

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! MOSCOW

NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
42217A

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Editor, Denezny 5, room № 18.
Office Hours from 3 to 5 (except on Sundays).
Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151.



Responsible Secretary: Tverskaya 48.
Office Hours, — 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).
Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05

The Political and Industrial Internationals.

The struggle for superiority of influence upon the working class between the adherents of the social revolution and its opponents, is taking place in two spheres—political and industrial. Arrayed against one another in deadly combat stand not only two political internationals, the Second and Third, but also the two worldwide associations of labour-unions, the Red International and the Amsterdam Federation. We ignore the Second-and-a-Half International, as the latter does not play an independent role either in the political or in the industrial field upon which it has been reduced to subject servility to the Yellow Amsterdam Federation of Jouheaux and Thomas. The emergence of the intermediate Vienna International which contributes additional confusion (of course, this purposely enters into the plans of the world-bourgeoisie) has not in the least altered the fact that the fundamental issue of the struggle involves the conflict between the revolutionary socialists and socialist-traitors, between communism and political bargaining: between the Third and Second International.

What constitutes the power of the Second International in so far as still exists as a political entity? Its own organisation? Not at all. As a working class revolutionary socialist organisation it has long ceased to exist, or count on the scale of history. Nevertheless, to paraphrase Decart, "it is making mischief, therefore it exists". As a power at the service of capital it does exist. But as an independent entity it does not. It shines with a reflected light. The sun on the horizon of compromise is not the Second International of the Social Democratic parties, but the Trade Union International of the social-traitors. The centre is not London, but Amsterdam. It is highly characteristic that the Comintern is called upon to fight now not so much with the Second International as such, as with the trade union pseudonym, not with Scheidemann, Thomas, and Vandervelde, but with Jouheaux, Ondegest, and Thomas and their followers and accomplices.

For the mainstay and chief bulwark of the bourgeoisie alongside the police, the Black Hundreds in the form of "Fascists" and all other Civil Guards, spies and gendarmerie, is formed by the trade union leaders of the type of Jouheaux and Co.

Bad as the Amsterdam Trade Union International is, it nevertheless has behind it the working masses, which, though backward and without revolutionary sentiment, desires to fight capitalism at least on a limited, purely economic trade union basis. On this basis upon which the workers and employers inevitably meet each other in the form of two hostile classes with antagonistic interests the true character of their inter-relationships does not admit of such easy falsification. This is more easily done in the political field. Here the Second International has converted the organised masses not only into "cannon fodder" for the bourgeoisie, but into its direct agents who are competing with the police for the honour of subjugating their own brothers. Never before has even the petty bourgeois democracy sunk so low in this respect as the Right Wing Social-Democrats. Noske has left Louis Blache, Malone and Clemenceau of 1871 far behind him. Vandervelde and D'Estre have gone much further in catering to the clericals than the moderate Belgian liberals ever dared. These gentlemen surrendered every position. Therefore neither friend nor enemy pays any attention to them.

To hold in check the working class, the bourgeoisie is compelled to make use of the Trade Union compromisers to a greater extent. Precisely because the latter do not participate in politics, they have not as yet so hopelessly compromised themselves before the wide masses as the Social-Democratic politicians. Of course, Thomas and Jouheaux also play at politics, not less than Scheidemann and Vandervelde, but they do it as a

Continued page 2 col. 3.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ITALY.

Collaboration with Reformists.

The bourgeoisie press is devoting considerable space to the discussion of the question of the possible collaboration between the government and the socialist parties, as well as to the appeal of the "Avanti" to the communist workers to return to the party. The newspapers publish the report of an interview held with certain socialist deputies, who state that although they hold that it would be acceptable to them only in the future. The communist deputies vigorously reject the proposal contained in the appeal to them in the "Avanti", and emphasise the readiness of the socialists to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. The newspapers publish a declaration by Bombacci who considers the appeal of the "Avanti" to the communists inexplicable, the more so now when the reformists hold uncontested sway over the party.

Trial of Fascisti.

On the 20th of May, the trial commenced in Rome of Fascisti charged with insulting behaviour towards Comrade Vorovsky and the Socialist deputy Bonelli. The accused denies the charge.

GERMANY.

Agreement Between Poland and Rumania.

An agreement has been arrived at between Poland and Rumania according to which Poland has the right to make use of the ports of Brailoff as a base for war and commercial vessels.

The "Temps" on the Russo-German Peace Agreement.

"Temps" of the 17th May, writes that the Russo-German Agreement is not exclusively a trade agreement but secures to both sides a number of consular prerogatives which constitutes the recognition de-jure, of the Soviet Government by Germany.

