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# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
No 37.  
July 9th  
1921.

## The Organisational Construction of the Communist International and Its Relations to the Affiliated Parties (Re point 5 of the Agenda of the Moscow Congress).

The Central Committee of the V. K. P. D. maintains the view which it expressed through its delegates at the Second Moscow Congress that the seat of the Executive Committee must be Moscow, the capital of the first proletarian State. But the Central Committee of the V. K. P. D. is bound to state that there are difficulties in the way of a real guidance by the Executive Committee of the Communist International owing to various obstacles in communicating with Moscow and also owing to the differences which exist between the tasks of a Communist Party of victorious workers and the tasks of Communist parties of those countries where the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship is still proceeding. In order to overcome or lessen these difficulties the Central Committee proposes the following to the Executive Committee and the Congress:

- 1) To increase the number of the number of representatives of the parties numbering over 100,000 members.
- 2) To send to Western Europe and America four members of the Executive of whom at least two should belong to the Russian Communist Party. These representatives should be specially entrusted with the task of acquainting the Executive Committee with the peculiar conditions under which the Communist parties have to fight in capitalist countries. They should also be concerned with maintaining the closest connection between those parties and the Executive Committee.
- 3) The Executive Committee should issue publications in Western Europe on all the most important questions, which will connect all the parties much quicker and much more frequently than can be done by the organ of the Executive: "The Communist International" which is published in Moscow.
- 4) The Executive Committee must see to it that the communications between it and the separate communist party committees is more rapidly effected than hitherto, so that individual communist parties, receive speedy replies to their questions. To secure this, the Congress should elect a deputy to the president who will reside in Moscow and watch over the work of the Secretariat. Leading responsible secretaries will be appointed, among them at least one representative of a non-Russian party. The president, his deputy, the three secretaries and one representative of every one of the parties counting over 100,000 members form the Little Bureau. The members of the Executive, if they reside in Moscow will undertake to discharge their duties with regard to the current work of the Executive Committee with the aid of national sections.

The Central Committee of the V. K. P. D. deems it necessary, that the Executive should strike a definite line with regard to all the burning questions of the workers' life, should show its initiative in all the general movements as e.g. when communists are being persecuted in individual countries and should also adopt a definite attitude to questions such as the wave of unemployment, the danger of armaments of America, England, and Japan. The Communist International has already outgrown the stage when it could be satisfied with general appeals. It must strive to become the real Communist International embodied in deeds, the real International of a joint daily struggle of the workers of all countries. We must not loosen the ties of the International by extending the so-called autonomy of the various countries, but we must knit the International closely together for joint action.

### Agrarian Revolution.

An armed agrarian uprising broke out at Ons, a Portugese island. Military forces were dispatched by the government. The insurgents are well armed and serious collisions are expected.  
(Allgemeen Handelsblad 20 June).

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Unemployment Still Increasing.

London, July 5. The "Daily Herald" states that the percentage of unemployment among trade union members in May 1921 was 22.2%, including the workers locked out or on strike. Between January and June, according to official figures, 1,500,000 workers had their weekly wages reduced. The farmers' demand for a wage cut came before the agricultural wages board on July 5th. A decision has not yet been taken.

#### Lloyd George Fools the Canadian Premiers.

London, July 4th. Reuter gives the following semi-official information about the Anglo-Japanese treaty: "The note, sent to the League of Nations last July was regarded by the Law Officers of the Crown but not by Lord Curzon, as constituting a denunciation of that instrument and, accordingly, the treaty would if this view prevailed, cease to exist this month. Hence came the proposal to extend its operation for three months. Japan, of course, was informed at that time of the view of the British Law Officers which, however, was never assented to by Japan, who held that this note did not constitute a denunciation. At this stage the Lord Chancellor, the highest Law Officer of the Crown, reversed the previous decision of other Law Officers and held that the note did not constitute a denunciation, which view was held by Curzon from the beginning. This change of view by Great Britain has been notified to Japan and as the treaty, even if denounced on July 13th, would automatically run for another year, the question of the proposed three month extension has been dropped. It appears that the above explanation of Reuter's agency practically finishes for the time being all the talk about the Imperial conference's decision on the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The "Manchester Guardian" gives a survey of the Imperial conference's session and points out that a real conflict of opinion developed on the Anglo-Japanese question, the Canadian and the South-African premiers being resolute in their opposition to the formal renewal of the treaty. That is why "Lloyd George suddenly summoned Lord Birkenhead, as the supreme legal authority, who gave his opinion that, in the absence of a specific denunciation, which had not taken place, the alliance must hold good, until 1922." The paper states further it may be suspected that the Foreign Office arrived some time ago at the definite decision to preserve the alliance, but they did not anticipate the stubbornness of the Canadian opposition.

#### The Deportation of the Russian Trade Mission from Constantinople.

Sevastopol, July 7th. In addition to information previously received it is reported, that the arrest of the Russian Trade Mission in Constantinople numbering twelve people including the representative of the Council for Foreign Trade, comrade Brook, was effected by the British military authorities on June 29th. The premises of the Mission were wrecked. The keys of the safe were taken away. Many of the men were beaten while being arrested. The arrested men were detained on the English boat "Ajax". On July 2nd they were transferred to a Turkish launch, convoyed by the English torpedo boat "Splendid", which towed them to a place, 30 miles from Yalta, which then left them. July 5th, in the evening the launch arrived at Sevastopol. On the launch were also other arrested men and deported Russians. The arrests and deportation were carried out without any charge having previously been made against the Trading Mission. The written protest made by comrade Brook to the British Commissioner was not replied to. Privately the English officers states that they acted under the orders of the British military authorities.

