



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

German Debate.

I have been informed that Comrade Friesland, in a speech at the congress, made the allegation that I sabotaged the March rising. As evidence of his allegation, he declares that I rode from factory to factory in an automobile, without actively participating in the struggle.

These assertions compel me to make the following statement:
On the first day of the strike, I, together with two other comrades, rode to those works, the participation of which was of decisive importance for the success of the strike. I took these measures on the basis of the experiences I had gained in many of the revolutionary struggles of the Berlin proletariat. Since 1916, I have been, with only three exceptions, chairman of the strike leaders' councils in all the revolutionary combats, and I have repeatedly done that which Comrade Friesland pleases to characterize as a "crime". To the extent that I was at all able to do so during this inspection trip, I called upon the workers to join the strike.

I was also in a position to inform a member of the Central Committee of the proportions which the strike had assumed. This member reported my information at a session of the Central Committee held soon after, whereas Comrade Friesland, chairman of the Berlin Executive Committee of the party, who also took part in the above session, was unable to submit any information about the strike. The Central Committee would have been able to avoid many later mistakes, if it had arranged to obtain quick, reliable news, or had made use of my information.

I must further declare that, up to the moment of the calling off of the strike, I fulfilled my duty as chairman of the National Trade Union Central Committee, even when such was very difficult, on account of the fact that it later became impossible to reach the Central Committee.

Richard Müller.

A DECLARATION.

In "Moscow", official organ of the Third Congress of the Comintern, No 27, there is a report of my speech at the congress on the report delivered by Comrade Zinoviev. This report is not true, for it places a construction upon what I have said, which I must protest against. According to the report, I am quoted to have said, among other things:

"If the Executive Committee had come to Germany after the revolt, and after acquainting itself, on the spot, with the situation and the details, had then said: 'Yes, we acted rightly', we would not have been able to do otherwise than submit".

As a matter of fact, I pointed out the new theory of the Central Committee, which was rejected by Zinoviev as well, and corrected Zinoviev's assertion that half a million workers had participated in the strike, with the actual figures from every district. I only referred to the remark of the Executive Committee, "Workers, you have acted properly"; to show how the Central Committee of the V. K. P. D. utilised this remark to cover and propagate its new theories.

Although I can understand why the concrete facts concerning the March revolt, which I submitted, were not accepted, notwithstanding they are a matter of general knowledge in Germany, I must nevertheless protest against any attempt to put words into my mouth which I never dreamed of uttering.

H. Malzahn,
V. K. P. D. Germany.

According to the stenographic report, lying before us, we are in a position to state that the text of the report in our paper entirely corresponded to the utterances of Comrade Malzahn. He said verbatim:

"I also believe that if Comrade Zinoviev had been in Germany, he would not have been able to act otherwise than we did, and would not have considered the question differently".

The reports in our paper are made by absolutely impartial reporters, and therefore the editors decidedly resent the insinuation that the speeches at the congress are reported incorrectly or in a mutilated form.

EDITOR.

ENGLAND.

Strike Settled.

Stockholm, June 28. According to official news from London the Miners' Strike ended on Tuesday.

Miners Strike Negotiations.

Nauen, June 28. Negotiations between the English coal miners and owners have advanced forward so rapidly, that the signing of the agreement is expected on July 4th. The German Press declares that the owners will be obliged to concede practically all the chief demands of the miners.

FRANCE.

A "Red Assassinated".

June 9th at 1:30 p. m. an unknown man killed the President of the Red Barber's Union by revolver shot in Paralelo Street. (L'Humanité of June 10th).

Revolution Making Headway in Alsace-Lorraine.

Comrade Aubertin in "Humanité" of June 10th writes:

"In the wake of the old class of capitalists and German squires we have now a gang on predatory capitalists and republican pirates. The proletariat has only changed masters".

"Industry, formerly flourishing, is today paralysed. Only 15 of the 75 blast-furnaces are still running. One third of the employees were ousted and replaced by outsiders of less value. Natives constantly hounded, emigrate by thousands. People anxiously ask themselves how experienced workers will be found in case industry unexpectedly revives".

"All remember what took place in the October strike of 1919 and the April strike in 1920. French cavalry in the pay of capital charged the crowd, women and children, with drawn swords. I remember one bulky Algerian black-guard goading with his bayonet a peaceful citizen to his very house-door. I see before me the dazed figure of a hoary old man who formerly fought in the army of the Loire, saying to me — 'God! It is no longer the France I knew in 1870'. No wonder, the working class in this part of France, betrayed on one side and deceived on the other, finding themselves without a country, disowned by the native bourgeoisie, are driven to look to Moscow. This is why the searching gaze of citizen Cachin has detected in these working masses before him the vanguard of the Revolution".

"It will be an up-hill job, we admit, but what is sure is the fact that no one doubts the final success. But to bring this gigantic battle along the whole front to a successful end, it is imperative that this vanguard should be backed up by the moral support of the whole Communist of France, so as to resist the impudent bourgeois press in its obstinate and systematic attempts to daub the whole movement as anti-national and separatist".

"However, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party is the butt of the attack on the part of the Briand forces and a host of speculators of every calibre, one thought consoles us amidst the present and potential vicissitudes, and this is that the capitalist horde hacked by its salaried magnates and its "sky-pilots", by its own reactionary and chauvinistic tactics hurls the still indifferent proletariat into the furnace of Revolution".

General Strike in Saragossa.

June 8th a general strike was called at Saragossa to protest against the prosecution of two syndicalists charged with double murder. The accused were acquitted this afternoon. When they left the court-room a gendarme and a soldier was wounded by a revolver shot. The gendarmerie charged.

LATVIA.

The Secret Police at Work.

"Nyanakas Zingas" June, 27th reports that the Latvian Government continues to hunt for the remaining "terrorists" suspected of having connection with the affairs of executed Communists, but so far without results.

The White Terror continues.

