



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### To the Third Congress From the Conference of Representatives of Workers' Faculties.

Whilst the communists of the world are solving vast international problems, with the active participation of Russian Communists—the Russian revolution still continues. The Russian workers wrenched political power out of the hands of capital, and seized the major portion of all the institutions of economic existence out of these self-same grasping, greedy hands. But in order that the proletariat may control the gigantic political, industrial, agricultural and commercial machines of a tremendous country with its revolutionary energy and might, it must still take hold of another power—the power of knowledge which cannot be put into his hands with only the single act of a revolution.

It is true that not the bourgeoisie, as such, nor the bureaucrats were the fount of this knowledge. Its bearers were primarily the different sections of the intelligenzia, from that which was near to the proletariat and to the rich engineer, who moved in bourgeois and court circles, or some other who sold his knowledge to the ruling class.

It would have been easy to foretell that the intelligenzia would split into two parts, one closely welded to the upper classes and the other closely united with the conquering lower classes. It could have been also foretold that the extensive middle element would vacillate and would take a long time to find its bearings under new surroundings. And so it turned out. Even to-day it cannot be said with any certainty that the intelligenzia, even its better or so-called "democratic" elements, is expressing its solidarity with the working classes or even using its knowledge and skill with that loyalty which it was wont to give to its former masters. This does not mean that we have no brilliant exceptions to this in Russia, or that no entire groups or sections of the intelligenzia came into our ranks. Nevertheless, the political and economic struggle can only be successful when the proletariat will have had access to the knowledge and cultural experience. The proper way to this is correct reconstruction of schools. This way is long and, combined with the serious economic condition of the Republic, is extremely difficult.

With its customary revolutionary hardihood the proletariat made an assault on the universities. The People's Commissariat for Education created workers' faculties in all the universities and higher educational institutions of Russia—64 of these faculties with a total of 30,000 students are now in existence. Its social composition almost exclusively worker and peasant. These young people receive in a condensed, but sufficient form, all the necessary preparation which allows them to enter the university later. This is done not only to infuse the old student circles with fresh proletarian blood and to allow the more capable workers to enter the university, but the representatives of workers faculties, hope that the very methods of teaching science and in time perhaps, the very nature of science itself will undergo a "renaissance", will become more real and practical. We hope that they will clear away the mass of scholastic influences with which science became imbued through bourgeois class interest. We hope that this will be achieved by the close contact of science with the vanguard of the masses, the youths and maidens who eagerly stretch forth their hands towards it, and who are ready to receive truth with enthusiasm, but who reject with revulsion the unnecessary scholasticism and bourgeois illusions, which they formerly accepted without a murmur in the secondary schools, where they were trained to become obedient officials. The latter indeed was one of the functions which the governing class performed through the universities. Thus, whilst the struggle in the sphere of politics is still proceeding, whilst the economic situation is absorbing most of our energy, we, the workers' faculties, are the vanguard of a third revolutionary struggle, the struggle for knowledge. That is why our meagre

### ENGLAND.

#### The Russo-British Trade Relations.

A report from the "Daily Herald" states that the British Government has declared Krassin, Klyshko and Birtz as personae gratae in the execution of the trade agreement with Soviet Russia. The staff of the official British mission to Russia has already been appointed, and will depart for Moscow during the course of the present week.

#### Wage Reduction.

Nauen, 27, 6. A joint Commission of English ship owners and seamen has agreed to lower wages as a means of reducing unemployment.

#### America Demands Britain's Neutrality.

Washington, 26, 6. According to information going the rounds in political circles, the U. S. Government will demand that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement contain a clause providing for Britain's neutrality in the event of a war between America and Japan.

### ITALY.

#### Submitting to Fate.

Rome, June 25. Turatti delivered a long speech against communism in Parliament, saying: "Two forces have collided: the one attempting to hasten the progress of history, the other to retard it. But there is a third force which is being crushed between them—the natural progress of things. Force is an illusory and useless weapon". Dealing with the question of cooperating with the bourgeoisie, Turatti delivered himself of a similarly stupid phrase: "I will speak neither for, nor against. What the gods decree, shall happen". The Communist Graziadei, scathingly rebuked the critics of communism, saying that the revolutionary period that began during the war has not yet ended.

#### A Scuffle in Parliament.

Rome June 25, 1921. During a hand-to-hand fight at the last session of parliament, resulting from the speech of the Fascist leader, Labriola, Minister for Labour, pointing his revolver at the Fascist M. P., exclaimed: "Scoundrel and miscreant!" Giolitti hurled himself upon Labriola and demanded the preservation of peace. Labriola, still incensed, left the parliamentary tribune, and loudly declared that he no longer wished to remain in the Cabinet. The incident has created a deep impression. Labriola refuses to withdraw his resignation.

### PERSIA.

#### Breaking With England and Uniting With Russia.

Nauen, June 27. In his speech from the throne the Shah of Persia stated that the treaty with England had been rejected and that agreements had been signed with Afghanistan and Russia.

#### Radiophonogramming.

Nauen, June 28. At the present time messages sent by the wireless telephone start from the Nauen station and reach Newfoundland, i. e. cover a stretch of 4,340 kilometers. It is expected that in the near future it will be possible to connect points lying still further apart.

conference, executing its particular, but extremely important duty, considers itself in the right when it addresses these few words, to you to which it wishes the hope of a triumphant victory for the III International. And to you. Third Congress, we wish the no less warmer hope of settling those difficult and important problems with which history has confronted your combined wisdom and upon whose solution depends the general renaissance of humanity.

### FRANCE.

#### Growth of Communism.

Nauen, June 27. Lorraine is approaching economic collapse. Only twenty five out of a total of eighty nine blast furnaces are at work. The workers are more and more drifting to communism. At the communal elections during the last few weeks there have been considerable majorities for the communists.