### TURKISH WAR.

#### Greeks Seeking Aid.

Nauen, July 5. (Wireless) The Greek Government has applied to Roumania and to Yougo-Slavia for help against the Kemalists mentioning that a victory of the Turks might be of serious consequences for these countries.

#### Balkan Intrigues.

London, July 4. The diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" states that, despite the official denial of the Bulgarian Legation in London, the dispatch of a Bulgarian mission to the Kemalists is corroborated from various sources.

Horsea, July 6. (Wireless) The Press Agency in London reports this afternoon that Turkish Nationalist troops have occupied nearly the whole of the peninsula of Ismid, adding that some have entered the neutral zone. Official quarters in London have, so far, received no confirmation of the news that the neutral zone was entered. There is little reason to credit the agency's statement to this effect in view of fact that the Angora government is perfectly well aware that such an action would inevitably lead to prompt action on part of all the allied powers. According to the "Times", information from trustworthy sources is reaching British official quarters regarding the intrigues led on by certain Bulgarians with Turkish nationalists, with the apparent object of preparing a Bulgarian attack upon the Greeks in Eastern Thrace, in order to procure a revision of the treaty of Neuilly and the recovery of Western Thrace from Greece. Statements to this effect have recently been made by other newspapers, notably by the "Daily Telegraph", which has disclosed intimate details of these intrigues. The opinion is strongly held in official quarters that if the Bulgarians keep on intriguing in order to upset the peace treaty not only will they not get any British support, but any attempt will be strictly opposed by the British government. The same opposition would, be offered to any attempt to promote the return of ex-king Ferdinand to Bulgaria.

#### Appeal for Intervention.

London, July 4. The Athens "Daily Telegraph" correspondent states: "Reouf-Pasha has apparently become the leader of the Angora moderates and it is reported he has been authorized by the National Assembly to proceed to London with an idea of securing the intervention of the British government for a suspension of hostilities".

#### Krupp's Speculation.

From Helsengfors it is reported, the Stinnes together with Krupp, have acquired a factory in Finland, for the manufacture of arms.

#### The British Version.

Paris, July 7. (Wireless) In reply to a question Harmsworth stated in the House of Commons: "On June 29th the Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in Constantinople ordered 52 undesirable persons to be arrested, of whom 18 belonged to the Russian Trades delegation. Nine of these 18 persons have been released. The measures taken by the Commander in Chief were necessitated by the discovery of a plot to make a revolution in Constantinople which had to commence by the assassination of the Commander in Chief. He is responsible for the maintenance of the administration of martial law in Constantinople and, according to information at hand, the measures as taken by him seem to be justified".

### ITALY.

#### The Wolf and the Lamb Make Peace.

The "Mesagerio" of the 3rd inst. reports that the agreement between the Executive Committee of the Fascisti, the socialists and the Trade Unions stipulate the formation of small groups in all provincial towns in order to bring about civil peace. The socialists are bound by the agreement to recognize the patriotic feelings of the Italian people. As for the Communists there is a clause which states that since there are communists in the Trade Unions, the latter will be held responsible for Communist activities. All parties must take steps to come to an agreement with the Communist under the chairmanship of De-Nikola, President of the Chamber. There is to be a large gathering of Fascisti and Socialists in Rome in order to finally ratify this agreement.

### SERBIA.

#### Acts of Provocation.

The "Rote Fahne" communicates from Belgrade that the attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister, Pashitz, and the prince regent, Alexander, are acts of provocation carried out with the object of justifying the persecution of labour organisations.

#### History Repeating Itself.

London, July 4. The Central News Agency announces from Vienna that, Yougo-Slavia will address a strongly worded note to Austria in connection with the recent attempt against the Serbian Prince Regent. The note will demand "the prosecution of subversive Croatian elements in Vienna, as, otherwise, Yougo-Slavia, together with Roumania and Tchecho-Slovakia will consider themselves obliged to take most serious measures." In connection with this rumour the "Daily Chronicle" Vienna correspondent wires: "Nothing is known officially of any such intended information, but the events are strikingly parallel with those of 1914."

#### Regular Shipping.

The Norwegian steamship Companies decided this month upon the extension of their navigation lines New-York Finland to Petrograd. Eventually regular freight and passenger steam ship lines will be established.

#### Comps for The Communists.

Minsk, July 6th. In Bielostok the compilers of a Polish newspaper refused to set up articles directed against the Communists.

#### British Fleet Concentrating on Turkish Coast.

London, July 4. The "Daily Mail" Malta correspondent reports that the movement of British warships towards the Turkish coast continues, and in a few days the whole Mediterranean fleet will be concentrated in the East. Reuter states that five infantry battalions are expected to arrive at Malta in September. The "Daily Telegraph" Athens correspondent wires that deliberations are going on between the Greek king and the members of his government at Smyrna on the question of the consequences of the evacuation of Ismid. It is reported that if the Kemalists should threaten the neutral zone around Constantinople, Greece would offer to the allies to withdraw all her troops in Thrace for the defence of Constantinople. From the other side the diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" suggests that the Greek headquarters no longer intend to provide a covering force for the neutral zone, so that the task of defending the approaches to Constantinople will fall entirely upon the shoulders of the allies themselves.