Riga, June 27th. "Latvian Karevis" of June, 26th communicates that the editor of the "Social Demokrasi" is to be tried for an article in which it is stated that the death sentence on Braun is unjust.

An interview with Meyerovitz.

Riga, June 26th. The President of the Latvian Cabinet, in an interview with the representatives of the Press, touching on the relations with Russia, remarked that after the deportation to Russia on June 9th of 97 citizens, without the preliminary agreement of the Russian Government, the relations between the latter and the Latvian Government have become decidedly cool. Diplomatic relations, however, will not be broken off. In future deportations will only be carried out with the consent of the Russian Government. In connection with the execution of communists, it must be stated, that the persons concerned offered armed resistance when they were pursued. On the conclusion of a convention between Russia and Latvia on optation and the extradition of criminals, the possibility of such incidents will be removed in the future. The convention on optation will probably be concluded in the very near future. As regards the Latvian-Russian economic relations, a great deal has been said, but very little done. The Government will give its most serious attention to this question, and one can expect that in the absence of above named incidents, that the questions of transit will also be decided. Meetings of Latvian and Russian representatives to discuss economic questions will commence next week.

The minister further declared: "After the meeting of the Latvia and Estonia, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, Pundskuss, the task of creating an Alliance of the Baltic States assumed a more concrete form.

Now the Latvian Government will approach to the conclusion of like agreements, with Lithuania and Estonia. It is proposed to unite in the Baltic Entente, Latvia, Estonia and Finland. As regards Poland, it is thought inadvisable to conclude an alliance between five States at once, but there are a number of economic questions on which we could agree with Poland. The particular position of Finland is defined in that her economic position is incomparably better, therefore, an immediate alliance for her is not profitable from the economic point of view. Negotiations for the conclusion of a preliminary agreement are being conducted between the Estonia and Lithuanian Governments. Asked about the agreement with Ukraine, Meyerovitz replied, that the Latvian-Ukrainian agreement was delayed, as a consequence of Government crisis.

TURKEY.

Victory of the Turks.

Nauen, June 28th. It is communicated from Constantinople that the Turks secured victory over the Greeks in the districts of Ismida and Smyrna.

A Warning.

Berlin, June 27th. "Temps" reports that a strong opposition is growing in India against any British interference in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The leaders of the Kallifat are even reported to have threatened the proclamation of an Indian Republic if England in any way continues her hostile policy towards Angora, even if indirectly through the Greeks.

GERMANY.

Bourgeoisie Satisfied.

Berlin, June 28th. The speeches of the Italian party leaders in parliament have become the centre of popular interest. The speech of Turatti, leader of the Social-reformers surpassed all the expectations of the bourgeoisie. The sudden orientation of Turatti's right group has not only put it on a par with the National Catholic Party but has even allowed it to take a conciliatory attitude towards the Fascisti. Speaking on the possibility of taking part in a socialist coalition government, and co-operating with the bourgeois bloc, Turatti said that the socialists would adopt a favourable attitude towards the government. Turatti's speech was enthusiastically received by the bourgeois.

Radek not in Germany.

Berlin, June 28. Wolff's bureau completely repudiates the statement of the right German newspapers that Radek has lately arrived in Berlin.

Prisoners on Hunger Strike.

Riga, June 27th. "Rohte Fahne" communicates from Budapest, that the political prisoners in the local prison have declared a hunger strike as a consequence of the violence committed by the Prison Authorities.

Coal Shortage in Germany.

Nauen, June 28th. From all over Germany there are reports of the great shortage of coal owing to cessation of transport from Upper Silesia and supplies from the Entente only. The gas works of Germany get just the bare minimum of the necessary coal. Internal navigation has decreased to half the normal rate. The transport of food products to the centres is greatly hampered. Should such a condition be prolonged, the country will be faced with a catastrophe; The condition of industry, where there can be no question of obtaining coal from the Ruhr basin is particularly difficult.

POLAND.

The Usual Provocation.

Warsaw 28.6. Yesterday the police in Warsaw made a raid on the delegates and visitors to the Co-Operative Congress. Ten arrests were made. Newspapers report that the raid is entirely due to the provocative articles in the "Rabotnik" which accused the communists of attempting to use the congress for their party interests and strenuously urged that it should not be allowed to be held.

ITALY.

Italian Minister's Resignation.

Nauen, June 29th. In view of the fact that the vote of confidence in the Chamber on the Italian Cabinets' foreign policy was only passed by an insignificant majority, Count Sforza has tendered his resignation. The King has proposed that Giolitti form a new cabinet, but Giolitti has refused, proposing instead that the task be allotted to Bonhommi, Minister of Finance.

According to the official press, De Nikola, will be appointed Prime Minister although he is loathe to accept this position in view of the vagueness of the situation in parliament. The Nationalists are opposed to the appointment of Bonhommi because of the attitude he took up during the Fiume affair.

Commenting on the resignation of the Italian Cabinet, most of the papers maintain that Sforza will under no circumstances return to power.

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MOSCOW

JUNE 24th 1921

The Eighth Session

Report of Continuation of

Initiative in the Struggle.

The question of Fascism.

classify the successive stages of historic development in order to be able to throw its whole weight of organized power and determination when the decisive moment arrives.

The seizing of factories in Italy, which was accompanied by seizing of land by the peasantry proves that this movement for the test for fitness of the party and the readiness of a class, has arrived.

