



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.

Nº 27.

June 28<sup>th</sup>

1921.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Attempted Assassination of King George.

Nauen, June 26. Reuter's Agency wires that the Sinn-Feiners attempted to wreck the military train escorting the King who was returning from Belfast. In this train there were 140 Dragoons. 40 men are said to have been killed by the explosion of a mine placed under the train.

#### Towards a New War.

London, 23rd June, 1921. The Tokio correspondent of the "Daily Express" has sent a sensational telegram entitled: "The rays of war on the Pacific Ocean". He states that Japanese insurance companies have been asked by their clients to accept insurance from the risk of war between Japan and the U. S. A. during the next 12 months. The correspondent adds that the naval armament programmes of both countries is interpreted as a proof of preparation for war, and that the American Naval Department has just issued an order to strengthen the Pacific Ocean fleet of dreadnoughts and destroyers. The correspondent states that an atmosphere of war is already being felt in the East.

One cannot learn America's position, from the press, Reuter communicates a conference of the American Federation of Labour at Denvers that has voted for the complete expulsion of all Japanese and Far Eastern peoples from the United States.

#### The Plans of English Capitalism.

From the speeches delivered by the English financier, Mc Kenna, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now president of a British bank, we learn of the plans of English capitalism to enrich itself at the expense of the German proletariat.

McKenna discussed the payment of the German war debt. He advises his German capitalist friends to keep wages down as low as possible, and to create the basis for the settlement of the reparation claims by reducing the standard of living of the working class. Mc Kenna is of the opinion that the German worker, who endured such monstrous privations during the war, without so much as a murmur, will also submit to the measures suggested by him. All that was necessary was to make the German worker comprehend that the payment of Germany's enormous debt is impossible unless he is prepared to work at lower wages, and that if the debt is not paid, a foreign invasion will be the result. This plan would mean cheap labour and large profits to German industry. The burden of debt would thus be shouldered on to the German proletariat.

This English captain of industry herewith declares with perfect frankness what we have been maintaining for a long time. International capitalism is in entire agreement concerning this matter of shifting the entire consequences of the criminal war or to the shoulders of the proletariat.

To prevent the revival of a dangerous competitor to English industry on the financial market, as a consequence of such cheapening of German labour, the aforementioned easy-going man proposes that Germany should produce great quantities of raw materials, such as coal, wood, potash, and sugar, and export these articles to the allied countries.

The consequence of this absolutely criminal project would be a tremendous increase of unemployment, whereby the misery of the German proletariat would be immeasurably augmented. The chief blame in this case rests once more upon the Independents and Majority Socialists, who are still obsessed with the illusion of the possibility of a peaceable agreement between capital and labour. But the German worker can now discern what the future lies in store for him, unless he succeeds in strangling for good and all the unappeasable Moloch of capitalism.

### FRANCE.

#### The Fear of Communism.

The French Minister of Justice has introduced a bill stipulating heavy penalties for all attempts to induce soldiers to forsake their military duties, or to glorify breaches of military discipline. The fermentation in the French army must be reaching a dangerous height if the government is compelled to take recourse to such new legal injunctions against it.

#### Deposed Caucasian Governments Visit Briand.

Berlin 24. The well informed correspondent of the Paris "Ruh" on the strength of assurance received by him from a reliable source writes, that Briand received the representatives of the four deposed governments of the Caucasian states, to get acquainted with the contents of the federative agreement they had entered into. France will strive to maintain the most amical relations with the Caucasian nations. However he promised no help, either direct or indirect in their fight against Bolshevism. The correspondent adds, that this does not mean, that France feels no interest in Caucasian affairs on the contrary, both here as well as in other parts of the former Russian Empire, she endeavours to bring his influence to bear in favor of all the local and Pan-Russian efforts for unification and war with Bolshevism.

Berlin, 24 June. According to reports from Paris, representatives are in the city, on behalf of the deposed Governments of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Dagestan, who have signed an agreement binding them to take joint action to secure to the nations of the Caucasus independence and a democratic form of government and economic prosperity. Briand received yesterday all the signatory parties to this agreement, "Temps" deals with this agreement editorially, saying, that this document should not be treated as of no consequence, merely because the signatory parties representing the Caucasian countries are now in exile.

#### Complicated Situation in Near East.

The "Temps" of June 12th writes, among other things:

"In short, the Greek offensive, which France and Italy are far from favouring, is replete with inconveniences for the English themselves. If it succeeds, the key to the Orient will be in possession of King Constantine, Gen. Dousmanis, Gounaris and Theotokis: (quis custodiet ipsos custodes). If it fails, the English will be faced with the choice of entering the arena themselves, or else, negotiating with the victorious Turk; and either choice would prove very discomfiting. And finally, if the Greek offensive drags on without either succeeding or failing, England will have to support Greece with financial subsidies and military supplies; and these would not keep the Grecian army from gradual demoralisation. It is in the interest of the British Empire to avoid all these sad eventualities.

But, how to avoid them? By insisting, both at Athens and Angora on the acceptance by both belligerents of the settlement proposed in London three months ago. This settlement is no doubt a very precarious expedient, as it really settles nothing at all. It only served as means for preparing the revision of the Treaty of Sevres. Now that months have passed by the entire matter of the revision will have to be taken in hand. But revising the treaty means returning Smyrna to the Turks, or, in other words, asking the Greeks to evacuate Asia Minor. And England is not in a position to ask that of the Greeks just at present."

#### For Moscow.

Berlin, 23 June. The Lower Rhine Trade Union Federation by a vote of 50 against 44 decided to join the Moscow International.

### GERMANY.

#### Berlin Communists Demand Release of Holz.

Danzig, 25 June. Berlin Communist today organised a great demonstration in favour of the immediate release of Comrade Holz. The reactionary papers consider this demonstration as the first attempt to overthrow the present government and to proclaim a Soviet Republic. The police took all the steps to ensure order. Extremists proposed to take the prison, where Holz is confined, by assault, but, this was rejected. Speeches were delivered to protest against the bloody justice meted out to Holz. The meeting closed orderly, and unmolested by the police.

#### Monarchism Still Alive in Germany.

Hanover, June 25. On Saturday, a solemn ceremony of investiture took place in Potsdam, which proved that Monarchism is still alive. Prince Bittel Frederik invested Prince Oscar of Prussia and others with the Order of the Black Eagle. Field Marshall Hindenburg and other persons who had access to the former court attended the ceremony. The ceremony was carried out in the same way as that in the Kaiser days. The large Town Hall of Potsdam was decorated in the feudal style. Hindenburg with his sword drawn stood near the altar. Prince Oscar was the first to receive the order, followed by 79 other men. The preacher extolled the Emperor and the Empress.

### POLAND.

#### Still Forming a Cabinet.

Berlin, June 25th. The "Vossische Zeitung" of the 21st is informed from Warsaw, that Vitos has turned down the proposal of the party of Shulski, Minister for Internal Affairs, who demanded the formation of a coalition cabinet. Vitos hopes to settle the governmental crisis by a number personal appointments.

#### Persecution of Communists in Galicia.

The arrest of great numbers of communist workers is reported in Galicia. Up to now 200 have been thrown into prison. The organ of the Polish socialist party, the "Dziennik Lodowy" is taking an active part in these persecutions.

#### Communists Awake.

Warsaw, 26.6.21. Describing the Workers Cooperative Congress the "Rabotnik" accuses the Communists of regarding the Cooperatives only as a means of materialising their party aims. The Communists according to the organ of the Polish compromisers have obtained the leading posts in the Cooperative Workers Union, only because, they do not stop at any means for achieving their purpose.

#### British Labour Party Wants "Authoritative" International.

The first item in the agenda of the English Labour Party Conference, was the question of the Second and Third International. The resolution in favour of affiliating to the Third International was lost. The resolution recommending the strengthening of the Second and a Half International, was accepted without discussion, and also the decision of inviting all labour and socialist organisations of the world to a conference, out of which must crystallise a new authoritative International.

#### Aaland Islands go to Finland.

Stockholm, 25. 6. radio. The Council of the League of Nations recognised the sovereignty of Finland over the Aaland Island. The rights of the inhabitants of the island will be guaranteed. The islands must remain neutral in a military sense and the building of fortification is prohibited. Branting presented a sharp protest in the name of the Swedish government against this decision.

### ITALY.

#### Trading Agreement between Soviet Russia and Italy.

Rome, June 10th. Vorovsky, the Soviet representative in Italy, received a proposal, from the Italian Foreign Minister, for working out a scheme of clauses, for a trading agreement between Soviet Russia and Italy. A scheme was prepared on June 6th and was put before the Cabinet and Ministry of Commerce for discussion.

### ESTHONIA.

#### More Bloodshed and More Victims.

The White Esthonian press reports the following from Reval: On February 12th last, two communists, Salme, Mõlsa and Samuel Jeirus, were sentenced to death by a court martial, while several others received long prison terms at hard labour.

Litvinov, the representative of Soviet Russia, demanded the surrender to Russia of the two communists under sentence of death, but the Esthonian Government refused to comply with the demand, and the state court confirmed the sentence, which was executed on June 8th.

