



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
No 32.  
July 3rd  
1921.

## American Communists.

### Unity Convention of the Communist Parties in the United States.

In fulfillment of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International a Unity Convention of the two Communist Parties in the United States — the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America — took place within the past two months. The two parties in this convention united under the name of the *Communist Party of America*.

The resolutions passed by the Unity Convention are reprinted below.

#### Resolutions.

(Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party of America.)

#### Resolution on Unity.

In accordance with the mandate of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America have assembled in joint unity convention. The convention having adopted a program and constitution declares that the two parties are now united. The delegates present pledge themselves and the membership which they represent to abide by and carry out all decisions of the convention.

#### Greetings to the Third World Congress of the Communist International.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, in joint Unity Convention, sends fraternal greetings to the Third World Congress of the Communist International. In the name of the revolutionary proletariat of America, we affirm our determination to fight under the banner of the Communist International for the overthrow of American imperialism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Hail to the International Soviet Republic! Long live the Communist International!

#### Greetings to the Soviet Republic.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, assembled in joint Unity Convention, send fraternal greetings to the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry of Soviet Russia and to its vanguard, the Russian Communist Party.

The unified party, the Communist Party of America, declares that it will render all possible assistance to the Russian Soviet Republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary bands of world imperialism. The Communist Party of America declares that only by the overthrow of world imperialism will the safety and mastery of the Soviet Republic over its enemies be definitely assured. The Communist Party of America pledges itself to rally the revolutionary proletariat of America for the annihilation of the most formidable stronghold of world imperialism, American capitalist state, and to struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Down with world imperialism! Hail to the universal Soviet Republic! Long live the International solidarity of the workers!

#### To the Third World Congress of the Communist International.

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America fully upholds and endorses the firm and uncompromising stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International against the opportunistic and centrist elements in various countries — in Italy (Seratti) and in Germany (Levi). The convention instructs its delegates to the Third World Congress to uphold and defend the stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It urges the Communist International to guard against the danger of admitting centrist elements whose real place is in the 2 1/2 International.

(contd. foot of next col.)

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Miners Strike. Preliminary Agreements Signed.

Nauen, July 1. (Wireless). In the night of June 30th, after lengthy negotiations, a preliminary agreement was signed between the mine owners and the miners' federation, ending the miners' strike. The Yorkshire miners have decided to resume work immediately. A preliminary agreement has also been concluded in the engineering trade.

#### Sinn-Feiners Released.

Nauen, July 1. (Wireless). According to a telegram from London, the British Government has released from prison four Sinn-fein leaders, amongst whom are Arthur Griffiths and Macneil, two of De Valera's leading colleagues, in order to enable them to confer with the latter.

#### Liberation of Sinn-Feiners.

Nauen, July, 1st. The British government released from jail four leaders Sinn Feiners. Among these liberated are the chief associates of De-Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Mc Neil.

#### British Occupy Constantinople.

Nauen, July 1. (Wireless). Information has been received from London the effect that the Allies have warned Turkey that any infraction of the neutral zone around Constantinople would be considered as a *causis belli*. The London papers state that Kemal-Pasha published an appeal to the peoples of the East for a holy war against the Western nations as a protest against the occupation of Constantinople by the British who have placed the Porte under their guardianship. The fight will continue till the evacuation of Constantinople and it would lead to the independence of India and of the other Moslem peoples.

#### England and the Kemalists.

Nauen, July 1st. The Allies have warned the Kemalists that any violation of the neutrality of Constantinople and the surrounding district, will be considered as an act of war. Kemal-Pasha has issued a manifesto, appealing to the peoples of the East to join the holy war against the English occupation of Constantinople and the defence of the port. The war must be continued until Constantinople is liberated, and independence guaranteed to Indian and other Mussulman peoples.

#### Labour Bureau-League of Nations.

At the invitation of the Swedish Imperial government the session of the "International Bureau of Labour" will open on July 5th at Stockholm. 36 people will participate as usual, 12 representatives from the government, 12 from the employers. From the English employers, General Bayley, the "workers", Stuart Banning; other "workers" representatives will be Ordeguest (Holland) Dreper, (Canada), Vissel (Germany), Tarberg (Sweden); in all probability Joo will be present. After the conclusion of the session there will be an excursion through Northern Sweden.

(Swedish Social Democrats, June 20th).

#### Greetings to the Political Prisoners.

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America sends a message of encouragement and support to the revolutionists held behind prison bars by the ruthless dictatorship, and pledges to them, in the name of the oppressed masses, that the unified party, the Communist Party of America, will never rest until the victims of the capitalist oppression are liberated through the untiring efforts of the revolutionary proletariat. Down with the American Bastille. Hail to the revolutionary proletariat. Long live Communism.

### GERMANY.

#### Mine Catastrophe in the Ruhr Region.

A horrible catastrophe occurred at the Mont Cenis mine, through an explosion caused by thunderstorm. The number of dead has reached 68 while 73 have been wounded.

The statistics regarding accidents in the German mines during the past year are astounding. The greater part of these accidents were caused by neglect on the part of the mine owners to institute efficient safety devices, although those same mine owners have succeeded in augmenting their profits to an almost incalculable height the other hand the just demands of the workers are rejected. The latter are characterised as idlers and thieves, and are subjected to the disgraceful control of Pinkertons. Who cares about the life of a workman? The main thing is the increase of the mine owners' profits and the multiplication of his dividends.

#### Victims of the Bloodhound Hörsing.

The Red Aid organisation of Halle has published statistics with regard to the victims of the March struggle in Central Germany. According to these figures 230 of our comrades were killed, and 1200 thrown into prison. Financial support must be found for 75 widows and 250 orphans of those who have fallen, as well as for 1050 wives and 3450 children of those incarcerated. The number of comrades who fell in actual battle is probably no higher than 50 or 60, the remainder were victims of assassination.

The white murderers can look back with pride upon the game they have sniped, and Hörsing the bloodhound and prime instigator of these crimes, has earned and honorary place in the annals of German reaction.

