



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## The Festival of Youth.

A youth festival was held in Moscow on July 10th in honour of the Third International Congress.

Already at 10 a. m., a long procession of youthful workers was on its way to the field of Ols, Sokolniki, waving red flags and singing revolutionary songs. Tram cars and motor cars, all decorated with branches and placards, followed one after the other.

At 11 o'clock the proceedings were opened with commemorative speeches by representatives of the Universal Training Corps and the Moscow Committee of the Russian Young Communist Party.

Sporting contests were then begun between the pre-mobilisation training corps and the district organisations of the Russian Young Communist Party. The program consisted of many events: races, jumping, putting the weight, etc, etc.

Whilst the sport were proceeding several of the foreign delegates to the Congress of Youth arrived and they were given a stormy ovation by the Young workers who filled the field.

Comrade MUNZENBERG greeted the youth with a speech of praise and he was loudly applauded. The orchestra rendered the International and the secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Young Communist Party, Comrade Tsetlin responded to Comrade Munzenberg.

Cameras and cinemas were kept busy taking photographs of the sports.

The Schuschenskaya division were declared the champions and they were presented with banner by the delegates of the Young Communist International.

Comrade SHATZKIN then greeted the pre-mobilisation training corps in the name of Moscow Committee of the Young Communist Party and the Young Communist International.

The proceedings lasted till 7 p. m. after which the delegates and young workers began to disperse to their various destinations. The "International" re-echoed everywhere.

All the local clubs of the Russian Young Communists Party were decorated with branches of trees banners and placards.

In the evening commemorative meetings were organised by the district councils of the Russian Young Communist Party for apprentices. The halls were crowded with Young Workers, many of them being non-Party. The foreign delegates to the Young Communist International were met with a loud ovation. The speeches were continuously interrupted with enthusiastic "hurrahs" and the meeting lasted late into the night.

The meetings in the Presnensky and Hamovnitshesky districts were especially enthusiastic. The Presnensky Committee of the Russian Young Communist Party organised an interesting concert and ballet which quite equalled the performance of the professional artistes.

After the proceedings the delegates were escorted to their hotel "Dresden" by the youth.

Firework displays were organised en route. At the "Dresden" the delegates were met with a stormy ovation, from the youth of all the different regions. The delegates responded with speeches of greetings.

The festival ended at night and the workers' youth departed to their homes in military formation singing revolutionary songs.

### In Honour of the Congress.

The opening of the Third Congress of the Comintern was fittingly celebrated in Borisov (Minsk Gubernia) on June 20th. At 4 p. m. After the day's work had been finished, detachments of workers, Red Army soldiers, the special reserve corps and the universal training corps marched with music to Novo-Borisov. A commemorative meeting was held in a large and convenient theatre filled to overflowing with a large concourse of workers.

After the meeting a revolutionary satire was played and sporting and gymnastic games were indulged in.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Russia in the House of Commons.

London, July 8th. Questions were asked in the House of Commons yesterday, with regard to the arrest to the Russian Trade's Mission in Constantinople. The Government replied that a complete report had not yet been received. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs retains the view that political significance must not be attached to this incident, and regards it as a necessary police measure. He said: "that Harrington acted quite correctly in endeavouring to forestall a plot that was being hatched in Constantinople."

Questions were also asked with regard to the despatch of a British delegation to Moscow, and the trading results with Russia since the signing of the Trade Agreement. The president of the Board of Trade replied that the British Mission will leave for Russia in the middle of this month. The value of British goods despatched to Russia during March, April, May and June in round figures is a 151,000 pounds sterling. This does not include goods despatched through Finland, Estonia and Latvia.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was asked whether a protest had been received with regard to assistance rendered by the League of Nations to anti-Soviet troops still under arms, and what was the reply. In reply it was stated that a note was received from Tchicherin expressing the hope that the British Government will not encourage the formation of anti-Bolshevik troops, and that the Soviet Government knows that the British Government has no intention or desire to do so. No reply to this note has yet been sent.

Asked about the recognition of the Far Eastern Republic, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs replied that the British Government was not convinced of the stability of the Far Eastern Republic, and as direct British interest in that territory were not great, it did not propose to recognize that Republic.

#### Irish Negotiations.

Horsea, 11/7. (Wireless.) All parties, concerned in bringing peace to Ireland are expected to meet in a joint conference in London this week. Lloyd George sent the following telegram to De Valera last night: "I have received your letter of acceptance and shall be happy to see you at Downing Street any day this week. Please wire the date of your arrival in London." It is thought that Arthur Griffith will accompany De Valera. A preliminary meeting may take place in a day or two, says the "Daily Chronicle", and it is thought that members of the British government may first of all meet the representatives of South and North Ireland separately. The newspapers state that the truce was actually signed by Michael Collins, the chief of the "Irish republican army". From the moment when the truce was signed by General Macready, for the government steps were taken by the government to carry it out. In the first place the recruiting of all military police was stopped in Ireland and new recruits for the R. I. C. who were to have crossed to Ireland yesterday were stopped. The attack by Sinn Fein gunmen on a patrol at Belfast on Saturday night and other incidents which took place yesterday may be due only to the difficulties of the Sinn Fein leaders in exercising an immediate control over their adherents, says the "Daily Chronicle". In nearly all churches in Dublin, in the South and in the West of Ireland yesterday references were made to the truce and appeals were made to refrain from provocative conduct on all sides. The "Times" Dublin correspondent says it is the general opinion that De Valera and the other responsible heads of the republican movement will be able to enforce the truce, although individual acts of violence may continue to be committed. The use of the word "hostilities" in the proclamation from Downing Street appears to imply the recognition of the belliger-

### TURKEY.

#### The Eastern Crisis.

Paul Luis writes in "L'Humanite" of June 29th: One asks oneself why France took Syria, why England installed itself in Mesopotamia and why Greece obtained provinces where the Greeks are in a minority, and the only explanation is the military and the demands made by capitalists, both these reasons are equally untenable and contemptible.