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Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).**The Italian Socialist Party and the Third International.**

The discussion of the application presented to the Third Congress of the Communist International by the Italian Socialist Party has been closed with the following decisions: 1) Recognition of the Italian Communist Party on the whole as the only Italian section of the Communist International. 2) Explicit declaration to the Italian Socialist Party, that in order to re-enter the Communist International it must first of all sever all ties with the reformist and the supporters of the reformists. A very simple decision and an equally clear one. The Third International, having indulged in maligning and abusing the Italian Socialist Party (as though the Italian Socialist Party had merited this, as though it had acted at Livorno against the Third International), has simply thrown into the face of the Italian Socialist Party the charge of having betrayed at Livorno the interests of the Italian revolution, and of the international proletariat.

But, in substance, what does the decision of the Congress signify? It means the non-acceptance of the application of the Italian Socialist Party.

In fact, to ask the Italian Socialist Party to chase out all the Reformists and all the supporters of the Reformists, means to show the door of the International to the entire Italian Socialist Party, not as an organised mass but as an organisation and as dissenters.

After the Congress of Livorno, the factions have disappeared in the Italian Socialist Party: They have become merged into the Turati faction, bringing in their points of view as to programme and tactics, both in the struggle against Communism, and against the Italian Communist Party and the Communist International.

The Italian Socialist Party to-day is a truly reformist, opportunist social-democratic and pacifist party all in one. In the mass of the Party there are revolutionary working class elements which are not at one with Serrati or Turati, but these elements, deprived of any theoretical preparation or of elementary socialist or communist preparation, are not yet in a position to understand how and why the Italian Socialist Party had betrayed the Third International; and thus, believing the demagogical utterances of Serrati and his two friends, they still maintain that the Italian Socialist Party remains a revolutionary party embodied in the International of the Communist Proletariat of the World. The decision taken by the International Congress leaves open the possibility for these sincere and revolutionary elements to enter the Communist International, to abandon the Socialist Party at its next National Congress. The Italian Socialist Party nevertheless presented its application to the International Congress with the intention of demonstrating that the Italian Socialist Party does not contain any of the reformist currents that have now captured the entire Party, but has reiterated in categorical fashion, that for the Italian reformists — as well as for those of any other country — the doors of the International remain inexorably close.

It is therefore ridiculous as well as irrelevant to declare that the representatives of the Italian Socialist Party at the Second Congress—deputies Lazzari, Maffi, and Riboldi—had made presentations to the Congress itself after the conclusion of the discussion on the Italian question.

With such declarations the shrewd social-democratic diplomats attempt to continue to play in equivocal interpretations of the resolution which has been adopted. It is false, it is untrue, that the adopted resolution correspond to the motion of Bentivoglio. This motion contained a protest and an appeal against the work done at Livorno by com. Kabaktchieff as representative of the E. C. of the International. However, the Congress having approved the work of the Executive, has also approved the scission in Italy and the activity of the entire Executive including Kabaktchieff and Rakosi upon that occasion. But the Italian Socialist delegation has formally pledged

itself before the Congress to do everything possible upon their return to Italy to cause the Italian Socialist Party to respect the decisions of the International Congress. In this pledge to be trusted? No, in view of our diffidence, of our regrettable experience of the Past. Who does not recollect the pledges given by Giacinto, Menotti, Serrati at the Second Congress of the Communist International? Not by conviction, but by communist discipline did Serrati pledge himself to the Second International Congress to make its decisions respected and applied in Italy; but as soon as he returned to Italy, he not only broke faith with the all communist and revolutionary discipline, has become one of the worst and most vulgar calumniators of the Second International. Now then: Lazzari, Maffi and Riboldi (the first two are reformists and centrists, the third one a pseudo maximalist) have always identified themselves with citizen Serrati—before Livorno, at Livorno, and above all, after Livorno.

What guarantees can be vouched to the Communist International by the promise of the three diplomats of the Italian Socialist Party? None whatever.

Everybody knows that Lazzari was the only one that stood up in opposition to the direction of the Socialist Party in 1919, to its adhering to the Third International. Everybody knows that Lazzari and Maffi voted at the Bologna Congress (October 1919) in favour of joining the Third International, but against a revision of the reformist programme which the Italian Socialist Party had maintained since the Genoa Congress of 1892, and against substituting a Communist programme for this reformist programme. Everybody knows that at Livorno a social-pacifist speech was made by Lazzari against violence, against civil war, and above all, against the dictatorship of Moscow. Everybody knows that Maffi and Riboldi assisted Serrati and his friends in the attacks against the International and the scurrilous insinuations against Kabaktchieff who was called by them "The alien".

And what have these socialist missionaries come to tell the Third International Congress? Nothing but sentimental phrases (Lazzari's speech) and useless vituperation (Maffi's speech). Absolutely nothing but phrases and demagoguery, which have always been the characteristic features of the Italian Socialist Party. That is why, even if against the decisions of the Third Congress, the Communist International leaves the door open to those revolutionary elements who by mistake or misunderstanding have remained with Serrati, — but the door of the Communist International remains firmly closed to the Italian reformists. And as reformists are considered not only those who openly declare themselves, like Turati, Treves, Modigliani, etc. etc., but also those who belong to the social-pacifist current headed by Lazzari, to the opportunist current headed by Bianchi, Maffi and Alessandri, and above all to the most dangerous, because most insincere, variety of those confederated with Giacinto, Menotti, Serrati. For all of them the doors of the Third International must remain inexorably closed.

The Italian proletariat which has given indubitable proof of revolutionary zeal and enthusiasm will quickly banish from its midst the independent and unfaithful, and will decisively join the Italian Communist Party and the International of the Communist and Revolutionary proletariat.

Luigi Polano.

**CONGRESS of Young Communists.****Opening of the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International.**

The formal opening of the Second Congress of the Young Communist International will take place at the Zimina Theatre on Saturday, July 9th at 7 p. m.