#### The French Seceders call a Communist meeting.

The seceders of the Aisne organised a meeting at St. Quentin, which was to be addressed by Jean Longuet, the ex-deputy of the Seine, Le Toquet, and a municipal councillor of Paris. In order to attract an audience they announced on their posters in the time honoured fashion, that "Citizen Frossard, General Secretary of S. F. I. C. has been invited by letter to come and oppose". This had the desired effect. The public attended in large numbers. Moreover to the dismay of the organisers—Frossard came in answer to the invitation. We may at once state that his success was immense. It is no exaggeration to say, that out of an audience of 2000 persons there were not more than about one hundred convinced seceders. Longuet's speech was interrupted so often that Frossard had to intervene in order to allow the orator to finish his speech. Longuet refused to speak on "the differences which separate us". He attacked the policy of the National Bloc, advocated peace with Russia, praised the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet. He did not say a word about the split and was careful not to mention Vincent Auriant's magnificent project of re-construction. He concluded, supplicating Frossard not to answer his appeal for unity by a brutal refusal.

Frossard, whom the audience cheered at his entrance in the circus, and who refused the invitation of the seceders to take his seat on the platform made his answer to Longuet. "Longuet preferred not to mention matters on which we disagree. But I intend to dwell on these questions. The split which Longuet regrets so much was a break with reformism (cheers). Then Frossard went on to explain the position of Communism with regard to the events of the world revolution. He explained our policy of reparation and reconstruction and revealed the impossibility of reformist schemes, which are essentially utopian.

The Secretary of the Party described the seceders' policy since the split and wound up by saying:

I cannot agree with Longuet's appeal for unity. Formerly I was opposed to the split, but to-day I regard it as a fact. Meanwhile we have not closed our doors to anyone. The masses support us. Your party, so far as I can see consists of generals without an army.

The unity we strive to bring about is the unity of the masses. This unity will be brought about in the near future in spite of the those leaders who withdrew.

Frossard was cheered for a long time. Le Troquet complained of being compelled (why compelled?) to leave the party. The meeting closed and the seceders did not dare to submit their motion to the vote. In a word, this was the greatest Communist success.

#### Kerr and Cachin with the Moselle Miners.

Last Sunday our comrades Kerr and Marcel Cachin, delegated by the Managing Committee and Kerch Federal secretary of the Lorraine miners, organised a public meeting in the forest which dominates Algrange. Several thousands of coal and iron workers took part in it to welcome Communism. The meeting was preceded by a march through Algrange headed by four workers bands. Twenty four trade union sections were represented.

The manifestations was concluded with the presentation of a banner to the local group.

L'Humanité of June 7th.

### GERMANY.

#### The German Spirit Charmers.

The German National fraction of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies played an involuntary joke upon themselves by directing a question to the government as to the whereabouts of comrade Radek, and other leading Russian bolsheviks, who they averred had been recognised in Berlin by a perhaps intoxicated, spirit charmer. According to these frightened reactionaries, Radek, whom they notably promoted to Russian People's Commissary, had been appointed commander in chief of the German Red Army.

It does little honour to the cunning of the German Nationals, that they have only just now discovered this fact. Apparently they are not yet aware that Radek, accompanied by 5000 Russian commanders, has just landed in Berlin by means of an airship, and established a military training school in an underground tunnel in the west of Berlin. The impending danger is heightened by the fact that Radek in conspiring with Holz, having gained entrance to the Moabit prison by means of a magic hood, which made him invisible, and it is from there that he is organising his communists forces. At the same time a large and efficient corps of lunacy physicians has arrived in Berlin, to combat the ever-growing insanity manifesting itself in the circles of the German Nationals. It is to be hoped that the Ebert government will succeed in laying hands on these undesirable immigrants, as the German National idiots are absolutely needed, in order to complete the bankruptcy of the state.

#### Loyal Friends.

There is a report from Oppeln that the Neutral, Christian and Hirsch-Dunker trade unions have issued a common appeal to the Inter-Allied Commission to call a conference of representatives of the trade unions and large industry. In this cattle transaction the hide of the worker is once more at stake. Such treason to the class interests of the proletariat is only comprehensible, if one makes the assumption that the treacherous trade union bosses are being rewarded for these services in hard cash.

#### A Belgian Protest against the Leipzig Verdict.

The acquittal of the war criminal Ramduhr has elicited a protest from the Belgian Chamber of Deputies against the disgraceful perversion of Justice by the State Court at Leipzig. In this protest the parody on Justice staged at Leipzig was severely criticised, while the Allies were called upon to insist upon their rights.

#### A Well-Earned Beating.

On the occasion of the interpellation concerning the murder of Garreis, the reactionary conservative deputy Mittelmann received a well-earned beating the hands of our Comrade Remmels. The Bavarian Independent Socialist deputy Unterleitner censured, with great vehemence, the systematic assassinations of the reactionary criminals, who appear to be bent upon murdering at least 500 communists. Mittelmann approved of the atrocities and declared the murders of communists as justified. Where upon the recreant was treated to his thrashing.

### GREECE.

#### Greece at War With Russia

The Athens correspondent of the Jyväskylä newspaper "Ussi Suomi" of June 26, reports that the Greek government has despatched a note to the Soviet Government stating that Greece is in a state of war with Soviet Russia.

Similar information is published in Polish press.

The Commissariat For Foreign Affairs communicates however that it has received such a note.

## "MOSCOW"

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.  
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### Destroyers and Builders.

The Russian bourgeois emigres, who are now swarming the ante-chambers of foreign Ministers, accuse the communists of having disorganised the whole industry of Russia. They are unanimous in declaring that the abolition of private property and the liberty of economic activity in the towns systematically destroyed industry. A slight acquaintance with the facts however will prove the lying character of these statements. Take the manufacture of agricultural machines. In 1913, 6,400,000 puds of agricultural machinery was manufactured in Russia. About the same quantity was imported from abroad. During the Imperialist war for seven and a half years Russia was deprived of a half of her agricultural machinery. During the civil war the works in which agricultural machinery is manufactured in Russia and which are situated in the Gubernias of Tauris, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, were in the hands of the Whites. That is why it is so difficult to raise agriculture immediately.

But even before the civil war, when economic activity was not restricted, and when private property was "sacred" Capitalist mismanagement was bringing matters to a crisis. In No. 119 of the "Trade and Industrial Gazette" it is stated that in the course of the war the Zemtvos ordered 7935 seeders and received 108, they ordered 19,400 harvesters and received not a single one, they ordered 11,110 threshers and received 142. In all only two per cent of the orders placed were carried out by the Spring of 1917. During the second year of the war the consumption of metals in agriculture had to be limited, with the result that from 50 to 90 per cent of the orders placed were not carried out.