Bekir Sami emphasized that the Angora Assembly claims the territories where the majority of the population is Turkish and we easily understand that in this respect Turkey is supported by the Soviets, which are also fighting against the Western Imperialism. This moral support of revolutionary Russia, alone proclaimed the rights of nations, is not the least force possessed by Kemalism.

The mere presence of the Ambassador of Angora in Paris shows that Turkey desired peace and not war. When he demands the liberation of Thrace, where the Greeks are in a minority, of Constantinople, where Britain is speaking as a mistress, of the Straits where the British Admiralty is feeling at home, if he demands the recognition of political and economical independence of Turkey, he only expounds truisms and it is precisely their simplicity which is a formidable weapon against the annexationist appetites of the Entente. It is curious to see him use the arguments of the French revolution and of the Russian revolution against the oppressors of nations and the freed of financiers.

Will Franco-British capitalism understand or will it—to put it more exactly—avail itself of the necessity to fall back before the wave which is being raised by the reformed Islam.

### FRANCE.

#### Feathering their Nests.

Paris, July 10. According to the local papers, the Socialist Deputy Paul Boncour intended to ask the French Government to forbid diplomatic representatives as well as to all the superior officials of administrative departments to participate in any way in industrial or financial undertakings. During an interview he had with Boncour at the Chamber yesterday Briand declared that within the next two weeks a circular order would be addressed to all officials of the Foreign Office, instructing them to choose between their official position and any employment they might have with financial or industrial concerns. Paul Boncour is said to have, there upon renounced his intention of making an interpellation. — The newspapers assert that similar measures will be taken in other Governmental Departments as well, especially in the Ministries of Finances, of Colonies and of Public Works.

### SWITZERLAND.

#### Unemployment Growing.

Riga, July, 9th. Unemployment in Switzerland is growing with enormous rapidity. The number of unemployed workers during the last few weeks has increased by 20,000 and has reached 50,000.

ent status of the republican army, and this recognition must have an important consequence, if these negotiations fail and warfare is renewed. On the other hand it imposes upon the republican army the responsibility of enforcing the truce with all the strictness on which standards of civilized warfare insist.

#### Traitor Thomas.

Horsea, 11/7. (Wireless.) J. H. Thomas the railwaymen's leader, speaking yesterday, said the railwaymen's decision that in the interests of the nation peace was essential for the industry was not made because they were afraid to fight, but because they wanted to make a direct contribution to the best interests of the nation. He hoped that other industries would follow that lead.

### GERMANY.

#### Comrade Krestinsky Expelled from Bavaria.

In April last comrade Krestinsky, the Commissary for Finance, on account of ill health travelled to Kissingen and then to Bavaria, in order to spend a holiday accompanied by his secretary. All the formalities for his journey had been complied with and permission for his stay in Germany had been previously received from the German Government. After staying at Kissingen to the end of June, comrade Krestinsky and his secretary, travelled to Gmound on the Lake Tegerin, having previously obtained permission from the authorities. As they were getting ready to leave an official of the criminal police approached them and stated that he had orders to search both the comrades, and take away all the documents found on them. This was done in spite of the protest of our comrades who were afterwards taken to the police headquarters in Munich. After the careful examination of their papers, they were returned to them and later subjected to a detailed examination. The examination gave the police as little material as the scrutiny of their documents. When the official conducting this affair, Counsellor Lang, was warned of the measures that would be taken to apprise the German Imperial Government of what has taken place he replied that Bavaria does not concern itself with the wishes of that government. Subsequently comrade Krestinsky and his secretary were deported.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has despatched a note to the Berlin Government laying all the details of this insulting conduct towards a member of a friendly government, and expressing energetic protest against it.

The Munich correspondent of the "Vorwarts" communicates that the Bavarian Government regards the deportation of comrade Krestinsky as that of a private person and not as a member of a friendly government, and therefore did not propose to take note of the protest of the representative of the Soviet Government in Berlin, comrade Kopp, or make any explanation to the Imperial German Government.

### U. S. A.

#### U. S. Calls Disarmament Conference.

Horsea, 11/7. (Wireless.) Extreme gratification is expressed here at President Harding's call for a conference on the Pacific problem and on the question of a limitation of armaments. The proposal is that Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan should take part in a conference to be held at Washington on some agreed date to consider the question of a limitation of armaments. If this proposal is acceptable, formal invitations will be issued. The statement continues as follows: "It is manifest that the question of a limitation of armaments has a very close relation to the Pacific and the Far Eastern problems, and the President has suggested that the powers, especially interested in these problems should undertake, in connection with this conference, to consider all matters bearing upon their solution, with a view of reaching a common understanding with respect to the principles of their politics in the Far East. This has been communicated to the powers concerned, and China has also been invited to take part in the discussions, relating to the Far Eastern problem." Harding's proposal was conveyed yesterday by the American Ambassador in person to the Prime Minister at his country house, where the Dominion Prime Ministers were his guests for the weekend. The proposal was received with warm satisfaction. Lloyd-George is expected to respond to it in the House of Commons to-day in a spirit of whole-hearted acceptance.

# Red Trade Unions International.

Report of Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Sessions.

Comrade ROSMER reported on the mutual relationship between the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International. He said:

The Third International from the very beginning of its existence and in keeping with the traditions of the First International, included both political parties and workers' organisations. This tradition was discarded by the Second International because the opportunist parties drew up such a set of clauses which actually prevented Trade Unions from entering the International. It is rather interesting that there were elements opposed to trade unions in the Third International, such as Levi and Serrati, who however have been excluded from the Third International. As regards the Trade Unions themselves, they at first never expressed any desire to guard themselves against the Third International on the other hand the Italian "Union Syndicale" and the Spanish Confederation of Labour expressed their affiliation to the Third International, seeing in the step no violation of their syndicalist beliefs. Hence this is not a question of principle but of practice, as it raises the question of the relations between the parties and Trade Unions of each country. On the other hand, there are countries where the Trade unionists are opposed to political parties, including the Communist party; on the other — the mistaken opinion of the Russian Communists on the relations between the party and the Trade Unions also plays a big role. The enemies of communism intentionally circulated the rumour that the Trade Unions of Russia were subordinated to the Party. The existing idea of the Russian Communists is that they strive to win a majority of the trade unionists over to their point of view and their supporters, one of the inalienable rights of any organisation. Dealing with the Amiens Charter, Rosmer said that comrade Zinoviev, in his report at the Congress of the Third International, had not quite caught its spirit. He only dealt with its "neutrality", but did not quite understand the revolutionary role which it played in the French Trade Union movement, or the historic surroundings which caused it to utter its slogan of the neutrality of the Trade Unions to the Socialist Party. In reality the pure form of neutrality never existed and the French syndicalists were never blinded by the declaration of 1906.