Another report from the same press states:

In accordance with a decree issued by the Minister of War on June 8th, the following persons (the list contained in all 50 names, among whom 21 women) have been brought before a court martial. They are accused of espionage and incitement to revolt. This is therefore another trial for high treason, with, as a probable result, death sentences and long prison terms. To cap the climax, there are at this moment 200 victims of the April massacres, who are languishing in prison on the charge of being communists, and will quite probably also be tried for high treason.

This white terror is thirsting for ever more blood, for ever more victims.

#### Repressive measures against Communists in Palestine.

(Extract from a letter dated May 15, 1921.)

After the bloody incidents on May 1st and the massacres in Jaffa resulting from the English occupation policy, the British authorities inaugurated a series of severe repressions against communist workers. The leaders have everywhere been thrown into prison, 4 in Haifa, 5 in Jerusalem, 2 in Jaffa, 2 in Zernach, and a number in Kinereth and other places. The others are being feverishly persecuted. It is deemed unnecessary to produce any evidence against these arrests; the simple accusation of being a communist is sufficient.

The following is a characteristic instance of the British police policy:

The proprietor of the clubhouse of the Communist Borochoow club was arrested, although he had nothing whatever to do either with the Communists or any other political group. He was simply required to reveal the addresses of 12 leading members of the Communist Party of Palestine.

A close net of espionage has been spread over the entire country. It is only necessary for one of these spies to accuse a worker being a communist, and the latter is forthwith flung into prison. A great number of members of the social patriotic labour party participate in these espionage activities. The Jewish bourgeoisie supports the persecutions of the English authorities by denunciations, incitement in the press etc. Communist workers are driven out of employment and refused any further occupation.

The members of the Communist Party of Palestine appeal for aid at the earliest possible moment.



# Fourth and Fifth Session of the Sessions of 25th

## Comrade Zinoviev Delivers his

### Report of Mandate Committee.

The session was opened at 12.15 p. m. by Comrade Keen who called upon Comrade Radek to his report on the Mandate Committee.

Comrade Radek said that according to preliminary figures there were at the Congress 291 delegates with decisive votes, 219 with consultative votes, and over 100 guests representing 48 countries. Besides this there were delegates from the Young Communist Movement, the Polish "Bund", the Near and Far Eastern Bureau, and "Paole Zion". The Polish Bund and "Poale Zion" with a consultative vote until their question of affiliating to the Communist International was settled.

Then Comrade Radek dealt with the distribution of votes throughout the Congress and stated that in allocating the number of votes to be given to each delegation one could not be guided by the numerical strength of this party or that party. One must also consider the political importance of a country and the degree of development of its labour movement. All these factors were considered by the commission and the following distribution of votes was decided upon: the first group of countries, which included Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Checho-Slovakia to receive 40 votes each; This group included the Young Communist Movement with its 800,000 members. England, America, Poland, the Ukraine, Norway, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria receive 30 votes each. The third group which included Finland, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Latvia, and Austria, to receive 20 votes each. The fourth group of Aizerbaidjan, Denmark, Luxembourg, Esthonia, Persia and Turkey, receive 10 votes each. South Africa, Mexico, Argentine, Australia, Iceland, New Zealand, India, Korea and Armenia to receive 5 votes each. The representatives of China, Turkestan, Bokhara, Mongolia, Khiva and Palestine where no parties yet exists have a consultative vote and can take part in the work of the Congress. A delegate from Japan who represents Korea-Japanese and America-Japanese organisations also has a consultative vote.

The news has just been received that a delegate from the Japanese Communist Party is on his way here, he, of course will be given a decisive vote.

In conclusion Comrade Radek proposed that the report and proposals of the mandate Committee should be accepted without discussion.

**Comrade Zinoviev** then gave his report on the activities of the E. C. of the Comintern.

Delivering his report on the Comintern at the session held last Saturday Com. Zinoviev said:

"The Third Communist International already exists the third year, but its Executive Committee as an institution made up of representatives of a number of parties, is only a year old dating from the Second Congress. During that congress, some comrades e. g.: of the German delegation, maintained it was entirely unnecessary that foreign delegates constantly attend the sessions of the Executive Committee, and that all its work should be done by the Russian comrades. It was only the insistence on the part of the latter that not less than 10 members of the most important delegation be included in the make up of the Executive Committee for permanent work that this body organised itself in its present form. However, not all parties did their full duty with regard to the Executive Committee and it is now imperative that we do everything to make the Executive Committee the genuine exponent of the international communist movement capable of carrying out the work of organisation on an international scale.

This Congress was convened somewhat earlier than is provided by the constitution of the Comintern. But in calling this Congress we were conscious of the tremendous responsibility assumed by the Executive Committee, and also of the great strides that the growth of the Communist movement has made during the period just expired and of a number of debatable issues arising in large countries. During the past 10 months since the Second Congress the Executive Committee held 31 sessions, where 196 questions

were acted upon; of this number 128 were purely political, the rest organisational. As to the countries that came up for discussion at these sessions, Germany took the lead, owing to the better connections with that country. Germany was discussed 21 times at these sessions; Italy 12 times, Tchecho-Slovakia 12 times, England 8 times, etc. Besides there was the work of the Small Bureau of the Executive Committee, made up of 7 comrades (in which a Frenchman and a German took part), which met approximately twice as often."

Turning next to the kind and character of the work done by the Executive Committee, Comrade Zinoviev first of all pointed out the resolution on fundamental principles passed by the Second Congress which formed the basis of the Executive Committee's work during the period just expired. The Second Congress worked out the constitution of the Communist International, its bylaws and tactics. We had first to straighten out the "Left" trend cropping up in Germany, Italy, England and America. Take for example, the question of our attitude to the English Labour Party. Some of the English comrades were absolutely opposed to the idea of working within this party owing to its opportunism. We, however, insisted on the necessity of "boring from within" on the ground that in a country like England it was imperative that we utilize the opportunities offered by very large labour organisations to penetrate its ranks, develop within it energetic work with the object of winning over the workers to our camp. At the same Congress we at the same time launched our theoretical artillery against the groups opposed to parliamentary action. Comrade Bordiga and his group, who are now our best friends, then came out strongly against parliamentarianism and were partly seconded by the Belgian and Swiss comrades. But we succeeded in bringing them over to our views.

The second question along whose lines the communist movement has been crystallising during the period in question dealt with the famous 21 conditions. The opportunists rallied against them all sides, the centrists as well as the semi-centrists. But while the leftists gave us no foes and subsequently even proved our sincerest friends, the rightist elements became our inveterate enemies.

The objective situation during the Second Congress, owing to the fact that we were bottled in by the blockade and had no adequate information on the socialist movement, and so forth, within the remoter countries rendered our conditions at the time quite embarrassing. Every centrist at that time was eager to join the Third International. It became the craze of the moment.

Thus Hilquit, that American Dittmann sent us his delegates, the Italian reformists with D'Aragnona at their head, the modern saboteurs of the proletarian movement — all with common accord declared their affiliation to the Communist International. At first we received the Italians as friends. In Petrograd tens of thousands of workers were literally carrying Seratti and his friends shoulder high — so great was the confidence reposed in them by the workers. Now we know that D'Aragnona and Co. were deceiving us, that their main purpose was to penetrate into the midst of the Communist International in order to sabotage it from within. This deceit, this hypocrisy were revealed by the 21 conditions. Who turned out to be right in the disputes in which we took part at the Second Congress? The British Labour Party as is known decided to exclude all the Communists. The compromisers understood that organised Communists constitute a great danger for them. Compare with this the pretended naive astonishment of Seratti, who expressed surprise at the fact that as regards Italy we demanded the exclusion of Turatti and others and as regards England on the other hand, we make it the duty of Communists to enter the Labour Party. Seratti only pretends to be so naive. Of course he is perfectly aware of the difference. Dwelling on the way in which various parties obeyed the resolutions of the Second Congress, comrade Zinoviev states that Communist deputies in parliaments did not act in conformity with party discipline; nor were they following genuine revolutionary tactics and this was especially so in France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The main task of the present moment consists in estab-

lishing a closer connection with the masses. Especially in England and America, where the communist parties are very weak as yet, but where the masses are sufficiently revolutionary, the task of the Communists consist in agitating among the masses to develop the maximum of organisational work, to ruthlessly unmask the opportunists and centrists, to wrest the masses away from them, to destroy illusions, which were brought by social traitors.