This was before October 1917 when the capitalists had it all their own way, when the prisons were filled with communists and the situation was such that in the words of the "Vlast Naroda" of June 21 1917 "crowds of people come to the Union of Small Credit Societies demanding bar iron, wheel tyres, shoeing iron etc. All their efforts to secure these things ended in failure. Valentinov, the Menshevik, in his pamphlet, "Revolution and the Agrarian Program of the Social-revolutionists", published in August-September 1917, page 48, writes as follows: "We are faced not by the danger of our productive forces suffering a check, but by a complete disorganisation of our economic situation, such as might be caused by the richest harvest perishing due to a lack of machinery". On page 50 Valentinov states: "under the withering breath of war, agriculture begins to decline, passing gradually to primitive economy, and a country steeped in worthless paper money is offering the town population the old natural method of barter, one product in exchange for another". Such was the situation in June 1917, as confessed, in the "Trade and Industrial Gazette" by the S. R.'s and the Mensheviks. As early as 1917, Russia, owing to bourgeois rule, was reduced to complete disorganisation of industry", and Struve in vain asserted in his report on the economic results of the Communist regime, at the Paris congress of merchants and manufacturers in May 1921, that "the communist revolution was the turning point which marked the economic reversion to a definite type — to primitive economy".

He was wrong — for all this was the work of the Russian bourgeoisie, and the communist revolution had only to put a stop to this disorganisation. The revolution could not entirely master this disorganisation, for the Russian and the world bourgeoisie forced Russia to fight for three years. But now that it is possible that the revolution will be left in peace, we shall be able to mend the excesses of bourgeois rule, and rapidly raise agriculture. Gossip and lies were spread by the bourgeoisie, which had been ill-used and ejected, as well as by the Martovs, the Tchernovs, and other compromising heroes; they can easily be dispelled by inquiring into our past. They are refuted even by the proofs emanating from the bourgeois and social-compromisers' camps. The enemies of Soviet Russia, defeated in

MOSCOW

# Sixth and Seventh Sessions of the Report of the two Discussion on

JUNE 29th 1921

The session opened at 12.30 p. m. next point on the agenda, viz. the German discussion on the report of the Executive, from the Italian Socialist Party, was accepted unanimously. Furthermore it was agreed, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, to allow only one representative each of the Communist Party of Italy and the Italian Socialist Party to speak on this question, and that other delegates only take part in the discussion in the event of important questions.

The representative of the opposition of the U. C. P. Germany

**Comrade Maltzan** was allowed to make a statement. He repudiated Comrade Radek's assertion that he evaded the question of the March rising and that he regarded this question as purely one of tactics. He for that reason repeatedly declared in his speech that he will speak about this in detail when the question of tactics, are examined. "At all events" he said I must assert that during the March rising we completely carried out our duties and obligations.

**Comrade Radek** in reply to Comrade Maltzan said that the representative of the opposition of the C. P. G. puts words into my mouth that I never said. I never accused Maltzman, Neiman or Zetkin with having sabotaged the March rising. On the contrary, this accusation was levelled against Frederick Müller and Daumig, Daumig himself declared in writing that his conscience would not permit him to take part in the March rising. I simply wish to say that neither Maltzan nor Neiman repudiated the declaration of Daumig.

**Comrade Leipzig**, a visitor representing the Left Wing of the Belgian party was then given floor. He said since the Executive Committee of the Comintern has sent us the invitation to the Congress, our fractions has split off from the Belgian Party and we hope that at the next congress we shall be able to take part as representatives of an independent Party. Comrade Leipzig described the difficulties with which his fraction had to contend. He reminded the Congress that the heroes of the Second International Vandervelde, Huysmans and De-Brukier are fighting the communists in Belgium. Vandervelde particularly persecutes the communists and as Minister of Justice, he has the whole apparatus of the state at his service. Huysmans makes hostile speeches in the Chamber against Soviet Russian and the Communist International and De-Brukier circulates faked photographs for the purpose of discrediting the Soviet Government. The communist mass movement in Belgium, continued Comrade Leipzig, is yet young, and it is necessary to establish regular connection with the Comintern as up till now connection was only maintained through the neighbouring countries. The French and German comrades in the persons of Valiant, Coutourier and Clara Zetkin rendered considerable assistance to the Belgian comrades. All the evidence goes to show that the communist movement will develop rapidly in Belgium because its industrial base adjoins the industrial centres of Germany. Comrade Leipzig considered it necessary to inform the congress that the Belgian Communist Party simply does harm to the communist movement. In the "Cuvrier

the field of battle, will be unmasked and shamed, now that we take up the weapons of criticism. Truth will triumph. The truth consists in the fact, that Russia, through the Communist revolution which drew the masses into the work of state construction, was capable not only of holding its own, and not become a colony, but also of beating off five sixths of the entire world, and has now proceeded to build up her economic system.

No bourgeois state would be capable of achieving this. Russia, in spite of ignorance and poverty, could only accomplish this through the communist revolution, which sent the bourgeoisie and its socialist henchmen flying abroad. Thus they were unable to prevent the Russian proletariat gaining victories at the front, and preserving national economy from utter decomposition. Only now the communists are able to construct that which the bourgeoisie had destroyed.

N. Kousmin.

Communist — an article was published, for example, attacking mass action and advocating the old reformist method. This party also without taking into consideration the political conditions prevailing in Germany, opposed the participation in parliament.