Delegates to the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Red Trade Union Congress, and the Congress of the Young Communist International will be admitted on presentation of their mandates.

Tickets can be obtained on Saturday, July the 9th, from 12 to 3. p. m. at the Hotel Dresden. Room 28.

The Organisation Committee of the Second Congress of the Young Communist International.

MOSCOW

JULY 9th 1921.

**The Seventeenth and Report of July Debates on Lenin's**

Comrade ZACKS said: "We understand the difficult situation of Soviet Russia and consider that the crux of the question is how the Russian Communist Party hopes to extricate itself from this position. The danger of the policy outlined by comrade Lenin of paying tribute to European Social Revolution, which we agree is necessary at the present moment, is that it may radically change the foundations of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia. But the guarantee lies in that the Russian Communist Party will remain what it is now. The international significance of the new policy is now less serious. The carrying out of the treaties will strengthen European capitalism and retard the development of Communism. The British capitalists took advantage of this situation to point out to the striking miners that they were doing harm to Soviet Russia.

Comrade RADEK followed, he said: "The question is not whether Russia's purchase of goods in Western Europe will postpone the crisis of imperialism but whether the foreign and home policy of the Russian Communist Party, is right and necessary from the point of view of the Russian proletariat.

If it is recognized that Soviet Russia at the present moment is the advance guard of the World Revolution, which creates the possibility of carrying on Communist system of production, not only in the large industry, but also for the employment of the forces of the Russian peasantry, it will be also recognized that our policy is necessary from the point of view of the world revolution. Of course, it represents a great danger, against which only one thing can be done, and that is to hasten the world revolution. Until that relief comes we undertake to defend our position until the end, and you must not lose time in doing everything in order that victory may be assured. The policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist International must be one that can be adapted to every situation. Our motto must be "To gain time for preparing for victory, for organization, and as Lenin said, not for reading books, for organising on the basis of the lessons which we have learnt from the struggle."

Comrade KOLLONTAI said: "Comrade Lenin's report raises a vital question namely, do we think the change in the economic policy will consolidate the Communist system of production? For that indeed, is our aim. The capitalist system in all countries is living its last days, and the Social Revolution is inevitable. For that reason, we ask: Is not the change of policy, a return to the capitalist system?"

Comrade Lenin says that the new economic policy will help us to gain time and hold out during the development of the world revolution. But it will be possible for us to hold out, if the new policy will not damage the Soviet system itself. We must bear in mind that as a result of this policy, the peasantry will become economically and morally stronger; while the proletariat will lose confidence in his own strength. If we continue the policy, and grant concessions, foreign capital will consolidate itself here, the proletariat will become weaker, disorganised, and a new revolution will be necessary, which the proletariat however will not be able to carry out.

Comrade Lenin spoke only of mechanical forces, but said nothing with regard to the creative efforts of the proletariat. Instead of seeking an outlet, by rousing the initiative of the masses, we seek assistance from outside sources.

Comrade TROTZKY in connection with the keen discussions abroad as to the alleged split in the Russian Communist Party said that those who are at all acquainted with the internal life of the Party know that there are no serious differences within the Party, except for the small group, the representative of which has just spoken. When the question of concessions was being discussed, the only point that arose was the practical one of where, and in what spheres to grant concessions. And precisely on this question, I was always in complete agreement with comrade Lenin.

What are the dangers, which comrade Kollontai raised in her speech? On the one hand, the danger of Western European capitalism, and on the other, from Russian Communism. This question was discussed in our Economic Commission. One

of the members of this commission endeavoured to prove that capitalism will find the road to salvation on the broad steppe of Russia. But if with our railway system, the tremendous distances and our general economic condition, capitalism in a short time will be able to reestablish itself, it would mean that we are sufficiently powerful economically and therefore there would be no need for us to resort to the aid of Western European capitalism. But we are not sufficiently capitalistic to refuse the aid of capitalist technicians in order to heal our wounds. This is the inherent logic of things. The main thing is that the proletariat holds power, and will grant concessions only in so far as it regards it necessary. If capitalism has beaten our army, there would have been no question at all of concessions; capitalism would have taken all that it required. The mere fact that we are discussing the question of concessions shows that power is in the hands of the proletariat, and that the proletariat is in a position to solve this question in its own interest. Those comrades who express fear merely show that they exaggerate the importance of our technique and transport, and undervalue our communist consciousness.

Comrade Kollontai bases her whole case on the almost metaphysical premise that capitalism is living its last days. If that were correct, then, if a British or a French army were to appear on the Black Sea coast, let us say, we could say to ourselves: Capitalism has outlived its time, and therefore we can calmly fold our arms and do nothing. With such ideas I think we should soon be sent to perdition with the permission of comrade Kollontai. Capitalism will not ask whether according to the wishes of comrade Kollontai it has outlived its time or not, but with the aid of its rifles made in its factories, and its officers, who submit to capitalist discipline it will annihilate us. This proves that capitalism is still strong. Comrade Kollontai may say to trade with capitalist countries is one thing, but to grant concessions is altogether impermissible. What are concessions? In order to buy say locomotives, we must pay in timber but to obtain the timber, we must have saws and other technical appliances. Well! we say the English capitalist can receive the timber that he has to receive in a certain forest, let him bring his saws and necessary technical appliances, let him fell the timber and in return for it, he will give us locomotives. Where does comrade Kollontai's objection on principle begin and end? Is it at the point of buying locomotives, or at the point of buying in timber.