The paper observes that the agreement is of great political importance.

The Representations of the British Ambassador in Berlin.

Lyons, May 23. (Radio.) The British ambassador in Berlin has demanded from the German government that the Reichsbank should immediately forward the necessary funds for the payment of wages to workmen in the Upper-Silesian industrial territory, and, furthermore, that the German railway employees should discontinue their opposition to the passage of trains with food-stuffs for the part of Upper Silesia which is occupied by the Polish insurgents. On the other hand the British ambassador did not mention the important question about the prohibition for German volunteers and German arms and ammunitions to cross the frontier into Upper Silesia, which was demanded by the French government. (Rosta).

TURKEY.

Neutralisation of the Dardanelles.

The Manchester Guardian commenting on the neutralisation of the Dardanelles writes: "By this act the Allied Governments have abandoned all idea of cooperative efforts in establishing peace in the Near East."

The new Cabinet in Angora.

Lyons, May 23. (Radio.) Information has been received from Angora to the effect that the National Assembly has elected general Rafet-pasha to the post of chairman of the council of commissaries and the chief of the kemalist delegation in Moscow Youssouf-Kemali—bey to that of commissary for foreign affairs. (Rosta).

ENGLAND.

Proletariats Firm Stand.

At the joint meeting of the Executives of the English Railway and Transport Workers it was decided to continue the boycott of foreign coal as well as the coal the output of which was assisted by black-legs. In connection with this work was suspended at Plymouth, Norwich, and on the Clyde. The Trade Union Congress of Scotland unanimously decided to wire to Cramp and Gosling demanding that a general strike be called.

Turkish offensive.

After the refusal of the Angorian Government to ratify the Franco-Turkish Treaty, the Turkish troops commenced an offensive against the French.

The Turkish Counter-proposals.

Lyons, May 23. (Radio.) According to information received from Constantinople, the principal demands which the Turkish National Assembly in Angora addressed to the French government may be summarised as follows: With regard to the rectification of the frontier, it does not seem that the Angora National Assembly has formally demanded that Alexandretta should be included into Turkey. As for the transformation of the economical conditions, it is intended in Angora to prevent Turkish territory being divided up into foreign spheres of influence. Nevertheless, they do not seem to be opposed to granting determined concessions to France in exchange for certain compensations. Furthermore, the suppression of the mixed gendarmerie, as provided for Silicia, is demanded, and the armistice should begin only after the evacuation of French troops from Silicia. But for the last item of the program which is, of course, unacceptable, one might expect that the Angora Assembly will more exactly understand the real interests of Turkey. (Rosta).

FRANCE.

Cachin's speech in the Chamber of Deputies.

Cachin speaking in the Chamber of Deputies declared that the Versailles Treaty has resulted in the Balkanization of Europe and that the establishment of universal peace is impossible without the participation of Russia. Particularly is it so with regards to the question of the Straits and the Near East. With regard to Upper Silicia, Cachin expressed his doubts as to the possibility of pacifying this district.

INDIA.

Enslaving India.

The Government of India has concluded a seventy million gold loan with England the conditions of which are very hard. The loan has aroused general commotion among Hindu society, blaming the government for aiding the British capitalists at the expense of the interests and credit of the country. The Bombay and Calcutta Chambers of Commerce demand the immediate nullment of the loan.

"Cultural Inquisition".

In Karachi, the nationalist paper "Srinivas" published an article revealing certain cases of torture widely administered by the British Political and Criminal Authorities.

Boycott of the British.

The British authorities continue the systematic breaking up of all the legal nationalist societies. In Allahabad mass arrests and deportation are proceeding. The Bengal local lawyers decided to cease practicing in the British courts. The All Hindu Congress of students decided to join the boycott, and taking an active part in the political life of the land. The task of the students is not study but work among the masses.

Further telegrams on page 4.

Haywood's Views on Conditions in the United States of America.

Never has the outlook for the working class in the United States been more deplorable than at the present time. There are more men and women out of work now than during the ravages of the periodic panics—industrial and financial—that have stricken that country. The difference between the present conditions and that of the panic times is that now the capitalist class is deliberately and consciously responsible for the terrible miseries suffered by the workers. While panics and industrial depressions have at times been brought about by the manipulations of a few, which may be termed, top-capitalists, or, as in 1917, when the panic was a direct result of a struggle between big interests.

The present crisis is the development of a gigantic conspiracy, which amounts in fact, to an open war against the workers, the purpose of which is to reduce wages to a pre-war basis. The first move was to close down the mills factories parts of the railroad industry, mines and lumber industry. Some of these have been almost totally closed down since last July.

