 28. Owing to persecutions and shootings in the Kovno jail, prisoners declared a hunger strike on the 25th of June. Political prisoners are treated on the same footing with criminals. Many are thrown into damp dungeons and chained. The prosecutors declare that the strike will not produce any effect, and that the hunger strike will be killed. The ruling party of Christian Democrats are dealing with political prisoners worse than the Czarists.

Organisation and Information Dept of the Comintern.

The Organisation & Information Dept is making arrangements for delegates to visit a number of institutions of the Republic, such as:

1. Supreme Economic Council,
2. All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions,
3. Health Commissariat,
4. Educational Commissariat,
5. Proletcult,
6. Moscow Commune,
7. Communist Universities;

Delegates desiring to take part are requested to state the institutions they desire to visit to the interpreter on duty where they live, or to the assistant of the Organisation and Information Dept. on duty at the "LUXE" Room 2.

The Organisation & Information Dept requests delegates taking part in visits to various institutions, theatres, museums, and so forth, to send in their written impressions in their own language to the interpreters on duty at the Organisation and Information Dept at their hotel.

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Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

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Responsible Secretary, Tverskaia 48.
Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).**Hounding Communists in Bulgaria.**

Capitalist news agencies wire the European press in all haste from Sofia, that in May 14th, the day of St Cyril and St Methodius, the Communists threw a bomb at a church procession. The crowd formed themselves in two groups and raided two communist clubs. The truth is quite different. For a long time back the Bulgarian Communist Party has been the only political agency to firmly stand in defence of the interests of the workers and poor peasants. The government and the bourgeoisie felt themselves too weak to fight the proletarian party on legal grounds and so had to resort to provocation. The first attempts in this direction were made two years ago during the strike of the postal and railroad workers. Railway bridges and electric plants were blown up, a bomb was thrown on the Odeon Theatre and the former Minister Michail charged for these crimes. But the last provocation engineered at Sofia on May 14th outdid by far all others. A bomb was thrown at a parade of children passing before the office of a communist barrister, Issakoff. This was sufficient for the provocators to lay the bomb throwing at the door of the communists. Instead of persecuting the criminals, the police organised a pogrom and having prepared placards with the motto of "Avenge the Victims", led a group of students and ex-soldiers towards the Communist clubs. This crowd reached the workers circle and after a short fight with the workers there, broke into the local branch, smashed the furniture and burned the party and trade unions banners.

After this "victory", the mob headed for Lion square, where the People's house, the Communist Party, the Co-operative, store "Osvozhdenie", the printing shops of the "Rabotnicheski Vestnik" (The party's central organ) and the communist book store are situated, and aided by the police the provocateurs set these buildings on fire. The workers who rushed to the scene were prevented by the police from organising a fire brigade. The firemen and cavalry who arrived on the spot stood there as mere spectators of this conflagration which was destroying the savings of 20 years, scraped together by the Bulgarian working class under the pretext that bombs were hidden in the cellar of the communists and might explode at any moment. If there had been any explosions they would have been caused by the barrels of petroleum belonging to the Co-operative. The damages were enormous. Property valued at over twelve million liras perished in this fire which destroyed the whole building.

After that fire the police began to hunt down the communists. All the leaders and militants including the veterans of international socialism. The real perpetrator of this crime ran all over the city, chased by two police men, and finally disappeared. Since then all efforts to locate him have proved utterly futile. On the contrary all the ministers and especially Omartchevsky, Minister of Public Education, declared that the mad acts of the communists could no longer be tolerated and that the communist party would be regarded as acting against the constitution.

Though the party organ has been suspended, it found the means of informing the country of what had taken place at Sofia. The entire party is indignant over this criminal assault and has taken up the challenge of the bourgeoisie to fight to the bitter end.

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.

MOSCOW

JULY 1st 1921.

The Ninth Session of the Report of Session The Italian Socialist Party's

The order of business for the morning session of June, 29 called for the continuation of the debate on the Italian question. The following declaration of the Italian Socialist Party was read.

Declaration

by the
Delegates of the Socialist Party of Italy to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

In conformity with the decisions of the Second Congress of Moscow, the Socialist Party of Italy, which had been one of the first to join the Communist International and one of its promoters at the Conventions of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, convened its Congress at Livorno in January 1921 for the purpose of discussing the 21 conditions for affiliation the acceptance of which had become necessary in order to have the right to remain incorporated in the Third International. By an absolute majority the Congress pronounced itself in favour of the following order of business:

"The Socialist Party of Italy deems it necessary to confirm its unity on the basis of the strictest homogeneity of the organisation and its make-up; and to that effect, it demands a system of the strictest centralisation, so that each member and each organisation of the Party should subordinate its action to the general interest and the final goal; the work of propaganda must be centralised, as well as all other activity.