After the war the syndicalists and revolutionary party element came nearer together. It was even possible that a communist party might be formed from a union of these elements, in opposition to the old socialist party. This however did not happen, for the old socialist party became Communist. Rosmer dealt with the declaration of Lorient that the syndicalists were less interested in the party than formerly. He explained this by the fact that the Party has not yet shown its communist nature and that this somewhat cooled the sympathies of the Syndicalists towards it. However the French syndicalists have shown us by the Orleans Congress, that they can learn from the Russian revolution and that there is only one real revolutionary International — The Moscow International. The question on the relations between the Red Trade Unions and Communist International is only a question of the forms of the relationship. To see in these relations a danger to the independence of the Trade Unions Movement is to be a supporter of Amsterdam and the Second International, — desirous of disturbing the revolutionary front and sowing the seeds of discord between the Trade Union and the Comintern. To imagine that the presence of a representative of the Comintern at the Trade Union Congress meant the subordination of the latter to the former was a sign of a lack of faith in the power and strength of the Red Trade Union International. During the first year of our existence and whilst we were yet weak, we were never once subjected to pressure from the Comintern. The question has nothing to do with subordination, but with the coordination of revolutionary forces. There are two forces, the Amsterdam expressing its solidarity with the Second and Second and a Half Internationals, and the Moscow fraternising with the Comintern. To have distrust between the Red Trade Union and the Communist Internationals is to play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and its

Amsterdam lackeys. This the revolutionary syndicalists would never do.

## Sixth Session.

Tom Mann (England) said that there was little to add to comrade Rosmer's speech. The first point needing clearing up was the necessity of International education. The working class must learn to co-ordinate its activities as the bourgeoisie has already been doing many years. Every worker knows how interwoven are his master's interests with those of the masters of the world. The fact that one third of the English Trade Unions are still in the Amsterdam International raises the question of the aims of the international. Amsterdam and the Trade Unions are the oil which lubricates the capitalist machine. They conserve the strength of the skilled worker out of which the capitalist reaps his profit. They lack any revolutionary aspirations. The necessity of such aspirations and the conviction of the need of a radical change in the economic system has convinced the more conscious elements of the working class of the necessity of affiliating with the Red Trade Union International. The new international will not base itself on either the conservative workers' parties or parliamentary action. The destruction of parliament and capitalism, such are the aims of the Red Trade Union International. This can only be done by an alliance with the Comintern. The English workers are beginning to reject their Trade Union fakers and bourgeois lackeys. Experience has taught us that the same is true of all countries. The Red Trade Union International is the revolutionary staff of the working class. Under its leadership the strength of the proletariat will grow and with this strength we will attain success.

ORLANDES (Spain) said that we must demand the independence of the Red Trade Union International. We are prepared for a spiritual alliance with the Comintern. But we demand to be treated as an equal by the Comintern. The latter is undoubtedly a revolutionary organisation. But the Second International was revolutionary and later became opportunistic. Having no guarantee that the Comintern will always be revolutionary we say that we must be very careful in affiliating to political organisations. Only the organised working class can destroy the capitalist system. That is why we demand independence. The whole of our delegation supports the views of Rosmer and Mann on the establishment of relations with the Comintern. Having obtained independence then we will go hand in hand with the Comintern in fighting our common foe — the capitalist class.

TSIPEROVITCH (Russia) said that he agreed with the manner in which comrade Mann approached the question, but the only thing he had lost sight of was that fact that the bourgeoisie was organised both economically and politically. We are only discussing over political relations — he said — "and our misfortune is that we cannot weld together the working class both economically and politically on an international scale. Comrade Orlandes made many false conclusions from this. If there were no guarantee that the Comintern would become yellow then there is no guarantee that the Red Trade Union International would not join the capitalist class as happened during the world war. The Comintern and the Red Trade Union International are proof against international reaction because they are founded on a Communist basis, dictated by the world economic crisis. Just as the bourgeoisie we must have only economic and political power.

One cannot say that the Comintern does not stand for the interests of the proletariat. If Orlandes begins to warn one section of the working class against the other during a revolutionary crisis, then such a policy will neither save Spain or any other country from that White Terror against which Orlandes and the the Congress protested. There is not time to speak of hegemony or subordination. We must work out a single plan of action and make a correct estimation of our strength. Imbued with the desire of joining Moscow, Orlandes should have said: "Beware of the danger to the working class not from the Communist Party, but from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie". Independence from the Comintern means dependence on

## Seventh Session.

Comrade LOZOVSKY said that the question of the relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Comintern was the most important question of the Congress. This was evident from the quality of the debates and the quantity of literature dealing with the question. Let us examine the more important documents" — he said. At the International Syndicalists' Congress held in Berlin last December a resolution with six clauses was accepted by some comrades, the six commandments of the Syndicalists Gospel. In examining the resolution one can see that the Syndicalist have advanced a stage further, but are still buried in their old prejudices. Clause I speaks of the conquest of power by the proletariat a step forward, but in clause 3 they repeat their worn out phrases on the economic fight. They do not understand the terms, economics and politics. Is a demonstration of the proletariat against war an economic factor? The Syndicalists believe in such demonstrations. Clause 5 raises the point of joint demonstrations with any political revolutionary party. If such parties exist then why not join with them now? Whilst the Syndicalists are hanging between economic and political issues, the bourgeoisie is consolidating itself, and taking advantage of our scattered forces in holding the state in its hands. The speaker criticised the declaration of the Executive Committee of the revolutionary syndicalists, the relations between the Trade Unions and political parties, and the article of Verdi's in the "Humanité" of the 21st of June. The article said that the mandate of the French delegates did not allow them to join our revolutionary but compelled them to have the question discussed by the French organisation first. The Speaker saw in this fact not only lack of faith in the congress, but lack of faith in the French delegation itself. Dealing with the question of Trade Union independence Lozovsky was willing to make allowances for the particular conditions of each country, but did not recognize independence as an ideal. "On the other hand, our ideal" — he said — "is the creation of a single revolutionary organisation, uniting the whole of the energy of the working class which will fight the closely united bourgeoisie at every point.