The employers have announced that when work is resumed, wages will be reduced 22% in the textile industry, 37% in the needle trades, which means the manufacture of all kinds of clothing, 33% reduction in the lumber industry. The railroad companies have publicly announced that their savings, which will accrue through wage-reduction alone, will amount to 500,000,000 dollars a year. It must be understood, that every dollar taken away from the workers wages; d



prives his wife and children of the necessities of life, which can be provided only with the wages received. It is understood that these machinations on the part of the employers are in the interests of the gambling stock-holders and share holders of the companies. Reduction in the United States is not believed to be for the comfort and well-being up of its people, but is conducted for profit alone.

An almost unimaginable thing, takes place in the United States, could scarcely be conceived by the Russian people, is the malicious and deliberate destruction of vast quantities of goods by the capitalists. I know that perhaps not be understood when I explain that commission-merchants their representatives out into the districts to purchase for example, fields of potatoes consisting of hundreds of acres, the crop is bought while in the ground, many thousands of them are never harvested but simply allowed to rot. The capitalists find that a larger supply can be easier handled as scarcity inflates the price. The culpable thing is done in the districts of Michigan, where the apples upon the trees, never intended to pick them, they fall and rot. The intention to convey the idea, entire crop is destroyed in this way that only a limited part is brought to the market.

Another example is that of the growers of the state of Arkansas, caused to be destroyed all but two of an immense crop of rice. The

Continued page 3 col. 1.

Turkey Under Kemal.

MOSCOW

25th MAY 1921.

I. (The economic situation and the political parties in Anatolia. The foreign policy of the Great National Assembly).

1) The geographic position and the natural resources of Anatolia. The absence of the factory system. The agrarian question and the class contradictions.

Anatolia is a part of Asia Minor, shut off on the North by the Black Sea, on the South-West by the Aegean Sea and on the South by the Mediterranean Sea; the East it borders upon Armenia, on the South-East it reaches into the North-Western provinces of Mesopotamia and Syria.

The bulk of the population in Anatolia is made up of the Ottoman Turks who are scattered throughout the country. The North-East and partly the East is mostly occupied by Kurds, the East by Armenians, the West by Greeks.

Anatolia, especially its eastern half, undeveloped industrially and far removed from the centre, has long remained outside the influence of political life. The overwhelming mass of the population is composed of inert peasantry. The city population consists of small handicraftsmen, shop-keepers, fishermen, etc. *Machinery industry is entirely unknown.* Manufacture is in the primitive stage and only handicraft.

The natural resources of Anatolia are large. In this respect the districts of Asiatic Turkey adjoining the Caucasus are of the utmost interest. Here are found the richest deposits of coal. (The villages of Trapezund and Bitlis), oil wells which come to the surface in many parts of Eastern Anatolia, iron, copper, gold, silver, lead, etc.

The unusual natural resources of Anatolia, its fertile land on which are cultivated the finest sorts of wheat, rice, maize, tobacco that is world-famous, cotton, etc.—all these qualities combined with the geographic position of Anatolia afford a perfect explanation of the cause of the intense struggle which on the eve of the world war raging about Asia Minor. During the decade preceding world war, the question of the transfer of the big European accumulations of capital into Asia Minor was the pressing question of European economic policy. Germany successfully built the Bagdad railroad which cut across the whole of Asia Minor from the shores of the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf. The French and English laid out a network of railways from the cities laying near the Black and Mediterranean Seas into the heart of the country. On the eve of the war France formulated a project of a railway running several thousand miles which should begin not far from the Caucasian border and cut across the Black Sea coast, passing through Samsun, Sivas, Erzindjan, Erzerum, Trapezund. The concession called forth an energetic protest on the part of Russian diplomacy which feared that the construction of such a railway would greatly increase the military power of Turkey on the Caucasian frontier.

The construction of these railways prepared the ground for the application of European capital to the exploitation of the natural resources of a great undeveloped country. The world war and the consequent economic exhaustion interrupted the construction the railway in Asia Minor, but did not restrain the capitalist Powers from their piratic plans with regards to Asiatic Turkey. As a result of the world war and the collapse of Germany, England and France are evolving still more grandiose projects to subjugate such provinces of Asia Minor to which formerly they would not dare to make any claims.

However, this world war with all its consequent horrors has extremely degraded the condition of the people of Asia Minor and prepared the ground for a popular unrest. Owing to the constant new levies, the extreme rise in the cost of living and the development of speculation, hundreds of thousands of people in Anatolia were reduced to a state of utter destitution. The Anatolian peasantry lives in extreme poverty, whole provinces are famishing; the handicraft industry has collapsed, and the handicraftsmen are deprived of work; thousands of people who used to migrate, in search of work, to Russia (Caucasus, the Black Sea coast), to European Turkey (Constantinople) are without means of subsistence because of the closing of the frontiers of those states.