For the same purpose the Congress proposes to adopt all necessary measures in the sphere of trade union action to get the political idea and aim to hold precedence over all casual, temporary or purely professional aims, and that the economic trade union movement should be subordinated to the political party.

In consequence, it recognises that it is indispensable for the Party to preserve its closely welded unity in order that it be enabled the more rapidly to improve conditions and conquer the whole political power. For this acquisition all measures may be adopted, provided they remain within the limits of an absolute class uncompromise, and conform to the objects of the communist revolution which requires the integration of the political and economic work of the Trade Unions. This implies the lawful or illegal organisations of all that may contribute to the masses and lead them on towards revolutionary conquests of all that may serve as a means for conquest or lay the foundations of the organs which shall replace those of the present social order.

Proceeding with the discussion of the relations between the I. S. P. (Italian Socialist Party) and the Communist International, the Congress again confirms its former spontaneous adherence to that international organisation, as well as to the decisions of the recent Moscow Congress. It consequently declares that after the Second Congress, it accepts, in substance, the 21 conditions with the additional clause calling for the exclusion of the freemasons. As far as the execution of the 21 clauses is concerned, it recommends that it should be interpreted according to the existing conditions and the historic exigencies of the country to which they are applied, in accordance with the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as shown in points 16-21, as well as by the procedure already adopted in the case of other countries. It should be understood that, whoever adheres to the principles of the Communist International, should do it willingly and with the firm intention to put them into practice. With regard to the conditions contained in Clause 17, the Congress holds that the Italian Socialist Party has no ground to reproach itself with any betrayal of its principles during the long years of the accursed war. In its desire to prevent the usurpation of the glorious name of the I. S. P., so well known to the proletarian masses, by the deserters of yesterday and of to-morrow, it proposes to the Executive Committee of the International the provisional retention of that name, without, however, making this question an essential condition for the adherence to the Communist International, from which the I. S. P. expects a more sustained and fraternal support in the future.

After the Executive Committee of the Communist International had declared that by this motion, the I. S. P. was excluding itself from the Third International the congress adopted unanimously this motion of Bentivoglio.

The Seventeenth Congress of the Italian Socialist Party confirming once more the decisions through which it signified its adherence to the Third International by accepting unconditionally all essential conditions, protests against the statement of the representative of the Executive Committee who had announced the exclusion of the I. S. P. from the International, which can be based only on differences of opinion with regard to contingent circumstances relating to actual conditions in Italy. Such disagreement could and should be settled in a fraternal and conciliating spirit. Affirming once more its adherence to the Third International, the Congress of the I. S. P. trusts that the next International Congress will elucidate all differences and misunderstandings; and it undertakes forthwith to accept and carry out the decisions of the supreme tribunal.

In conformity with § 9 of the Constitution of the International the delegates of the Socialist Party of Italy are now submitting to the Third Congress of the Communist International the reasons which have caused the majority of the Congress to adopt the above mentioned decisions:

1. The Congress of the Socialist Party of Italy has not infringed upon the international discipline, as it accepts fully and explicitly all the 21 conditions. The Order of Business says expressly that the 21 conditions are accepted essentially and fully. The congress of the Socialist Party of Italy had only put two questions to the Executive Committee asking it to discuss and solve them by mutual agreement. They concern the methods to be resorted to for the exclusion of the reformist and the adoption of the new name, that of the Communist Party.

2. In regard to the exclusion of the reformists the Congress of Livorno in its majority raised no objection. The Socialist Party of Italy is able to refer to its rigid tradition dating to the times prior even to the formation of the Communist International. In 1912, the reformists Bissolati, Bonorri, Cabrini, Podreca and others, were excluded from the Party for having violated the discipline and tactics of the Socialist Party of Italy; in 1914 it was decided to exclude the Free Masons whose pernicious work within the socialist organisations was driving the latter towards the collaboration of classes or into the extreme left wing blocks; in 1915 the partisans of the war were also excluded from the party. The majority of the Party never concealed the fact that the same element which had remained in the Party still continued in spite of their promise to respect the discipline, to favour a policy of compromise which was in no wise in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the militant members and had caused digressions several times. This is certainly prejudicial to the activities of the party and presents a danger for its future. It is necessary certainly to eliminate this danger. But one must know how to choose the moment and the methods for carrying out this operation. It is only on this point that the discord has shown itself. A group of comrades who have called themselves "Pure Communists" insisted at the Congress of Livorno that it was necessary to proceed immediately to the expulsion of the reformists, whereas the majority did not consider the moment to be a favourable one, in the sense that that the working masses did not seem to have a clear conception of the necessity for such drastic measures.