Another of comrade Kollontai's objections is that we are diluting the workers with other forces. On the one hand, technicians, and the other the peasantry. From the very beginning of the war, we worked with technical forces, officers, etc., and this at first, was opposed by the Central Committee. But if we had relied entirely on the energy and self-sacrifice of the working class, whose services of course were tremendous we should long ago have ceased to exist. The tremendous initiative displayed by the working class lies in that it was able in a backward peasant country, by force of propaganda, to draw the officers into its services (Hear! Hear!).

We must start out from the fact that we are surrounded by capitalist countries and that we are compelled to give concessions. We retained the conviction that our proletariat as a member of the great international family of the working class, will be able to take advantage of the present unstable position of the capitalist system, in order to obtain the greatest possible benefit from alien forces. It is not we who have lost faith in the working class, but the small group in whose name comrade Kollontai spoke. (Prolonged applause).

Comrade KERRAN (British Communist Party) expressed surprise that so few foreign delegates participated in the discussions on the Russian question. The political state of Russia, he said, is not nearly so important, as its economic position, and he would not have the delegates go away with the impression that industry in Russia is in an excellent state. On the contrary, Russia is experiencing an acute industrial crisis, which has been rendered even more acute by the failure of the harvest. For that reason he could not reproach the Russians for giving concessions to foreign capitalist

# Eighteenth Session of the Third Congress.

## the 5th (continued) and 6th. Report and the Question of the Trade Unions.

The Communists of other countries were not yet in a position to help Russia economically.

The speaker related that while he was in Germany, and Belgium, capitalists expressed the desire to him of establishing relations with Soviet Russia. One German millionaire declared to him, that if he could come to Russia, and convinced himself that the experiment being made here had some chances of success, he would place all his wealth and factories at the disposal of Russia.

The slump in industry according to comrade Kerran is explained by the fact, that previous to the war, a great part of industry belonged to foreigners, and immediately they left Russia, a crisis was inevitable.

In conclusion comrade Kerran said: "We Communists, could assist Russia to establish her industry by sending experienced workers here who conjointly with the Russian workers would energetically begin to re-establish industry. The welfare of Soviet Russia is the business of the Communists of the whole world, and its destruction would be a catastrophe for all our ideas."

Comrade GEMPELD (C. L. P. G.) In answering comrade Radek's question on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party we consider that these tactics suit the particular conditions of Soviet Russia. As regards comrade Kollontai's impression on the concessions to the peasants and foreign capital, we have no doubt that if the international proletariat had come to the aid of the re-establishment of Russia's economic life there would have been no need to approach foreign capital. But how can the international proletariat help Soviet Russia. It cannot send machines and only a revolution will make it possible for skilled workers to leave Western Europe and come to Russia.

Comrade ROLAND HOLST (Holland) said: "I wish to deal with three points that arise on the report on tactics. I think that the initiative shown by the Russian workers is unexampled in the world's history."

I think that Soviet Russia should pay more attention to the world revolution. Soviet Russia will receive some goods from foreign capitalists, but this represents a great danger.

Finally some think the tactics of the Russian Communist Party incorrect. But the Russian Communist Party is the only party, which trusts the workers and understands their creative energy. They created the revolution and understand the proletariat from experience: and what they say is full of truth. If they adopt a new policy then they do so with the complete trust, of the workers and peasants. Unfortunately, we in Western Europe have neither the experience nor the confidence of the proletarian masses (Appause).

Comrade BUCHARIN followed Roland Holst, and said: Comrade Zaeks stated that the concessions of Soviet Russia to foreign capital would consolidate the position of international capital. I would like to show the inexactitude of such an impression. 1) Russia receives goods from many countries, whilst Russia's exports are scattered throughout the world. Hence our imports are of much more significance than our exports. 2) This significance of our imports is still increased if we compare their value to the economy of Russia with the value of our exports, for example what significance would an equivalent export of petroleum have on the economy of England: and finally 3) Every one of our concession creates political competition between capitalist countries, which also is important.

Comrade Kollontai is under the influence of old menshevist recollections and what she says sounds much worse than what is said by our contemporary treacherous mensheviks. She said that a new ruling class of bourgeois experts, and bureaucrats is being formed here, and that the Russian working class would have to create a third revolution to regain their rule. However, comrade Kollontai declared that this new ruling class is composed of the peasantry. But do the concessions to the peasants mean that the government has passed into their hands? Comrade Kollontai tried to scare us with state capitalism. But State capitalism is used in an altogether different sense to that which is used in Western Europe. There the bourgeoisie

control the government in the interests of its own factory owners, here the government is in the hands of the proletariat who merely leases this or that factory to a capitalist. Comrade Kollontai is overcome by a great fear, but this fear serves no useful purpose (Trotsky—"Except making a long speech") even if the Russian revolution did go under this would not mean the end of the social revolution.

Comrade Hempeld learned only one thing from comrade Kollontai's speech—the need of developing the workers' initiative. We quite agree with this, but comrade Kollontai gave us no concrete examples of how this was to be done. Comrade Gempeld spoke of the dangers which the R. C. P. should watch. But I think that comrade Lenin's speech and other of our speeches eloquently show that the R. C. P. better than anyone else, takes note of these dangers and instead of hiding them reveals them to all those who are interested in the final victory of the Social Revolution.

### Resolution on Lenin's Report.

At the close of the debate the following resolution was put and carried.