Reviewing the activity of the Executive Committee in a chronological order, comrade Zinoviev stated that the greatest difficulties were presented not so much by the German as by the Italian question. When the Italian delegates arrived to the Second Congress, we did not know them, and met them as friends. But even if we were only to read the minutes of the sittings of the Second Congress, we would be surprised, how we could be so greatly deceived. Seratti spoke four times at the Congress on questions of principle: on the national question, the agrarian question, on the 21 conditions and on the fundamental tasks of the Communist International on each question he either opposed or adopted attitude of "neutrality". Subsequent events unmasked the real Seratti and the Serattist. We have printed and distributed to all the delegates a book in four languages which contains a collection of articles and resolutions of Seratti himself. We greatly regret that his group is not present and the Congress and that we are thus compelled to discuss the Italian question in their absence. We on our part did everything to secure to their presence at the Congress. We informed them three and a half months before the original opening. We wired them twice and now that three weeks have elapsed since the original date of the opening of the congress and still they are not here. Comrade Zinoviev further quoted several passages of above mentioned book which characterises the activity of Seratti and his retrograde revolution from Communism to opportunism. In his very first article which "Avanti" published immediately after the Congress. Seratti strives by all means to discredit the Congress the stated the Congress was full of delegates whose credentials were incomplete and who therefore expressed only their own personal view.

The conditions surrounding the Congress in connection with the blockade, and the absence of the control of the Press, had the effect, it is said, of making the Congress, as it were a closed one. The lack of proper acquaintance with the conditions in other countries is also said to have adversely affected the congress. The Congress was conducted under the protection of a strong government, and the votes were not divided in accordance with the numerical strength of the delegations and the importance of the respective capitalist countries. Seratti wrote all this two weeks after the close of the Congress. On arriving in Italy, Seratti for a little while wrapped himself in the mantle of "leftism". He demanded a more firm policy against the elements on the right. He was particularly insistent with regard to the French. For some reason or other he seemed to have a particular grudge against them. Then he began to speak of the twenty-second condition of the Comintern, about refusing to permit the Free Masons to affiliate. As a matter of fact it was not so. The resolution on the Freemasons was moved by Seratti himself, and of course no one raised the slightest protest against it, it was only pointed out that it was superfluous to introduce a special condition with regard to it. To us the thing was so obvious that there was no necessity to make any special mention of it. But Seratti desired to take advantage of this in order to prove to the Italian workers that we tolerate Freemasons in the Comintern.

Subsequently these questions were discussed by the Executive of the Italian Socialist Party at which two resolutions were put forward, one by Terrachini, on the unconditional acceptance of the 21 conditions, and another by Barratono, on accepting the conditions, with the reservation however that freedom of action was permitted with regard to Italian circumstances. The majority of the Executive voted for the resolution of comrade Terrachini, upon which comrade Seratti declared that he would refuse responsibility for the editorship of the "Avanti". Our comrades, instead of wel-

coming this declaration, pleaded with Seratti not to leave his post. The result was that on the next day Seratti commenced a campaign against the E. C. of the Comintern, unequalled for lies and mud slinging.

A meeting of the "concentrator" fraction, that fraction inspired by Seratti and D'Aragnona, took place at Redgo-Emilia. This fraction submitting to the influence of Seratti, declared that it accepted the 21 conditions on principal, but christened the Italian communists, syndicalists. They also made speeches about not permitting Free masons to join the Comintern. But the crowning piece was that part of the resolution that spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a programme demand, but only a temporary measure need for which was determined by local circumstances. Further more they expressed disagreement with the Soviet System on the Russian model, as it was violent and destructive. But nobody prevented them from creating their own particular *Italian Soviet System*.

The characteristic feature of Seratti is to refrain from giving direct replies to question but to raise all sorts of questions of details of second rate importance in order to evade direct replies to the letter addressed to him by Lenin. The latter demanded the expulsion of the reformists. What did Seratti reply? He in his turn raised the question, who are the reformists? "I", said Seratti, "by no means defend Turatti, Modigliani and the rest, but since they have spoken out in defence of Soviet Russia, can they really be regarded as reformists?"

In an article of the 24th of October, Seratti writes "Italian industry is disorganised. Under these circumstances can the Italian proletariat take possession of it". Evidently Seratti wishes to wait for the moment when capitalism will re-establish itself, and acquire strength for the workers to commence the struggle for power. This is perfectly in keeping with Kautsky Particular attention should be paid to the unparalleled crime which Seratti and his followers committed last year when a wave of strikes and peasant unrest swept over the country, when the bourgeoisie was completely disorganised and the government lost its head. When at that time, Giolitti was asked why he did not take measures against the workers who had seized the factories, he replied that he was unable to do so, that for the time being he was compelled to adopt homeopathic means and later on resort to surgery. Seratti actually assisted Giolitti to apply these homeopathic methods in order that later on the bourgeoisie may resort to "surgical" treatment. Now, these "surgical" measures are being applied. The Facisti are completing the work which Seratti commenced.

This was the situation on the eve of the Livorno Conference. The Executive Committee decided to send comrade Bucharin and myself to Livorno, but this failed. The Italian Socialist Party did not raise a finger in order to facilitate our journey. Subsequently it was decided to send comrade Kabakchieva from Bulgaria and comrade Rokochi from Hungary. The members of the Italian Party who regard themselves Communists-Unitarians arranged a welcome for these comrades; which was disgrace to the Italian Party. Comrades Kabakchiev and Rokochi gave no occasion for this treatment, although the Italians charged with tactlessness, dictatorial manners and other sins. The conduct of the Serattists at the Congress is an evidence of the fact that the Italian party has slipped back into the sphere of the social-democrats.

At the congress Seratti proposed to call the party the "Socialist Communist Party" and to accept the 21 conditions with the reservation that they have a free hand in their application to Italy.

They attributed the subsequent split to the unfortunate 21 conditions, but our Communist pointed out that if we made any concessions to Seratti on the 21 conditions, the Communist International as a revolutionary organisation would have ceased to exist.

Formerly, Seratti posed as a "left", and demanded a stern policy with regard to the Free Masons, now however, he stands for the theory of equal rights. Now he demands equal rights for France and Italy. "Why", he asks, "are greater concessions made to France, than to Italy?" But the duty of the Executive Committee is to



# Third Congress of the Comintern.

## and 26th of June.

### Report on the Comintern.

estimate the conditions in every country in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the Labour Movement, and the degree of ripeness of the revolutionary movement. It is impossible to adopt the same measures with regard to France, America, Italy, Latvia and Teche-Slovakia. This is the essence of the policy of the Executive Committee. It estimates the concrete inter-relations and in accordance with them establishes one or another position. Not a single genuine Communist will agree that if the French party is backward therefore the Italian should go back too.

Serratti's attack on the Soviet Government are characteristically lacking in a sense of decency. He accuses it of conducting negotiations with the "Daily Herald" and some foreign bourgeois elements. Soviet Government negotiates with the bourgeois merely because in capitalist countries, the working class is weak as yet. This is well known to every Communist, but what have these reproaches on the part of Serratti to do with the International and the International working movement?

Of the French, Serratti stated that 55 deputies went over to the communists. In reality 12-13 deputies out of 67 went over to the communists. The remaining 55 deputies follow Longuet, a friend of Serratti. Serratti uses this deliberate lie to deceive the Italian proletariat.

Serratti looks from a Chauvinist standpoint on half the German Independent party joining the communists. He wishes to persuade the Italian workers that the German workers joined the communists, not on the platform of internationalism, but for "national" reasons. From the period of the Livorno Congress, the Italian party was constantly on the decline. This is shown by the latest activity and the articles by Serratti. It is characteristic that a pamphlet issued by the Italian bourgeoisie, entitled "Bolshevism as described by Italian Socialists", abounds with quotations from articles written by Serratti's friends. All the reformists and centrists are raising a hue and cry.

The Amsterdam Yellow International, that branch office of the League of Nations, had sent the Italian Trade Unions a present of 50,000 liras, that fact has been dubbed by Serratti as the greatest act of international solidarity of the proletariat.

Just a few words on elections to the Italian parliament. "Soviet", the organ of Paul Levi, published after the Italian elections, an article by Karl Geyer which stated that Serratti's party scored, 1,400,000 votes at the elections as against 450,000 which went to the communists hence the deduction was made that a defeat was inflicted on the Italian communists i. e. on the whole Communist International. You understand the utter groundlessness of these deductions? 450,000 votes were scored by a new party which for the first time took part in elections and they imagine that can be described as a defeat. And when in Germany after the dastardly murder of Leibknecht and Luxemburg, Scheidemann scored some more million votes at the election, what should be the meaning of that?

The elections are best described by the communication given by Cesare Alessandro a friend of Serratti. In "Populace" he gives the following description of the deputies: 48 he regards as right, 42 as left, 30 as centre. The right are the type of Noske, the left pacifists after the type of Bernstein.

After the elections Serratti writes that it now becomes necessary to steer to the right. Even Lenin, so he says, decided to grant concessions to make compromises with the petty bourgeoisie. Such arguments are worthy of Serratti. He puts out of sight the fundamental differences of Russia and other countries. Whereas in Russia power is in the hands of the proletariat, such is not the case in other countries, and there to recommend concessions to the right can only mean to compromise with the bourgeoisie, to intentionally help it against the proletariat.

Such is the situation in Italy. We must have no more illusions. We must unmask Serratti's policy before the world and the sooner we do that the sooner we shall have on our side the working class of Italy.

I have already referred to the fact that immediately after the Second Congress a revolutionary movement was started in Italy which assumed peculiar forms. The

sabotage this movement, and to throw the helpless proletariat to the feet of the triumphant bourgeoisie. Such is the lesson of the Italian Party.