The discussion on Comrade Zinoviev's report was then resumed by **Comrade Markovitch** (Yugo-Slavia) who dwelt on two points in the report, affecting the Zinoviev; he said, "stated that a considerable right wing existed in our party, which had been lopped off, and that the Executive still fear that this wing may sprout again. But this fear is totally unfounded. The Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia came from the womb of the Serbian Socialist Party, which for twenty years conducted an unceasing revolutionary struggle. Possibly there is not another party in Europe which so hermetically sealed its ranks against the penetration of reformist elements. When the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy took place, the Serbian bourgeoisie inherited considerable wealth, but the socialist party inherited the worst Austrian and to a greater degree Hungarian opportunism. We conducted a severe struggle against them and in a short period we conquered them, now there cannot be any suggestion of opportunism in the ranks of the Yugo-Slavian Party. From the very first day of its existence the Communist Party revealed its loyalty to the revolution and when the Yugo-Slav bourgeoisie endeavoured to intervene in the affairs of Hungary in order to overthrow the Soviet Government, not a single Yugo-Slav soldier took part whereas thousands of Yugo-Slav workmen joined the Hungarian Red Army, all as a consequence of our agitation and influence with the masses. We expelled Luptchovitch, who has been conducting revolutionary work both before and during the [war,] immediately he revealed his intentions of diverting the party from the true communist path. In spite of what Com. Zinoviev, said we have kept in touch with that E. C. and during the last five months we have sent three reports which were subsequently published in the "Communist International". Com. Markovitch then dealt with the condition under which the party had to work during the last few months. The bourgeoisie proclaimed its Dictatorship.

It understood what unfortunately in not everywhere understood by the proletariat, namely, that at the present time there can be only a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There is no third way. The party was forced underground. The same situation obtains in Bulgaria and Roumania, and in future we can expect it in all the other capitalist countries. The fact that the bourgeoisie is adopting new determined modes of struggle was unfortunately not mentioned in the report.

As regards the Italian question, we must say that for us it is quite clear and comprehensible, as we have experienced three splits ourselves and are near neighbours of Italy. We must say that we started to combat Serrati before the Executive Committee did. The centrists all the time pointed out that they were supported by executive of the Comintern and that we, the Yugo-Slav Communists are anarchists. The split that took place in the Italian Socialist Party had no moral nor organisational preparation. This was due to both the mistake of the Executive and of the Italian comrades. It was the duty of the Executive, to adopt the most determined measures immediately upon the appearance of the centrist tendencies in the Italian Party. What took place at the Livorno Congress may then have been avoided. In our opinion that split took place too late.

Passing over to the German Party, Comrade Markovitch said that on the one hand there was displayed the incontestable revolutionary spirit of the German proletariat, and on the other hand the weakness of the leaders. The march uprising is undoubtedly a progressive fact, but the leaders of the Party were unable to appreciate the situation at the time. As regards Levi, it can be said that if decisive measures had been adopted towards him before the appearance of his articles a crisis would have been avoided.

In concluding, comrade Markovitch seconded Zinoviev's appeal to the delegates to send their best representatives into the Executive so that the latter become a real General Staff of the World Revolution.

**Comrade Collarov** (Bulgaria) approved the report in all details. He wished merely to say a few words about the leadership of the international movement. We have always — he said — supported the idea of centralisation, and we continue to support it however much the bourgeoisie may cry about the Moscow dictators. We therefore justify the determined conduct of the Executive in reference to the Italian, French, Czechoslovak and German questions. Comrade Collarov considers, however, that the Executive lagged behind on the question of reparations, and that is why the French and German Parties acted without co-ordination. Comrade Collarov referred the lack of unanimity in the French Communist Party. We expected — said he — that the French Communists would take up a more clearly-defined and determined position in relation to the Imperialist French Government whose generals are the masters of the destinies of the Balkans. The Party does not seem to have a clear and defined position particularly on the question of the role of the trade unions. It is necessary to improve the organisation of the French Party and send the best men there.

The floor was then granted to Comrade Clara Zetkin.

"Comrades — said Clara Zetkin — it is three days since Zinoviev started to expound his indictment, the reading of which comrade Radek continued yesterday. Concerning the Italian question, which was the cause of my resigning the Central Committee, I must say the following: from the speeches of Zinoviev, Radek, Hecker and others I received the impression that this question was being too broadly discussed. It should have been considered as a question of the Italian proletariat which, to our regret, has not taken a firm stand ideologically on the platform of Communism. Much was spoken here about the treacherous conduct of Serratti. As for myself, comrades, personalities do not count. Those masses, which unfortunately, still follow Serrati, were important to me. Of course, the September events, proved to us that the Italian Party did not understand the situation fully enough to be able to seize political power.

In my opinion it would have been for the E. C. to have taken the necessary steps of starting the struggle immediately. Then we could have gauged the revolutionary development of our party. But Serrati was not responsible, he was at that time on his way to Italy from Moscow. Neither can one blame the majority of the Serratti group as the party we admired and were proud of, was not yet prepared as regards organisation and principles. In my opinion if the Italian masses were revolutionary, they would have found a way out of their vacillating position and would have entered the political struggle over the heads of their leaders (Hecker interjecting, "That was the excuse of our Scheidermannists for their change in 1914").

Comrades, it is a historic fact that the leaders stand on the same plane as the masses. Of course the conduct of the leaders may be more decisive, but more often the conscious proletariat replaces its old leaders with new. When the question of seceding from Serrati's group came up many difficulties cropped up from the fact that he had the support of the wide proletarian masses, who in the past and during the present honestly sought the path to communism and the Third International. I supported this not because I was inclined to centrist or semi-centrist politics, but because I know that many of the masses were organised in trade unions and co-operative societies, which could have been made use of in the fight against reformism and opportunism.

That is why I supported the attempt to allow the so-called "Unitarist" group of Serrati to remain in the party, of course excluding Serrati. I was convinced that even if Serrati did remain, the would have to either lead a straight policy in a strong communist party or else remove his mask so that every worker could read his face. That is why I think that the representatives of the E. C. of the Comintern should have gone to Livorno and discussed the situation with our friends of the left wing and the supporters of Serrati. This would have given the communist party the chance of attracting into its ranks many thousands and tens of thousands of workers. The resolution

# Third Congress of the Comintern

## Sessions of June 27th.

### Zinoviev's Report.

of the E. C. demanded the immediate exclusion of Serratti. It declared that Serratti had committed a great mistake in not proposing, during the 6 months after the 2nd congress, a method of causing a split and then uniting at Livorno the 14,000 group of Serratti with the communists and 68,000 workers. The resolution still further declared that there was only one communist party in Italy namely, the Italian Communist Party. Comrades, that this resolution was not centrist was proved the fact that the E. C. of the Comintern unanimously accepted it at one of its sessions when I returned from Germany. I was told that it would be necessary to re-open the Italian for two reasons. 1) because Paul Levi at one of the party sessions at Berlin spoke of the resolution in the spirit of Serratti. 2) because a representative of the E. C. of the Comintern had arrived at Livorno and declared that the tactics that had been followed up till then were out of date and to be changed. We had another resolution proposed by Thalheimer and Stecker and rejected it by the majority of the E. C. But the old resolution was again adopted by the majority after I had worded it still more definitely, so that it could not be misconstrued in Serratti's sense. We must not forget in this connection the statement made by the representative of the E. C. of the Comintern in Italy to the effect that this resolution was sufficient.