The Third World Congress of the Communist International having heard comrade Lenin's report on the tactics of Russian Communist Party, and having studied the proposed theses declares:

"The Third World Congress of the Communist International watches with admiration the four years' struggle of the Russian proletariat for the conquest and the strengthening of its political power. The Congress unanimously approves of the policy of the Russian Communist Party, which from the very commencement could correctly discern any threatening dangers and in accordance with the principles of revolutionary marxism, always found a way and means for surmounting them; which now during a respite in the civil war, by its change of policy in connection with the peasantry, on the question of concessions and revival of industry, concentrates all the forces of the proletariat, directed by the Russian Communist Party, for the purpose of retaining in their hands the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia, until such time when the Western European proletariat will come to their aid."

The World Congress expressed its conviction that it is only thanks to that expedient policy of the Russian Communist Party that Soviet Russia may look upon itself as the first and most important rampart of the World Revolution, and at the same time denounces the treacherous conduct of the Menshevik Parties, who with their campaign in all countries against Soviet Russia, and the Russian Communist Party strengthens capitalist reaction in its struggle against Russia and endeavours to delay the Social Revolution all over the world. The World Congress calls upon the proletariat of all countries to come over unanimously on the side of the Russian workers and peasants and respect the events of October 1917 all over the world.

Long live the struggle for the Dictatorship of Proletariat! Long live the World Social Revolution!

### Report of 18th Session. July 6th.

The discussion on the report of the Trade Unions and the III International was continued.

Comrade MALZAHN said Comrade Zinoviev was quite correct when he said, that the Amsterdam International was a pillar of the bourgeois State, and hence a class struggle, in the full meaning of the word, must be carried on against this International. And we quite agree with him, that this vital question will solve the fate of the world revolution. He was also quite right in his sketch of the relations between the trade unions and the Communist party. The neutrality of the trade unions can only be solved by the method contained in Comrade Zinoviev's report.

But how can all this be carried out in practice. The III Congress stated that communists must work inside the trade

unions as any attempt to exclude any revolutionary element from the trade unions must inevitably result in the weakening of our fight. The German Trade Union Movement presents a glaring example of this. In 1919 there were 3,000,000 members in the German united trade unions, in 1920, after the revolution, there were 9,000,000. But the so-called alliance of the free Unions only mustered 300,000 members. This alliance is controlled by the syndicalist elements. What is the result of such a split? There is not a united front, the forces are divided, and the Amsterdam International has met with great success in its slogan of "Exclude them from the Trade Unions".

The Communist Labour Party of Germany has nearly played into the hands of the Amsterdam International bureaucrats which uses this slogan for the systematic exclusion of communists from the trade unions. Knowing full well the tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany and the harm it causes in the task of uniting the revolutionary workers of Germany, we heartily endorse the decisions of the Congress re this party.

The task of the communists is to influence the trade unions with the object of revolutionising them. Of course it is not necessary to make every trade unionist a communist—as the Communist Labour Party of Germany seems to imagine, it is enough to gain control in order that it may be possible to revolutionise them by means of a politically conscious minority.

The representative of the Italian Communist Party said that he completely agreed with the conclusions arrived at in the report of Comrade Zinoviev and the speeches of many comrades, especially did he agree with the decision of not destroying the Trade Unions but conquering them for the revolutionary struggle. The working class must have its own proletarian army, always ready for action. Such an army are the trade unions. The speaker considered that the trade unions must take an active part in the political struggle but must be left absolutely independent on the solution of their economic problems. The congress must clearly define the relations between the political and industrial organisations of the proletariat.

But the Trade Unions whilst fighting to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat must not forget the every day struggle of the working class, to improve its conditions.

The speaker considered the German workshop committees to be revolutionary organisations. The task of the German Communist Party was to revive them. There were workshop committees in Italy which the Communist Party was trying to win over, but unfortunately they are still influenced to a great extent by the reformists and socialists.

The Italian Confederation of Labour is carrying on a fierce war against the Communists. It carried a resolution to remain in the Yellow Amsterdam International and at the same time sent two of its representatives to the Red Trade Union International congress in Moscow. When they arrive here they must be exposed as men who assist the Fascisti in their dirty work.

In order to retain their hold on the masses the leaders of the Italian Yellow Trade Unions, unable to improve the conditions of the working class, are organising co-operatives which sell goods to the workers at cheap rates and thus attempt to alleviate their situation. This is how they carry on the class war.

The speaker appealed to the Congress to define a clear and accurate line of tactics cast on the basis of experience.

Comrade ERVAL (Upper Silesia) said that the Communists are faced with a tremendously difficult task in those districts where the proletariat is composed of many nationalities. It essential to penetrate the Trade Unions and create a united front. The Polish Socialist Party Trade Union bureaucrats, who supported Korfanty in the recent Upper Silesian rising, have passed sentences of death on many strikers. However there are some revolutionary trade unions in Upper Silesia with a membership of about 20,000 which have not changed their tactics since the recent terrible days. Are such organisations necessary? Experience has shown us that they only lead to a division of strength. During the past few years the better element has left the trade unions and that which is left is

unable to cope with the trade union bureaucracy.

The absence of a united front clearly demonstrated itself during the rising, when the betrayers of the working class managed to play on the patriotic feelings of the Polish and German proletariat. However the workers in some parts began to understand how they had been deceived and after a couple of weeks they unfurled the Red Banner.

Only a energetic push inside the Trade Unions by the Communists will make it possible to create that unity which will make it possible for the proletariat to win his final battle.

Comrade HAYWOOD, (Industrial Workers of the World) said: comrade Zinoviev spoke of the increasing membership of those trade unions which affiliate to the American Federation of Labour. I must say that the opposite is the case, that the membership of this Federation is decreasing. In general it is absolutely impossible to carry on any work inside this Federation, so reactionary is it.

Gompers gave a report on Soviet Russia at the last Federation Congress in Denver, in which he declared that the workers must not help Soviet Russia.