This manner of considering the situation might give rise to discussion and adverse opinion but does not constitute an infraction of international discipline. During the period which preceded the convocation of the First Communist Congress, it has been stated clearly that the elimination of the reformist and centrist elements becomes absolutely necessary when a certain phase of the struggle is reached involving an examination of the conditions influencing the action of a Party at a given moment. Likewise, the same First Congress of the Communist International in the Thesis relating to the policy towards other socialist tendencies, decided that the organic scission was a historic necessity

and that it is up to the communists of different countries to determine the exact moment when such scission should be effected in accordance with the degree of development attained by their country. The point of view on the coordination of the Communist tactics was confirmed by the Second Congress, since § 16 of the conditions stipulate that the Executive shall have to consider the various conditions in which the each Party is compelled to work and to struggle.

Basing itself on the great number of facts with which it considered itself to be thoroughly familiar, the majority of the Socialist Party of Italy considered that, in the interest of the Italian proletariat, the scission should not be effected immediately. The Party and the working masses were still under the impression of the September events when the seizure of the factories was undertaken with the absolute consent of the fractions of the Party: this seizure had not led to a revolution, not because the opinions on the subject had been divided, but because the working masses did not dispose of the necessary technical preparation or of sufficient forces to pass over to an offensive against the forces of the army and the police mobilised by the government. The National Council of the General Confederation of Labour made a statement to this effect; and this opinion was supported by several delegates from Turin, a town which from a technical point of view, seemed best armed for the fight.

The leadership of the party, consisting in its majority of members who ultimately passed into the phalanx of "pure Communists", proved itself to be sufficiently irresolute and unprepared at the start and during the whole period of the movement, in the same way as it had shown its lack of self confidence when the reactionaries burnt down the offices of the "Avanti" and when the revolt broke out in Ancona; later on, the events in Bologna (November 1920) were to take it unawares without impelling it to decisive action. On the occasion of the seizure of the factories the Communist leaders did not venture to encourage the development of the movement, notwithstanding the powers of attorney which they had received from the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour, and they offered no opposition to its peaceful ending.

Moreover, one must bear in mind that in the eyes of the thoughtless masses the arguments of the right wingers of the I. S. P. have every appearance of logic. They have opposed the war, they have adhered to Zimmerwald as well as the Communist International, they have stood up for the Russian Revolution, they have approved the seizure of the workshops, and though they havenot advocated the extension of this movement it can be said that other Communist parties have not done more. In the trade unions they hold important posts and possess the complete confidence of their electors. It would be very difficult to move them from these entrenched positions.

On the other hand, the chief culprits in the recent split, those "purists" who deemed themselves numerous enough and clever enough for the assumption of the entire leadership of the political and Trade Union movement have been up to now profuse in their promises while their performances on the political and economic field have been in the nature of disastrous adventures.

All these facts have influenced the majority in Livorno, and were a determining factor in its attitude and its vote. All these facts have been submitted to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and have now been put before the International Congress in order to demonstrate to it, that in our policy we were inspired by very serious political considerations, and not by any substantial divergencies of opinion, in matters of tactics or principle, nor by the paltry wish to shield individuals or groups.

The delegates of other nations have already condemned in unequivocal terms, before the congress, the ill advised and irregular action which has led to the Livorno split. In Italy the fact most of the Trade Unions were in agreement with the majority of the Socialist Party, and also, the fact that several minorities which had followed the "purists" at the congress of Livorno are now returning to the I. S. P. are sufficient proof that the Livorno majority was right.

JULY 1st 1921.

Third Congress of the Comintern

of June 29th.

Declaration — the German Question.

I believe that we have presented a true picture of the controversy which this congress is called upon to decide.

As far as the name of the party is concerned the Livorno resolution on this subject does not require further comments. It shows clearly that the reasons formulated by the International cannot be applied in a general sense to the I. S. P. If the attitude of the I. S. P. during the war can be declared tainted with social patriotism then we can boldly say that compared to it no other party in the world can be considered worth of sitting in the Third International. By the Entovoglo motion the I. S. P. definitely laid down its line of conduct. It will not tolerate any deviation from the principle of the class struggle and it will condemn as it always did all collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The administrative Council of the I. S. P. has already decided to convene another Congress, at which this problem will be discussed with all due consideration to the difficult political and economic circumstances of the period. The place of the I. S. P. will be always with the revolution, and never against the revolution.

When the declaration of the Italian Socialist Party had been read, Comrade Maffi was given the floor.