The war has produced the same conditions in Turkey as throughout Europe: the class contradictions became sharper, the big landowners, business men, usurers have grown much richer, the poor are reduced to utter misery.

Many Turkish petty-bourgeois politicians and even socialists assert that Tur-

key has no big landowners and that no sharp class contradictions have yet developed in the village. In corroboration of this assertion reference is made to the fact that Turkey (chiefly in Anatolia) possesses a large fund of unused free land and that in view of the agrarian laws the greater part of the land belongs to the state and only an insignificant part of the cultivated area is privately owned.

Even in the report to the Third International we meet the assertion that Turkey has no agrarian question as a social problem and that this delicate question has been disposed of in Turkey in a manner wholly compatible with Communism.

Turkey has undoubtedly a colossal fund of uncultivated land. According to semi-official information of the Ministry of Agriculture the area of cultivated land in Asiatic Turkey (Syria and Mesopotamia included) was only 4.5% of the entire area of cultivated land. Taking into consideration that the entire area of Asiatic Turkey amounting to 1,600,000 sq. kilometres 800,000 square kilometres, i.e. 45% represent land of high value, i.e. land that less than 10% is under cultivation. Already the comparison of figures shows that agrarian relations in Turkey have developed in a strikingly abnormal manner.

The peasantry bears the whole burden of fiscal duties, of taxes in kind and of all sorts of unlawful levies. Owing to all these hardships, the Anatolian peasant conducts his household in a primitive fashion and is reducing the area of cultivated land. The Anatolian peasantry is uncultured and as a result of its inertness it does not apply any of the methods which have been developed lately in the fields of agriculture. It is using the same methods of land cultivation which were in use thousands of years ago. The total absence of agricultural machinery, the primitive method of cultivation of the soil renders the labour of the peasant's extremely difficult and very little productive.

It must be noted that the existing agrarian laws, do prevent the formation of big privately owned estates in the European sense of the word, do not prevent the formation of large land accumulations of the nature of the latifundia, at least in the form of a conditional lease from the government. Indeed, wherever it is possible we observe throughout Turkey the formation of large landed estates, for instance, in Syria in the vilayets of Damascus 60% of the land belongs to the big land owners, 15% to the middle class and 25% is in the hands of the peasantry.

All the lands of the city Hama *) and its environs are owned by fine large families.

In many parts of Anatolia large sections of land belong to the Beys who keep many outlying villages in subjection. Some Beys hold as many as 30 villages under their control. The peasants who have only small plots of land are compelled to work for the Beys, as for some superior beings. These Beys, have armed forces at their disposal and are actually the masters and lords of their provinces. When he goes to war, the Bey takes with him the whole population of his region. Many of these Beys are relentless exploiters, which does not, however, prevent some of them calling themselves Bolsheviks, on account of their hatred towards the Entente and the Greeks.

Evidently there is no possibility of denying the existence of an agrarian problem in Turkey and in a very intense form, too "Those who think that Anatolia has no agrarian question are mistaken"—says the Communist "Enya Dunya". The peasants who have any land comprise 30% of the population. The agrarian bank renders no appreciable aid to the peasants: the number of peasants without any land is also constantly increasing owing to the feverish activity of the usurers. The Great National Assembly has so far done very little in favour of the peasants and has confined itself merely to half measures. Thus it has issued a decree whereby the right is granted to everybody to cultivate any section of free uncultivated land, appropriate the entire proceeds without paying any remuneration to the owner of the land.

The extremely distressed condition of the peasant toiling masses, the intolerable oppression they are suffering, create a favourable ground for the assimilation of revolutionary ideas by the more advanced elements of the peasantry. The war prisoners who are returning from Soviet Russia carry with them the epidemic of Soviet ideas into the Turkish villages. But the overwhelming majority of the

*) This information was taken from report No. 4 of the 23rd December 1920 by the information Bureau of the Turkish Plenipotentiary Representative of Russian Soviet Republic in Turkey.

peasantry, however, see that the only cause of their misfortune lies in foreign oppression, and above all, in the piratical policy of the Entente. The revolt of Adham, of who we shall speak later shows that the Bolsheviks' idea is beginning to penetrate into the Turkish army, which is overwhelmingly composed of peasantry. The contradiction of class interests in the country are supplemented by the contradiction of class interests in the town. Here, in the latter side and dock labourers dying of hunger, we found rich speculators, merchants and ship owners.