#### New German Foreign Minister.

Nauen, July 1. (Wireless). The maiden speech of the German foreign minister, Rosen has met with the approval of the majority of the house. The press misses any rhetorical effects, but it underlines the favourable contents and the energy with which he spoke for Germany's rights. The papers specially emphasise Rosen's statement that the British Foreign Minister holds the same standpoint as the German Government with regard to the lawfulness of the sanctions.

#### Bourgeoisie preparing

Riga, July, 1st. According to a Madrid dispatch to the "Journal", June, 27th, the minister for the Interior declared as a reply to the appeal of the Communists for a general strike, that the government will take measures to meet the situation, and that it is ready for all eventualities.

#### Fighting Reaction.

The delegate conference of the Socialist Party, trade unions and workshop committees of Central Germany which discussed the question of taking decisive steps to secure the amnesty of all sentenced for taking part in the March revolt, have decided to appeal to all Socialist parties in Central Germany to sink their differences and create a united front to fight reaction.

#### Reactionaries still Alive.

The Bavarian Premier Von Karr extended his gratitude to the various organisations of the Orgesh for their activities, and hinted that in spite of their present disbandment, they would still have to play a big part in the State. Analogous organisations are replacing the so-called "Einwohnerwehr", being disbanded in Bavaria and in many parts of Germany, and especially in Saxony. The Independent Socialist and Minister for the Foreign Affairs of Saxony, Lipinsky openly exposed in the Saxonian "Landtag", the actual number of such organisations, which were fully armed and munitioned. The left papers see in this a new reactionary danger.

### ITALY.

#### Italian Crisis.

Berlin, June, 30th. 1921. According to the latest news from Rome the King has again approached Giolitti with the formation of a new cabinet. But Giolitti wished to have time for consideration. Kasalin, socialist and Vice-President of the Chamber declined to discuss the crisis on the invitation of the King, declaring that he was more a member of the Socialist party than a friend of the president. A socialist resolution on the ministerial crisis was published in "Avanti". It stated that although the party unanimously declared not to allow socialists to stay in the Government, it would not hinder any other parties in this attempt, to solve the crisis. "Secolo" concludes from this, that the parliamentary Socialist party has climbed down from its irreconcilable position.

#### Forming a New Cabinet.

Lyons, July 1st. De Nikola has accepted the task of forming a new cabinet in Italy, assured by promises of help from the Socialists. The Socialists will not enter the new cabinet but will vote for it, or at any rate, will not vote against it.

#### Social Compromisers.

Lyons, July 1. (Wireless). According to the latest reports, De Nicolai is supposed to have accepted the charge of forming a new cabinet in Italy, the socialist group having promised to facilitate the task he has assumed. The socialists will not be represented in the new cabinet but will vote in its favour or, at least, will not vote against it.

### FRANCE.

#### Persecuting 'L'Humanite.'

The deputy lieutenant Do Grand Maison has sent a letter to Barte, Minister for War, demanding that action be taken against "Humanite" for Bolshevik propaganda.

#### Results of French Census.

Nauen, July 1. (Wireless). The Havas agency reports that the census of the population of France which took place on March 16th 1921, shows 36,480,206 inhabitants, the colonies, Alsace-Lorraine and the soldiers on service abroad excluded against 38,468,813 inhabitants in 1911.

#### Well Grounded Fears.

The French Confederation of Labour intends to take upon itself the task of mediating between the old Executive of the French Railwaymen's union, and the new administration, which as is known, passed into the hands of the Communists. The Paris correspondent of the Swedish "Social Democrat" expresses the fear that this mediation will lead in the end to the capture of the Bureau of the Confederation by the Communists, as has already been done with the E. C. of the Railwaymen's Union. (Swedish "Social Democrat" June 21st.)

### TURKEY.

#### Arrest of Russian Trade Delegation.

Riga, July, 1st 1921. Reuters' agency reports that all the members of the Russian Trade Delegation in Constantinople have been arrested and their funds confiscated. There have been many other arrests. The "Morning Post" reprints the foolish provocative rumour that the agents of the Soviet Government had come to an agreement with the Kemalists to seize Constantinople. This false rumour calculated for the purpose of creating the necessary atmosphere for taking steps against the Trade Delegation has not been taken up by the rest of the press. No official information has been received concerning the discovery of a Bolshevik Treaty.



**"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).**Greetings to the First International Trade Union Congress.**

To day the First International Congress of Trade Unions opens. The Credentials Committee has reported over 200 comrades delegates from 20 countries. There are as yet no delegates from the Italian Trade Unions whose leader attempted on the eve of the Congress to postpone it for a later date and proposed to transfer the Congress itself to Reval or Stockholm. This International Trade Union Congress backed by 17 million organised proletarians, is of tremendous importance to the entire labour movement of the world. The questions to come up at this Congress for solution comprises the entire sphere of action within the scope of revolutionary organisations. These questions touch upon the problems and tactics of Trade Unions in connection with the present economic crisis, control of production, shop-committees, the relations between the Communist International and the Trade Union International, the attitude towards International Federations of separate Trade Unions, and associations for production, as well as all the intricate problems of organisation with which the Trade Union movement has to deal. The outlines traced last July for the international unification of Trade Unions must now be defined with greater clearness. At that time the question was how to gather atomic forces, to create a centre to which the labour movement should gravitate. But now our task is to work out tactical lines, to unify the scattered militant efforts, to share in common the total experience drawn from different countries, to take up from the standpoint of practical results the question as to what was actually achieved by the tactics of union smashing preached in some countries.

A fleeting glance at the labour movement of the world shows that neither its general development, nor the process of its revolutionization is uniform. In France we are winning over the Trade Unions at a brisk rate,—there nine large federations and thirty five departmental Councils have come over to us. In Germany the revolutionary tide has risen so high that the communists have recently captured the majority in the Council of German Builders' Union, and some district organisations are entirely in the hands of the Communists. At the same time the process of revolutionizing the Trade Unions in America and England is considerable. We have learned only to-day that the Manchester Trades Council has decided to Join us.