Comrade Trotsky in his report spoke of some small revolutionary groups which ought to be liquidated. Amongst the American delegation to the Red Trade Union International congress there was a fairly extensive section which believed that the Industrial Workers of the World should be entirely liquidated. Such an attempt would be absolutely unsuccessfull Capitalism with its press and third degree tried to kill our movement, but met with no success, simply because the Industrial Workers of the World is a revolutionary organisation, and although numerically small, it is a product of necessity, created by the particular conditions of the American workers movement. The object of this organisation is the overthrow of the capitalist system, it takes its stand on the basis of the revolutionary class war: its numerical weakness is explained by the unceasing persecutions and repressions to which the Industrial Workers of the World was and still is subjected: over 30,000 members have been arrested and many have been killed. In spite of this the Industrial Workers of the World takes part in every strike and always comes to the help of the working class.

When one talks of working inside the American Federation of Labour, the fact must not be lost sight of that the appearance of revolutionary propaganda not only counteracts the Trade Union bureaucracy but also that mass of rank and file members who take no part in any political activities. This is why the masses must first be instructed in revolutionary thought.

The communists recognise the necessity of an industrial organisation. If the Russian revolution were achieved by workers already trained in the technical and industrial control of industry then we would not have witnessed that industrial paralysis which exists to-day in Russia. That is why the Industrial Workers of the World believes it to be of the utmost importance to train the working classes industrially, so that, as soon as capitalism has been superceded it can immediately take hold of the industrial life of the country.

LOSOVSKY then spoke: "The whole philosophy of syndicalism,"— he said "is independence. Whose independence? Their whole aim is to replace communism with something else which the revolutionary syndicalists consider sufficient to create the social revolution. We would like to know how the trade unions of England, Germany and France can be independent of communism in the fight which they are waging to-day? Facts prove that the "Sacred" Amiens charter is somewhat out of date and it is time it were superceded by some other answering the needs of the day. Of course, granting the independence and autonomy of the trade unions, we at the same time create two parallel movements which have the same object in view. Is it possible for two movements which are saturated with communism to remain independent of each other? And if they do exist is it not time that a bridge was built between them?"

Recognition of this autonomy and independence must inevitably lead to this, that those who still cling to the Amiens charter will become our enemies and

Continued on page 4, col. 1.

# Child Welfare

## In Germany, England and Soviet Russia.

by Z. Lilina.

### CHILD WELFARE IN ENGLAND.

We take the material on the conditions of children in England — the victorious country — from English bourgeois papers and a file of articles, entitled 'Public Welfare in England', issued in London in 1920 and comprising articles written by Russian and foreign public education, the protection of child labour, national health insurance, town hygiene, and means of communication.

The object of the file etc summarise all that which was done on the fore-mentioned questions in England and to help the Russian Public workers.

According to C. P. Turin as he writes in the preface. Evidently the articles have been written to help the Russian welfare worker. Let us see then how England cares for its children — a country which is not in the but in the hands of the highly cultured bourgeoisie.

Madame L. S. Small has something to say on this in her article 'A short account of the activities of the settlements in England' describing the conditions under which these settlements work she gives the following description of the conditions under which the workers children live 'whilst the children of those workers who earn a regular wage were pretty well clothed and comparatively well fed, the children of the poorly paid workers were in much worse circumstances. The homes of their parents were crowded and dark, the air in their houses was close and foul, ragged children play around the stairway and pavements, many are afflicted with rickets, and torn. But condition of the children of those parents who have no regular income is still worse.

This is what the director of a London school has to say on the children of the working class districts '40 p.c. of the children in this district are so underfed that it is almost useless to teach them as they remember nothing. 10 p.c. of them are so hungry that it is really inhuman and cruel to attempt to teach them.

The director of another working class quarter school thus describes the condition of her pupils, 'Hungry they come to school, hungry they go home and hungry they go to bed.

'They' i. e. the children says one of the settlement workers (came here a colourless group of worn out children, ready to obey any demand, tired and without any spirit, nothing but a pale, ahenamic, bony, shod — they accept all the sorrows of life without question or wonder). It became evident to the settlement workers that this was not a case for education. The children must first be fed, medically treated, clothed and then educated. The settlement applied to the London County Council for help (But the County Council did not desire to undertake the task of feeding and health of the children. But this care, supported by charity, was only a drop in the ocean. Only a few hundred helpings of soup for the tens of thousands of children dying of boots lent to the children on hire, the starvation in London alone. 1,300 pairs of same number of blankets loaned for the winter to the children. 27 consumptive sent to the settlement etc.)

During the war the bourgeois English government itself began to look after the children's welfare.

P. Townesque gives the following data as to the government work in his article 'The definite beginning of educating and preparing national teachers.'

Free Breakfasts. 'The special law of 1920 allows local school boards to help those committees which organise dining rooms for the scholars of elementary schools (school canteen committees). Those parents who can afford to do so, must pay for their children's dinners but those who are in dire need receive their meals free. The expenses occurred are met by the school boards with a local tax (paid by the population). In 1915 422,401 dinners disbursed in the schools of England. In 1916 — 117,901 and in 1917 64,613.

How this systematic decrease in the number of free school dinners — 1915 422,401, 1917 64,613 — is not explained by the author. We do not think it is the result of less need amongst the English proletariat. We know that the war brought wealth only to the bourgeoisie and not the workers of England.

The capitalist government of England considers the welfare of its children. It sends consumptive children to the country. 'The children rest there for a period of usually six weeks, are medically treated, and ideally looked after. When they recover they return to their former unhygienic conditions, attend

school, but after a few weeks collapse again, and hence all the care that was taken of them is of little benefit. (L. Small.)