Serratti says: We shall wait and suffer till the cathedral doors of the III International open for us. But as a matter of fact Serratti is not standing in front of the doors of the Communist-Cathedral but grovels in the dust before the bourgeois clique, (Applause from the entire congress.)

Serratti's party became an ordinary common place social democratic party. But the working class is for us and to the Italian workers we must turn.

The problem of the Congress is to approach the Italian proletariat and explain to him the treacherous policy and centrism of Serratti, which leads to deception and to the quenching of their revolutionary spirit.

"I have dealt with the Italian question in such detail" said comrade Zinoviev, "because the history of Serratti is typical of the entire centrist movement. We must say: 'Enough of words'. We must be more cautious. Our most dangerous enemies are the right and centrist elements and with them we must wage a merciless war. The congress will examine our activities in this direction and will declare its verdict on the accuracy of our tactics."

### The German Question.

We won our first victory at Halle where we separated the socialist, reformists, and independents and created a mass Communist Party. It was obvious that the units of the German Communist Parties, which consisted of 100,000 members of the G. C. P. and 100,000 independents, would contain elements of centrism. Two burning questions faced us after Halle. 1) Whether to allow the Spartacists to exist independently and 2) the stages of development which the party should take. We agreed upon the complete disbanding of the Spartacists and as a result were better able to organize our Committee.

Our first conflict arose out of the Italian Question.

As I have already pointed out, Levi had an interview with Serratti in Livorno, the latter travelled to Berlin and Stuttgart and write that they had the full support of the German Party. 5 members of the E. C. resigned as a result of the Italian question. This was a big mistake and a breach of discipline. The Executive Committee considered it its duty to censure such a slip.

I would like to know "said Comrade Zinoviev" "what the pre-war German Social Democratic Party would have done if some member of the party had resigned from the E. C. with such ease as did the comrades I have just named."

A separate report will be given on the late March rising of the German proletariat. Of course, many mistakes were made during this movement, but it was not a Putsch, as many are inclined to regard it. It is foolish to call a movement, in which over a half a million workers participate, a "Putsch".

It was a necessary armed fight for the German Proletariat. We regard it as such and are not ashamed of it. We are proud of the German workers. This movement was a step forward. The question of our attitude to the C. L. P. G. (K. A. P. D.) was already solved at the II Congress. In spite of the name of the E. C. of the C. L. P. we accepted this party as sympathizers to our movement, in consideration of the fact that in its ranks were many really revolutionary workers. True they are few in number, they made and still make mistakes but they still represent a revolutionary force. During the session which discussed the acceptance of the C. L. P. of G. I said that it would be impossible for a long time to come to have two parallel Communist parties in Germany and proved that there were only two ways out; if the C. L. P. of G. would become a pure communist party then its unity with the G. C. P. would be quite natural. If this did not happen the C. L. P. of G. would have to leave the International. However some of the leaders of the C. L. P. of G.— said Zinoviev — became dangerous to our movement and took up the attitude of Crispian, who was for Soviet Russia at Halle but now is its avowed enemy. We have just received a telegram from the C. L. P. of G. which

states that they will only remain in the Communist International if this programme remains "inviolable". A fine Comintern with "inviolable" parties. Then why not admit Serratti, why not make other parties "inviolable"? The decisions of the Comintern must be law for us. If the C. L. P. of G. leaves us then we still have the Communist Party of Germany, which has proved metalists in warfare and we need not doubt the German proletariat. The better workers of the C. L. P. of G., will follow the Comintern and will leave Gorter and Co. who throw them off the right track.

I will not speak of the scandalous pamphlet of Levi. It is not worth that much respect. Levi is excluded from the Comintern and I am sure the Congress will confirm this act.

### The French Question.

Speaking on the relations between the Comintern and the French Socialist Party, Comrade Zinoviev said it was decided to accept this party and take special consideration of the peculiarity of its position.

"As you all know, Serratti complained that our concessions to the French party as we considered its position different to that of the Italian Party. When Cachin and Frossard were in Moscow, the first split had not yet taken place, and the Scheidemannist" — Thomas and Renaudel were still in the party. We must bear in mind that the Communist Group in the French party was still small and most of its leaders were in prison. It was agreed with Renoul that Jean Longuet must be confronted with the question: does he accept the 21 points or not? Longuet, of course did not agree to the points and the party was excluded. Those comrades who took part in the Tours Congress will remember that the E. C. of the Comintern addressed a telegram to the Congress at the last minute, which denounced Longuet as a reformist and an agent of capital and demanded his exclusion.

The decision of the Tours Congress it was clear to us that the French Party is not Communistic yet, it still retains centrist and semi-centrist elements, which spread their views in the party, the press, and in parliament. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that our attitude in relation to the French Party had to be different from our attitude towards the Italian Party. The development in France is progressing, whereas in Italy it is retrogression. We concluded, with the best French Comrades, a silent agreement, and gave them a few months to effect a realignment within the party and set the organising work on a firm footing. I think that the Executive acted wisely in displaying care and patience with regard to the French Party. But by no means does this mean that we are not permitted to say what we consider should be said. — "I am of the opinion" — said Zinoviev — "that the so called stupidity of the left is not so dangerous for the French Party. A great danger threatens it from the Opportunist Right elements. It is the old traditions existing in the French Party, and which certain deputies have carried with them that are very dangerous, and we should try to combat them. It was here said that "Humanite" is not a Communistic paper yet and that it is worse than the organ of the Right Independents, "Freiheit". This does not conform to facts. "Freiheit" is obviously a counter revolutionary newspaper. "Humanite", in the worst case is not quite Communistic, but progresses, whereas "Freiheit" retrogresses, and carries on a sordid propaganda against the only Proletarian State. The French Party has not yet taken up a definite line on the question of the Trade Unions. But, in spite of its weakness, in spite of the bad habits which certain deputies have carried over from the old Party, we have confidence in the Party. We now have a party with over 100,000 members, with a spirit different from the old one. But we do not close our eyes to its weakness. The opportunist tendencies are our greatest foes. We must defeat them. This is what we must constantly tell the workers".

Comrade Zinoviev then continued with Tchekho-Slovakian question. "Here we have a powerful mass Party, built up from excellent proletarian material. The semi-centrist tendency of comrade Smeral we should criticise openly. It is not improbable that we shall have put up

with a respite here, as proved the case in Germany. We hope that here the centrist tendency will be overcome as well.

The process of differentiation affected the Scandinavian countries as well, during the past year. Norway has not yet thoroughly freed itself of centrism, but there we have a strong and healthy Party. In Sweden the Party is cutting its path from pacifism to Communism.

During this year we have not only accomplished splits, but have effected unions as well. In England we have united the formerly dissenting eight groups into a united British Communist Party. The same in America. The Communist movement there is steadily growing stronger. But it must become more of a mass movement and more legal. Splits in the Social Democratic Party and the unification of the Communist Party took place in Austria, Denmark and Belgium, and are of great importance in principle, particularly in Belgium, where the movement depends mainly on the trade unions, in which the Communists are now penetrating. In Switzerland the Left has quitted the Party and joined with the Young Communist Party. The Communist movement is gaining ground in France as well as Switzerland, a split has taken place in Rumania; and the negotiations we have conducted with the part that broke off, have been crowned with success, and we hope to have good Party there. Okh, who stood up for the III International, has been arrested by the Rumanian Government, a split with the centrists has taken place in Yugoslavia. Should there prove to be any centrist survivors there we shall fight them. "Reformism is a specific poison for the proletarian movement", to use the apt expression of our French author-comrade, Barbusse.

In Finland the Communist Party is working illegally. But in spite of a rampant White Terror, the movement is growing ever wider and stronger.

Describing the revolutionary movement in the Near and Far East, comrade Zinoviev referred to Japan and said: "that now in the same position as that of the Russian movement before 1905. He points out that many trade unions are organized and the publishing department is highly developed. Recently, for instance they published the works of Marx. It is necessary to turn our particular attention to the Near and Far East.

Reviewing the activities of the Comintern for the past year, comrade Zinoviev said, there is hardly a country where splits, the process of uniting and purifying the party from the opportunistic elements, has not taken place. He asked all comrades whose countries he did not mention, or, whose countries he did not characterise fully to excuse him.

Further Comrade Zinoviev, spoke on the results of the Second Conference of Women Communists and gave information on the forthcoming Congress of the Trade Unions, and the Congress of the International Union of Young Communists, which are to follow the Congress of the Comintern, will, he predicts, be of great significance; as a counter-action to Amsterdam, which will fulfill part of the work of the Third International. It is therefore necessary to increase a hundredfold the support of the Young Communists in all countries, and our Congress must give its particular attention. The Young Communist Movement did some brilliant work this year, and it is necessary to give them greater support.

The struggle with Amsterdam — is the centre of attention.

The chief question is that of the Trade Unions. Comrade Zinoviev continued: "It is necessary to prepare International action what is wanted is international co-ordination. Let us therefore commence with reserve.

We have suffered not from over-centralisation, but from lack of it.