As yet there are no large national organisations in England which stand for the International Council of Trade Unions. There are some local unions, several local branches of the miners and a particularly strong movement, the Shop Stewards Committee. All this however, is not in proportion to the great swing to the left which has taken place in England.

Reference must also be made to the slow growth of revolutionary ideas among the Trade Unions in America. In this connection the Congress will have to carefully examine the form and character of the movement in these countries, draw up methods of work with regard to each country and to teach our friends how to approach the organised masses. It is also necessary to observe that both in England and America there are a large number of small organisations who believe that the best tactics will be to organise ideal unions outside and far removed from the old organisations. This erroneous point of view will, of course, be condemned.

The situation in Germany is extremely complicated. With the existence of the semi-Communist free labour unions in Gelsenkirchen, the General Workers' Union, the Syndicalist Free Labour Union, and the Federation of Expelled Unions, the Congress will have to indicate the line of work within the free unions of Germany. However difficult it may be to conduct work in the free unions of Germany when the Trade Union bureaucracy is avowedly provoking a split, we have not the slightest doubt that the Congress will express itself categorically against the tactics of breaking up the unions, and at the same time, organising the

expelled unions for the purpose of fighting for the unity of the Labour Movement.

In Italy side by side with the existence of a revolutionary proletariat, with revolutionary traditions, we have a General Confederation of Labour headed by members of the Right Wing of the Italian Socialist Party. The Confederation unites more than two million workers. Side by side with it, there is the Railwaymen's Union, Transport Workers' Union and several Syndicalist Unions, which have no connection with the Confederation. These latter unions altogether unite about 800,000 workers. The question of the unity of the Italian proletarian movement will undoubtedly be raised at this Congress, for it is the business of our Congress, not only to indicate the general principles, and the general path of the movement, but also to give concrete instructions for the work in the various countries; in a word to give a reply to the complicated questions confronting the whole of the International Trade Union Movement.

The most debatable question, i. e. the question which allows the greatest discussion will be the relations between the Communist International and the Trade Union International. Already various tendencies with regard to this question are observed among the delegates gathered here. In so far as the Congress will be composed of anarchists, syndicalists and communists, it is natural that there should be differences of opinion which are at present observed with regard to entering into any form of contact with the political organisations of the proletariat, previous to the conversion of the Trade Union International into a section of the Communist International, in spite of this wide diversion of opinion, the Congress will carry a resolution which will be consciously accepted by everybody and which will allow freedom to propagate an agitate for their point of view to the extent however, that it will not hinder the concrete revolutionary struggle. The Trade Union International by its very nature must be composed of various elements. The Unions unite broad masses of non-Party workers in various stages of development, with varying political and economic experiences. The differences, which are already observed and which will reveal themselves with greater clearness at the Congress, will be, if not overcome in the course of the battle of opinions and the comradely discussions, at any rate, will be made clear.

The First Congress will lay the foundation of a new International Organisation of Trade Unions. Already it has caught up with the Amsterdam International numerically. It would have passed it had not the whole might of the organised bourgeois governments hindered our work and assisted the Amsterdam International. Let there result from the work of the First Congress, a strong and united organisation which will unite the broad masses of all countries on one revolutionary class platform, which will know what it wants and know how to get it.

All hail! the International Congress of Trade Unions! All hail the International General Staff of the Revolutionary Class Organisation!

A. Lozovsky.

**Notice**

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

**Opening of the Red T. U. Congress.**

To all delegates of the Red Trade Union Congress and the Comintern.

**The Congress of Red Trade and Industrial Unions opens to-day July 3rd, at 6 p. m. in the "Dom Soyusov"**

Delegates will receive tickets through the secretaries of their respective delegations

The Comintern delegates are invited to the Congress, and will be admitted by their mandates

A. Arosoff  
Manager of the International Council

**Eleventh Session of Congress.****Report of Session of July 1st.****Continuation of Discussion on Tactics.**

Before proceeding to the order of the day, the Chairman Comrade **Koehn** suggested that it would be in the interest of the Red Trade Union International if the Congress adhered more strictly to the points on the agenda. The speakers were therefore requested to confine themselves to the points in question, and not to dwell upon irrelevant matters.

Thereupon the discussion on tactics was resumed and Comrade **Hempel** (C. L. P. G.) took the floor.

We are in agreement with the first part of Comrade Radek's report, in which he states that an examination of the international economic situation yields the conclusion that the capitalistic economic system is bound to collapse and that the proletarian revolution is bound to follow. But there are differences of opinion with regard to the actual course and form of the revolution. The experience of the revolutionary period since 1917 has proved that the organisational form of the masses are the Soviets. Therefore we must preserve for the future the system of proletarian organisation. We have therefore renounced the old forms of the labour movement in order to give the revolutionary workers a definite direction in which the revolution should proceed. Before the war the task of the labour movement was to elect deputies to the parliaments while the economic organisations were concerned with the betterment of the labour conditions by means of a fight or negotiations. After the revolution the workers organisations could no longer place their faith in parliamentary activity to improve the lot of the workers or to raise their wages.

It is not in vain that the old labour movement possesses its special organisations, for they do not require revolutionary fighters, but men who can conduct negotiations both in parliament and with the employers. Trade Unions are only auxiliary bodies for the preservation of the capitalist order. You cannot bring about a revolution with such organisations. The proletariat must create organisations which aim at the destruction of the capitalist state. We must therefore urge the workers to combine in unions formed according to the speciality of place of work in order to get hold of the productive forces and the factories. The methods of struggle must be revolutionary and they must be adapted to the present economic situation.