The speaker began by pointing out that after Lazzari's exhaustive speech and Lenin's address he had nothing more to say. He wished however to expose Prof. Gennari's "mystification" in bringing over here scraps of truth across thousands of miles, which, of course, can prove anything you please. Gennari was himself secretary of the party, but failed to suspend Turatti's magazine which he has here attacked so fiercely. This is simply due to the fact that, no matter who was secretary, the Italian Party always did the right thing and the same thing all the time. The speaker further in the same way refuted the rest of Gennari's statements. (A continuous volley of counter-refutations are fired at him from the seats).

The Italian Party at its Livorno Convention, Maffi continued, decided to abide by any decision of the Comintern, and he also guaranteed that at the next party convention he would vote for any decision of the Congress, whatever its nature might be, but he could not do the same as regards his friends as he had no instructions to that effect. He therefore thought there was no ground for excluding the Italian Socialist Party from the Comintern.

Comrade Rakovsky spoke. He referred to the difficult position that had arisen in Italy. The division of the forces of the proletariat had enabled the bourgeoisie to commence an open and savage offensive against the working class. To lay the responsibility for this at the door of the communists who remained true to their word given at the Second Congress, would not be just. Italian reformism can claim to be elder than the German. It poisoned the party during the war. When the speaker was being persecuted as a German agent by the Italian Press, "Avanti" did not come to his defence. The presence of the reformists made it impossible for the Italian to conduct an honourable revolutionary policy. It may be said that the Entente employed less diplomacy to draw Italy into the war than the Italian Party employed to conceal the affair of Turatti. To do Turatti justice, he did not betray his past, he remained the same reformist and nationalist that he always was. He was an enemy of the Russian Revolution. The Russian is not called upon to refute the calumnies of the reformists, but these calumnies, drop by drop, poison the hearts of the Italian proletariat. It pictures revolution to it as some form of marriage ceremony without terror and without starvation. For a whole year, Serrati, in order to defend Turatti, has developed a special theory. He claims that Turatti is a better communist than the Comintern on the agrarian and national questions, and on the question of tactics in England and America. For this purpose all conceptions of time and a space are abandoned, and a sort of abstract communist party is developed. In this theory England and the United States are placed on the same plane and Italian conditions are transplanted to England. All this is done to justify the presence of Turatti. D'Arragona it is true is a reformist, but

then he is so popular in Confederation of Labour Turatti perhaps, is a bad communist, but he is an excellent parliamentary strategist. A theory of unity was evolved why did not Lazzari think of unity at Berne, Kienthal and Zimmerwald? If to the principle of unity is so general and abstract, the notorious Bureau of the Second International should not have been broken up; and should the break with the Scheidemannists and the Independents have been approved. But Italy seems to represent an exception to all countries. They seem to have here a sort of original nationalist communism. This by — the — bye is a customary argument for all opportunists. The French opportunists said that the Germans were nationalists, and that Renaudel was the best guardian of Socialist beliefs.

The German opportunists said the French were opportunists, and they were the best pupils of Marx, this is an old story. The Italians with their theory may acquire ministers, but they can never make a revolution with them. One can excellently sabotage the movement of the Metal Workers with men like D'Aragona and Regeli, but one cannot make a revolution with a party which strives to conceal the difference between the leaders. All that can be done with this is to destroy the faith of the working class in their own strength and one cannot make revolution that way. We ask the Italians what they are doing, and whither they are going. Are they going with the revolutionary proletariat into the Communist International or will they return to Vienna or Amsterdam. Perhaps they will create a Two and Three Quarters' International, but they themselves have written too much against the Scheidemannists, against the Independents, and against the French opportunists, and on the day that you propose to the Italian proletariat to return to these, they will abandon you. The Italian comrade said here that the Livorno Congress resolved to submit to the Third Congress whatever its decision may be. They must merely declare here before the united proletariat, before its best representatives that they, the Italian Party, will unreservedly accept the decision of the world proletariat gathered at its Third Congress here in Moscow.

Comrade Zetkin followed Comrade Rakovsky.

"The present situation of the Italian working class, she said, demands the creation of a single, united Communist Party not only by the Italian Party but by the entire world proletariat. We have already seen how the Italian bourgeoisie treated its proletariat with the sword. Force must be met by force. I am of the opinion that the unitarian group of the Italian Socialist Party should closely unite with the communists and present a single revolutionary front against the bourgeoisie. The party, however, in spite of the decisions at Livorno has done very little in this direction".