I have no objection to taking the field against him but not his entire group, as this would hit those workers who wanted to join the communist party. Such warfare against the whole group would be a political blunder. I learned in Berlin that Serratti was negotiating with the members of the E. C. to send a special commission to Italy to co-operate with the Italian Communist Party for the immediate expulsion of Turatti and pave the way for a split. I wanted to fix this in writing and send it to the E. C. so that comrade Kurtzev could take it along to Moscow. I told Serratti that if he really wished to come to terms with the communist party and the Comintern, it would not be sufficient to act through the E. C. of our party. He should try to get the E. C. of the Italian party to apply to Moscow. Serratti agreed. Serratti however did not keep his word. The representative of the E. C. in Italy said that the Italian split should serve as an example for others and a means of cleaning in the French party as well. He thought that what mattered was not a mass party, but to have a small but pure party. He definitely stated that the party should not be made up of raw recruits, but of trained members able to find their bearing in any given situation. The same representative said to me personally afterwards "Comrade Zetkin, your party, too had become too bulky it must be thinned down". I think on the contrary, that our party is still too small. It needs not only numerical growth, but improvement in quality as well. The task before the Communist Party is to convert quantity into quality. And so, on the strength of what the representative of the E. C. of the Comintern said to me I put the question of the mass party versus a small propaganda sect. It did not occur to be that the above representative could be guilty of such irresponsible action in face of such a grave and responsible situation as obtained at Livorno and in Berlin.

I must add I that never feared to be left in a minority. This was the case in the question of parliamentary action when my fellow comrades in the E. C. failed to side with me and I was forced to shoulder unaided the weight of the struggle. I ask whether any one can say have during my activity, extending for 40 years, ever shirked any work or duty. That is why in view of the gravity of the situation, thought it impossible to stay on the E. C. My withdrawal from this committee is looked upon as a breach of discipline. But I would not have withdrawn if this could have weakened the party. I thought that under the given circumstances I was out of place and instead of being an element of strength, I became a factor of weakness. I admit that Serratti's politics is reformism and opportunism. Does the communist party mean to fight down the Fascist white guards by sermons? Force must be met by force. In my opinion it is not enough that the congress demand that the 21 conditions be carried out. It is imperative to break with Turatti. I think that the case of Levi is not merely a question of discipline, but also

one of policy. It can be correctly gauged only in connection with the entire political situation and tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, especially in connection with the March outbreaks. Else we lose track of the entire historical background. I always maintained that I did not share every word in his pamphlet, but I do not accept the verdict passed by some on the merits of his pamphlet. I have nothing against the proposition that the Congress, after sifting the question in connection with the above historical background, should right now decide one way or another in the Levi case.

At the conclusion of Comrade Zetkin's speech the congress adjourned.

## Seventh Session of the Congress.

### Evening June 27th.

The Session opened at 6 p.m. and the discussion on the report of Comrade Zinoviev was resumed.

Comrade **Frisland** (United Communist Party of Germany) devoted his speech to a criticism of the so-called Opposition in the German Party. "Comrade Zetkin's temperament" — he said — "was stronger than her political memory, and her statement here of a number of political questions has no relation to the actual facts in Germany. I, too, know very well that the comrades grouped around comrade Malsam had considerable time to collect statistics during the March events and to tour from factory to factory, not for the purpose of calling the workers to battle but in order to inform them where strikes are not taking place". "We must understand" — he said further — "in what lay the error of the March event. I am by no means inclined to assert that no mistakes have been made. There is no party which would have made no mistakes in a fight like that. Our main error lie in that our old Central Committee unable to organise a militant party, instead of organising the fighting power of the Party the old Central Committee was absorbed in such questions as to whether Rakosy desired to split the German Party, and should one oppose the Asiatic Bolshevik influence in the Comintern by Western European influence. In accordance with this Levi conducted a sort of behind-the-scenes policy. I can assert with confidence that this behind-the-scenes campaign has been conducted from the first day of the Second Congress.

Comrade **Overstraeten** (Communist Party of Belgium) dealt with the speech of Comrade Leipzig, who spoke of the difficulties confronting the Communist Party of Belgium. Comrade Overstraeten said that the difficulties did not consist in the persons of Vanderwelde, Huysmans etc, but in the whole spirit of reformism which has penetrated the mass organisations of the proletariat, the trade unions and the cooperative societies. The bureaucracy holding the reins of these organisations tightly in their hands are crushing the communist movement. Immediately after the conclusion of peace we concentrated all our efforts in the trade unions. Although at the II Congress of the Comintern our Party opposed parliamentary action, nevertheless, after the Congress had decided this question the Party unquestionably submitted to the decision. Speaking of the Left wing of the Socialist Party, comrade Overstraeten pointed out that up till now it has not paid the necessary attention to work on a mass scale. Of course, alliance with the Left Wing is possible and desirable, and he hoped that as a result of the fusion of both parties the Belgium Communist Party will considerably increase in strength.

Comrade **Könen** (Germany) said that the rise of the Communist movement in Germany began after the Kapp-Putsch, when the workers understood the necessity for a united Party. At that time a half a million revolutionary proletarians crystallised themselves, as it were, who in their strong will and courage proved that they are real revolutionaries. These workers placed all their hopes on the Central Committee, but they were deceived by the Five who subsequently resigned from the Central Committee. Levi not only strove to weaken their confidence in the Communist International, but strove also to deliver a blow to the

Party. The question of the Italian Party was discussed on such a plane, that it simultaneously dealt a blow to the Italian Party, to the Young United Communist Party of Germany and to the Executive Committee of the International. This was not all. When the former leaders left the Party and carried confusion among the masses the new leaders hurriedly attempted to organise the Party and prepare the proletariat for the struggle. The Party had hardly managed to organise its forces, when suddenly, as a result of the provocation of Horsing, it was compelled to enter an active struggle. Then these gentlemen began to speak about their conscience and their responsibility. Who, if not they, were responsible for the fact that the Party was not sufficiently prepared. After having left the Party at the critical moment they began to speak of mistakes, but the Party boldly entered the struggle. Even this was not enough for them. With their connivance, Levi's pamphlet was published. This was a blow in the back to the Party. However, in spite of their propaganda, they did not succeed in undermining us, and not a single district attached itself to their point of view.