This test proved to be very heavy and tragic for the proletariat. The Socialist Party feared the necessity to act and stopped before it. Fear before a real decisive battle, chilled the blood of the loudest clamour when it was no more a question of theory and skilful dialectics, but of people inspired, armed, and ready for the test. At a time when the proletariat gathered in masses around the factories having no other arms, except their will to act and a very limited number of rifles, and waited for a signal and order to act, its leaders were bargaining in the offices of their masters for terms of capitulation. The inactivity of the proletariat in this critical moment was a signal for the bourgeoisie to counter-attack. Does this mean that behind the threat of the workers was nothing but weakness? Does this mean that those who proclaimed the revolution deserted after they had declared it? Then there was a change to dare. The bourgeoisie of Italy dared. It proved with blood and suffering that only one law makes events at decisive historic moments; the law of force. Truly, all the codes, laws and statutes, ceased to defend the bourgeoisie and became a weapon with a broken blade. Social life developed beyond the limits of established traditions. The relationship between people was changing daily. To be victorious meant to break the laws. And the Italian bourgeoisie transferred its powers and actions beyond the limitations of any law and established instead a cult of force.

"Fascism" is nothing else, but the organ for the defence of the Italian bourgeoisie. Similar armed organisations can be found in other European countries. They are, however, of a different character and origin. They sprung up, from time to time, to counter-act the armed demonstrations of the proletariat. They form the reactionary bodies against the Labour Movement. Such were the cases in Hungary, Germany, and Finland. In those countries the proletariat had forsaken their inactivity and came out actively against the State and the ruling class. Determined and with great activity the workers challenged the bourgeoisie to open armed battle, owing to unforeseen confusion in the socialist party of Italy, the bourgeoisie was the first to take the initiative, the offensive.

"Fascism" came out from the struggle with its full armed force, and printed its bulletins in the style and spirit of the well known bulletins of Cadorna, Joffre and Hindenburg.

Complete automobile squadrons were organised to combat the armed men.

The government did not spare munition, and provided living quarters and proclaimed the inviolability of Fascism. Thus, the working masses were attacked and received a heavy blow at a time when its class party were unprepared and confused. The "Fascisti" undisturbed in their work, burned and destroyed hundreds of peoples houses and labour dwellings. They injured and killed thousand of workers. Their armed forces have driven out more than 500 municipalities. These armed activities of the bourgeoisie delivered a heavy blow at the trade and the political organisations of the workers. The bourgeoisie can claim, that in her struggle with the working class she won time for respite.

Only a few months ago the Communist Party alone, owing to its tactics of defence against terror of the "Fascisti" was a factor in the life of Italy.

By now, however, we have not the same favourable conditions which we had last year. No doubt it will soon reestablish itself again. The hard struggle of the working masses, cannot at present destroy the temporary gains of the bourgeoisie. In Europe there are countries where similar conditions are taking place to those that happened in Italy.

The proletariat is growing stronger, hardened through the fighting organised mass parties. The bourgeoisie deprived of her authority, bound by political and economic crises is scared and retreating. The fate of the proletariat in these countries depend greatly upon the ability and initiative of the Communist Parties. It depends upon the clarity of their reasoning, their daring, yet cautious action, to take over the grand responsibility of the social struggle.

Umberto Terracini.

The Session opened at 7 p. m. with comrade Kolaroff in the chair.

The chairman stated that the debate on the report of the Executive Committee finished last night and there remained the Italian and German questions. It was agreed last night, to hear the statement of the Italian delegate first, but the latter declares that he is not quite ready and asks that his statement be postponed. The Presidium has resolved therefore, to give the word first to the representative of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. In view of the fact that the report of the Executive Committee has quite adequately been discussed, the Presidium proposes to allow only one speaker each from the C. L. P. D. and the Executive Committee to speak for half a hour each.

Comrade Zinoviev proposed the following resolution:

"That the C. L. P. D. call a Conference of their party within the next two or three months, to decide whether they will submit to the discipline of the Communist International or not. In the event of an affirmative reply the C. L. P. D. will be absorbed into the United Communist Party of Germany, and in the event of the contrary, the C. L. P. D. is to be excluded from the Communist International."

The chairman stated that he had received a declaration from the United Communist Party to the effect that they associated themselves with comrade Zinoviev's resolution.

Comrade Hempel of the Communist Labour Party of Germany then took the floor. He said:

"I have asked to speak because the day before yesterday the Presidium declared that the German and Italian questions would be dealt with. For some reason the Presidium entered into some agreement on this question with the Italians, but did not think it necessary to do the same with the C. L. P. D. The decision of the Congress on this question should be based on principle. It is quite natural therefore to demand that no decision be taken before the C. L. P. D. has stated its case. It is absolutely impossible to do that within a half an hour. We require at least an hour and the refusal to extend our time only shows that you wish to shut our mouths."

Comrade Radek rose to a point of order. He said: "The C. L. P. D. knew of the decision of the Executive why did they not raise their objection earlier. The demand to extend the time to an hour is of course a trifling matter in itself. But if the representatives really desire to explain their position to the Congress, they will have plenty of scope to do this throughout the whole of the proceedings of the Congress, because they can speak on any point on the agenda and therefore, there is no ground for suggesting that anybody desires to shut their mouth. Our resolution in no way signifies that they should leave the Congress. But if, for some reason they do not wish to be present at the Congress, we can learn what their position is from the books that are published by the 'sacred Dutch school'."

The representative of the C. L. P. D. again declared that the question is of great importance, and for that reason he insisted on obtaining a hour for his speech, and the right to reply.

Comrade Zinoviev said: "that there were other points on the agenda dealing with the Trade Unions and Tactics, upon which the representatives of the C. L. P. D. by taking part in the discussion will have complete opportunities of expounding their principles. The only question which we have to decide in connection with the C. L. P. D. is whether the International has the right to retain in its ranks a party which, after a year's experience, contradicts the principles of the Third International. It has been impossible to pin it down. Yesterday morning, the question was raised of considering the Italian and German questions jointly. The Italians immediately agreed, and the C. L. P. D. also and on this the Congress passed a unanimous resolution. The only thing that we can do is for the representative of the Executive Council to speak first and the final word be given to the representative of the C. L. P. D. I therefore ask the Congress to decide the question in that sense. If the comrades from the C. L. P. D. do not take advantage of their opportunity to speak here, they will be acting in the

same way, if in a more modified manner, as Otto Rühle acted in 1920.