Comrade Zetkin then dealt with the 50,000 lira sent to the Italian Trade Unions from Amsterdam. It must be made clear to the Italian working class—she said—that this money comes from the traitors of the working class and socialism and from the Scheidemannists whose hands are stained with the blood of 20,000 German workers. This present was not sent with the object of expressing the international solidarity of the working class but with the object of undermining the faith of the workers in the Red Trade Union International. How did "Avanti" regard this gift? It was jubilant and lauded the solidarity of the working class. "It was time to say Stop" said Comrade Zetkin. Such a party is no longer admissible. Until the Italian Party is cleared of Turatti and his politics, it and the communists will be between the anvil and the hammer of the bourgeoisie. It is clear that he who shields the reformism of Turatti helps the bourgeoisie and goes against the interests of the working class. The III Congress must declare to the Italian working class that it must reject Turatti and all groups with similar tendencies. The Congress must show our comrades, the Italian communists, the correct procedure of fighting. The Congress must say to comrades Lazzari and Maffi that the International solidarity of the working class behoves them to explain the truth of the Congress to the Italian working class and to be honest cooperators in the gathering and co-ordinating the strength of the Italian proletariat. In order to enlighten and

intensify the consciousness of the Italian working class one must be an internationalist and not a nationalist. (Applause).

Comrade Trotsky followed Comrade Zetkin. He said:

"I am not going to deal with the history of the Italian party after Comrade Lazzari has spoken. I merely wish to analyse its present situation. To all outward appearances the party carried an revolutionary propaganda not taking into account the consequences. The September incidents were a result of this propaganda. And what did the Italian Party do, when the workers materialised this revolutionary propaganda and as a result arrived at serious and practical conclusions? The party deserted them. It refused to lead the movement and hence rendered the results of its work null and void. The workers should have regarded this propaganda with suspicion and Turatti took an unprecedented advantage of it. He was able to demonstrate to the workers that revolutionary propaganda leads one to no good results. You tried and found out for yourselves, he said. Therefore revolutionary propaganda is futile. Such was the outcome of the September affair. You only spoke in terms of revolutionary phraseology which proved to be nothing but empty words. You disorganised the working class and refused to face the consequences of your own propaganda after it materialised.

Serrati always supported the idea of a concentration of forces. He wished to found a party which would consist of reformists, centrists and communists. He brought this idea forward under the guise of uniting all the revolutionary forces for a successful co-operation. But is it possible to have a co-ordination of the forces of all revolutionary elements which do not consider the revolution as the outcome of their activities. You cannot seriously say that Turatti wants a revolution when he speaks and writes against the very idea of revolution. In practice the idea of co-ordinating forces came to altogether contradictory consequences. You caused the workers to lose this faith in the party, in revolutionary propaganda and the idea that it really wants a revolution. And now the young Communist Party of Italy will have to work very energetically in order to regain the faith of the Italian proletariat. Instead of a co-ordination of forces in the name of the revolution, the whole party, from its leaders to its press drifted to the right. You say that Turatti submits to party discipline. But often this submission is only a formality. We communists submit ourselves to bourgeois discipline in a bourgeois society, but we submit and still struggle to create our illegal organisations and try to do away with the necessity of such a submission. Turatti obeys the discipline of your party in similar manner. He creates his own illegal organisation. He publishes his own press which mocks you, in order to remove the bounds of this discipline and the away with the necessity of having to submit to it.

It is not at all essential that Turatti should enter parliament Turatti is no longer a mere careerist whose sole aim is the possession of a ministerial portfolio. If such were proposed to him he would undoubtedly answer: "What use is your portfolio? I may lose it and the faith of the working class at the first ministerial crisis. Keep your portfolio, I will stay in my party and remain and work in the ranks of democracy." Turatti is a clever and experienced politician, and is no more chance figure with but little significance in the party of whose ranks he is a member.

You said, when quotations were taken from Turatti's writings and speeches, that this was his own personal opinion and had no connection with the party. Just imagine Giolitti ringing up Turatti and saying whilst we are struggling here; "Turatti, is it not dangerous that Lazzari has gone to Moscow and may give the show away?" and Turatti answering, "That is Lazzari's own personal affair and the party does not answer for him". You know well enough that Giolitti would not be fooled by such an answer. Why then do you try to convince us that all that which Turatti does or says is of no consequence to your party.

You mentioned your enthusiasm with what the Communist Party had done in Soviet Russia. This is a very delicate argument. I am not only speaking of you here but am referring to all foreigners.

You witnessed the Red Army parade, but you ought to see our children who are hungry. Poverty reigns here, a colossal national poverty. And if he, who is so full of enthusiasm over Soviet Russia, becomes disappointed at our poverty, then he is not a communist.