Comrade WILLIAMS (I. W. W.) said that a revolution must be clearly economic in character whilst the Comintern was aiming at a political revolution. "However" — he said — "I do not wish to inspire you with a fear of the revolutionary political activities of the communists and that which they have accomplished in Russia. The relations between the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International must be founded on the principle of mutual representation, but the Comintern must renounce any ideas of leading the Red Trade Union International.

Comrade BOISSON (France) "The neutrality of the syndicalists in respect of political parties" — he said — "is no more than distrust of the ballot box and parliamentarism. Neutrality expresses the fact that the syndicalists are working in a sphere destined from political parties. A syndicate is an organisation founded on unity of interests. A political party on the other hand, consists of the conglomeration of interests, uniting the worker and the master, and hence is unable to wage a decisive struggle. We are in favour of revising the Amiens charter, but we wish to retain its essence as it is of permanent character. We must include a clause on the seizure of power by the syndicates.

Comrade MURPHY (England) opposed the idea of the supporters of neutrality that the Trade Unions were nearer the masses than political parties, and considered that the danger of political reformism as expressed by the syndicalists was without foundation, as the political and economical organisations of the working class grew together and were subjected to the same influences.

Comrade GRENLIG (Germany) said that the Red Trade Union International must wage an unflinching war against all political parties. He agreed with the idea of uniting the revolutionary class conscious workers of every country into political organisations of a purely communist character, and the idea of their unification into one Communist International with the same end in view as that of the Red Trade Union International.

## Resolution.

On the question of the relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.

Proposed by comrades ROSMER and MANN.

"Recognizing that the struggle between labour and capital in all capitalist countries is assuming an exceptionally fierce, merciless, and decisive character, as a result of the imperialist war and the world crisis, and that the process of this struggle is confronting the masses of the working class with the necessity of removing the control of the bourgeoisie of the means of production and consequently of political power, we believe that this can only be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist State—that in the struggle for preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the whole of the capitalist world has already reached a significant stage of centralisation and co-ordination in their national and international organisations, both political and economic and are taking the defensive and offensive against the proletariat—that the logic of the present class war demands the greatest co-ordination of working class forces and that their revolutionary fight should be bound by a similar close contact with each other, and organise co-ordination of all the different forms of workers revolutionary movements, especially the Third Comintern and the Red Trade Union International, the Communist Parties and the Red Trade Unions of every country.

— That decisive steps should be taken to ensure an unbroken communication between local communist parties and Red Trade Unions.

The Congresses:

1) Decide to take the necessary steps to consolidate the revolutionary Trade Unions into a single fighting organisation, with only one international general staff—the Red Trade Union International.

2) To establish as close relations as possible with the Third Communist International, the vanguard of the international revolutionary movement, on the basis of mutual representation on all the Executive Committees of both Internationals, common meetings, etc.

3) This co-ordination must be organic and of an active character, and must lead the way to a common preparation and fulfillment of revolutionary activities, on an national and international scale.

4) The Congress emphatically declares the necessity of establishing a single revolutionary Trade Union organisation and the establishment of a real and close co-ordination between Red Trade Unions and Communist Parties in carrying out the instructions of both Congresses.

## A Declaration.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Spain did not wish to take part in the debate on the trade union question not even after the speech made by the representative of the Communist Labour Party of Spain, in order to remain in agreement with the theses and in order not to detract the debate on the Communist situation in Spain. However in order to keep the members of the congress informed of the opinions of Spanish Communist — we beg to state the following:

1. We are accused of holding preposterous views and of failing to understand the situation, whereas it is ourselves, who stand on a purely marxian platform, and the Union General de Trabajadores is both reformist and social patriot.

2. The representative of the Communist Labour Party referred to "our Red groups in the trade unions". But he could not have meant groups of his party, because the party has been in existence only two months and all the activity of the groups in the midst of the Union General de Trabajadores is the work of our Communist Party of Spain.

3. On the contrary the fools of the Communist Labour party often oppose our propaganda in favour of the Red Trade Union International.

4. The differences which separate the two parties are not superficial as was stated by the authors, for there is a gulf between the two parties, the centrist opportunist party and the revolutionary Communist party, from whose ranks the bourgeoisie picks out its victims.

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Spain.

JULY 13th 1921.

Opening Session July 9th.

# Communist Youth

## Greetings from the Delegations. — Resolution to Red Army.

The opening of the Second International of Young Communists took place on the 9th of July at 8 p. m. at which 150 delegates took part representing 80,000 young workers from 40 different countries. They represented not only Western European States, but also the peoples of Far and Near East, as well as America.

Comrade MUNZENBERG delivered the opening speech. He said: "Our congress is reckoned as the Second International Congress of young Socialists, but it is the first congress in the history of Comintern, as well as the first in the history of the proletarian young communist movement. Social-Democracy has employed all means to hamper the young communist movement as the latter appeared dangerous to it.

Comrade Munzenberg gave a brief survey of the Young Communist Movement, recalled the congresses of Stuttgart and Copenhagen, which paralysed that movement together with the destruction of the Second International, which guided it into a social patriotic grove.