The resolution of the Presidium was accepted.

Speaking on the resolution of comrade Zinoviev, comrade Radek said that the Executive Committee had it down that the C. L. P. D. decides within the next two or three months whether it will submit to the decisions of the Communist International or not. The differences between the C. L. P. D. and the Executive, which even now have not been overcome have existed since the beginning of this Party. The C. L. P. D. stood not for a mass party, but for a small pure Communist Party. It differed from us also on the question of Trade Unions, and regarded the work within these organisations for gaining the masses over to our side as unnecessary. It desired to organize special organisations which should contain only such workers as stood for Proletarian Dictatorship. On the question of parliamentarism the C. L. P. D. also disagreed with us, and on principle refused to make use of parliament. Although these contradictions have long ago been clearly expressed, nevertheless the Executive Council sought a means of mutual understanding, assuming that the errors which existed in the C. L. P. D. were to be found in the communist movements in all countries, and that it was quite natural that the revolutionary sections called to life by the times did not always have a clear political understanding. In so far as we had dealings with revolutionary workers, the Executive regard it as necessary to attract these to our side, and in this connection the Executive Committee did all that was possible in order that the C. L. P. G. took part in the work of the Second Congress. It desired to know what point of view the overwhelming majority of the Communist proletariat of all countries would take on this disputed question of the C. L. P. G. The Executive even went so far as to give the C. L. P. G. a decisive vote in spite of the fact that it declared that it would not associate itself with its resolutions. After the Second Congress, the C. L. P. G. moved to the left. It associated itself from the Nationalist-Bolshevik wing of Wolfheim and Lauffenberg and of Rühle. When the C. L. P. G. sent its representatives to the Third Congress we again endeavoured to open the path to these misguided proletarians to us, and resolved to regard this Party as a member of the Communist International and accept it into the International as such. We did this against the wish of the Communist Party of Germany. For that reason the Executive said to the C. L. P. D.: "Two paths are open before you. Fusion with the United Communist Party of Germany or no fusion and consequently withdrawal from the Third International as there can be only one section of the Third International in each country."

We assert that the C. L. P. D. has preceded not from a sect to a party but the opposite, from a sect to clearly expressed adventurist tendencies. The C. L. P. G. is continually criticizing the Executive. In Gorter's pamphlet it stated that if the tactics of the Russian leaders are applied abroad it will be a crime against the Revolution. In the pamphlet "Levi and the tactics of the C. L. P. G." it is asserted that the March battles proved that no mass-party exists or more correctly speaking that a Communist Mass-Party cannot exist. In its international policy, they went to such lengths that it now acts side by side with the whole Menshevik press against the Communist International and against Soviet Russia. Gorter's pamphlet published by the C. L. P. G. contains the following words: "After the Kronstadt proletariat rose against you, the Communist Party...". All this shows that the development of the C. L. P. G. is the development of a small clique of leaders. It is sufficient to recall that when the United Communist Party called upon all workers to create a united front, the C. L. P. G. refused. The International must say to the workers in the C. L. P. D.: "You must go either with the leaders who are confusing the minds of the workers, or with the International. The C. L. P. G. has revealed adventurist tendencies, and has reduced terrorism and illegality to a principle. We ask the Congress to discuss our revolution. We are not afraid that the workers will leave us. Not a single Communist will leave us". Comrade Radek then pointed to the elections in Hamburg where the

The struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in Italy during the last few months has varied somewhat in its specific and characteristic features. This struggle is a result of the play of forces which were never noticeable in any other country or in any other nation. Therefore it is necessary that all comrades should closely watch the struggle of the Italian Proletariat, because it is possible that these same forces are ripening in other countries, and their collision can lead to just such a position as in Italy, which it is necessary to avoid at all costs. The conclusion of the European war was for the Italian workers the signal for the commencement of a severe struggle with the Capitalist Bourgeoisie. All the limitations of war time disappeared and became as a stimulus to action. The Italian workers and peasants joined syndicates by hundreds of thousands, joined the Socialist Party by tens of thousands, asserting its firm will to sweep all obstacles from their path, to reach the highest aim. Against the closely linked ranks of the proletariat, came the Bourgeoisie, disorganised — largely new, industrial, revealing distorted forms, a consequence of their abnormal and too rapid development during the war, without sufficient financial support, and not having any raw material at its disposal; a government although victorious but which came out of the struggle entirely disorganised, which led to poverty, the deprivation of power and authority. There could be no two opinions as to the results of such a struggle between such opponents. This struggle was a series of continuous successes for the proletariat, at first slowly then more rapidly, and finally it ended in a forced march. The economic and moral victories followed one after another daily. The Bourgeoisie after several attempts at self defence lost all hope of salvation and submitted to what is called the severe punishment placed by inexorable history on the authors of the war. Things came to such a pass that the very struggle was superfluous, it was only necessary to demand, to get everything without hesitation. The Government on the one hand and the Central Committee of the Socialist Party and the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour on the other, kept on changing their places; the employers and the factory committee (the interior Committee), both managed the enterprises at the same time and nearly in every case the wish of the owner was regarded as secondary. Here are some characteristic examples: the socialist delegation, in June 1920 went to Russia in two special carriages. They are regarded as a diplomatic mission.

During the disorders as a consequence of the rise in the cost of living thousands of traders brought the keys from their shops to the Labour Halls as the only institution of authority which continues to function in the towns. The threat was sufficient to destroy from the very beginning, the adventure in Albania, to which the Imperialists in Italy had sent troops.

The political election of 1919 gave 156 socialist deputies. At the municipal communal elections in 1920, 2500 communes raised the red banner. Things went so far that during September 1920, the most enlightened and conscious part of the proletariat, namely the metal workers, delivered to the bourgeoisie a new daring blow, pregnant with consequences. By seizing over the thousand five hundred large factories, they struck a blow into the very heart of capitalist society. The fundamental principal of inviolable, sacred private property was shaken. There are decisive historic moments, when the inner shaping and motive forces, are unable to solve the contradiction they brought about. In such a moment the factor of human will power appears on the arena to move events into a road leading to new destinies.