He who uses the against us, is our avowed enemy. Turatti acts thus. He says, that Soviet Russia, uses the International as a weapon, by the aid of which she hopes to bring about the revolution everywhere in order to save herself. Certainly, we all wish to see the Revolution accomplished as soon as possible everywhere. But what Turatti says about us, is the most malicious lie of our enemies, because if we really wanted a revolution in your country, to save ourselves without taking into consideration the conditions prevailing then we deserve to be shot. Do you then want the executioner and his victim to be in the same International? We, in poor backward Russia drove in the first pile of International Revolution, and we are defending it with all our might. Had Germany, France, and Italy, erected such another, the significance of the Russian Revolution for International Revolution would have increased 90%. We would have been inexpressibly glad, and would have defended the pillar with all the energy in our might. Unfortunately the time is not yet come, but until then our pillar is also yours, and must also defend it to the best of your ability. Turatti said, that our International is a fantastic International, but to me, after listening to your speeches, and the discussion on them, it seems that Turatti's presence at our International would be an anomaly.

Comrade Loriot followed, he said: "Defending his party, comrade Lazzari spoke all the time of its splendid past. I must confirm that none of us forgot the services rendered by the Italian Party. During the war, in Zimmerwald, our Left Wing, very often had the support of that Party. But Martoff, and Medein also participated in Zimmerwald.

We must not judge from the historical point of view, but on its merits of that efficacy of the present moment. Here is the parallel that comrade Lazzari tried to draw an analogy between the Italian and the French Socialist Parties, to our disadvantage.

It is wrong for you to follow Serrati's example, at the Livorno Congress, and to accuse the French Party. Our Party was criticised at that Congress and its weak sides were indicated. We accept the criticism knowing that the French Party has as yet indefinite communistic elements and reformism. But can any one throw the general charge of opportunism against our Party? To the question as to whether the French Party is on the road to revolution, we must reply yes, and although, it is weak as yet to counteract the French bourgeoisie, it possesses a revolutionary will and energy. On the other hand, the Italian Party is on the road to counter-revolution. Much was said here about Turatti. The importance lies not in Turatti alone, but in that the entire Italian Socialist Party is imbued with the spirit of opportunism. What are the experiences of our French Party? What became after the split, of Paul Faure, Mistral Longuet and others? They are working with the "Populaire" and its main inspirer Leon Blum, who is a direct supporter of the bourgeoisie. He is influencing the politics of the Longuet followers. He bound them hand and foot and is pulling them into the abyss of the Social traitors. They are sliding down an inclined plane against their own will. Also in your Party, comrade Lazzari Serrati is exploited by all the social traitors and is sliding upon the same inclined plane, which will bring them all to an unconditional collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Take for instance, your Alexandro. He is now a steady collaborator of the "Populaire". Those of you, who are honest and devoted to the cause of the revolution, must break completely with the reformists. This alone will be your great service to the world's revolution.

Comrade Lozovsky said: "The representatives of the Socialist Party of Italy", pointed out here that the policy of the Party coincides with the policy of the Confederation of Labour. This is not exact — at the Livorno Congress a resolution was adopted in pursuance of which the confederation of labour should have left the Amsterdam International and joined the International Council of Red Trade Unions. What has the Confederation of Labour done? Has it joined the International Council of Red Trade Unions. No, on the contrary, it comes nearer and nearer to Amsterdam. The Italian Confederation of Labour asked Amsterdam to assist it in its struggle against the Fascists. It received 50,000 liras from Amsterdam. The workers of Italy should know that those who have sent them

Continued on following page.

The German and Italian Questions.

Continued from previous page.

that money are the allies of the manufacturers of Italy and other countries. Recently we received a suggestion from the Italian Confederation of Labour to convene a Congress of Red Trade Unions at Stockholm or at Brno. We could not understand such proposal and answered that it was impossible for us to bring this about. However, yesterday, we received a letter from D'Aragona, which explains to us why they were anxious to convene the congress at Stockholm or Brno. The letter stated that the delegates must be guaranteed. It means that D'Aragona expects better guarantees for the delegates of the congress from the bourgeois governments of Sweden and Estonia, than from Red Revolutionary Moscow. This letter is very "diplomatic", but not clever and shows clearly that they wish to remain in the Amsterdam International.

After Livorno, — continued Lozovsky, — "the party has ever been slipping to the right. I warn you comrades of the Italian Socialist Party against these errors and the hidden intentions of the Italian Confederation of Labour."

In the name of the Ukrainian delegation comrade Rakovsky proposed to end the debate, as the question was now sufficiently clear and nothing new is likely to be said.

Comrade Kiron in the name of nine delegations read the following resolution on the report of the E. C.

Resolution of the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Congress takes note of the report of the Executive Committee observes with satisfaction that the policy and activities of the Executive during the past year have been directed towards the carrying out of the resolutions of the Second Congress. The Congress approves especially of the application of the 21 conditions laid down by the Second Congress in the different countries and sections, also the work of the Executive, directed towards the formation of large Communist mass-parties and the relentless struggle against the opportunist tendencies which revealed themselves in these parties.