In a word, the world war has caused the sharpest poverty in Anatolia. High cost of living has increased economic ruin, has led to the deterioration of roads and railways, and at the same time, has led to the enrichment of a small crowd of speculators at the expense of million of peasants, working men and handicraftsmen.

The sharp deterioration of the economic position, the world war, the Great Revolution all combined to arouse the backward oppressed Anatolian peasants and small handicraftsmen from their age long slumbers. The tremendous shake up of the last few years has not taken place in vain as far as Anatolia is concerned. Even here it has aroused a new spirit. Hundreds of thousands of Turkish peasants, who hitherto were not interested in what took place outside their villages, are now drawn into the maelstrom of world history. The Turkish peasantry, the small handicraftsman, and labourer is beginning to take interest in political questions and party programme, and the more class conscious and active elements of the working class thring off their age long indifference in political questions, and State construction, are beginning to join one or another Party.

To be continued.

Continued from page 1 col. 1.

kind of a side-issue, employing only one hand for that purpose, while continuing to wave the Trade-Union banner with the other. It is this political double-dealing which unfortunately has not yet been exposed before the masses as well as the circumstance that the influence, neither for good nor for evil (in the last respect it has not entirely lost its significance). Such an inter-relationship is impossible in the revolutionary camp. Here though the International Trade-Union Federation is also numerically stronger than the political organisation, but it cannot push it to a secondary place, as Amsterdam has pushed aside London.

The Communist International was constituted before the Red International and the former is determining the development of the latter. So it was also in the preceding historic epoch when (at least in a number of Countries Suchas Austria, Germany, partly France the political movement was formed before the development of the Trade-Union Organisations. But in those countries, the political parties soon lost their influence and took the path of opportunism. They lost the confidence of the masses, they lost moral contact within them, and at the decisive moment they proved incapable of directing the revolutionary mass movement. In consequence of this the political parties split up into Left Centre and Right and became even less unanimous and organised than the Trade Unions, although it would appear that the latter embracing workers of various view sand various stages of development should be in a less advantageous position than the parties which embrace the vanguard of the proletariat, who are unanimous in theory.

The Communist International is guaranteed against such a fate, unless of course, it undergoes a transformation which however, learning from the experience of the Social Democrat will not permit. The Comintern is young fresh, full of the fighting spirit, and if it is menaced by danger, it will not lag in the rear of the masses, but in anything, will be a little too far in front of it. But even this, it will endeavour to avoid. As far as theoretical unanimity and compactness in this respect, it is assured, and one may say, it stands four square to the wind, in this respect it is far ahead of its Trade Union twin. This indeed, is a quite natural relation between the two sections of the working class movement.

The Comintern consists only of Communist. The International Council of Trade Unions is composed of all the Red Trade Unions who are dissatisfied with the policy of Amsterdam, but who have not yet reached an equal level of revolutionary socialist consciousness. Together with the Russian Trade Unions there are the Spanish Trade Unions, which are inclined to anarchism, the Italian Trade Unions which one meets anarchist elements side by side with opportunists (D'Aragona),

several English Unions imbued with a fighting spirit but still having to go through a long process of development (Robert Williams!) are all to be found in the International Council. Moreover, the International Council of Trade Unions cannot exclude from its ranks even those unions who are affiliated to the International Council. We have here in mind, not only the Italian Trade Unions, but even Russian Trade Unions, where there is a small crowd of Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists.

For that reason the relations between the Comintern and the International Council of Trade Unions can never assume the form that they assumed in the camp of the compromisers. In the latter, both organisations political and economic were bad in quality, and therefore, their relations were based on numbers. Amsterdam was numerically stronger than the Second International, therefore, it is the former which dominates and the latter trips after it, aye, and breathes by the charity of the former. In our case, inter-relationships can only be established on the basis of equality and fraternal cooperation, but with the intellectual priority and the moral and political predominance of the Communist International as the advance guard marking the road and leading the general struggle of the working class, not only on a political but on all fields. In a word, the Communist International is the symbol and the embodiment of the supreme unity of the labour movement on an international scale.

If the Second International exists merely as a sort of parliamentary attachment to the Amsterdam Trade Union Organisation, on the other hand, the Third International cannot completely carry out its functions unless it relies on the broad masses of Red Syndicalists who are gathered round the International Council of Trade Unions. As a general rule, there are more syndicalists everywhere than Party men. In the opportunist camp, the proportion between the Trade Union and politically organised workers is nearly 7 to 10; in the revolutionary camp, it is 4 to 1. In view of the fact that the Trade Unions everywhere organise large masses of the workers (taking the world as a whole there are nearly 40,000,000 Trade Unionists) we must assume, that in the near future, the International Council of Trade Unions will succeed to rally under its banner many millions of supporters. Only by relying upon these broad masses will it be possible indeed, to carry out a policy of active defence and active offense against capital, the policy which the Third International advocates. Complete unity on cardinal questions, complete agreement on programme and tactics between the Comintern and the International Council of Trade Unions, is the fundamental condition of the triumph of the cause of Labour over Capital.