The function of a political party is to organise the will power. It must watch

of the Third Congress of the Comintern

Session of June 28th.

Discussion on Zinoviev's Report.

United Communist Party of Germany received more votes after the March meeting than the majority socialist and independents put together. If the C. L. P. G. will not fuse with the U. C. P. G. it will be a hindrance to the German Communist Movement. Our resolution proposes merely that the Communist Labour Party of Germany unite with the United Communist Party of Germany, and submit to discipline. To-day, we brought up the question as whether the Italian Party remains with the reformists or with the International, and we put the same question before the C. L. P. G. It must either go with the petty Dutch school, or with the mighty Communist Movement.

Comrade **Roland Hoist** (Minority of Dutch Delegation) read a declaration to the effect that the limitation of time for the Communist Labour Party of Germany is moral violence over the latter, against which the minority expresses its protest. She said it was impossible to separate the question of discipline from the tactics and principles of the C. L. P. Even one hour would be little for that purpose, but in any case it is not possible in half an hour to express all that the C. L. P. has to say in explanation of its point of view. It would be more expedient to discuss the question of the C. L. P. after the current work of the Congress had been completed. They would then be enabled to exhaustively elucidate their position on all points of the agenda. This question, generally speaking, should not be limited by formalities. We cannot agree with the statement of one of the leading comrades on the Executive, that the danger from the Left is immeasurably greater. The left tendency must be given the possibilities of healthy growth. After all, we have no left tendency yet, it is only now taking shape. It has yet fully defined its attitude on the questions of the trade unions, centralism and so on. The left can only develop parallel with communism. If they will be cut off from the Comintern — and that is what the proposal of the Executive has started to do — they will lose the ground beneath their feet, and become more right than anything. If the C. L. P. will be cut adrift, it will result in the formation of small parties in a number of countries. Our aim is to have these parties united in the Comintern, even if they do not at first submit to discipline. Let the International lay in a stock of patience, for our attitude towards the revolutionary elements entering these parties is one of trust and confidence. We know that there are not many good revolutionaries, and perhaps the best of them are those who are great idealists, although it is probable that because of their idealism they do not observe the real politics of to-day. But is it not truly a most difficult art to carry on revolutionary policy while remaining an idealist? Should these small parties, these people with revolutionary temperaments and desires be left outside the International, it will only augment their sectarian character. I therefore asked the C. L. P. to do what they may but take part in the work of Congress. We ought not to turn out these elements, we have no desire that these pure idealists leave us. I therefore consider the decision arrived at as abnormal and hope that the comrades of the C. L. P. will take part in the debates and try to influence the mind of the Congress.

The chairman declared the debates at an end. Zinoviev's proposal, as one of the points of the general resolution on the report of the Executive, will be voted together with the resolution.

Comrade **Lazzari** was granted the floor on behalf of the Italian Socialist Party (Serrattists).

"Comrades" — he said — "this is not the first time that the Italian Socialists find themselves in an awkward situation as regards their International relations. Many will remember that Vandervelde and Huysman called us a 'small country' and party of no importance. We fought against the II International all the time, we were always against the bureaucratism practised by the II International in its international relations.

We now find ourselves facing the III International, and our situation is incredibly hard. But let us not be judged by our present spirit, but by our glorious past. The forty years activity of the party, its disinterested service to the ideals of unity and brotherhood, to the

ideals of the International movement deserved a different name than 'traitors', which has been thrown at us here.

Our position is explained in the special declaration which we have brought with us, and it will tell you everything that interests you.

Unfortunately, we arrived late, and we could not hear comrade Zinoviev's report. We had to acquaint ourselves with its contents from the English text, and we see that much attention was devoted to the Italian Party. It is precisely because so much is being spoken about us, that I hope the comrades of the Third International are fully acquainted with the Italian movement, and treat it with the proper respect. We regarded that it was our duty to come here. Give us then the opportunity to learn our mistakes, and to rectify them as one of the parties of the International.

Besides the report of comrade Zinoviev, we have read the pamphlet published by the Executive Committee containing a number of collective documents. We are grateful to the Executive Council for its zeal in collecting so much material in connection with the Italian Party. We must say however, that not all the documents have been collected in this pamphlet. Unfortunately we have not brought these documents with us. We in general, write very little, we are more occupied with fighting the bourgeoisie. I must observe that in the supplement to the brochure there are documents which have no connection with our Party. The article of Paccini on Soviet Russia does not belong to our Party. Of course, this article grieves us but the Party in no way bears any responsibility for it.

The representative of the Italian Communist Party said here, that Communists did not aim at a split. Did not the Communist Fraction at Emilia decide to leave the Italian Party, if it did not receive a majority? The same thing applies to the question of the seizure of the factories. The Turin workers and Communists themselves asserted that it was impossible longer to hold the factories in their hands.

As soon as we received the March manifesto in 1919, we enthusiastically joined the Third International. We saw in it our salvation. We wanted to copy the Russian Revolution and learn its lessons. We did this not merely out of international solidarity, but we needed the International and also because of the economic conditions of our country. We came to the defence of Soviet Russia, and honourably carried out our duty with regard to her. We conducted a campaign for a trading agreement between Italy and Russian, and we regarded comrade Vorovsky as the actual ambassador of Soviet Russia. We always carried out our obligations to Socialism, both in war and peace, and always held aloft the Red Banner of the International.

We, Italian Socialists, could not promise much, we could only fulfill our duties. And it is extremely painful to hear reproaches after such a powerful movement had been set on its feet in such a small and poor country, a movement which makes the bourgeoisie take account of it and which is capable of uniting the workers and the peasants into one mighty invincible whole. It is for this reason that we strive to introduce unity within our ranks, in order to oppose our unity to the single front of the bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that the split in Livorno caused by the Executive Committee was a perfect surprise to us. This split naturally weakened us, for had it not taken place, the victory which we obtained at elections would have been much more effective and would have allowed us to assume power by means of parliamentary struggle.