The enemies are taking all the precautionary measures to preserve their power in the state as well as in the field of economics. For this purpose the enemies combine internationally, and the trusts that result from such combinations create huge unemployment. Hence the economic split of the proletariat: The worker who is engaged in work is anxious not to lose his job, whereas the unemployed becomes the enemy of those who can still exist. Thus the capitalist dominion is being re-established, for a short while at any rate on the bodies of the starving workers. We must therefore frame our fighting tactics in such a way as to be able to take up the struggle in any one of its phases. For that purpose we must utilise every opportunity however insignificant, for as Comrade Radek stated, we must try to prevent by all means the reconstruction of this system as proposed by the capitalists. As we must always be in a fighting position, the organisation of the proletariat must be built up in such a way that it will be easily concentrated. We shall achieve this by organising Soviets and by keeping in touch with the factories through trusty comrades and Soviets.

It is absolute nonsense to suddenly declare an offensive. We must come to a defensive by extending every conflict, by intensifying every struggle. When we were preparing rebellion by means of propaganda and pamphlets, the "Rote Fahne", "Freiheit" and all the provincial paper warned against spies, agents provocateurs, and other suspicious characters.

We welcome every rise and every struggle, for it is bound to bring us further ahead. Therefore we do not reject any partial actions. The state of things is now similar to that of the year 1918. In November of that year, the soldiers and the workers had learned the great lesson from the preliminary fights of Jan. 1918. The time of the great movement on the part of the munition and dock workers. The same will be the effect of the March fight of 1921. The March rising has taught us that we must go into the battle with the set purpose of doing away with the capitalist government, with the existing state of affairs.

The proletariat should be organised in order to be politically and economically

represented in the capitalist state. It must organise itself for revolution. The Communists must create a frame, and such a frame we have in the organisations grouped by industries, industrial territories and entire countries. This does not imply that this party should be small; it should however know what it wants and be tried in battle. In order to lead, the Communist International must follow this line.

Anarcho-Syndicalists whose tactics are decades ahead of time, lack the experience of welding the workers into one whole. Here Communists must step in and help them conduct the fight. Should we give up parliamentarism or the trade union movement in as far as Communists are concerned, not as a question of principle, but of purely practical import. And now comes the question as to what the Congress will now decide. If it follows the traditional lines of the labour movement, it is bound to go down into the pit where the latter is now. It takes a decided step to get to terms with the left elements and recognize that there is something good in them as well, the Third International Congress will give the revolution a new impetus. If it chooses the opposite course, it is sure to get stranded. It is within the province of this Congress to decide the issue. In the same light we consider the question of affiliation with the Third International.

Comrade **Terracine** is then granted the floor within the extended time-limit.

He said that comrade Radek's theses are substantially the same as those advanced by comrade Trotsky. Since we as well as the German, Austrian, and Italian, delegates and the Young Communists have approved the latter, we also stand for comrade Radek's theses as they are now. Some amendments, however may be suggested afterwards.

These theses convey the impression that in Italy the anarchists hold sway over the proletariat. On the contrary, after the confusion following the Livorno Congress had been overcome, the proletarian masses become more and more compact by the help of the Communist Party.

Radek in his theses used too strong language aimed at the left tendencies. It is far more necessary to direct our attention to the reformist and centrist tendencies. We should by no means run away with the idea that clearing the Third International of some groups and centrism within its ranks. There still are leaders who have joined it under pressure of the proletarian masses. The Executive Committee must take care that Serratis and Levis no longer find their way into our ranks. We can only advise the French Party to keep an eye on the reformist tendencies within it.

As to Tchechko-Slovakian question touched upon in Radek's theses I must say: It is not enough that we point the way to the Communist Party to increase its membership by propaganda and agitation, because this is the view of the reformists. The task before the relatively colossal Communist Party in Tchechko-Slovakia must rather consist in showing the masses by action that the party is the representative of the proletariat. The same can be said about Radek's theses as regards Radek himself. When the new fight sets in, the Party must lead the proletarian masses; this fight however, is soon to come in spite of the March defeats. The Italian masses are quite enthusiastic over the splendid heroism shown by the German comrade in the March uprising. And so the March fights have borne their fruit in this respect as well.

Revolutionary discipline has stood the test of battle and we were enabled to unmask the reformists and the opportunists.

Radek treats somewhat ironically the theory of aggressive action. Under this term we interpret not only in a military sense, but in the general sense of a mode of action opposed to passivity.

Comrade **Froelich** said that in view of comrade Terracini's motions and the amendments made by the three delegations we should by all means take the offensive. We must by all means find the right line of action. It might be said that our theses are a compromise. Yes, but under certain circumstances obtaining within communist ranks compromises are absolutely imperative. After we have expelled even the centrists, Terracini still wants to keep up the fight; this must be ruthlessly combated. Comrade Froelich then dwelt with some detail with Terracini's amendments, which he rejected. The speaker then argued with more detail in favour of the amendments proposed by the German Delegation.

(To be continued.)



# Executive Committee

Meeting of 20th of June.

The Chairman, **Zinoviev**, opened the session at 7 p. m.

**Zinoviev**: I announced to you in the course of our last session that we had received a telegram from the Italian Socialist Party, and I also told you why, it appeared to me, we ought not to count too much on the arrival of the three delegates they promised to send. That is the reason why we can commence the discussion of the Italian question today. Comrade Terracini has the floor.

**Terracini**: I propose to discuss only the congress of Bologna. At that congress almost the entire party was in favour of affiliation to the Third International. Then the split in the Socialist Party took place. Our Turin comrades declared themselves in favour of the expulsion of the reformists. The maximalists also approved of illegal action. But in the party organisations and trade unions there were reformists who organised a large group against the maximalists. The Socialist Party of Italy sent a mission to the second Congress of the International, which however was not a delegation from the party. Bordiga was the only representative of the maximalist view in the delegation, and that delegation even contained people who were not members of the party. Then the metal workers' strike broke out in Italy, and the consequent occupation of the factories. The bourgeoisie expected the revolution at that moment; the proletariat no less thought the time had come. This movement, that in the beginning bore an exclusively economic character, soon assumed a political character but the majority in the C. G. T. were reformist, and the executive committee of the trade unions opposed the decision of the Socialist Party. They declared that the workers ought to confine themselves merely to exercising control over production, but should evacuate the factories they had occupied, and return them to the owners. This was a moral defeat for the Italian proletariat, which had expected the Socialist Party to be capable of leading the moment, and the workers of Italy lost confidence in the political organisation of the proletariat.