Among the masses; the creation of strong sections, and strong centres, and the iron proletarian discipline for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Such are the problems.

The report of comrade Zinoviev covered three years work, and many times during his speech he was interrupted by applause. This speech ended amid long and continuous applause.

After the report of comrade Zinoviev comrade Radek was permitted to speak on a statement not included in the agenda.

(Continued from page 5.)



**"MOSCOW"**

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.

Editor, Denezny 5, room № 18.  
Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151.  
Hours from 3 to 5 (except Sundays).  
Responsible Secretary, Tverskaia 48  
Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.  
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).**Soviet Russia's Foreign Economic Policy.**

The most important question today in Soviet Russia's economic policy is to increase production in every manner, and to further the development of the country's productive forces, hampered by the wars of preceding years.

The Soviet government has at its disposal all the means of production and it nationalised but the work is held back for lack of organisation and the difficulty of taking advantage of those means which it has.

This question is now of paramount importance. Its solution lies in the full use of both national and foreign ways and means.

It never appeared in any of the speeches of the responsible leaders of Soviet Russia that the isolation of the economic development of a country from world economy was possible for a lengthy period in the 20th century, and on the other hand, that the exclusion of a country from international economic relations strikes at the roots of the world's economic balance.

In order to strengthen Soviet Russia both technically and economically it is absolutely necessary to attract foreign technique and materials, of course industrial material first of all.

With this point of view it becomes necessary to examine Soviet Russia's policy as regards foreign trade, the signing of trade agreements with foreign countries, the granting of concessions

etc. etc. In this direction that Soviet Russia's economic policy, taken as a means of production in other countries were capitalists, we had to come to agreements with them. There was no new way.

But this way demanded and still demands considerable efforts in order that we may obtain the necessary results on the one hand, and on the other overcome those difficulties which face Soviet Russia in its attempts to strengthen its economic situation.

In this respect any other country which passes through a revolution and has a proletarian government established at its head will be altogether differently placed, as it will have an ally in Soviet Russia with whom it will be able to enter into better economic relations than those which Soviet Russia is compelled to accept.

The economic relations of Soviet Russia with other countries took the form of an exchange of goods, the concluding of trading agreements and the granting of concessions.

Economic relations up to the present are developing exceedingly slowly.

The total imports into Soviet Russia according to statistics supplied by the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Trading, reached the figure of 5.2 million poods for 1920.

The chief items imported were various kinds of metallic articles, agricultural machinery, and implements — a total of 760,000 poods, besides this 2.2 million poods of coal, and 1.2 million poods of the necessities of life were imported.

According to the same source the exports for the same period reached the total of 665,000 poods.

As one can see the imports and exports are characteristic by their extreme insignificance and only serve the purpose of signifying the fact that these are the first steps in the direction of Russia establishing relations with the outside world.

1921 shows a noteworthy growth in the exchange of goods as compared with 1920. For the first four months of 1921, 5.07 million poods of goods have been imported, i.e. as much as for the whole of 1920, and the exports reached a total of 1.08 million poods, almost twice as much as for 1920.

Regarding trade agreements, not counting those concluded with small border countries, an agreement has been reached with England, as every body knows, after a year of hesitation, postponements,

and delays which were created by the English government. An agreement is about to be concluded with Italy as far as we see. An agreement has been concluded with Germany. Similarly the attraction of concessionaires is in the state of preliminary negotiations. The Soviet government arranged a whole series of concrete and profitable concessions, both for the concessionaires and the forces. It is well worth to note the districts allotted the oil fields (in Baku and Grosne) and the coal fields of Donetz Basin. As regards the former, we had proposals from English, Belgian, and Dutch capitalists; regarding the latter, we have had proposals from a German firm, but these proposals cannot yet be accepted by the Soviet Government. (See comrade Lezhav's article in "Moscow" June 3rd).

A series of important concessions are to be made in the forest areas, and a number of proposals have been received from English firms, including the large English-Canadian firm Macdoul. After the signing of the trading agreement with England we reckon on the speedy materialising of some of these proposals. Also of note is the proposal of the French firm Renault to lease two auto works and the agreement, preliminary agreed upon, leasing the Moscow ball-bearing factory to the firm of S. K. F.

Such are the general features of Soviet Russia's first economic relations with other countries.

As we have already said the development of foreign economic relations had to contend and still has to contend with many obstacles, which are only overcome with great efforts. First of all the capitalists of the whole world, after the great difficulty, are beginning to recognise the fact under the ruthless pressure of history, that a workers government and a new Soviet regime has really been established on a portion of the earth, a new factor with which they must contend. They are no longer able to shut their eyes at this not altogether pleasant fact. And they are driven to recognise it, since the world wide economic crisis, unrolling itself in most of the large capitalist countries, compels them to turn to Soviet Russia and find a market for the disposal of their goods and a new source for raw materials.

"Facts are obstinate things". Such an obstinate thing was Soviet Russia, which first of all.

But of course we must clearly understand that capitalism is still a tough problem.

We have already spoken of England's dillyng and dallyng before signing the agreement. The same applies to America, Germany, and France, who are still carrying on a similar policy.

Obstacles are met in those complicated relations which exist between capitalist states. The atmosphere in the capitalist world is so strained, that every fact leads to complications of which the competition of capitalist countries are afraid, whilst preparing a next conflict. The reactionary policy of France is especially pronounced in this respect.

The campaign of lies, intrigues, and falsehoods, which is carried on by the "white émigrés", the bourgeoisie and its retainers, in the person of social traitors of every shade who have fled abroad, also plays its part. Miliukoff, Chernov and Co. are striving by every possible means to prevent Soviet Russia from entering into economic relations with other countries. Not being able to injure Soviet Russia from inside, they are now trying to hit from outside, by hindering its economic recovery.

But still we notice that these obstacles are infallibly being pushed forward although slowly.

We have already noted the fact that the bourgeoisie is compelled to enter into economic relations with Soviet Russia because of the crisis in the world's economy. The economic crisis was the driving force which stimulated this. But a big part was played in the workers' movements which roused their voices and demanded the concluding of treaties with Soviet Russia. The demonstrations of the working class of England, Germany, Italy, America and other countries with their slogans of peace with Soviet Russia,—"A treaty with Soviet Russia"—"Down with the blockade of Soviet Russia"—etc., caused a serious impression and created an atmosphere of help, thanks to which Soviet Russia's foreign economic policy was able to be carried out with the desired results.

The economic recovery of Soviet Russia is not only the task of the Russian proletariat, but that of the world proletariat which must strengthen and support the first piece of the world which they have conquered.

V. Milutin.

MOSCOW

**The Italian Delegation at the Congress of the Comintern.**

At last the representatives of the Italian Socialist Party have arrived in Moscow.

The E. C. of the Social Democratic Party of Italy went to considerable trouble in the selection of the delegates who were to withstand the pressure to drive them out of the III International. At first Bacchi Barratanno and Alessandri were elected, but they declined to accept nomination. Barratanno finds it expedient just now to pretend that the Italian Party is not sufficiently Social Democratic, and that it intends to enter into a coalition with the bourgeoisie, and therefore did not wish to leave Italy just now, so as to avoid being placed in a false position, and lay himself open to the charge of insincerity before the whole International. Seratti, who more than any else should be present in Moscow, has not come. He is concealing himself behind the backs of others who will speak in his name. Seratti was mainly to blame for the deception and humbug perpetrated by the reformists, social democrats and counter-revolutionaries, which was followed by libels on Soviet Russia. He tried to make the masses follow the tactics of the petty bourgeois social democrats while at the same time he claimed to be a communist worthy of being accepted in the III International. Now he lacks the courage to face the music himself, and to hear the severe condemnation which is in store for him from the Communist International. He knew that he could not obtain hivelings in Moscow and that a stern atmosphere pervades the Kremlin. Therefore he sent Lazzari, Maffi and Baboldi to Moscow. But of these only the latter who styles himself a Maximalist since the Boulogne Congress can answer for the tactics of Seratti.

The two others are real centrists and always have been. By sending them to Moscow Seratti practically confesses that the Socialist Party of Italy is no longer Maximalist, as he deserted in 1919 at the time of the Bologna Congress and that henceforth that party is predominantly-centrist. He therefore confesses that those are right who are regarding it as entirely reformist and social-democratic. Seratti sent Lazzari to Moscow as self the blows of the combined Communists of the world meant for the traitors who a year ago were enthusiastically received by the Russian proletariat and feted by the presidium of the Congress.