In Italy the attitude of the group of leaders around Serafini, immediately after the Second World Congress, showed that he did not take the resolutions of the World Congress and the Communist International seriously. The role played by this group of leaders during the September struggle, its conduct in Livorno and still more its policy since that time have proved clearly that he and his partisans only wish to use Communism as a shield for their opportunist policy. The split was inevitable under such conditions. The Congress approves of the fact that in this case, which is one of fundamental importance, the Executive has acted with firmness and decision. It sanctioned the resolution of the Executive Committee which at the time recognised the Communist Party of Italy to be the only Communist section in that country.

In Germany the party conference of the U. S. P. U. in Halle was the consequence of the resolutions of the Second World Congress which in their turn were based on the development of the labour movement. The work of the Executive was directed towards the formation of a strong Communist Party in Germany, and experience has proved that this policy was the correct one. The Congress approves, completely, of the attitude of the Executive towards the events within the V. K. P. D.

It expresses the hope that the policy applied today in enforcing the fundamental principles of international revolutionary discipline will be followed by the Executive Committee in the future.

The acceptance of the K. A. P. D. as a sympathising party of the Communist International had for its aim the placing of the K. A. P. D. on its trial, and to ascertain if it would adapt itself to the requirements of the Communist International. This period of trial should suffice, and the K. A. P. D. should be required to join the V. K. P. D. within a set period or, otherwise the V. A. P. D. is to be excluded as a sympathising party of the Communist International.

The Congress approves of the manner in which the Executive applied the 21 conditions to the French party. By its tactics it has succeeded in getting the labouring masses, which are tending towards Communism, away from the Lounget opportunist and centrists and to promote their development towards

Communism. The Congress trusts that the Executive will do its utmost for the furtherance of an active and class conscious Communist Party.

In Czecho-Slovakia the Executive has followed up with great patience and tact the revolutionary development of a proletariat which has already given proof of its determination and readiness to take a share in the revolutionary struggle. The Congress approves of the decision of the Executive to accept the Czech Communist party as a member of the Communist International. The Congress trusts that the Executive will insist that the 21 conditions be unswervingly carried out by the Czech Communist Party, and that a united Communist party be formed comprising all the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia with a purely Communist program under firm Communist leadership and on a centralised basis, and also that the trade unions of that country should be speedily and decisively won over, and united internationally in the great proletarian movement.

Finally the Congress repudiates the objections which have been raised by the open and disguised adversaries of Communism against a vigorous international centralisation of the Communist movement. It expresses its deep conviction that all the parties will send their best forces to the Executive, and thereby bring about a still more militant political central leadership which is necessary for the indissoluble union of the affiliated Communist parties. The lack of such a leadership made itself felt for instance, in the unemployment and reparation questions in which the Executive did not act promptly and effectively. The Congress expects that, with the strengthened collaboration of the affiliated parties for the organisation of a better contact apparatus, and with the collaboration of the parties in the Executive, the latter will be able to fulfil its ever increasing tasks on a still larger scale than it has done hitherto.

- The delegations of the
- C. P. of Italy
- C. P. of Bulgaria.
- C. P. of Germany.
- C. P. of Norway.
- C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia (German Section).
- C. P. of Hungary.
- C. P. of Austria.
- C. P. of Switzerland.
- C. P. of Rumania.
- The International of Youth.

Comrade Loriot in the name of the French Delegation said that they did not sign the last resolution because the German question, split into the question of the March events, and the C. L. P. G. was not discussed as a whole like the Italian question. The French delegation hoped that the March events will be discussed by a special committee and it is also necessary that the delegations be given the opportunity of discussing the means of regulating co-operation between the C. L. P. G. and the U. G. C. P. Therefore, they proposed that this discussion end, but the voting to be postponed till the work of the committee, mentioned above be completed.

Comrade Sax, for the C. L. P. G. supported the French proposal. They proposed that the resolution be voted upon in sections and to include in this report, a clause defining their attitude to the C. L. P. G. Radek and Zinoviev energetically opposed the French proposal. Zinoviev said it was either a misunderstanding or a hidden insult to the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Roland Holst, on behalf of the minority of the Dutch Delegation, supported the C. L. P. G. and called upon the Congress not to reject this party, which called forth a retort from Comrade Radek about the injured innocence of the C. L. P. G. At the same time the debate was further involved by the opposition of the V. C. P. G. (adherents of Levi) who at first opposed the French proposal but supported it after the retort of Heckert and Zinoviev, who in turn declared that the lack of faith expressed in the Executive Committee was but the judgement of Levi. The conduct of the opposition of the V. C. P. G. was severely rebuked by comrade Radek. The French Delegation then asked for an interval of ten minutes.