Of course, we do not speak of individual persons. This is the Golgotha of the whole Party, and if after thousands of sacrifices, the Party held its ground and yet increased its strength, it proved that it has a strong and sound basis.

Comrade Zetkin said that Serratti made certain promises to her upon which she concluded that she must resign from the Central Committee. It would be interesting to know why comrade Zetkin had more faith in the promises of Serratti made in private conversation than with the German Communist Party. Comrade Zetkin says that she would never act against her conscience and never agree to do that for which she cannot bear the responsibility. Of course, if the interests of the Party demand it, it is necessary to deviate from one's own conviction. We cannot tolerate vacillation within the Party itself. This must be firmly laid down for all Communist parties. We must immediately get rid of such people who commence to play such games. Above all we must not let leaders become conceited, otherwise, instead of leading the Party they will dominate it. Discipline must be above all.

Comrade **Teraccini** (Communist Party of Italy) commenced his remarks by correcting some errors expressed in the report of Comrade Zinoviev. He did not tell comrade Zinoviev that the Italian Party is growing so rapidly that it is on the eve of militant action. On the contrary the speaker quite agreed that the chief task of the Italian Party at the present moment is to organise a strong proletarian organisation. He proposed to speak on the Italian question only to the extent it was referred to in the report of the Executive Committee. "It was usual" — he said — "to say that we created a split in the Italian Party. We can only regard with surprise such comrades who forget the decisions of the II Congress and the 21 points, whose main object was to cleanse the ranks of the party of all opportunist elements. Serratti attended the II Congress and took part in the discussion of this question. The Italian Socialist Party took part in the working out of those points, and hence it should have submitted to them. But Serratti did not wish to do this, and therefore he had to be excluded together with all those he attempted to protect. It is necessary to mention the fact that all our numerous enemies are united in one purpose, to attack us. But between themselves there is no unity. Comrade Markowitz of Yugoslavia says that we created the split too late, whilst comrade Zetkin says we should have waited a little longer. But is not the Livorno Congress itself the best proof that it was futile to wait longer? The decisions of the II Congress were received in Italy in October and soon after this active preparations were made for a conference. As a matter of fact there was nothing left to do at Livorno: everything was so clear and decided before the Congress. The Livorno Conference was not a split of the Communist Party, but merely the fulfillment of the decisions of the II Congress, and merely tested Serratti to see if he accepted or rejected these decisions. He who says we should have waited and carried on our work amongst opportunist ele-

ments — shows that he does not understand the Italian situation. Whilst the Right Opportunist Wing was carrying on an open campaign against the Comintern, the Communist Party was deprived of the possibility of being able to work, through having to remain with the opportunists in one organisation.

Comrade Zetkin accuses Comrade Rakosy more than Comrade Kabakchieff. I do not wish to defend him, but Comrade Rakosy did just as much as Comrade Kabakchieff, the Executive Committee and the Second Congress. Hence one must either agree with Comrade Rakosy or else accuse both comrade Kabakchieff and the Comintern. We are asked why we did not create a split over the question of seizing the factories. Those who ask such a question evidently do not understand that the mention of seizing the factories can only be unpleasant for the opportunist. Both Gennari and myself as well as the whole group of comrades present here to-day were leaders of that Milan Conference, which demanded that the movement directed towards the seizure of the factories should be energetically supported. But the Confederation of Labour, headed by opportunists, was against it, and we could not take on ourselves the responsibility for the machine which at a decisive moment was disowned by its creators.

In conclusion comrade Teraccini pointed out the inconsistency shown by the Executive Committee with regard to the various Jewish parties. Thus, the Poalie Zionists were admitted to the Congress with a consultative vote, although they do not carry out the elementary demands of the Communist International on the participation of all the workers including the Jewish in a single Communist party in each country. This condition must be presented to the Poalie Zionists in a most determined fashion and not give them any voice at all until they fulfill that condition.

Comrade **Djavad Zade** (Communist Party of Persia) spoke next. He is in agreement with the report of comrade Zinoviev. He said great work was done among the Eastern nations in the field of agitation and propaganda. But very little was done in the way of organisation. Comrade Djavad Zade said "You may think it strange that in many Eastern countries there are several Communist parties. Thus there are three communist parties in Turkey, two in Persia, two in Corea, etc. This is explained by the fact, that every Pasha, every potentate, wishing to utilise the ideas of communism for his private ends organises his own Communist Party".

In conclusion, comrade Djavad Zade expressed the hope that the Executive Committee of the Comintern would take into consideration the state of affairs in the East, and would henceforth intensify its work there.

After comrade Djavad Zade the meeting was addressed by Comrade **Rakosy** (Hungary).

"The Executive Committee is usually reproached with possessing bad representatives. I used to be one of them. Let us see how matters stood at the time when I was one of the bad representatives, of the Comintern. We invited the French Party to send its representatives to the Congress but the letter did not reach its destination, and the representatives could not come. We invited the representatives of the German Party, they were particularly valuable to us. A party which had certain experience, which has purified itself of opportunist elements, ought to have rendered us valuable aid. But what did Levi bring to the Congress? After a two hours conversation with Serratti he came to see me and Comrade Kabakchieff and the present representatives of the Italian Communist Party to the Congress, and started to persuade as to the justice of Serratti's views. But this was not all. He showed Serratti a letter from Clara Zetkin, in which she declared her agreement with Serratti, and the latter made clever use of it for his own purpose. When Levi returned to Germany he declared that Serratti was followed by the Communist workers. Such was the valuable aid which we obtained from the representatives of the German Party. Certain definite accusations were levelled against me. Something was said about my wishing to cause a split in the German Party. I, on my part, only said that the German Party had become so large that it could afford to rid itself of undesirable elements. It was said that I proposed to create a split in other countries, similar to the one that took place in Italy. I was not speaking of a split, however, but of how a communist movement could free itself of Turatti and the like.