When the delegation had returned from Moscow, it was, of course, necessary to reorganise the party on the basis of the 21 conditions. The majority voted for affiliation to the Third International, approving of the acceptance of all the conditions, including that condition demanding the expulsion of the reformists. The minority, led by Serrati, opposed the expulsion of the reformists. Another congress was called at Florence, where the question of Fascism was discussed. An Italian government, with Serrati as prime minister, was suggested as the only way of combating Fascism.

Three fractions were formed. First, the unitarian fraction, which declared its willingness to accept all the 21 conditions, but unable to carry them all out immediately particularly the condition demanding the expulsion of the reformists. Second, the Communist group, which on the contrary accepted all the conditions and demanded the immediate expulsion of all the reformists. And third, the reformist elements.

The representative of the Third International to the congress of Livorno was received with insults. Brentano, tried to point out that there was really no difference between the unitarian program and that of the Communists, but I protested that there was a very great difference between the two programs; and that if it were possible to unite with the unitarians, it was, altogether impossible, to unite with the reformists. Borggi, Magdoni and Lazari had not only given evidence of reformism, but also of chauvinism. After the discussion, Serrati asserted that the Executive Committee of the Third International had been unjust to the Italian Socialist Party, and pointed out that the French Communist Party, for example, embraced not only opportunists and reformists, but even Free Masons. In the end he declared himself in favour of affiliation to the Third International.

It is interesting to note that during his stay in Italy, Levi tried to convince the Communists that it was necessary for their revolutionary movement to seek an alliance with Serrati.

After the Livorno congress, the Italian Socialist Party still remained a reformist party. In fact, at the last session of the congress, the head of the reformist fraction gave utterance to the motto of the Socialist party that it is necessary to form an anti-Communist front. We have seen what transpired at the congress of the C. G. T. in February: the communists remained isolated in their opposition to the chief reformists of the C. G. T.

The socialist party was daily drifting to the right. Turati was correct when he stated at the Livorno congress: "I see that the Socialist party of Italy is coming to the right with the rapidity of an express train".

In Italy the political movement is dominated by Fascism. The Italian bourgeoisie, better than the Italian Socialist party, understand that under certain conditions of a revolutionary period, only violence can create a new situation. That is why it has organised Fascism. Fascists are wrecking the labour exchanges and the workers dwellings, and killing thousands of workers. The government has never undertaken the defence of the labour organisations and the lives of the workers. The proletariat had the right, nay, it was its duty, to organise its defence against Fascism. But the Socialist party of Italy was not a proletarian party, it was a social-democrat party. It always preached peace and goodwill. Even on this occasion, it instructed all its organisations not to meet the Fascist offensive by their own methods. The following is a quotation from one of its manifestoes: "In certain circumstances cowardice becomes courage, and now we are faced by such an occasion". The Italian proletariat was left without any guidance through this cowardly propaganda. And this propaganda was only an example, typical of the whole activity of the Socialist party, for they were endeavouring to find a way of meeting the bourgeoisie. As regards Fascism the Socialist party failed, as it failed during the period of the expropriation of the factories.

In Italy, more than anywhere else, the economic crisis is very acute. We lack both financial organisation and raw materials. After the war the industrial crisis came, and with terrible force. Hundreds and thousands of workers were thrown on the streets, and salaries were reduced. The reformist C. G. T. is doing nothing. More than that, — the C. G. T. and the Socialist parties have issued orders to accept all the conditions of the employers. On the other hand, in all the towns where the Communists are at the head of the trade union movement — in Turin, in Rome, and Florence — the employers will be resisted.

Comrade Terracini then spoke on the results of the elections to the Italian Chamber: "You see that the elections gave the results expected by the government. The parliamentary group which represents the Socialist party is a social democratic and not a socialist group. The elections have clearly demonstrated that the Italian Socialist party is not a revolutionary party. 'Avanti' found nothing better to oppose the Fascist revolvers than the ballot box. Workers who voted for the Socialist party thought they were voting for the III International. We must once and for all be clear as to the situation. To day it is the reformists who are dominating the Socialist party. Turati himself speaks in its name. Lazzari has declared that the Italian Socialist party must have nothing to do with the III International. Bombacci and Alessandro have resigned. At Livorno we have scored 148,000 votes. The Communist party is being subjected to a frenzied persecution. Three times the police ransacked the office of our central committee, and in spite of the persecutions the Communist party has grown in three months to such an extent, that its membership will soon equal that of the Socialist party. Moreover we possess strong organisations in the trade unions. We have gained a foothold in many labour exchanges of Turin, Alexandria, and in Naples we form the majority. We lack men, but the young are on our side, and they will provide us with excellent fighters. Our press has a larger circulation than that of the Socialist Party whereas two months ago we sold only 35,000 copies; in Turin alone 55,000 copies are sold daily. We have now acquired 'Novatore' of Trieste. We have just founded in Rome the organ of our central committee 'Communist', which in the mean time will be issued as a bi-weekly. In a month or two we shall possess three great dailies, as contrasted with one 'Avanti'. Moreover, we possess 48 weeklies.

The Italian Communist party possesses a Central Committee consisting of 15 members, who are invested with plenary powers. Excellent discipline prevails in the party, which comprises nearly 100,000 organised workers.

We hope the III Congress will declare the exclusion of the Socialist party from the III International, and declare the Communist party, the only representative

# The Bulgarian Communist Party.

Its activities in 1920.

In order to give you some idea of the position and work of the party for the last year, I will quote some brief extracts from the records of the Executive Committee. Up to April the party consisted of 83 town and 1,445 provincial branches with a party membership of 40,000, of whom  $\frac{1}{3}$  were town workers with little or no property, whilst  $\frac{2}{3}$  were agricultural workers, semi-proletarians and small landowners.