After that interval comrade Loriot said on behalf of the French Delegation, they withdrew their statement and would vote on the aforementioned resolution, protesting at the same time against the idea that the French delegation wished to express its distrust in the Executive

Committee by means of its former proposal.

Comrade Zinoviev was then allowed to make the final statement, but limited himself to a short speech on account of illness.

Comrade Zinoviev said that, on the whole, the Executive Committee of the Comintern was not criticized much. As for Italy he had nothing to add. This question had been sufficiently discussed by comrades Lenin, Genarri, Rakovsky, Zetkin and others. He gladly supported what comrade Zetkin had said on the Italian question, her speech differing little from the attitude taken up by the Executive Committee. Then Comrade Zinoviev quoted the article of Kurt Geher, published in Levi's paper 'Sovjet' which said that the defeat suffered by the Italian Communist Party during the elections, was a defeat for the Executive of the Comintern. This was not true. The young Communist Party of Italy, although surrounded on every side by enemies, received 13 mandates. This did not mean a defeat. Even if it was defeated this did not signify a blow to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Comrade Zetkin told us in her speech on the Italian question, that caused her to leave the Executive Committee, that she had no orders from the Executive Committee, but she could have warned the Executive Committee by a letter, as she was in Moscow. This shows that she was not correct. The representatives of the C. L. P. G. said that it was not easy for them to agree with the proposal of the Comintern but they cooperate with the U. C. P. G. Neither is it easy for us. We do not wish to lose them, but we cannot permit a breach in our program. We have waited till now, we can wait another three months. But after this they must decide. Comrade Markovitch, representative of the Yugo-Slovenians did not deny my statement there very many with centrist tendencies in their Party. I must tell him, that at the conference which I had with the Yugo-Slovenian delegates, they did not agree with the opinion of the Comintern towards the Italian and German questions.

"Comrade Zetkin," continued Zinoviev, "said that the delegates were sent abroad without success and conducted themselves irresponsibly. I must say that they did as much as they possibly could. One must not forget that although Serafini called them the representatives of the Cardinals and Levi called them the representatives of Turkestan, comrade Zetkin, at any rate, should not call them irresponsible, as the Executive Committee of the Comintern answers for them. We ask other parties to give us that most active and experienced comrades to help us in the Executive Committee, and for sending to other countries.

We will now proceed with the voting on the resolution, which include voting on the questions of Halle, the exclusion of Levi, and the opposition group of the V. C. P. G. together with the March rising, after the discussion on tactics. But the German opposition, I must say, should look to the future and not on the past. Levi may be their personal friend, but the Comintern and the interests of the proletariat should be placed first. (Applause.)

The Congress then proceeded to vote on the aforementioned resolution, which was unanimously agreed upon and was followed by loud and continued applause, ending with the singing of the International.

Notice

to Woodworker delegates to the Congresses of the Comintern and of the International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The Central Committee of the All Russian Union of Woodworkers is calling a conference of all the Woodworkers Delegates to the III Congress of the Comintern, or to the Congress of International of the Trade and Industrial Unions for the purpose of establishing an International Organisation of propaganda among the revolutionary Woodworkers.

The Conference will be held on Friday, July the 1st at 12 o'clock noon sharp at the Headquarters of the Central Committee, Leontievsky pereoulok № 13, room 3.

In view of the importance of the question, all the woodworkers delegates are requested to attend.

Presidium of the All Russian Union of Woodworkers.

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.

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.

Notice.

The delegates are notified that there is an assistant of the Organisation and Information Department of the of the Comintern always on duty in HOTEL LUXE Room 2 from whom all enquiries can be had relating to the Department.

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the position to follow the weak, chilly, shally, and evasive makeshifts displayed by the leaders of this group in trade-union and parliamentary action in face of the general trend of the Belgian Labor Party, asks himself this question.

What the motives which these gentry outside the frame of their unconscious and passive opposition and ultimately led them to constitute themselves into a Communist Party, where *clearness, action and sacrifice* are the three necessary requisites?

In their "statement of motives" we note already the obscure character of their opportunism, which will, perhaps, be aggravated still more by difficult situations created in the party.

We regard this present statement as sufficient, but we lay insistent stress upon the fact that we are dealing with a group of "opposition elements of various creeds", but not with a group drifting into the communist camp, through the sheer force of close battle or, in the process of theoretical evolution.

This statement is not dictated by any considerations of mere formality. It is entirely immaterial to us which party will be "the Communist Party", provided there is a solid and fighting organisation serving the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and capable of leading us to Communist victory.

We are always ready, as our Communist duty dictates, to produce the proofs and to bear out what we say here.

We submit the above to the judgement of our comrades of the International.

With Communist greetings.

The Executive Committee of the Belgian Communist Party. (Section of III International).

(From the "Ouvrier Communiste" of June 11).