Lazzari for years past has been fighting against Turatti, but he as taken him now under his protection. It must be said to the credit of Lazzari that during the war he displayed staunch internationalism although even then he displayed certain traces of patriotic prejudices, which were half-heartedly expressed in the following words: "Let us not join in the war, but let us not sabotage it either". But Lazzari, we are sure of it, — will repeat in Moscow his assertions in Bologna i. e. that the old program of the Italian Party dating from 1892, is quite on all fours with the Erfurt program, must remain intact, and can under no circumstances be changed into a communist program. Lazzari will repeat all his arguments and all his mouldy sentimental phrases against the tactics of violence. Thus we shall have new document, a living proof that the best of them are far from the spirit of the Communist International. We shall obtain afresh argument in support of our theses. Can the Italian Socialist Party with Social patriots, counter-revolutionary, blasphemers of Communism in Soviet Russia, like Turatti, with opportunists and traitors like Seratti and his friends, with Centrists like Lazzari and Maffi, in it, be regarded as a Party to any degree worthy of belonging to the Third International, or can it lead the Italian proletariat in the revolutionary struggle? The reply of the Congress will be clear, complete, and not subject to the slightest doubt. It will be a condemnation of the Socialist Party of Italy. Thus, the exposure of the opportunists before the masses is beginning, and only thus, can the Congress assist in the preparation of the approach of the Proletarian Revolution in Italy, and together with Revolution of the World Proletariat.

Edgido Dgennari.

Riga, 26/6 21. "Temps" of the 19th of June is informed by the Rumanian Press Bureau in Bucharest that news of armed conflicts between the Rumanians and Bolsheviks on the Dniestr, which appeared in a Rumanian newspaper, is without foundation. All such news, periodically published in newspapers, is issued from a certain interested quarter and are absolutely unreliable.

JUNE 28th 1921.

**The Employers Offensive in Central Germany.**

After the March uprising in Central Germany the employers dismissed tens of thousands of workers. Thousands were imprisoned or banished and baited all over the country. If they were reinstated they had to produce certificates of employment for the past four years and the police certificates of employment for the past four years and the police certificate of good conduct. A thorough system of espionage and black lists provide in the words of a German Employers Union that only "laborious, peaceful and non-political workers should be employed. The workers who are thus scrutinised and who are fortunate enough to obtain employment, must undertake to work extra hours whenever required, moreover, an insidious system of payment for piece work has been introduced everywhere. That is why lately 13—15 hours were being worked in the construction and machine works belonging to the Lenne-Works.

After the employers have thus prepared the ground, they passed on to attacks in order to achieve the long desired decrease of wages. They found plausible pretext in the alleged high wages due to long hours and the inhumane exploitation of labour. They found their opportunity in the termination of the period of various wages agreements.

The mine owners union of Mansfield has put the following categorised conditions to the workers before entering into a new wage agreement: the reduction of 6 marks a day and a nine instead of eight hour day, Sunday work and a reduction of holidays. At first the workers simply rejected these demands, but they agreed afterwards to a nine hour day not to work on Sundays on condition that they should be paid at the former rate. They were prepared to try these conditions for three months, but the employers declared that they insist on an unconditional acceptance of their terms, and that they are not prepared to submit to the decision of an arbitration board. The latter had decided in favour of the workers. A new struggle of the Mansfield workers against the employers backed by the government by means of state of siege, appears therefore inevitable, for it is absolutely impossible for the workers to submit to this oppression by their exploiters. A situation similar to the Mansfield region has arisen in the the employers union demanded a new wages agreement based upon a ten percent reduction whereas the workers were forced to demand higher wages owing to the higher cost of living. As the employers insisted on the reduction of wages, strike of builders broke out in several towns of Central Germany, which was answered by a general lock out on the part of the employers.

On May 31st in Lenna and in the whole district of Malle Merseburg, they dismissed some 15,000 construction workers. Thus new conflicts and struggles are already ripening in the Central German fighting area. They will soon grow more acute under the pressure of new taxes, the higher cost of living and new diminutions of wages, which must necessarily follow the submission of the German Government to the dictates of the Entente. The new conflicts in Central Germany is the best justification of the March rising. They prove even to those workers who up to now were humbugged by the treacherous policy pursued by the Menshevik leaders that it is for them that the Communist vanguard of the proletariat was fighting and bleeding in the March rising. These workers will therefore acquire confidence in communism, for the V. K. P. D. will again be at the forefront as the champion leader of the proletariat.

**For Moscow.**

According to the latest figures compiled by the International Council of Trade Unions, 16,330,000 workers are now affiliated with the Red Trade Unions International. Among these are 10 National Trade Unions Federations, 18 National Trade Union Organisations existing along side of the National Central Bodies (revolutionary minorities organised on a national scale, shop-committees, shop stewards, I. W. W., ect.), 26 separate craft and industrial unions outside of those given above, and 86 organisations comprising trade unions in large towns and separate minorities of craft and industrial unions.

**Japan and America.**

Riga, June 25st. "Vossische Zeitung" analysing the position of Japan in a leading article, comes to the conclusion that Japan is not yet prepared for a serious struggle with America. Certain irresponsible circles are engaged in dangerous ad-



# Zinoviev's Report to Congress.

Continued from Page 3.

"In Germany yesterday", said comrade Radek, "Comrade Max Höltz was sentenced to life long imprisonment. His name is well known to all German workers. He is a member of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. Höltz's tactics were not our tactics. From March 1920, he went his own way, on his own responsibility and his own risk, organised the struggle against the bourgeoisie. To-day, when the German bourgeoisie condemns this unflinching and sincere revolutionary as a common bandit, it is our duty to mark this act of white terror of the bourgeoisie, in special relation to the proletariat. Höltz is a petty railway official and previous to the war was not a Socialist. But he was taught by the war, the Communist contemplation of the world. He became a hero of the revolutionary class struggle, of the Germany Proletariat. Much that he did was not in accordance with our aims but his hatred for the bourgeoisie is our hatred".

The resolution which was published in last Saturday's number was then proposed and carried unanimously.

## Evening Session - June 26th.

Comrade Könen opened the Fifth Session at 7.45 p. m. On the order of the day was the debate on Zinoviev's Report. The first to have the floor was Comrade Hempel, the representative of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

"Comrade Zinoviev" — said Comrade Hempel — "has an old habit of grouping us together with Seratti, Dittman and other opportunist elements. We protest most energetically against this. All our history and all our actions prove the contrary. It cannot be pointed out concretely in what way we are guilty of opportunism. As to our program and tactics, we shall have an opportunity of possibility to speaking upon them on other points of the agenda. Here I will limit myself to a determined protest, Comrade Zinoviev has attacked the pamphlet 'The Path of Dr. Levi—the Way of the United Communist Party of Germany'. We declare that this pamphlet expresses the opinion not of Gorter, but of the Communist Labour Party in general, and we collectively share the responsibility for it. We are by no means preaching for the struggle without the masses, as comrade Zinoviev tries to prove, but with the masses, but not by such methods, however, as were adopted by the II Congress in its 21 points. Comrade Zinoviev said that the Communist Labour Party of Germany will soon be in the ranks of the enemies of Soviet Russia, and proves this by citing quotations. I can also cite other passages from the same issue. The point is, however, that the masses contained in the Communist parties are good for demonstrations in favour of Soviet Russia, but are not yet fit for revolutionary action. We are fighting for Proletarian Russia, and we shall not beaten from our path, even though we were to quit the Comintern for its opportunist character. In conclusion the speaker read an official declaration on behalf of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

After comrade Hempel, comrade Freilich, from the United Communist Party of Germany was granted the floor; He said:

"When the Executive decided at the time to accept the Communist Labour Party into the III International — the United Communist Party protested against it, and considered that there was not sufficient justice for admitting it into the III International either on account of its numerical size, or, of the degree of its activity. It represents a sectarian tendency not only on questions of organisation but on fundamental questions of the Communist movement. This was expressed in relation to the Trade Unions. For example, it called the tactics of revolutionising the labour masses and of rousing them to action, opportunistic. It is quite incapable of appreciating the political and economic situations, and consequently draws corresponding conclusions. Thus it has declared that the question of reparations can only interest the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. They do not comprehend to what extent these reparations promote the revolutionising of the proletariat. In March it appeared to us possible to work conjointly with this party, but, we were cruelly deceived. First of all that Party manifested a complete inability to appreciate the March events. This is attested to by Gorter's pamphlet, in which it is stated that the March uprising was a

Putsch (Protests by representatives of the C. L. P.).

In reply to the protests comrade Freilich asserted that phrase is printed in Gorter's pamphlet. Thus the C. L. P. is of one mind with Paul Levi. Further, in connection with the Red Army's offensive against Warsaw, the C. L. P. declares that it expressed its solidarity with the Red Army, by setting up the Soviet system in two cities. Simultaneously, it asserts, the revolutionary action entered upon by the German proletariat on a national scale was nothing else but a Putsch. We know that the failure of the March uprising is due to a considerable degree to the lack of discipline and centralism in the United Communist Party. But the Communist Labour Party asserts the exact opposite namely, that the failure was chiefly the result of too much centralism and the suppression of the individual will of the members. After the March uprising the Communist Labour Party holds the view of sabotaging capitalism. Naturally, this Party will never be able to pursue a really revolutionary policy, it will on the contrary counter-act the revolutionary action that will be undertaken by the United Communist Party. We should under no circumstances accept this sectarian organisation in the Communist International. We should say to those workingmen of the Communist Labour Party who have shown in deed their courage and loyalty to the revolution — With the Communist Labour Party or with the III International.

The next to speak was comrade Roland Holst.