Affiliated to the party are the following:

a) The General Workers Council of Trade Unions with 32,000 members, organised in 18 trade unions. There are no more trade unions in the country.

b) The Communist Union of civil and other workers with 2449 members. Besides this union there are a few neutral groups of civil and other workers which lead a most pitiable existence.

c) The Communist Teachers Union with 2,222 members. Outside this union there is a neutral organisation of trades which is quickly falling to pieces as it cannot solve the problems before it during this revolutionary epoch.

d) The General Women's Committee which consists of 60 women's educational groups with a total of 4,340 members. The bourgeois women's organisation is practically defunct owing its non activity.

e) The Young Communist Organisation with 6,882 members is organised in 177 groups. There is no other youth's organisation in the country. The bourgeoisie has been attempting lately to gather its youth around its own bourgeois parties.

f) The Central Emigrants' Organisation, with 1,663 emigrant-members, carries on an active communist propaganda amongst the numerous emigrants in the country. The National Emigrant Association is devoid of members.

g) The Ex-Servicemen's Union with 619 branches with a total membership of 16,521. The attempts of the bourgeoisie and its army of social-traitors to cause a split between the ex-service men and the Communist Party by means of a neutral organisation of ex-service men, did not succeed.

h) The Communist Organisation of wounded ex-servicemen has 1,174 members. A neutral organisation exists but it is approaching affiliation to the Communist Party.

i) The Communist group of engineers with 29 members.

j) The General Cooperative Society of Workers "Freedom" with 42,000 members and 103 associations and agencies throughout the country.

The party has 58 out of a total of 228 members in parliament. Besides this it controls 22 town councils and 65 rural district councils. The government hinders their work with persecutions and lawlessness and encroaches upon their autonomy because their Communist activities. Many of them have been dissolved and others await the same fate. The party branches held 12,254 branch meetings last year; 5,647 conferences and meetings were organised; and were attended by 1,632,000 persons; 1900 debating circles were organised and had an attendance of 175,600 persons; 118 plays, 2,282 social evenings and concerts were arranged and were attended by 426,000 persons. Besides this, the party issued 1,140,000 copies of 749 appeals and manifestoes.

"Worker's News" the official organ of the party has a circulation of 28,000 copies and "Agricultural News", an issue of 14,000, whilst no bourgeois paper has a circulation exceeding 15-17,000. The organ of the Bulgarian Social-Democrats has an issue of 4,000 copies.

Besides the party publishes 1) "Novo Vreme, an educational magazine with a circulation of 6000. 2) "The Communist International" in Bulgarian with an issue 5,000 copies. 3) "Cherven Smech" a cartoonist review with an issue of 5,000 copies. 4) "Raventsvo" the organ of the women Communists, with an issue of 10,000 copies. 5) "Narodnaia Armia", a weekly newspaper for Communist propaganda among the soldiers with an issue of 5,000 copies. 6) "Mladeska Pravda" prohibited by the government but still issued illegally. 7) "Drugarch", a paper for children, but stopped by the Government. 8) "Osvobozhdeni" a paper for

Communist propaganda amongst the emigrants and having an issue of 3,000 copies. 9) "Plennik", organ of the Ex-servicemen's organisation, with an issue of 7,000 copies. 10) "Invalid-Boetz", organ of the Communist organisation of wounded-ex-servicemen, with an issue of 2,000 copies. 11) "The Bulletin of the Communist Communal Councils".

Besides these the party publishes 2,000 copies of the newspaper "Zia" in the Turkish language, for Communist propaganda among the Turkish population and 2500 copies of the "Armenian Communist Correspondence in Armenian.

During the period from October 1st 1918 to April 1st 1921 the party published 1,100,000 copies of 98 original and translated books and pamphlets in spite of the 780,000 of these books and pamphlets have already been sold.

The publishing of all the party literature is undertaken by the workers cooperative society "Sveedom". The party has 319 agencies for distributing its publications; besides this the primary duty of each party member is the distribution of party literature and newspapers.

The total income of the party groups and branches was 4,147,382 lev while the expenditure was 3,612,929 lev. The E. C. received 849,524 lev and expended 650,087 lev. The party could meet all its liabilities thanks to the devotion and activity of its members. The E. C.'s financial account is split into 4 sections, a fund for agitation and propaganda, another for the party press, a third for helping the victims of the capitalist dictatorship and the fourth for literature for women. The party has imposed a special levy for the Comintern on each member. 30,000 lev were collected in 1920 for this purpose.

During the government elections in March 1920 the party received 182,000 votes out of a total of 800,000. The party although working legally, is really outside the law. Martial law, with military courts, censorship, arrests and internments, persecution and murders, are all employed to crush the Communist movement.

In the year 1920 Communists, including nearly all the communist Members of Parliaments, were summoned to appear before the law courts. Many of them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But the pressure of the working class has compelled the government to grant an amnesty to most of them. The party took advantage of every important chance to unite the popular movements with revolutionary Communist slogans. A bloody encounter with the gendarmerie took place in Sofia on the 7 last — the third anniversary of the Russian revolution. There were many such encounters during 1st of May demonstrations.

The Communist Party was the only organisation which took control of large mass movements. The opportunist parties are beaten along the whole front, and have been driven out of the ranks of the working class, though now they are groups of generals without an army. There is no other Socialist or Labour party in Bulgaria. The agricultural Union, which formerly had a great influence on the peasant masses, is becoming more and more a tool of Entente imperialism and Bulgarian capitalism, and as a result quickly losing its power. The poorer peasants are being attracted into the Communist party. In order to co-ordinate and unite the revolutionary movements in the Balkans, the Bulgarian Communist Party has already taken the initiative and founded the Balkan Communist Federation.

The Communist movement in the Balkans has a solid foundation, despite the colossal difficulties resulting from the weak industrial development of these countries, and high pressure of Entente Imperialism.