We observe the first signs of the young Communist movement in 1915, which grew from year to year until in 1919 at the First Congress in Berlin, the foundation was laid of the Comintern of Youth. Even then the organisation could count some 30,000 members from 12 different countries. Our Young Communist organisation distinguishes itself from the others by its activity in the cause of the world revolution. We shall always stick to our guns, give expression to stirring watchwords, never concern ourselves with petty matters, and thus bring the masses on our side. Our organisation must become the preparatory school of Communism which will aim at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of world communism.

The speech of welcome was made by comrade Schatzkin of the Russian Central Committee of Young Communists.

"I greet the tried fighters of Western European and Eastern organisations in the name of some hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants of Russia. We know the difficulties which our foreign comrades experience in their struggle against capital and the bourgeoisie. Our task must be to build a mighty organisation in order to educate the 20 million young proletarians of the whole in the spirit of communism, in order to lead it in the struggle for communism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade ZETLIN spoke in the name of the Moscow organisation of the Young Communists and stated that the Russian Young Communist Movement proceeds from Moscow and that Moscow will become after the Congress the centre of that movement. Now we have only one watchword, "Long live the Communist International!"

Comrade LOZOVSKY greeted the meeting in the name of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International: "Your Congress is not isolated, it forms part of the revolutionary movement, which has also captured the growing generation, the young guard who will take the place of the old. All Hail the young guard which is hastening to relieve the old guard.

Comrade TOM MANN (England) declared that he came from a country which is the most advanced from a capitalist standpoint, but where, although he was 65, he has never seen workers children well fed and well clothed. "My personal affections and those of the English workers will go with you."

Comrade ZINOVIEV conveyed greetings in the name of the Communist International.

"For the first time within the walls of Moscow we see the representatives of nearly a million members of Young Communist organisations. You are the representatives, not only of the most advanced civilized capitalist countries, but also the representatives of the backward, oppressed colonial countries.

A few minutes ago, the Congress of the Third International adopted unanimously the most controversial, the most important resolution on the question of tactics. Now a unanimous decision means something very different from what it

meant before, for the differences so far from being hushed up are being submitted to the most outspoken criticism of the working classes. The sharp fights and sharp speeches had even the effect of discouraging some of our young friends, as comrade Lenin regarded it as his duty to pour cold water on the impatient hot-heads. This was taken to mean a turn to the right, but the clearest heads of the Third International as well as of the Young Communists will be convinced that these measures were in no way dictated by the smallest desire to make peace with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary they were dictated exclusively by the desire to re-organize our ranks. The chief enemy of the Third International as well as of the Young Communists is the bourgeoisie and the socialist, who in fact are their servants.

Comrade Zinoviev made a brief survey of the Young Communist Movement since its First Congress in 1919. History will never forget that the first struggle against the decayed opportunism was nearly in all countries taken up by the young and that the victories which we have attained are due to the energy of the Young Communists. After the old generation of workers has lost so many of its members in the capitalist war, that it is no longer capable of fulfilling its tasks, the work of the young becomes of the highest importance. Not only does the future belong to them, but the present too, and the immediate fate of Communism lies in their hands. At the present moment the International Young Communist organization counts 800,000 members in a year or two it will count millions. It is a state, which is greater than any capitalist-imperialist State (Stormy cheers).

Comrade LUNATCHARSKY was asked to speak next. He said: "The main task, the main importance of your work lies in preparing for the future. At a time when nearly all the parties and tendencies seek refuge in the past, which they try to defend and to preserve, when other anarchic elements wish simply to do away with that past, we are the only party which gives proper appreciation to the past. You take active part in the work being done now by the working class. You will complete the construction of the future, and you will be of far greater importance for the future than we, for the future is of immense value to us and it is only in the future that our activity will be shown. The present time is a fleeting moment, the morrow is the beginning of the future. And even if to-morrow you will have the most terrible fights yet you will be the builders, who on a gray cyclopic foundation, which we lay down for you, will erect lofty pillars supporting the palaces of human happiness and of the future harmonious commonwealth.

Long live the Party of the Future, the International Communist Party and its group, which stands nearest to the future—the Young Communists: (loud applause).

Comrade SCHÖNHAAR spoke of the great sufferings to which the Young Communist Party was exposed in Germany and of the fights which it fought with the bourgeoisie and militarism on the path marked out for it by Liebknecht. The Young Communists are the best part of the workers for they bear the stamp of the best traditions of fallen heroes.

Further speeches were made by comrade YAROSLAVSKY of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and by a representative of Persia.

Comrade LAPPORTE (France) greeted the Congress in the name of the French soldiers, who rebelled against their officers, when they were ordered to fight against the Russian Revolution. Comrade Lapporte then proposed the following resolution to the Congress:

### A. Greeting of the International of Young Communists to the Red Army.

"The representatives of young proletarians of 40 countries, assembled in Moscow to the Second Congress of the Young Communist International send you, dear comrades, their fraternal greetings.

The Young Workers' Organisations have always been "shock" troops in the fight against bourgeois militarism. They have learned memorable lessons from the

heroic struggles of the working class of Russia and of its Red Army, lessons on the conquest and the defence of the workers' rule and they have extended their action against bourgeois militarism. They are not satisfied with disintegrating the armies of capitalist States by a revolutionary propaganda, they fight for arming the workers.

The Young Communists know now that it is not with empty social-compromising words that they have to fight. They must only fight with arms in their hands and it is civil war which will secure the triumph of Communism.

The Young Communists of all countries regard you with admiration and see in you the first proletarian army which during three years of painful struggles has in spite of cold and hunger utterly defeated all the mercenary armies, which imperialism has launched against Soviet Russia. In doing this you have not only saved Soviet Russia but also the cause of the World Revolution.

The matchless courage, enthusiasm ready to sacrifice everything with which you brought all those terrible struggles to a happy end, gives great encouragement to Young Communists in their actions against the powers of capitalism and the bourgeois State: Your battles and your victories give them brilliant examples, which they will follow when the hour of the decisive struggle will sound for them."

"Long live the Red Army of Soviet Russia!"

"Long live the Communist International, the guide of the revolutionary proletariat!"

"Long live the International of Young Communists!"