We are approached with opportunism, add reformism. The pamphlet of the Executive Committee contains a manifesto of our party, published after the Livorno Congress. We stated there our shortcomings and failings. We assert that we have always been purifying our Party, we have been expelling opportunists since 1915, and we shall continue this purifying process in the future, whenever we think it necessary, i. e. when circumstances demand it.

Comrade Lazzari quoted a sentence from an article by Comrade Frossard in which the latter says: "Neither absolute dependence, nor absolute independence. Such is the formula at once flexible and wise." Such are precisely the conditions which we are empowered to offer to the Third International. At the present time

we are going through a period of preparation in Italy. Be sure, that when we attain our object we shall not stop at anything to bring about the Dictatorship of the Italian Proletariat.

I made myself acquainted with the theses on the tactics which have been submitted to the Congress. We shall make full use of them in our movement, both from Anarchist fantasies, as well as from reformist illusions. And we hope that in this respect the work of the Congress will not pass in vain even for the Italian delegates. You understand that by assuming full responsibility for the decisions which you pass we cannot discard our duty to avoid as far as possible, the mistakes and horrors of defeat, such as characterise the history of the workers of Germany, Finland, and Hungary. It is in this way that we prepare to serve the cause of the World Revolution in order to lay down the solid foundation for the liberation of the proletariat in our country.

Comrade **Genari** spoke next.

Genari began his speech by reading the resolution of the Executive of the 4th April 1921, and declared that the Italian Socialist Party did not fulfill a single one of the conditions laid down by the Executive of the Comintern.

"My task is most simple" he said. "I only have to read to you documents from the history of the Italian Socialist Party, in order that all comrades be clear on the point that the Communists in Italy acted wisely in separating from the Socialist Party. I asserted that there are social-patriots in the Italian Socialist Party. That the latter did not succeed during the war in swinging the whole party to the side of social-patriotism, is due only to the fact that the Italian Proletariat, and even part of the bourgeoisie, were determinedly against the war. Only thanks to the firmness of the Left wing of the Party, which urged the whole party towards revolutionary irreconcilability, did we succeed in saving the Party from sinking into the mire of social-patriotism". Comrade Genari supplemented his declaration by a large number of quotations from the writings of Turatti, Treves, and others. He produced a manifesto signed by socialists from Reggio Emilia in defence of the war, and appeal for war loans. All are mindful of the patriotic speech of Turatti after the defeat at Caporetto. The reformists substituted our principles of the class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, by nationalist principles. That same Lazzari even called the representative of the Left Wing at the Florence Congress a lunatic. The fact that Lazzari personally wrote a letter against the principles of Wilson, does not alter the fact that the Mayor of Milan, Caldara, arranged a parade in honour of Wilson. During the War the conduct of the reformist fraction became more insufferable every day. A secret conference was held at Florence, at which a maximalist fraction was organised, which passed a stringent resolution against the Right wing. The conduct of the leaders of the Confederation of Labour was exactly the same as that of Turatti, Treves & Co. "It is interesting to observe" — said Genari — at the trial against Lazzari, the Public Prosecutor based his indictment solely on passages from articles by Turatti and Treves. The question of excluding the right wing was raised repeatedly, for example, after the military defeat of Italy at Monte-Grapo. Turatti uttered a fervent patriotic speech in Parliament, in which he exclaimed: "Our Country at Monte-Grapo".

Turatti's speech created profound stir in the management of the Party, when Volui, a former deputy and member of the Communist Party demanded the exclusion of Turatti from the Party. But his demand fell through. Comrade Genari then quoted various documents in order to bear out his statements. He recalled the time when Turatti with his usual frankness definitely declared, before the Bologna Congress that a Party with maximalists was not the place for him; quoting various instances of the activities of the reformists comrade Genari stated that at the end of the war the government founded a committee to prepare a plan of reconstruction. Turatti and the leaders of the Confederation of Labour entered this committee. It was only to the demands of the Party Executive that the latter left the Committee, but the former did not deem it necessary to resign. As far

Medigliani, he is a typical social-democrat. Comrade Genari reminded the Congress of the fact that affiliation to the Third International was agreed upon against the wills of Lazzari and Vacchi who considered the affiliation to be premature.

Our opportunists are avowed counter-revolutionaries. Serratti called them such in his speech at the Bologna conference. Here Genari produced documents proving that the organ of the Italian reformists "Critica Sociale" was in reality menshevikist, and printed articles against the Third International. Serratti calls Bolshevism a new form of imperialism. It is quite natural then — said Comrade Genari — to ask why Turatti and his friends remain in the socialist Party and desire to remain in the Third International. Turatti himself answers this question "We remain — says he —" simply because we do not wish to lose contact with the masses and so become a group of generals without an army. Serratti always adopted a vacillating policy. Only recently he opposed the maximalists, and only at the last moment saw the danger threatening from the Right Wing elements. After reading a number of documents Genari exclaimed: "The declaration that Moscow dictated the split is a lie. And from what I have said, comrades, you will see that the Italian split was the result of a long protracted party crisis and if any charge be brought against the communists they can only be accused of creating this split too late. The whole policy of the Italian Party after the Livorno Congress was reformist and opportunist, and definitely approaching co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Such a Party can no longer be trusted and we declare that the toiling masses, which being betrayed by the leaders of the Italian Party, will desert this party after the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern. Varatona at least wishes to preserve a decent exterior to this party. He resigned from the Executive and demanded the expulsion of the reformists. But Serratti continues to sink deeper in the morass of reformism, continues day by day in his treacherous work of shielding the reformists and propounds a mere christian kindness and passive resistance against the Fascisti, in the columns of the 'Avanti'. We demand that the proposals of the Italian Socialist Party be rejected and that the Third Congress place this party outside the Comintern. Only such a policy will expose the Italian reformists, social pacifists and traitors in the eyes of the Italian working class (Applause).