Everything goes to show that such an agreement exists. The very fact that the Congress of the International Council of Trade Unions will open almost immediately after the Congress of the Comintern, is a symbol of the close theoretical and organic ties of both streams of the International Proletarian Movement. At one time, this happened in France, in the eighties of the nineteenth century, when the Trade Union Congress usually met immediately after the Conference of the Labour Party. But in France the two arms of the great proletarian river diverged; with us it will not be so. The pledge of this is not merely our firm will, but our bitter experience, and our disappointments which however must not be repeated.

Stockloff.

A Cinema Automobile.

On the 26th May Auto-Cinema No. 1 (Cinema Automobile) is leaving Petrograd for the Congress in Moscow. The Car which was working for 5 months on the south and south-eastern fronts, has recently returned and has been repaired by the Petrograd District Cinema Section. The aim of the tour is to propagate the idea and importance of the III International. The automobile will carry with it an electrical mechanic, a photographer, a cinema mechanic and a lecturer. The Auto-Cinema will travel through Tosno, Luban, Chudovo, Novgorod, Waldai, Torjok, Tver and other points. A demonstration will be given of the First and Second Congresses of the III International, of the Congress of the Eastern peoples in Baku, the capture of the winter palace in October 1917, the revolutionary art film "Brothers of the Forest", including pictures of electric plowing, electric wood chopping, and peat cutting. The gubernia Executive Committee and other Soviet organisations are asked to render all facilities to the Auto-Cinema on its way to the Congress.

25th MAY 1921.

Haywood's Views on Conditions in the United States of America.

Continued from page 1.

merchants have ships loaded with bags of coffee, carried them out to sea and threw them overboard. The newspapers report from time to time the loading of barges with oranges, bananas and melons, sending them out into San Francisco Bay to be dumped in the water, and all of this curtailment of foodstuffs is that greater profit might be made on the limited amount that remains. This destitute story, can be compared with a similar story of the French government, which compelled the natives of the Pacific islands to destroy all banana trees and other fruit upon which they lived, forcing them to gather coral for which they were given a mere subsistence. This brief story may be concluded by explaining that the Cotton Growers Association in convention deliberately agreed to limit the acreage to be planted in cotton, giving as the reason that with a smaller crop they could get a higher price.

So it will be seen, that in the United States, the capitalists who control the lands and industries, will for profit, cast aside the bountiful gifts of Providence.

William Dudley Haywood.

Froissard on the French Communist Party.

At the Administrative Congress of the French Communist Party which took place recently Froissard spoke of the conditions of the Party. By the 31st of March 1921 the Federation examined 121,000 party tickets as against 130 of last year. Prior to the Tours Congress the Party had 95 federations; the number of federations at the present moment is 94, one more federation will be formed at the end of the month of June. Each one of these federations has a large number of members. The party has the following five daily newspapers: "Humanite", "Internationale", "Le Populaire de Bourgogne", "Le Depeche", "de l'Obe" and the "Metzer Folktribune", as well as two bi-weekly newspapers "Travailleur de Lyon" and the "Germinal de Belform", in addition to this there are forty weeklies. Financially the party is thriving. At one time, soon after the split it was in a critical state owing to seizure of fifty thousand francs by the disidents "We opened a subscription list", continued Froissard further, which within a few weeks brought us 180,000 francs, contributed in small sums by the proletariat. Our comrades, the workers and peasants support the party by regular contributions. The position of the "Humanite" may also be said to be satisfactory. When we took that paper over it reached a circulation of 200,000 copies daily. In Paris alone 80,000 copies are sold daily. The circulation of the "Internationale" is more than 40,000 copies daily. Further-more Froissard said that 440,000 francs were obtained within a fortnight by the issue of a loan; this made it possible to acquire a house for the offices of the Bureau. Froissard emphasised the harmony and unanimity of of the Executive Committee. We continually fought against the bourgeoisie, declared Froissard and never did any suspicion arise during this turbulent period that in the event of a new war the party will repeat the mistake made in 1914 or that we would consent to work in contact with the authorities. We continually strove to expose the falsity of the capitalist idea of national defence. The masses sympathised with this clear policy. As far as the party of the disidents are concerned its tendency of merging with the Right Wing is obvious. This is the reason why it meets with obstruction on the part of the whole country. In conclusion Froissard made the following remark: "We represent a great political revolutionary force, we represent a party perfectly well aware of what it wants; a party which wants a revolution but which refuses to lead the workers to any kind of adventure well understanding the difference between stormy sporadic demonstrations and a methodical preparation for a revolution. It is possible at the present time to judge of the extent to which we have been caluminated. We were obliged continually to exclude comrades from the party; it is now however over four months since we have excluded any one. Another allegation was that we received daily instructions from Moscow which of course is not true. We do not deny that we are in complete agreement with Moscow. It was alleged that the fulfillment of the 21 conditions was pressed upon us. This would have led to a catastrophe. We have since become convinced that Zinoviev was right when he said "there is but one condition, and that is that the party should become revolutionary".