## Review of Press.

### The League of the Rights of Man Against the Bill of Bonivaux.

The Central Committee of the League of the Rights of Man at its meeting of June the 27th has unanimously voted a resolution of protest of which the following are the essential parts:

If this bill is made law, it will mean the end of the liberty of the press and the liberty of speech as the laws of 1893 and 1894 and even to a greater extent does this bill bear the hateful mark of reaction.

The liberty to think and to express one's thought by word of mouth and in writing should be judged irrespective of the ideas expounded: this liberty is an aim in itself; the republican justice punishes the act of which it is a result, but abstains from suppressing the idea, which inspired it, would open wide the doors to most terrible arbitrariness.

The League of the Rights of Man condemns the objectionable vagueness with which the law confuses the excitement to violent acts which it condemns to repression and the legitimate necessary criticism of military institutions.

The League of the Rights of Man condemns as a permanent cause of anti-militarism, the assured impunity which since the war has been enjoyed by the military chiefs guilty of shooting without trial or of judicial murders. The rehabilitation of the victims is not sufficient to wipe off the crime; we must also punish the criminals.

### Protest of War Victims,

The Committee of Action of the groups of war victims, of the province of Seine protests against the government bill which is professedly directed against anti-militarist activity, but the principal object of which is to hush up military errors and the crimes of certain officers; the Committee demands on the contrary to institute immediate proceedings against the officers responsible for the execution of innocent comrades. The Committee calls on deputies who took part in the fights and were mutilated to vote against such bills out of respect to the "rights of combatants" and for the liberty of opinions, which we have not lost in the victory bought dearly by our blood and our sacrifices.

(L'Humanité June 29th).

## Conditions in Italy.

### "Christian" Socialism.

During the debate on the reply to the King's speech, Turatti, speaking on behalf of the Socialist party alluded to fights between the fascisti and the socialists. The orator stated that true courage consisted in destroying the vicious circle and to adopt the policy of non resistance to violence.

"It is better to let oneself be killed," he added, "than to injure oneself by killing other men. It is necessary to disarm on both sides and to remember that above all parties is Italy and mankind".

Turatti concluded that it was necessary to work at the reconstruction of Italy, and invited all the well meaning people to cooperate in this reconstruction. He wound up by shouting "Long live Italy".

### The Textile Crisis.

In the textile industry the capitalists informed the worker of the rescission of the contracts. Moreover they began to dismiss a large number of workers or to reduce the hours of work. To give an idea of the conditions of the unemployment crisis in this branch of industry, we can take Turin as an instance of average conditions. The Textile Trade Union which at the end of 1920 employed 24,000 worker, barely employs 14,000 at the present time. Of these 14,000 some 11,000 are working short time, not exceeding 20 a week. Many works are closed down altogether. Unemployment particularly affects the workers of the linen industry, cotton spinners and workers in the jute factories.

### The Land Worker's.

The attack made by landowners is of unparalleled ferocity. It is precisely with the active assistance of the small landowning nobles that fascisme has spread in the plains of Bologna, where up to then the workers organisation obtained increases in wages and the establishment of labour exchanges for farm hands.

The first exploit of the white gangs in the plains of Emilia were immediately afterwards followed by others in the provinces of Venice, in Southern Lombardy, in Tuscany and in some districts of Piedmont. The terrorist exploits were immediately followed by actions on the part of big employers who aim at destroying once and for all the labour contracts, which the land proletariat wrested with the aid of the greatest class organization the Italian Federation of Agricultural Workers, which counts 1,000,000 of wage slaves. The struggle between the workers and the owners associations is not yet over and though in certain localities the defence leagues have given up arms and munitions to fascisti to avoid the terror, everywhere where the organization has a solid base, the workers are confident that their day of vengeance is sure to come. So that if a certain weakness is noticeable in the agricultural movement of the Po region and the districts of Noëara, such is not the case in Tuscany and in a section of Emilia where the working masses are closely united and ready to face reaction.

Proletarian Italy is passing through a particularly critical period but we are sure she will have sufficient strength to overcome all the difficulties.

### The Unemployment Crisis.

The National Labour Exchange has published the following figures of unemployment: May, 1st 250,000 unemployed, 199,248 men and 50,003 women.

Provinces most affected by unemployment are Venice, 83,961, Lombardy 39,347, Emilia 36,732, and Piedmont 36,448.

The categories of labour which are specially affected by unemployment are: masons (98,850) agricultural workers (43,246) metal workers (25,883) textile workers (23,228).

These figures show an increase of 50,000 over the total of unemployed on May 1, 1920.

Moreover the Bureau points out that unemployment tends to increase especially in Northern Italy.

The number of workers out of work through strikes and lockouts is 38,358.

In view of this alarming and continuous intensification of the economic crisis, the C. G. T. has just called together for the 25th and 26th inst. The National Council to decide on measures on a national scale.

On the other hand the C. G. T. has just introduced on the Chamber an urgent motion, demanding:

1. That a law be passed in favour of the unemployed.

2. That greater grants be made to the unemployed.

Yet the Chamber was too busy with Finance and Post-Barros discussion.

## The Communist Movement in Turkey

When we discuss the communist movement in Turkey, we must not confuse the genuine communist movement with the nationalist movement. We must explain that the two movements run parallel to each other in order to make clear the significance and character of these revolutionary movements in Turkey and the part they are capable of playing in the future.

### The Communist Tendencies and Movement in Turkey.

Although Turkey seems to be a backward country, foreign—like all the backward Eastern countries—to the world of reform and revolution, yet even prior to the world war labour organizations were formed in cities like Constantinople, Smirna, Samsun, in the mines of Ereğli and Zonguldak and in important railway junctions: Eskisheher, Izmid, Angora, Konia, Adapa and Aleppo. Even in the days following the fall of Sultan Hamid, strikes took place in Constantinople, Smyrna and other cities, which forced the government of "Union and Progress" which acted on "Cadet principles" to promulgate a law against strikes. In such circumstances the world war spread tens of thousands of Turks over far and near revolutionary centres of Asia and in the din and noise of Europe awakened Constantinople and the environs from its former torpor. Happy-go-lucky Anatolia began to see better the problems of the age, owing to its awakening, which coincided with a complete transformation of the old world, and started to understand as a result of devastations produced by the friends of imperialism and capitalism who force the Turkish workers and peasants together with the proletariat of the whole world to work in the sweat of their brows for 20 hours a day, for a mere pittance, sufficient only to prevent them from starving.