Comrade **Lenin** said: "Lazzari asks for facts that would indicate the reformist character of the Italian Party. But are not the very existence of opportunists, not only as individuals, but as groups, facts? This group of opportunists is not a new one. It did not spring up in a fortnight. When Bernstein appeared with his revisionism, he was strongly supported by the Italian reformists and their leader Turatti. Comrade Lazzari is of the opinion that these are not facts. After Seratti's return to Italy from the second Congress the reformist opened a campaign in their press against the Third International, and called a conference of their own, at Reggio Emilia, just before the Party Congress. Are these not facts? This is a complete opportunist faction, more than that, it is the beginning of a new party. When Lazzari says to us: —"You know the spirit of the Russian people leave it to us to judge that spirit of the Italians". (I would not use such expressions at all). We must state however that he knows, not the spirit of the Italian people, but the spirit of the mensheviks, of course, the Italian mensheviks, and not the Russian. Essential the case is unchanged. It is the greatest misfortune for a workers' party to postpone the break with the opportunists at the proper time. Such was the case in Germany, where the labour movement suffered almost to the very last day. The same thing is evident in Italy, where they had to break with the reformists long before the war. Lazzari says that the only difference between us is the question of the moment when it is necessary to break with the reformists. What arguments did Seratti bring forward in this very hall a year ago, to prove that it was not yet time to break with the Reformists? None. What arguments has Lazzari to-day? Also none. He quoted Frossard to the effect, that the Communist Party must have flexible tactics. That is quite true and it is useless

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for Serrati to tell Italy worn out tales that we, the Russian Communist Party, want to force other parties blindly to imitate us.

You cannot take the Italian proletariat from the right track with such statements. On the contrary, we say that the conditions of the time, and place is not necessary to blindly follow the experience of the Russian Revolution. We say that to the Communist parties. In the history of the movement for the seizure of the factories, the reformists completely revealed themselves. At this moment, the Italian Socialist Party is quite ripe for cooperation with the bourgeoisie. It became clear at Kienthal, that Modliani was prepared for this. It is useless to allege that, Medliani, did not enter the government. He is wise enough to refrain from that, and he is still an excellent tool of the bourgeoisie workers' party. What did the Congress of Livorno prove? The reformists had 14,000 votes, the Communists 55,000 and the Centrists 98,000. That proves that the Communist movement in Italy grows rapidly, far more rapidly than even in Russia. We in Russia, previous to the Revolution were in a considerable minority against our Reformist-Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionists. In Italy, the conditions are much more favourable. There the working masses are closely attached to the Communist movement. That is not all measures according to the Russian scale, but entirely taking into consideration the Italian conditions, i. e. just as Serrati demanded, Serrati wanted freedom to manoeuvre. Very well, we shall carefully watch your manoeuvres. Now we know how Turratti manoevered. He preferred 14,000 reformists, journalists, lawyers, and bureaucrats to 58,000 workers, communists. This would have been unpardonable even if the Italian Communist had been Anarchists and Revolutionary phrasemongers — which is not the case — because in fact — there are 58,000 workers Communists in the Party. These again are not Russian conditions. Lazzari said: "If you exclude us from the Comintern" — and we shall certainly do so, "the Italian worker will be overwhelmed. I am confident that they will not be overwhelmed, if the Congress will just explain to them the real situation, and I have no doubt at all that the Italian workers will be entirely on our side. (Loud applause).

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.

Organisation and Information Dep't of the Comintern.

The Organisation & Information Dep't 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 Dep't. on duty at the "LUXE" Room 2.

The Organisation & Information Dep't 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 Dep't at their hotel.

MOSCOW

JUNE 30th 1921

The Communist Womens' Movement in South Slavonia.

The position of the working woman in South Slavonia is more or less akin to that of her sisters in all other capitalist countries. For it can well be imagined that capitalist exploitation has not spared any of the other South Slavonian states. But her position in Serbia is even worse than in other more highly developed capitalist countries.

Living in a land where the conditions are actually semi-colonial, the working woman, like the working man, is compelled to bear a two fold slavery: on one hand the capitalist yoke of her own compatriots, and on the other, exploitation by the bourgeoisie of the great capitalist states. It was 15 years ago, however, that the South Slavonian working woman already began to realise the necessity of an organised class struggle, as being the only way of successfully combatting the insufferable conditions. She is beginning to see with ever greater clearness that she can secure her emancipation from her enslavement and the exploitation that is sucking her last drop of blood only by means of a general struggle in common with her fellow slaves, the working women of Serbia — and at present those of the other South Slavonian states as well — have entered the relentless struggle against the entire capitalist system in close union with her fellow workers.

Thanks to this unity and the energetic struggle that was waged, our movement was successful in exacting legislation from the Serbian bourgeoisie in 1911 granting greater support to the working woman. These laws prohibited night work for women in workshops, factories, commercial enterprises etc.; they introduced the 10 hour working day, and the weekly 36-hour uninterrupted rest, from Saturday evening until Monday morning; it prohibited all work for pregnant women six weeks before and six weeks after confinement. In 1911 this meant enormous progress for the only slightly developed capitalist Serbian state.

But the Serbian men and women workers did not overestimate the value of these reforms. They continued to wage an unabated struggle for lasting emancipation of the working woman from the capitalist yoke. They valiantly and relentlessly kept fighting until and during the war that visited Serbia for seven long years. And today when the war is at an end, and the social revolution is shaking the foundations of every state, she is still as assiduous as ever in her revolutionary communist activities.

In 1910 our party established a women's secretariat, and commenced the publication of the "Jednakost" (Equality), the organ of the womens movement. During the war, and especially during the three years of occupation its publication was prohibited, but this did not deter our real revolutionary women from carrying on incessant propaganda.