V. Kolosov.

## Executions.

Odessa, June. 29th- The shooting of arrested communists under the pretext of attempting to escape, is becoming the favourite method of bourgeois governments large or small, to deal with those who politically oppose their rule. Such typical shootings are reported from Rumania, by the Kishinev "Novoe Slovo" of the 21st of June, where the chairman of the executive committee of the Bairanich Communist Party was shot under the pretext of attempting to escape, from his convoy. A similar shameful incident is reported from Bulgaria. Two communists were arrested by the Bulgarian government, including Charnieov. On the way from Varna to Sofia all three were shot by the gendarmes, on the same pretext of attempting to escape.

of the III International in Italy. When this in definitely brought about, many workers and peasants will leave the Socialist party and will be won over to Communism; thus bringing new energy and enthusiasm to the revolutionary movement in Italy.

The meeting closed at 11 p. m.



# New Phases in Russian Economic Policy.

MOSCOW

JULY 3rd 1921

The development of Soviet Russia's economic policy was determined by the conditions under which it had to live and work, and had not changed for a period of 3½ years. — but now in 1921 a radical change is taking place. Comrade Lenin, at the Party conference last May, described the entire period of 1917—1920 as the epoch of militant Communism, and stated that 1921 was the beginning of a new stage in the life and development of Soviet Russia.

It is quite natural for marxists to examine the development of any economic policy, but the changes which have been introduced into the economic policy of Soviet Russia to day are received with an altogether false interpretation by many of our comrades.

In 1921 the conditions under which we had to determine our economic policy were distinguished first by the end of the civil war and secondly the delay of the world revolution (Soviet Russia still being surrounded by Capitalist States) and thirdly, the precarious economic condition of the town and the village. (1920 experienced a poor harvest and a series of peasant revolts).

Such are the conditions into which we have to enter the period of "Peaceful Construction", after a fierce war with its slogan "All for the Red Army".

To understand clearly the reason why we take this particular line of action, and no other, we should bear these facts in mind.

We are living in a period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism and our economics must be those of the transitional period. This following is how Comrade Lenin explains the transition and its application of economics. "Does it not signify the need for applying necessary economics, when we have in our State, elements and portions of Capitalism and Socialism. Everyone agrees with this. But not every one takes into consideration the nature of these different social economic structures which actually exist in Russia to day. And this is where the root of the matter lies. Let us enumerate these elements.

1. Patriarchic i. e. the greater part of primitive peasant forms.
2. Small industrial production (this includes the majority of those).
3. Private capitalism.
4. State.
5. Socialism.

Hence we can see that we have five different economic structures. Moreover the present form of agriculture has a tremendous influence in Russia and is likely to remain so for a long time to come. Therefore it follows that during the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the economic policy, which aims at the strengthening and development of socialist enterprise, must bear in mind the other four forms and must consider their needs and the laws of their development, whilst keeping to the path to Socialism. The ability to fulfil this economic policy is determined by the general economic conditions of the transitional period. Therefore our policy must envelop certain Capitalist forms which exist here". The Proletariat as the guiding and ruling class, must be able to formulate its policy — says comrade Lenin — so as to solve immediately the most pressing and difficult problems". This is the direction which our economic policy must take during the transitional period.

During 1917—1921 all industry was nationalised in Soviet Russia with the exception of small industrial undertakings. A State-monopoly was declared upon nearly all industrial products and raw materials. The free market was closed. The system of distribution was strictly centralised. All this helped us to concentrate our attention and the forces of the State in solving the outstanding problems of that political period — the overcoming of the external civil war. 1921 is the period of turning to peaceful reconstruction. As a result of this many important and serious changes have taken place.

First of all the change in our attitude towards agriculture. Comrade Lenin pointed out that our most important problem to-day was to increase the productive forces of the peasant farm, which is the foundation of our agriculture. Without this it will be impossible for the State to solve its fundamental problem of creating a productive reserve of 400 million poods of food stuffs.

Hence it is necessary to stimulate the development of peasant farming. Therefore the State requisitioning, which deprived the peasant of his supplies in order to benefit the State has been re-

placed by a tax which leaves a considerable quantity of the surplus products and raw materials in the hands of the producer.

In the second place as a result of the replacing of requisitions by a tax the small producer can do just as he pleases with his surplus, and the market is open for the buying and selling of food and agricultural products.

As an organisation which only took part in distribution the co-operative movement steps into the market as an organisation which undertakes an exchange of products. The State is concluding an agreement with it (in the person of an people's Commissar for food on its one hand and the Centrosoyuz on the other) by which the cooperative takes control of the productive reserve and guarantees to prepare and hand over a corresponding quantity of food and raw materials. The factory workers, who organise cooperatives produce a number of articles to supplement for the State reserve. A separate trading fund is allotted to this purpose.

In the sphere of industry, where formerly special attention was paid to the development and strengthening of large industry, special attention is being devoted to the development of small industry. Their development is having a tremendous influence on the production of articles and spare parts indispensable for the peasants implements and domestic utensils.

It has become possible for the People's Agricultural Councils to leave various industrial undertakings to cooperatives and to private individuals. Taking into consideration the large number of idle undertakings, this step will have a large effect on the increase of production.

The centralized system of granting privileges and independence to local organisations has considerably weakened. The majority of the undertakings passed directly into their control, and extensive privileges have been granted to them in the preparation of any form of reserve.

Such are chief changes in the new turn of economic policy. What then are these new moves. Are they "the surrender of some of our posts, a retreat" as some try to demonstrate them, or, are they the logical and necessary steps in our fundamental aim — the further strengthening and developing of the Soviet System? We have already demonstrated that we must not only take control of these spheres of our national economy in which the new social form of economic relations (large industry) exposes themselves, but also take control of those parts which are still dominated by bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideas.

From this point of view the steps taken are absolutely comprehensible. It would have been of course a negation of our principles if the centre of gravity of our economic policy were transferred to the development of private industrial undertakings. Then our opponents would have been justified — we would have surrendered some but not of our vital positions.

However only those who look through the one eye, see that side of our economic policy, which conducts the fundamental line in developing and strengthening those forms of economic life, where the new Socialist structure finds its being i. e. the nationalised industry and new forms of economic life, in the towns and villages.