As regards the activity of five comrades of the Executive Committee of the German Party, how can we describe it

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# The Womens Movement under the Banner of the Third International.

The recently concluded 2nd International Conference of Women held in Red Moscow, will undoubtedly mark a new and bright page in the history of the womens struggle for emancipation. There were at the conference representatives of the East and West, representatives of many races and tongues, and from those countries where women already obtained their political equality, and from those countries where they are still fighting for their freedom, they spoke one tongue, and they strove unanimously to reach the farthest outpost of the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of women. They will work for the attraction of the woman proletarians into the spreading world struggle of the proletariat.

To class conscious proletarian women it was of course clear that only communism which destroys this exploitation, national oppression, the enslavement of backward peoples and establishes social equality, will bring to woman full political and social equality. Hence the only fights for the emancipation of women are those of the comrades at work struggle and continue to struggle against capitalism, against tea-parlour feminism, and the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who endeavour to obtain for themselves all privileges of the ruling class.

With the first victory of the Russian proletariat, despite the fact that there is still a hard struggle to ensure the existence of the Proletarian Republic, and the difficulties which have to be contended with in laying the foundations of this new proletarian commonwealth, the womans question in the Young Socialist Republic was fully solved, or more correctly speaking, regarded as non-existent. In fact the Russian proletarian women have for almost four years, side by side with their brothers, bravely defended their government against the bourgeois classes and their ceaseless attacks. They, today continue a stubborn fight against hunger and destitution, and are taking an active part in the building of a new life. Not only do the women occupy a similar position to that of men, in the workers Republic, but are taking part in many spheres of social welfare, such as the protection of motherhood and childhood, the securing of a social education for the rising generation etc. Of course these are not the privileges of a bourgeois society, which are based on exploitation, inequality, and oppression, and on the principle of "ladies first". These bourgeoisie privileges mercilessly squeezes out the last scrap of energy from the working women, dooming both themselves and their children to a life of want and suffering.

The special privileges which were granted to the Russian working women, were closely related to their position in the social structure, and therefore demands of them special and serious obligations. The Russian working women, in observing the ground already covered and the work they have already accomplished in a country ruined by war and a cruel blockade, can say with pride that no privation or sacrifice is too great that would prevent them from struggling farther, or could weaken their energy or damp their revolutionary ardour, in the fight for building up the Holy Kingdom of the Joyous and Creative Workers.

The practical work of the Russian working women with all their achievements and victories, while collaborating with the awakening of human dignity and class consciousness among the wide masses of women workers of the world, left its mark on the whole work of the conference. The delegates who had come together from all the corners of the world, both the grey haired old veterans of the woman's revolutionary movement of the west, and the women of the East who had just awakened from their age long sleep, regarded with pride and gratitude their Russian sisters who had fanned the flames of revolution in the breasts of the women workers who are still languishing under the yoke of capitalism, and grateful for having seen the path to victory.

The path covered by the Russian proletariat helped the conference not only to determine the strategical tactics of the fight for the seizure of power by the workers, but to determine the role which the woman worker had to play after the seizure of power, and under the new communist reconstruction the revolutionary experience of the Russian proletariat and the latest conflicts of the workers in advanced Western-European proletariat, have helped the women workers

The very name of Max Holz makes a shudder run down the back of the good fat peaceable bourgeois. Even in party circles opinions are divided as to whether he should be regarded as a sort of robber chief like Rinaldo Rinaldini, or a cutthroat or as an Anarchist Revolutionary. But all his actions at the time of the Kapp rebellion can be justified. His acts of sabotage in various factories of the Mogtland especially were justly criticised in the party press. It is certainly necessary in certain cases not to shrink from the destruction of industrial concerns for strategic reasons, but one cannot reduce purposeless destruction to a principle. Nevertheless it is unfair to describe Holz as a pirate for that reason.

During the March fights in Central Germany, Holz certainly did not commit a deed which cannot be sanctioned from all his actions are followed by excesses, the "Lumpenproletariat", and, which are attributed to the leaders. It is for this reason that robberies, which took place at the time of the March action, Max Holz, were placed to the credit of up the Berlin Stiegestraße (victory memorial buildings, e.g. a lavatory in Western Berlin, and a railway attempt long before the rising, were instigated by police agents and had nothing to do with Max Holz. But the explosions which were caused by Holz during the action, were due to strategic reasons and cannot be avoided in the struggle to come.

But even the expropriations which Holz was compelled to enforce during the March rising can never be described as robberies. The wars between capitalist states could only be waged, on conditions that the states undertook to provide and equip the fighting troops. Ninety percent of the burden fell on the popular masses, for the State revenue was derived almost exclusively from indirect taxation. The proletariat in its struggle for power lacks money and armaments. No war can be prosecuted without money, unless we open the door wide to the plunder of small tradesmen. The fighting working masses must at any rate have enough money to satisfy their most pressing requirements. Naturally this money will be taken from the bourgeoisie and therefore we cannot avoid expropriating the banks, post office cash, and the cash in the hands of the Junkers and the industrial magnates.

The fighting working masses of Central banded together Germany, illeclad, illshod. No clothing stores were provided for the Red soldiers; they had to confiscate all the necessaries of life. The well filled wardrobes of the capitalists had to be used for that purpose. Holz attached no importance whatever, to the points as to whether the confiscated outfits were new or old, he only took these clothes and shoes, which were necessary for the equipment of his soldiers. During the March risings in Central Germany, not a single case accused of confiscation of unnecessary articles, luxuries or other valuables. Confiscation was strictly limited to the necessaries of life. The well filled food stores of the large landowners of Mansfield had, of course, to give up their supplies. If these proved insufficient, a head of cattle was slaughtered from time to time.

Thus in Beesenstedt two oxen were slaughtered which belonged to a rich peasant, who was known also as a usurer. These oxen were placed at the disposal of the population. No one is surely going to blame Holz for this action.