This forced them to realise the miserable part they are playing, and they threw themselves, body and soul into the communist revolution which alone can liberate the oppressed workers of the whole world. The Turkish revolutionary elements, who were thus convinced of the urgent necessity of overthrowing the domination of imperialism and capitalism, and who wished to give their convictions all practical turn, gave their lives to the international front and rendered a real service to the revolution. The revolution in Azerbaijan and Dagestan was materially helped by the newly formed Turkish Communist Section in Caucasia, which left a mark in the history of the Caucasian revolution. On the other hand the four thousand five hundred Turkish workers in Germany were working in full agreement with the Spartacists. They took part in the civil war of 1919 and sacrificed many martyrs on the field of honour.

Our communist comrades who in 1919 got up a Soviet government in Hungary, drew a great advantage from the Red Army battalions formed of Turkish workers and prisoners of war.

At a time when these events took place abroad Anatolian peasant and workers were also brought into contact with the world wide ideas and the movement of the social revolution. They created at Constantinople, Angora and other places communist groups, the number of which exceeds twenty. In these groups a sufficient number of Turkish manual and intellectual workers started to work to prepare the country for a social revolution.

Owing to the fact that these organisations were scattered and there being no mutual support among them, a necessity arose to increase the forces by means of federating all those groups around a single centre. Under the leadership of Mustapha and the control of the Third International the meeting of delegates of the Turkish Communist organisations took place for the first time in history, the Turkish Communist party, which assembled at this congress, the organisations of Constantinople and Anatolia, appeared in the revolutionary world as the natural creation of the Third International and started at once to carry out its revolutionary international task. The Turkish revolutionaries have thus taken up a peculiar position at the front against world imperialism. They abstained from fighting the local reactionary spirit and organisations, yet on January 28th, 1921, 15 of their best members with Mustapha Subhi at the head wore sacrificed to the god of revolution and the red blood of those innocent martyrs coloured the black waters of the Black Sea. This is the first red current brought from the Northern shores to the shores of Anatolia. From there it will pass on to the shores of the Mediterranean. This proves that the

revolution in Constantinople and Anatolia is not far off.

Subsequently some of our comrades were executed by the order of the Angora government both in Angora and the Eastern Vilayets. Even now some of our brave comrades are being prosecuted by the Tribunals for the preservation of Independence and are cast into prisons. Although no legal communist work is now possible in Anatolia, these reactionary measures only raised the revolutionary spirit and ability of Anatolian peasants and workers. From day to day they swell our ranks for a revolutionary struggle on the banks of the Ural and the Volga, in Kazan, Ufa, Samara, Saratov, Orenburg and also in Moscow. In the Ukraine, in Crimea, Turkestan and the Caucasus.

Suleyman Mura,  
Solikh Zoki Kusherov.

## A Statement.

Some of the comrades understood one passage of my speech concerning the negotiations between Oudeguest and the Executive-Committee of Italian Confederation of Labour, that they occurred in the end of July 1921. This not true. What I wanted to emphasize in my speech is not the time the negotiation took place, but their character, to show the impossibility of neutralism, to show that every organisation is compelled to choose between the 3-rd International and the II, with its trade union Amsterdam edition. The exchange of opinions and negotiations took place at end of June 1920. Later on after the Italian Confederation of Labour signed in July 1920, an agreement with the Russian Unions, concerning the formation of a Provisional International Council of Trade Unions; the intercourse between them and Amsterdam became somewhat cooled, but the participation of the Italian Confederation of Labour at the London convention renewed the ties between it and Amsterdam. The split in the Socialist Party freed the Italian Confederation of Labour from the strict control of the communists. The National Council of Italian Confederation of Labour addressed itself to the Amsterdam Federation for help in April of 1921. They received the sum of 50,000 liras bears evidence of the intention of the Italian Confederation of Labour—and not the Italian proletariat,—to renew relations with Amsterdam, to leave the door open for it, if an agreement with Moscow is not reached.

Thus the Italian Confederation of Labour manoeuvring between Moscow and Amsterdam cannot be neutral in relation to the III or the II. International, because it isn't a secret for anybody, that the position of the Amsterdam International is in the trade union sphere exactly the same as the position of the Second International in the political field. The slogan itself "Moscow or Amsterdam" is not a pure trade union slogan, independent of any politics; it means the struggle for or against the social revolution; for or against the proletarian dictatorship; for or against the ensemble of ideas expressed in the platform and fundamental principles of the III. Communist International. Those workers, who even in the trade union sphere express themselves for Moscow, express by the same their solidarity not with an abstract Red International of Trade Unions, but with a real, living International of Red Trade Unions, which has put in the basis of its activity the fundamental principles of the III. Communist International. The sequence of this, is that all neutralism is but a political fiction. It doesn't exist. And if it is put forward as a slogan, it expresses an evident anticommunistic policy.

A. Losovsky.

## Notice

The Delegates of the III Congress who work among the Jewish workers or those who are interested in this work are invited to visit the

Central Bureau  
of the

Jewish Sections

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

## Sub-Lieutenant Poskakukhin.

(Continued from yesterday.)

### BEATING UP.

Shrewd and watchful, Poskakukhin managed for a long time to escape this mode of "physical influence" on the soldier. But even he was subjected at last to the inevitable beating.

Already in 1916, Poskakukhin with two of his comrades-in-arms, decorated, like himself, with numerous military distinctions, came to Moscow for a brief period on official duty. All the restaurants, hotels, inns, public-houses, and cafes being barred to officers of the lower ranks, the three men found themselves in difficulties. Wherever they went with the intention of drinking some tea or eating a plate of soup the porter pointed to the administrative order suspended on the wall.