It would have been economical, short-sightedness, and extremely erroneous to expect the strengthening of our economic life while not having strengthened its basis — the great nationalised industry. Such a mistake we shall certainly not permit. It is sufficient to quote the following passage from the resolution of the last congress of the Council for National Economy,

"Our nationalised industry, continues to be the foundation of our national-economy, and become the new turning point in our economic policy, from that under which it lived, and developed in the years preceding.

The development of our nationalised industry must continue on the lines of improving its enterprises, the increasing production and the improvement of supplies. The formation on considerable lines of fuel, metal, and other kinds of raw material, the transport service, and the production of machinery, and in general all means production continued to be her task, and is the basis of Russia's national economy.

"But it can only fulfill these tasks under conditions of improved supplies and of improved labour forces. This is one of the chief tasks in production at

the present time. It is necessary to reduce the number of staff workers, and to improve the supplies of those remaining at work. With this aim in view it is necessary to concentrate on production, which gives the possibility not only of reducing the number of workers, but also to exercise economy in fuel and energy. The enterprises which are remaining at work must continue their work. Only under such conditions will it be possible to increase production".

All our attention is now centred around our political economy, for the development of a systematic economy. The general management of our economic life has been transferred to the hands of a council for Labour and Defence. They have formed a special state system commission into which enter the best specialists in the various branches of our economic life. It examines and confirms current economic plans, as well as carrying out experiments.

At last the plan for the electrification is nearing its accomplishment. During 1921—22, four large district stations will be completed, and a series of work in connection with the unification of the existing electric stations, is going on. This technical reshaping of the country is only one part of the basis for the new economic order. In the foundation of our economic basis lies the development of our production and the productive forces of the country. From the foregoing we can see that this something "new" which we are bringing in, gives now possibilities of raising the standard of our economic life. Is it not possible in the process of developing Capitalistic forms of industry to conquer our Soviet economy, our nationalised industry. Many comrades have expressed their apprehension of this idea.

However it is well to take into consideration that the whole transport, the railway as well as the waterways, are in our hands, that the whole of the fuel is nationalised, and that the whole attention, forces, and means of the Soviet apparatus, is directed for the strengthening and development of our nationalised industry, for these apprehensions to lose their significance. External contradictions ought not to hide us from this fact; that the strengthening of the whole economic foundation of Soviet Russia, this turning point in our economic policy does not predict a turning back, but rather, getting round the corner to climb the hill. This change in our economic policy is necessary for the development of our economic life, and in that lies our task and our aim.

B. Malutin.

## Helping Austria.

Bourdeaux, July 1. (Wireless) The appearance of Mr. Wallace at the conference of ambassadors today is understood to be his last attendance at this function. The office of the United States Ambassador in Paris, will be replaced by Myron T. Harlick. The ambassadors are again considering the situation of Austria. The latest report before them, is more cheerful than those to which they have been accustomed. It is even represented that the problem will be largely solved, if the foreigners' credits on Austria are forgone for twenty years. America, of course, has important claims, and if she comes into line, bonds pledged on state property will be issued under the control of the League of Nations. Apparently, the almost worthless Austrian money is to be replaced by a fresh coinage. The new issue will have the nominal value of the pre-war French franc. It is suggested that it can be established by various operations, although gold is lacking. This optimism is refreshing after so many gloomy statements, but it is to be observed that if it is to justify itself, there must also be the goodwill of other countries and an agreement on the plans worked out. The Commission's report had laid down two conditions: first to suspend for twenty years the privileges on the resources of Austria, which the creditor states have at their disposal. Second; the adoption by Austria of measures best calculated to improve her financial position. On the first condition, France, England, Yougo-Slavaka and Tchecho-Slovakia have agreed, and Italy is about to do the same. It is believed that the United States, who had taken no part in the making of the report, will not demand the payment of the money they advanced. On the second point, the Austrian government has accepted all the conditions laid down. Thus, the new creditors who will make the necessary advances to Austria will do so in a country financially sound and relieved of mortgages for a long period, during which she will accomplish her reorganisation. She will then be able to live on her ordinary resources, and be a factor of peace in Central Europe.

## 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.

## Memorial to Comrade REED.

A Memorial to Comrade John Reed will be unveiled on the Red Square today, Sunday, July 3rd at 5 p. m.

The Organisation Information Department of the Comintern

## NOTICE

The Organisation Information Bureau of the Comintern has been requested by Comrade Podvoisky, Commander of the Universal Training Corps, to ask those delegates, who were present at the Universal Training Corps display on Vorobievi Gorki on June 20th, to write in any language, their impressions on the following points and hand it to the Organisation Information Bureau by means of their house interpreters.

1. General impressions of the display.
2. Any defects which they noticed.
3. Make suggestions for furthering the work of physical culture.
4. Their opinion on pre-mobilisation training and sports for the proletariat.

V. Ivanoff  
Secretary of the Department.

## To All Foreign Delegates Arriving to the First International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions

The International Council of Trade Unions begs to request the delegates arriving to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions to register their credentials with the Communication Department of the International Council of Trade Unions

PETROVSKY LINE, formerly HOTEL ELITE, Room 3, Telephone 5—33—65. The present notice refers to delegates to the Congress having a decisive or consultative vote, as well as to those who came to Moscow with the purpose of attending the Congress as guests.

On all matters concerning the Congress, Comrade LOSOVSKY, General Secretary of the International Council of Trade Unions, receives daily from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. in the office of the International Council

PETROVSKY LINE, HOTEL ELITE Room 3

For information apply to Com. AROSEV, Manager of the International Council at the same address.

## Russo-Danish agreement.

Stockholm, July, 1st. The newspapers report that the representatives of the Danish delegation handed in to Kerzhentzev the text of the Russo-Danish agreement.

## Bourgeois Self-Defence.

Stockholm, July 1st. Via Riga. The decision of the Swedish bourgeoisie to create a defence corps against the workers similar to that existing in Norway, has caused the anti-Bolshevik paper "Social Democrat", to stamp it as a provocation, and a bourgeois organisation, which will only sharpen the class struggle.