Petrograd.

The English Steamer Maria is shortly to arrive at Petrograd with a cargo of Scottish herrings.

Recently a quantity of extract was received from Denmark. From America was received 14 waggons of footwear; from England two waggons of wool; from Germany 27 carriages of locomotive tyres.

During the month of April Soviet Russia has received from abroad through Yamburg 2,276 waggons of various goods of a total weight of 1,625,466 poods. During the first quarter of the present year 2,433 waggons with goods weighing altogether 1,388,523 poods were received. Products which have been received in 604 waggons in April amounted to 20% of the total.

406 waggons were received with agricultural implements, 186 with footwear, 602 with textile goods, 38 with ready made underwear, 36 with seeds, 24 with manufactured metal goods, 32 with leather, 23 with files, 18 with chemical products, 17 with boots, 13 with ready made clothes, 12 with saws, and 9 with horse shoes. There were also a number of carriages with various other goods.

The Petrograd Committee of the Russian Communist Party are mobilising a large number of communists to be sent to work to various towns, factories and works.

Fraternal Greetings.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sent the following radio to the Communist Party of Checho-Slovakia:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International acknowledges receipt of the decision of your congress and sends a fraternal greeting to the workers of Checho-Slovakia and their now finally organized Communist Party.

The leading proletarians of Checho-Slovakia utilized the wave of nationalism, and the vacillation of the leaders and the slavery put over them by the bourgeois reaction to good advantage. Your party, consisting of more than one hundred thousand members, we are certain, will occupy one of the most important places in the Communist International. We send a most cordial greeting to the brave comrades in the prisons of Checho-Slovakia. We expect a more numerous delegation of your party at the third world congress of the Communist International.

Long live the solid, mighty Communist Party of Checho-Slovakia! Long live the world revolution.

G. Zinoviev."

The International Conference of Women Communists.

The Organisation Bureau for convening the Second International Conference of Women Communists, is at the present moment intensively engaged in the preparatory work in connection with the opening of the Conference.

Part of the work previously outlined has already been completed. Thus, circulars have been sent to the Communist Parties in all countries which will participate in the Conference: giving notice of the Conference indicating the scale of representation, the agenda, and the form of the reports of delegates at the Conference by means of systematic enquiry forms.

The Organisation Bureau has drawn up a detailed plan of work in conjunction with the delegates, which includes: reports, lectures, and discussions on all questions and forms of the Women Communist Movements, excursions to and tours of Soviet and Trade Union institutions, etc. Besides this, a series of exhibitions illustrating the growth of the Women's Labour Movement have also been planned. At the present moment there are in the press and will be issued at the opening of the Congress, an album devoted to the Women's Labour Movement and the following pamphlets:

- 1) The Working Woman and Peasant Woman in Soviet Russia by A. Kolontai.
2) Protection of Motherhood and Childhood by Lebedeva.
3) Woman Labour and its Protection in Soviet Russia by Kaplun.
4) Social Training by Kilina.
5) The Working Women and Peasant Woman in the Civil War in Soviet Russia by Vinogradskaja.
6) A Report of the work among Women in the Russian Soviet Republic.

The International Organisation of Revolutionary Cooperative Societies.

Of the three Chief forms of the labour movement which united the proletarian masses in the period capitalist development, the cooperative movement was more than all impregnated with the spirit of reformism and opportunism. The political parties of the working class made it their task, if not to directly capture power through the working class, at least to prepare the proletariat for that aim. In their propaganda and agitation they did not lose sight of the ultimate goal of the movement; they rallied the working class in the name of socialism, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation by the bourgeoisie and capturing government power by the proletariat.

The Trade Unions lead the struggle of the workers against exploitation by capital in the sphere of industry, viz. against the principle from of exploitation. That struggle brought them into collision with the capitalist State, which was upheld by the exploiting activities of capital, i. e., it led the trade unions from the sphere of purely economic struggle on to the political arena. Fighting as they did against exploitation, the trade unions could not but think of socialism. They could not, if they tried, lose sight of it as the ultimate aim of the movement. Such was the case with the political parties of the proletariat, the trade unions were the militant organisations of the working class.