I wish to speak — said comrade Holst — about the pamphlet of Gorter from which Zinoviev quoted yesterday in the absence of the author. Comrade Zinoviev has stated the affair in such a manner as to make the impression that Gorter is endeavouring to institute a new teaching on national Marxism. This is incorrect merely from the fact that Marxism is the teaching of the International Proletariat. I do not think that all Gorter's views are exhaustively expressed in that pamphlet. That probably has been done in his open letter to Lenin. Further Comrade Roland Holst said: "Comrade Zinoviev reproached me yesterday with collaborating in Gorter's pamphlet, and remarked that I supported the point of view of the C. L. P. I must object to this; first of all no ban has yet been put on collaboration in Communist publications, and secondly I agree on many points with the program of the Communist Labour Party, because I respect that Party for its revolutionary enthusiasm and inflexible will. I hope to continue to collaborate in the organs of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

I wish and hope from the bottom of my heart that two German Communist Parties will be united, for I know from experience that the cause of the revolution suffers when a few dissenting parties exist in one and the same country, even though they both pursue one aim.

Holand is a small country with a small revolutionary mass movement. That is why separate individuals like Gorter or Pannekok play such an important role and that is the reason they are obeyed. But Gorter and Pannekok are the most brilliant heads of the Dutch labour movement, and it is not a tribute to them that has been said here in connection with Gorter's pamphlet.

Comrade Neiman speaking for the United Communist Party of Germany; said in his opinion comrade Zinoviev's criticism of the C. L. P. was quite just. It completely coincides with that of last year, and it has only to be regretted that after the situation was so clear the Communist Labour Party was accepted into the Comintern as a sympathetic Party. If this blunder would not have been made the revolutionary part of the C. L. P. would have come over to the United Communist Party. The Communist Labour Party is not only a political party, for it has its own separate trade unions and consequently acts as a trade-union organisation. Thus, a party sympathising with the Comintern to the great satisfaction of the trade-union bureaucracy, weakens the influence of the Comintern on the trade unions in Germany.

The congress must adopt a definite attitude towards the C. L. P. of G. and finish with this indefinite state of affairs. Com. Caton (Holland) said that he agreed with the words of Com. Roland Holst and considered it necessary to make a statement on behalf of the Dutch Communist Party. Probably one would

imagine the Dutch Party agreed with the tactics of the C. L. P. of G. It would however be difficult to find another such party on the continent which so conscientiously carried out its work, while using the tactics of the Communist International. Relations between the C. L. P. of G. and Holland were quite insignificant.

Comrade Mihaliak of Poland spoke on the mutual relations of good will between the Polish Communist Party, and the executive Council of the Comintern. Up to the last few months it was absolutely impossible for Poland to have communication with the outside world, as the country was nothing but an armed camp. In spite of this the more important questions dealing with our movement, including the problems of mass parties and Trade Unions were settled between themselves and the Comintern. Of course the illegal position of our party does not give us the possibility of joining a mass party. However, knowing the importance of mass organisations and the value of influencing the Trade Union, we have devoted all our energy into those two tasks. With regard to the other questions touched upon in the report, such as the Italian question, the Tours split, and the attitude towards Clara Zetkin, etc. we are in complete agreement with the Executive Committee. Together with all that has been said, we still have our own specific questions, the chief of which is in connection with the nearness of Poland to Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. We had to face the question of the war between Russia and Poland, and in 1919, when the social patriots raised a hue and cry against the threatened advance of the Red Army in Poland, we declared that we welcomed the entry of the Red Army into Poland. When the Red Army did really advance, all our organisations without exception, greeted this army as the army of the Polish working class. In conclusion, Comrade Mihaliak said that the Polish delegation endorsed the policy of the Executive Committee and would bring forward a resolution to that effect. Comrade Zerman of the G. C. L. P. followed Mihaliak: "The question of the Third Communist International is not so simple to us as many of our comrades here are inclined to think. And I am very sorry that the opposition, can be and must be fruitful, is not altogether taken advantage of by the Comintern. The speaker illustrated his point of view with the activities of the C. C. L. P. and finished his speech stating that he had had full confidence in the position which his party had taken up".

Comrade Gennari (Italy) then spoke. "I am in complete agreement with the attitude of the Executive Committee on the Centrist tactics of Seratti. The documents published by the E. C. on this question represents very little of what could be said in the activities of the Italian Party. As the Congress will hear another speech on the Italian party I wish to deal with another centrist, namely, Comrade Smeral. We understand the Techecho-Slovakian working class, its revolutionary spirit and its leaders. But we require a guarantee that the Communist Party of Techecho-Slovakia will not be confronted with a situation similar to the Italian. The Executive Committee put too much faith in Smeral, in spite of the fact that he actively supported Austrian imperialism, Smeral came to Moscow after the war, and at a time when the whole of the Techecho-Slovakian proletariat had lost faith in him. This self-same Smeral, who said that to be a Communist one must really be a social democrat with only the ultimate object of being a communist, i. e. a person similar to Seratti of the Techecho-Slovakian Socialist Party he demanded that the party should remain Socialist. He climbed down when he heard the decision of the Executive Committee on this question. In January, after the December strikes, two of the editors of "Rude Pravo" wrote against Soviet Russia and the International. The Communists demanded their resignation, but Smeral took them under his protection. We hope that the activities of Smeral will be cut short as were those of Seratti. Hence we propose that Smeral be no longer leader of the party; that a manifesto be issued to the Techecho-Slovakian Proletarian, explaining the situation and that an appeal be sent out to the world proletariat urging them to fight against all centrists and opportunists.

Comrade Heckert of the U. C. P. of Germany followed comrade Gennari. "The Italian questions", he said, "created a crisis in the German Communist

Party. Seratti promised the Second Congress which trusted him, that on his return to Italy he would carry on a revolutionary agitation in favour of the Communist International. But the Congress made a mistake. Seratti changed. No sooner did he return than he began to sabotage the decisions of the Comintern. He wrote an article on the 18th of December in the scientific journal of the right independents "The Socialist", edited by Breitscheid, where he declared: "It is foolish to think that the revolution in Russia was caused by the working masses. Not at all. It was created by a mere handful of Soviet bourgeois without the participation of the people".

Comrade Heckert considered such a statement a crime against Soviet Russia, done purposely to undermine the Third International and to praise the centrist Turatti, who is both a leader of the masses, and a member of parliament. As regards Levi who was sent as a fully empowered delegate to Livorno, by the German Party, Heckert said that he conducted himself shamefully. When the question of the Third International or Turatti was finally raised, Levi declared that a split in the Executive Committee was necessary as its policy was divided up into small water-tight compartments. When the Council of the German Party decided that the split in Livorno was necessary, Levi cursed the Soviet and spoke ironically of Moscow.

Speaking of Seratti, Heckert mentions another hero, among Italian opportunists namely — D'Aragona. The latter participated in the Amsterdam Congress and in working out a manifesto full of hate against Soviet Russia. These are the heroes in the Italian party, whose expulsion was opposed by Levi. Perhaps the Executive might have committed a grave error, perhaps it was an "unjust expulsion". But listen to the "Avanti" of the 16th June. "Our comrades Constantion Lazzari, Mardon and Riboldi left for the Third Congress of the Communist International, to represent the Italian Socialist Party. Our delegation is not as hopeful as last year and does not carry the enthusiasm of our party to the leaders of the International movement. In France the communist movement has gone more to the right, than have the Italian socialists. In Germany owing to the grave mistakes committed by the Executive of the Comintern, a crisis was brought about in the party, upon which many hopes were pinned. In Russia, if our information is correct, there are no indications of any reaction against lack of understanding and stubbornness. All this will not reflect itself upon the congress, but in the midst of the International there is a growing dissatisfaction with the personal dictatorship, which actually is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a parody of it. Our comrades together with Clara Zetkin, Paul Levi, and many others will express the growing dissatisfaction".

Comrade Heckert said that we must beware of such elements and being fully in agreement with comrade Gennari and with regard to Techecho-Slovakia he approved the policy and tactics of the Executive for the past year and recommends to congress the approval of same.

Then Comrade Malzhan of Germany spoke. He dealt the March revolt. "We, who are called reformists and opportunists", he said, "foresaw the danger. The Central Executive Committee and the whole party supported the theory of revolutionary demonstrations. It was our duty to fight such a theory. If comrade Zinoviev were in Germany, he would have our point of view. When the congress will take up the discussion of tactics, we will speak more of the March revolt. It is the duty of every delegation to speak openly on the results of direct revolutionary action. Comrade Zinoviev stated in his report, that half a million workers participated in the March revolt. If, after the revolt, the Executive Committee would have come to Germany to get acquainted with the situation and its particulars and then state: — Yes, you acted correctly. Then we would have to submit. But the Executive gathered its information from papers and reports of the Central Committee. We have to state then, that the information you have is unfounded. If we wish to strive in the future toward real revolutionary action, we must take into consideration the obvious mistakes of the March revolt.

Comrade Münzenberg, in the name of the International of Young Communists, declared their complete agreement with the policy and work of the Executive



Committee of the Comintern, and declared the readiness of the Young Communists to its full support.