"Admission for soldiers and dogs is prohibited."

Fatigued and hungry as he was, Poskakukhin could have taken advantage of his rank as ensign, but he did not want to separate from his comrades. They finally resolved to prepare the food themselves. They kindled a fire in the square outside the Alexandrov railway station and began to roast a piece of meat that they had bought. Soon a crowd gathered round them, as they sat on the ground warming themselves by the fire. The sight of these war battered and weary soldiers deprived of all reasonable means of appeasing their hunger gave rise to much agitation among the bystanders. The scene was but an extra demonstration of the disenfranchisement of the Russian people.

Understanding the significance of it, a policeman on duty approached the scene and without uttering a sound or saying a word kicked the fire and the food in all directions.

The blood rushed to the head of the exasperated Poskakukhin, who usually conducted himself with remarkable self-possession. He delivered the official bully such a blow in the face that the latter staggered back a few steps and then fell with his face in a mask of blood, Paskakukhin was once a heavy-load carter, and could use his hands with considerable force and dexterity.

At the whistle of the fallen policeman a group of mounted police, rushed up who hurled themselves upon Poskakukhin with their knouts, and commenced punishing him cruelly. He was torn and cut by the knout, his head and face were pounded and crushed. His epauletts, arms and orders were torn from him. The enraged crowd took the side of Poskakukhin, and a regular scrimmage took place on the square. Poskakukhin was lead, bleeding and mauled to the police station. In view of the fact that the crowd had taken his side Poskakukhin would have to face a grave accusation of instigating a riot and resisting a State official in carrying out his duty.

By the rules of military law or of war time, he was able to execution, or at least, to hard labour. But truth to say even the police officials were touched by our hero's straits and allowed the affair to blow over.

### THE AFFAIR OF CASTELNEAU.

The luckless men of the 55th Division endeavoured one day to settle accounts with the brutal commander of the Zakharov's division. When the French Military Mission of General Castelneau arrived at the front, the Division was taken to the rear and paraded. The officers knew their men well, and therefore carefully deprived them of all their cartridges.

Suddenly, when the manoeuvres were at their height, a hail of bullets came showering in upon Zakharov and his Staff from all sides. It was the soldiers who, having secreted some cartridges were endeavouring to kill the hated general.

The Staff scattered like leaves before a wind. General Castelneau appeared not to observe this unforeseen manoeuvre, which he nearly paid for with his life.

For a long time after that rigid investigations were made, but the soldiers did not betray anyone.

### THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION.

On the eve of the revolution in February 1917 the Division occupied the positions between lakes Naroch and Vishnevsk in the government of Vilna. Fighting in this district raged for many months and the soldiers of that famous Division, owing to their continual stay in the trenches and in the hell of battle became half-wild, lost all human aspect and forgot human speech. In the darkness of the dug-outs, amid the ceaseless roar of bursting shells and the shouts and blows of the officers, unwashed, in tatters, and covered with parasites, the soldiers lived for whole months, seeing neither newspapers nor hearing any news from the rear and home.

On the 1st March the astounding order was passed along the firing line: "Destroy all

machine gun nests and concealments immediately." This was so extraordinary that even the downtrodden soldier mass aroused to protest it would mean that would stand helpless before the German army armed to the teeth and sitting in well made entrenchments. The men anticipated monstrous treason, and flatly refused to carry out the order.

The treachery was truly monstrous. That day Nikolai Romanov at Dno, faced by revolution, uttered his well-remembered words:

"It only remains now to open the Minsk front and let the Germans into Russia to subdue this mob."

The attempt to carry out that design was made in the fighting positions of the 55th Division.

Upon the infantry refusing to destroy the fortifications, the batteries were ordered to open fire on their own trenches and their own men. Poskakukhin, an old artilleryman, rushed at the head of the soldiers to dissuade the gunners, and the latter consented not to shoot, although they knew what to expect for refusing to execute a military order.

The exhausted, obscure soldiers fought under their treacherous officers until the 7th March. On the 7th of March the news was received and spread like wildfire over the front that Nikolai Romanov had been deposed and that the revolution had started. Up till that time the men had not the slightest notion of what had been taking place.

### THE FIRST STEPS.

The meaning of the revolution and its aims were rather vague in the minds of the mass of the soldiers. Nobody knows what to do and what to expect. They only felt that the old had vanished, that the outlook was bright. The officers were momentarily petrified; their bestial power over the soldiers slipped from their hands.

At the first meeting, the 220th Skopinsky Regiment assembled rather timidly. Only the Communication Brigade, headed by Poskakukhin, came out all trimmed with red flags and posters and with an improvised orchestra, consisting of harmonicas, banjos and triangles. Paskakukhin himself, tall, manly and happy walked beside a bright red banner, with a wide purple ribbon across his shoulder and a magnificent vermilion bow on his breast. This Brigade of Death as they were called because of their bravery, fitted themselves out as for some great festival and stood out in striking relief on a some what dull background.

The Regimental Commander, Pozhidayev, who was at that time in charge of the regiment together with Bonch-Bogdanovsky, walked up to the red brigade, beside himself with rage. The copiousness of red colour affected him as it would a bull.

"What gang is this?" — shouted he to Paskakukhin.

Startled by such an insult, everybody remained silent.

"I say, what ruffians are these!" — yelled Pozhidayev again.

This hero was so affected that a lump rose in his throat and the tears involuntarily sprung to his eyes. He could not utter another word.

Seeing his words produced no effect the Colonel turned away with an oath.

The Brigade, however, soon repaid the insult. When one officer after another came out the meeting and spoke chiefly about "forgetting past sins" and of a new offensive commencing within a short time, Paskakukhin encouraged one of the men of his Brigade, Telephonist Filipov, a former teacher, to speak. Filipov, for the first time at the front, spoke about the aimlessness of mutual destruction and the harmfulness of an offensive.

The effect was startling. From that moment onward Poskakukhin's Brigade became the nucleus of the fight for peace.

(To be continued.)

## "MOSCOW"

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