As to the dynamite explosions, their number is limited, for only railways and bridges were concerned, and obviously, this was based on strategic considerations. The very safety of the worker's troops made these measures imperative. These explosions were not intended to cause any railway accidents and the signalmen were notified before each explosion to inform the stationmasters of the disconnection of the rails. Holz blew up some villas belonging to the greatest reactionaries, but on grounds that are

movement to determine clearly and definitely the ways and means of fighting, leaving no place for any faltering or wavering. And the Second International Conference of Communist Women again declared that the united revolutionary struggle of men and women workers under the banner of the Third International is the only and shortest way to the general triumph of labour over capital. The complete liberation of woman from her chains.

Z. Boiarskai.

MOSCOW

## MAX HOLZ.

thoroughly defensible. The villa of the Orgesch leader, Evers, contained a large arsenal which was exploded, when the villa was blown up. The assertion is untrue that the burning of the villa caused the destruction of some of the property belonging to the proletarians. None of the industrial premises were in any way damaged.

The only reproach we have to make to Max Holz is, that at first he refused to admit any intervention on the part of the political parties. Max Holz did not wish to subordinate himself either to the K. A. P. D., of which party he was a member, or to the V. K. P. D., which dominated in Central Germany. Holz held the view that party leadership is unnecessary to bring about a revolution. According to his view, the workers must on their own initiative, each in his locality incite a rebellion and must fight independently under the leadership of active Communists against the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt, that in a state where the military is entirely reactionary, such an attitude will lead to a defeat of the workers. Max Holz had come to this conclusion as early as the second day of the fight in Central Germany, and then he willingly placed himself under the military guidance of V. K. P. D. The way in which Max Holz carried out his propaganda for a rising also gives ground for criticism.

The bloodthirsty appeals, which he issued, were extremely unwise and are in contradiction with communist principles. In his propaganda Holz laid special stress on acts of vengeance. Thus he relied on the basest instincts of the workers. Moreover Holz would never have carried those threats into effect, for he is in reality a very compassionate and charitable person. The extermination of the bourgeoisie irrespective of age and sex, as was threatened in Holz's appeals, was only a threat which he would never have carried into effect. It is true he took hostages and threatened to kill them, but this threat was never realised. The Hörsing gangs on the other hand killed the workers by the hundred, and did not shrink from threats to murder innocent women. As a counter-measure for the arrest of Dr. Evers by Holz, my wife and our child aged seven months were taken as hostages and threatened with shooting. But they did not dare to execute this threat.

Max Holz, was in any case an honest revolutionary, who certainly was honestly striving to liberate the workers, though he lacked communist schooling. The German proletariat loses one of the most dauntless of its military leaders, who was destined to play an important part in the forthcoming struggle of the workers against the White gangs. The sentence was pronounced, as Holz rightly said, before he appeared before the White court. It is doubtful whether they will dare to execute the sentence in view of the present unrest among the masses, and thus we can still hope that Max Holz will be spared the executioners axe of Ebert's justice, and will be able to place all his dauntless energy at the disposal of the proletariat in its struggle for power.

Joseph Schneider.

### The Aaland Islands.

At the meeting of the Geneva Conference, called by the Council of the League of Nations to discuss the question of the Aaland Islands, the commissioners of the Council read their reports. According to the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian", these reports contradicted each other. One commission found that these Islands should be left to Finland, while another commission proposed to decide the question by a referendum of the people, living on these Islands, which is equivalent to handing them over to Sweden. The Swedish and Finnish representatives stated their opinions and formulated their claims. It was declared on behalf of the Council that it was now in possession of all the facts in the case necessary for the final decision.

### Communist Deported.

Stockholm, 25 June. Villenius, who was deported, left yesterday for Russia via Reval. "Politiken" says that in order to prevent any demonstration the newspapers were misinformed as to the date of his departure.

A large group of communists came to see Villenius off, and presented him with a bouquet of red roses. The Steamer pulled amidst cheers and the singing of the "International".

### 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.

### Notice

to all

### German-speaking Delegates

ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON  
at one o'clock

COMRADE LOSOVSKY

General Secretary, International Council of Trade Unions will deliver a lecture

on  
"The Russian Trade Union Movement, its Origin and Development Before and After the Conquest of Power".

The German-speaking Delegates of all countries are invited to be present on time in the

Round Hall of the 2nd Dom Soyuzot  
Petrovskaya Ulitsa No. 3

For the Chairman of the German Trade Union Delegation

W. Schoenbach

### Entente Proposal Rejected.

Nauen, June 27. Athens reports that Greece has rejected the Allies' proposal of intermediation. Premier Gounaris has declared that only Grecian bayonets can settle the Anatolian problem. Gounaris has departed for Smyrna. The Turks are hastening to take advantage of the delay in the advance of the Greeks.

### Turco-Persian Alliance.

Reuters Agency wires from Athens that a Persian Mission headed by Riza Khan left Keheran for Angora for the purpose of conducting negotiations for concluding a Turco-Persian Alliance.

### No Permits For Smeral.

Riga, 27 June. "L'Humanité" communicates from Prague that the Deputy Smeral will not be able to attend the Congress of the III. International as the German consul refuses to visa his passport to enable him to travel through German territory.

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otherwise than a downright undermining of the authority of the Italian Communist Party and of the whole Comintern? Comrade Zetkin did right in acknowledging the fallacy of her former estimate of Serratti. But thereby she only atoned for a small part of injury previously done to the Party. In conclusion the speaker, in the name of the Hungarian Communist Party, expressed the approval of the activity of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, although he is not blind to a series of defect of an organisational and technical kind (loose connections etc), but the blame with regard to this is shared by the Executive Committee and by its national sections in separate countries. The orator stated in conclusion that it was necessary to turn our earnest attention to the cleansing of the parties of the Comintern of all centrist and semicentrist elements and tendencies.

After Comrade Rakoczy, comrade Smythe (England), took the floor. She said that the report of the Executive Committee said nothing about the International Women's Movement. In her opinion this was a fundamental defect. She suggested that serious attention should be paid to the question of organising the work proletarian women, as this is of great importance to the Communist movement.

Comrade Kollarov rose and announced the list of speakers declining to take the floor in view of the fact that the debates on the report of the Executive Committee were exhausted, after which the Session was declared adjourned.

The next session will be held on June 28th at 6. p. m.

Order of Business: The Italian Question, and the Question of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.