The author of the article is not satisfied with the English law on the general welfare of children, especially consumptive children.

But being herself a member of the bourgeoisie, she does not and cannot propose a more radical way of looking after child welfare. A real all round care for children is only possible when this care is undertaken not by the exploiters, but by the revolutionary proletariat and naturally the author — a servant of the bourgeoisie — 'writing for the benefit of the Russian welfare workers', is unable to propose this.

Unfortunately, writes S. Turin, the local government and school boards do not make use of the rights which they have. For 10 years only 91 out of the 329 local government boards made some attempt at carrying out the regulations dealing with the protection of child labour. This careless attitude towards protecting child labour is explained by the fact that the local government boards regard any clause in the protection of child labour as not worthy of consideration. And such an indifferent attitude towards the exploitation of child labour is met in all bourgeois institutions of England.

The following statistics of 1912, much worse in 1918, bear out these statements.

Conditions of Child Labour in Great Britain in 1912.

| CATEGORY OF CHILD LABOUR  | The Legal minimum Age                                | Maximum Hours of work  |          | The number of working children   |
|---|--|--|----------|--|
|   |  | Per day  | Per week |  |
| 1. Children working full time in works and factories . . . . .                  | 13   | In the textile industry 10 hrs. In others 10 1/2   | 55 1/2   | In England & Wales . . . . . 55,000<br>In Scotland . . . . . 1,500<br>Ireland . . . . . 3,500<br>Total . . . . . 60,000    |
| 2. Children working part time in works and factories . . . . .                  | 12   | 6 1/2 or 10 according to the other part of the day's work  | 30-34    | In England & Wales . . . . . 31,000<br>In Scotland . . . . . 200<br>Ireland . . . . . 3,195<br>Total . . . . . 34,535      |
| 3. Children engaged in Mining . . . . .   | 12, 13 or 14   | 10   | 54       | The total of 4,824 in 1912 has grown appreciably since 1918  |
| 4. Children working full time in works, and factories and mines . . . . .       | 12, in Ireland 11 years                              | From 6 a. m. to 9 p. m.  | —        | In England & Wales . . . . . 136,424<br>In Scotland . . . . . 1,866<br>Ireland . . . . . 26,500<br>Total . . . . . 164,500 |
| 5. Children working part time in works and factories . . . . .                  | 12 and 11 in the agricultural industry.              | Ditto  | Ditto    | A Total of . . . . . 9,372   |
| 6. Children regularly attending school and working after school hours . . . . . | Various ages, according to supplementary legislation | From 6 a. m. to 9 p. m. excepting from April 1st. to October 1st. when the hours are from 6 a. m. to 7 p. m. | Ditto    | Total of 304,000 Children<br>Besides this, there were 577,321 infants at work in 1912.                                     |

The English government not only cares for school children but also for working children. S. Turin treats this question in his article 'The protection of Child Labour'. And it is written with the object of teaching the 'Russian welfare worker'. Its author says plainly 'if the moderate scheme of the protection of child labour in England was accepted at the same time in Russia — such a thing would have been of great use for the successful and healthy development of our industrial forces and would have put Russia, so far as the protection of child labour is concerned, on the same footing with other countries of the world.

Let us see what this 'moderate scheme' of caring for the working children of England leads to. In England before the war over two million children were daily employed, of these, half a million were between the ages of 10-11 and 14. During the war the number of working children notably increased while their conditions became worse and many thousands of infants and children were torn from school and worked at home taking the places of their fathers and brothers, who had gone to the war.

From 1914 to 1918 the number of working children in England increased by 342,000. How are these children distributed throughout the different industries? 'The number of children is left to the local government and different industries before the war was as follows.

100,000 children were occupied in factories and coal mining, 175,000 children while still attending school, worked after their regular school hours.

The number grew remarkably during the war. Of this million army of children only the first ten thousand are afforded protection by the factory acts. The welfare of the other children is left to the local government and public education boards.

The chief spheres, other than industry, in which children are primarily employed, and which have to deal with local government and public education boards, are street hawking, delivery of papers and milk, work in different places of amusement etc.

The local government and public education boards must protect the children from excessive exploitation. They must see it that the children do no work which is heavy and harmful for a child's organism. They are compelled to see that no children under 11 years of age are engaged in street hawking, or work in places of amusement.

In 1918 the total of children employed had grown by 342,000 whilst the conditions became worse.

It is interesting to stop and examine the supplementary legislation dealing with child labour and the scheme of special demands.

- 1) The minimum age of children to be accepted for work is 12 years. The normal minimum of hours during which they can be employed is: During school hours from 5 to 8-3 hours (however one must forget that school hours in England are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.)
- 2) Children up to 14 years, who have left school, can only be employed for 9 hours a day and 5 days a week.
- 3) Children, who have not reached the age of 14, can not be employed after 9 p.m.
- 4) The right to use child labour must be laid before and granted by the local school authorities.
- 5) The minister for public education is organising a labour market for children.
- 6) School teachers and doctors must systematically question as to their earnings.
- 7) The school medical personnel must look after the proper fulfillment of administrative legislation.

And this is how the children are exploited, beginning from 11 years of age — as an ideal 12 years of age. A working day of from 10 to 14 hours a day. The 8 hour day for children and youths is a hope of the future. And this in 1918.

Indeed the workers and peasants rule in Soviet Russia has something to learn. We think that it would be worth while for the 'Welfare workers' of England to be acquainted with the care of Soviet Russia for its children and the legislation for protecting child labour.

(To be continued.)

### 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.