Reviewing the position of Italy, he pointed out that of the 42 thousand organised revolutionary youth of Italy, 40 thousand were against Serrati, spoke of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, and firmly rejects the attempts of the Party to represent that matter so, that it should seem as if the Young Communist Party were on its side. The International is decidedly on the side of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. We must loudly proclaim here, that we are not taking any part, whatsoever, in the so-called struggle against Moscow, and that the Communist International may rely on us as a loyal fighting detachment.

**Comrade Radek (E. C.)** spoke after comrade Münsenberg.

As a member of the Executive Committee, I listened very attentively to the debate, and with growing relief, for I thought that when the representatives of Western and Eastern Europe, the Near and Far East, would rise to speak they would descend with all their might on the Executive Committee. Instead, the debates centred chiefly round the Communist Labour Party of Germany, the Italian question, and around other very interesting matters, which had nothing to do with the charges against the Executive Committee. There are present for instance, the representatives of the opposition of the Communist Labour Party of Germany. Comrade Neiman evidently thought that he came here for the simple object of debating on the Communist Labour Party of Germany, and comrade Maltsan, with the object of establishing the right number of workers that took part in the March events in Germany. But this number, comrades should not be allowed to pass. If you do not intend to say anything in connection with the Executive, then I will put some questions to you: What if 20,000 workers took place in the March events? That comrades you can discuss with your neighbours at the table. What happened then? A Bachunist outburst, or proletarian action? You who have decided on common action with Levi, have trod underfoot the Executive Committee of the Comintern, before the world proletariat, accusing us of wanting to commit excesses all over Europe. You must reply. Do you think that the Executive Committee made a mistake (Comrade Maltsan from his place interrupted: "You cannot say everything") your first duty, continued Radek; "was to admit that you had committed a political error, by acting in common with Levi. Then you could in comradely fashion discuss with us any question you pleased. This was your first duty. I repeat, at present there is not the question of the question of the German Party, but of the Executive Committee. The question of Levi, is not simply a question of Party discipline, but of the tactics of the Comintern. Levi himself says: "This is not a question of violating Party discipline, but essentially of the March events. Either this is not Bachunist outburst, and then I might be expelled from the Party, or it is a Bachunist outburst, then you the Central Committee of the Party ought to be expelled." The Executive Committee has acted in common with the Central Committee of the Party and you must decide whether the action of the Executive Committee was correct or otherwise. It is not necessary to talk as comrade Maltsan did, as if the question dealt with the Party adopting the tactics of a growing offensive. Comrade Zetkin wrote, and spoke at the time in the strain as did the Comintern, and it is a thousand pities that you inclined towards comrades Freilich and Talheimer, and not towards comrade Zetkin, your leader, who spoke of your opposition in that direction.

I will now deal with the Italian question. Here, it is also essential that a reply be given whether the Executive acted right in connection with the Serratti group. Here we have the representatives of the Italian Socialist Party. It will be of importance to hear what they have to say, but it is also important that they should hear what we have to tell them, and how we estimate their conduct. Serratti affirmed at Livorno, that the Executive Committee wants only small groups, and is against mass organisation. That is not true. We are not against mass organisation, but we demand revolutionary mass organisation, and if we acted wrongly on the Italian question because a large number of workers from the Italian Party followed Serratti, then we have acted doubly wrong in connection with Germany, because a far larger number stayed with the Independents than did with Serrati. At the same time,

MOSCOW

## To British Labour.

The following telegram of appeal has been sent to the workers of England by the British Delegation to the Comintern.

The British Delegation to the Congress of the Third International now assembled in Moscow, hails with pride the magnificent decision of the British Miners to reject the proposals of compromise offered by the mineowners, backed by the Government. Acquainted with your fighting record we were convinced beforehand that such would be your decision.

Your heroic struggle, comrades, is being followed here by the numerous delegations which represent the revolutionary workers from all lands, and in your single handed fight against the tremendous concentrated power of the bourgeoisie, you have earned the reputation as the champions of the British working class.

Now that the distressful period of isolation following Black Friday is passing, and the massed battalions of the working class are pressing to join you in the fight, we urge that the struggle shall remain no longer merely passive. We urge you to take the most energetic measures in conjunction with the engineering workers, the cotton workers, the farm workers, and whoever will join with you in the struggle to force the abdication of an unscrupulous and treacherous government. Miners, engineering workers, cotton workers, farm labourers, let your slogan be:

**"On with the general strike!  
No compromise!  
Down with the Government!  
All power to the workers!"**

T. Bell.  
W. Hewlett.  
J. Vaughan.  
F. L. Kerran.  
T. Quelch.  
N. Watkins.  
N. Smythe.

James Black.  
J. T. Murphy.  
G. Brown.  
Gray.  
Bamber.  
Elizabeth Mackenzie.

## White Terror in Bulgaria.

The following letter has been received from Com. Kabakchiff on the White Terror now prevailing in Bulgaria.

Sophia, 27th May 1921. On May 24th, during a nationalistic demonstration some provocateurs threw a bomb into the crowd, which resulted in a number of people being wounded some heavily and some slightly. Simultaneously, a preliminarily organised white-guard band, consisting of nationalists and students of all bourgeois parties, with the obvious participation of the police and cavalry, attacked the Workingmen's Club and the People's House. The first mentioned building suffered considerably, the furniture having been destroyed, the second building was set on fire and burned down completely. The workingmen who were trying to disperse the invaders were hindered by the police and cavalry protecting the pillagers and participating in the pillage and incendiarism themselves. Great damage was sustained by the workingmen's cooperative. The Government, leaving the pillagers free, had the Communists arrested and clubbed, and put the whole Communist Party under a regime of terror. In spite of all this, numerous protest meetings are taking place all over the country with the exception of the capital: The Communist Party proclaimed, as its watchword, to defend the premises of the Workers' Clubs and meeting places by all means possible. The masses respond to the terror of the bourgeoisie by proclaiming — Long live the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

With fraternal greetings,

Chr. Kabakchiff.

five comrades resigned from the Central Committee of the German Party, because they did not agree with the conduct of the Executive Committee, on the Italian question. Were these comrades right, or was the Executive Committee right? This question must be answered clearly here, and not passed over in silence. The Executive Committee separated the question of Gorter, because theirs is a small country and they have no revolutionary mass movement. If it is a case of finding excuses for them, then you could find one sooner in the fact, that one of them is an astronomer, and for a long time has not met a living proletariat, and the other is a semi-philosopher, a semi-poet, and deals more in the "phenomena of the spirit". The trouble however is here that when the proletariat sees here such an honest revolutionary as Gempel who steps out on the tribune, with all the passion of a limited sect, it only creates disorganisation in their fighting ranks, and sets them a bad example of infringement of revolutionary proletarian discipline, in the name of their sectional frame of mind. That is why a categorical decision is demanded on this question, and the categorical opinion of the Congress on the question of all the actions of the E. C. of the Comintern.

After Comrade Radek's speech the sitting closed about midnight.

## RUSSIA.

### Workers to the Comintern.

In the workers' clubs and health resort for patients in Simferopol (Crimea), a meeting took place of the Communist groups that arrived in the hospital train No. 82, from Nijny Novgorod. After hearing an address on the Third International, the patients passed the following resolutions. We, the workers of Nijny Novgorod and Moscow, who arrived in beautiful Crimea to recover our health, render our heart-felt gratitude to our dear country, and her splendid Red Army which made it possible to set up this proletarian health resort. We also express our gratitude to our leaders, under whose direction the Red Warriors made it possible for us to recuperate from our heavy work in the factories.

### Russian "Refugees"

Berlin, 24 June. The question of Russian refugees will be discussed next week by the League of Nations. As the organisation of adequate relief calls for enormous financial outlays, the Russian Anti-Bolshevistic organisations, are calling upon the League of Nations to finance this work, from the funds belonging to the former Czaristic and Provisional governments. The gold reserve amounts to 300 million roubles and was formerly delivered to Germany by Russia and now is in the possession of the Entente. But this scheme finds no sympathetic response on the part of the Entente powers.

### The Spread of Bolshevism in China.

Berlin June, 24th. (Via Riga.) "Temps" of June, 23rd publishes a letter from China, the writer of which tries to show the improbability of China ever becoming Bolshevistic. He nevertheless admits, that the recent coal strikes in that country are something that never happened before and clearly shows that revolutionary ideas are gaining ground among the Chinese working masses. This is especially dangerous in view of the very hard times prevailing in China. However the correspondent of the bourgeois paper finds consolation in the fact that the Chinese are too ignorant to understand the need of class organisation necessary for stimulating revolutionary activity.

### 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.

JUNE 28th 1921

## Notice.

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

## Organisation and Information Dep't 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.

## 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 LINIE, 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 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 who work among the Jewish workers or those who are interested in this work are invited to visit the

### Central Bureau

of the

### Jewish Sections

of the Russian Communist Party, Vozdvijenko 5, room 50-51. Visitors will be received daily, excluding Sundays, from 3 to 5 p. m.