Our Comrade Clara Zetkin wrote to the Serbian women in 1916 among other things:

"Dear Comrades! Your article and letter mean to me, and no doubt to all who support the standpoint of international socialism, an event of real importance. I am certain that your report has aroused the greatest attention and interest in every quarter, for it is clear evidence of your pure, profound socialist convictions. Your letter, which moved me deeply, is of the same great importance.

"You will no doubt have recently received reports which must have convinced you that the Women's Socialist International, in unison with our Serbian comrades and the Serbian people, stands firmly on the basis of revolutionary socialism, and that this international highly esteems your efforts, despite the great difficulties under which you labour, to fulfil your revolutionary duty. The socialist women of the whole world are proud of the unity and solidarity with which their Serbian sisters hold high the banner of revolutionary socialism, undaunted by the unspeakable horrors of the war. The future will reward your loyalty and valour".

After the war (1919), i. e. after the union of the various South Slavonian countries into a single state, the socialist women's movement made enormous strides. At the first Communist Party congress held at Belgrade from April 21 to April 23, 1919, the women drew up the statutes for the organisation of the communist women. Therein they proved the necessity of the international in the following words:

"At the present moment the urgent necessity is being felt more keenly than ever before of uniting all the working class movements which accept the fundamental principle of the class struggle into one single powerful organisation. Next to this imperative task there is another that is just as urgent: the unification of all the women's movements of the various provinces, which up to the present have been working independently. The women (Communist) accept without any reserves whatsoever the maximum and minimum program of the Communist Party of South Slavonia, and in fact consider themselves as a part thereof. The recognise no independent women's organisation, and consider themselves as an executive organ of the Communist Party with respect to the organisation and agitation among women".

Moreover, the statutes provide for the establishment of a central secretariat and sub-secretariats in the provinces. In March 1920, the Central Secretariat resumed the publication of its organ "Jednakost". The first number contained the following appeal to its woman readers:

"After the war broke out, on June 25th (July 15th), the publication of our paper was prohibited. The wave of the world war dragged men and movements with it. The international proletariat, and the Serbian workers especially, was visited by a severe crisis. Many of our comrades are no longer among us; they sacrificed their all to the movement and to our ideal. The South Slavonian proletariat has, however, borne everything bravely, and we women have been holding high the banner of revolutionary socialism. We have survived these trying hours and grown more steeled and strong. And while the black cloud of the most provocative reactionary forces is hovering over the South Slavonian proletariat, we once more send our "Jednakost" into the world, and recommend it to all our readers. For it will spread the ideas of the struggle for revolutionary socialism among the womanhood of every South Slavonian city and village. For it will enlighten the working women, whether they work with hand or brain. It will lead them out of the ignorance and night into which capitalist society has thrust them. The present system of society has made a slave of woman, but Communism will emancipate women. "Jednakost" shows her the way to liberation and true equality. To work, women comrades! We must most ardently and energetically do our part in the struggle for communism, for the building up of communist society, for full recognition of the rights of woman!"

Thanks to the activities of the Women's Secretariat, we have 20,000 women organised in trade unions. The latter are entirely under the influence of the Communist Party, and have a membership of about 300,000. Of the 80,000 members of the Communist Party, 5000 are women.

Since the end of December 1920, i. e. ever since the South Slavonian Communist Party was outlawed and has only been able to work illegally, the Women's Secretariat has been accomplishing most fruitful and energetic work. And during the most horrible periods of reaction the women communists of South Slavonia have proved that are able to carry on most prolific propaganda along illegal paths, and can work untiringly and undauntedly in spite of all the difficulties placed in their way by the bourgeoisie.

At this present moment, the South Slavonian proletariat is living under most atrocious conditions, and yet, the secretariat of the Communist women is labouring on resolutely and assiduously, and thus showing inestimable services to the Communist Party.

As our party is without the pale of the law and can only work "underground", and as the difficulties in leaving the country are exceedingly great, our Women's Secretariat was unfortunately unable to send a delegate to the second international congress of Communist Women. Nevertheless, we can assure you, dear comrades, that the communist women of the Communist Party of South Slavonia are with you in spirit, that is, with the communist women of the whole world. And the future will find them fighting undauntedly in the front ranks until victory shall be ours.

I. Milkitsch.

Proposed Amnesty.

"Rizhski Curier" reports that the Provisional Government of Central Lithuania has devised a scheme for amnestying many thousands of cases.

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 at the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions to register their credentials with the Communication Department of the International Council of Trade Unions

PETROVSKY LINIE, formerly HOTEL ELITE, Room 3, Telephone 5-33-41. The present notice refers to delegates at 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 LINIE, 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 will 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, Vorotynskaya 5, room 50-51. Visitors will be received daily, excluding Sundays, from 3 to 5 p. m.

Acquittal of Communists

Odessa, June 24. "Lumia" reports that owing to the lack of evidence the court at Zagreba acquitted the communists who were accused of attempting to assassinate Drushkonitak, the Serbian Minister for the Interior. It is stated that the attempted assassination was a provocative act on the part of police, in order to justify its repressions against communists and the Communist Party.

Rising Against Rich Farmers

Riga, June 27th. "Rohte Fahne" of June 24th reports from Belgrade, that in Southern Serbia and the Macedonian provinces of Yougo-Slavia, a movement is growing of the peasant poor against the bands of bandits, who are trying to force on the Serbian villages the rule of the rich farmer. The Government of Yougo-Slavia has moved detachments of troops, and light artillery against the rebels.

Communists Demands

Odessa, 24th June 1921. Lumia of the 19th inst. reports from Belgrade that the parliamentary communist group, consisting of 57 deputies has demanded from the cabinet the cessation of the persecution of communists otherwise they threaten to leave parliament and prevent the carrying on of legislative work. The Communist Peasants' Party supports the demands of the Communists. It is reported that the Mussulman deputies will support these demands.