The cooperative movement, on the other hand, made it its task not to fight capital in order to destroy it, but simply to fight against one or another form of capitalist exploitation, chiefly against the exploitation by commercial and banking capital. The aim of the cooperatives was to supply the consumers at a cheaper rate, to enable the small producer to sell his goods at a dearer rate than that offered by the middleman, to organise the farmers or small artisans credit, more accessible and at easier conditions than that of the bank or the usurers. All the activities of the cooperative movement were directed only towards achieving partial improvement in the position of the workers and peasants. Socialism was merely an attractive sign-board for the cooperative movement, and an agitational bait for the workers.

The cooperative movement employed purely peaceful means to attain its aims; it organised cooperative stores, workshops, cooperative banks, building societies, etc. There was nothing militant in all of its activity. Revolutionary action hindered this peaceful work. It threatened the property of the cooperators, and was therefore regarded by the cooperators with hostility, for they feared it.

It is not surprising therefore that the cooperatives became a cess pool of opportunism, and endeavoured to turn the proletariat from revolutionary methods on to the path of petty improvements and petty economies, as represented by the cooperatives. Under the management of these opportunists the cooperative movement acquired a still more dull and purely reformist character. These reformist leaders put forward and advocated a theory, according to which the cooperatives were to be politically neutral, to refrain from political action and to stand apart from the socialist parties. They tried to isolate the cooperative movement into a complete third form of the labour movement, and thus estranges it from the influence of the socialist parties and the militant trade unions. An example of the insincerity of the opportunists can be found in the fact that in the places where they were sure of the stability of their power and influence, they acted to the contrary, and subjected the whole party to their influence through the cooperatives. Such an example in Belgium.

The imperialist world war resulted everywhere in the utter bankruptcy of the old opportunist labour movement, which, led by the traitors to the working class, was unable to withstand the severe test. At the outbreak of the War, the henchman of the bourgeoisie who stood at the head of the labour organisations gave all their strength to the service of the bourgeoisie. They used all their influence over the workers to betray them. They forgot their former anti-militarism and internationalism, and on the pretext of (defence of the fatherland) they called upon the workers to defend the interests of the capitalists. They placed all the political and labour organisations of the working class at the service of the capitalists and of their imperialist shemes.

But if utter bankruptcy was apparent even in the militant organisations of the proletariat, the same phenomenon was most vividly and forcibly manifested in the cooperative movement, which was least imbued with the revolutionary principles of socialism and where the influ-

ence of the opportunist leaders was especially powerful.

Swayed by these leaders and managers, the old cooperative movement gave all its forces and means to help the bourgeoisie in its criminal imperialist war. Not one of the old leaders raised a voice of protest against the war. All the efforts of the cooperative societies were directed towards setting up a good apparatus of distribution, restraining the proletariat from revolutionary action, and preserving the civil peace required by the bourgeoisie. Other forms of the cooperative movement — each in its own sphere and with its own methods — strove to preserve the power of their imperialist State. The cooperative movement during the imperialist war was an outright crime and base betrayal of the interests of the workers.

During the war the leaders of the old cooperative movement destroyed all international relations, and did not re-establish them for two and a half years after the termination of war. To this very day they are the servile henchmen of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the latter's piratical plans.

When West-European Imperialism, in alliance with the Russian ex-zarist white-guard generals, started to war against Soviet Russia — the government of Russian workers and peasants, against the vanguard of the proletarian world revolution, the leaders of the old cooperative movement in Western Europe did not raise a finger to frustate that intervention. On the contrary, through the International Cooperative Bureau, they stood on the side of old whiteguard members of the Management of the All-Russia Central Union of Consumers-Societies ("Centrosyuz"), messrs Berkenheim, Zelheim, Lensky, Vachmistrov, who all the time helped the struggle of the ex-generals against Soviet Russia, supplied the counter revolutionary armies, collaborated with the governments of these generals through their followers, and fostered war against the Soviet Government behind the Soviet Red Army. These old members of the "Centrosyuz" Management who have long been deprived of the right to call themselves such by the Congress of Cooperators of Russia, are still members of the International Cooperative Bureau. The fact that the West-European leaders of the old cooperative movement criminally tolerate the downright counter-revolutionaries and servants of imperialism within their ranks makes them responsible participants in counter revolutionary policy, who work hand in hand with Russian monarchism and West European imperialism.

This conduct on the part of the leaders and heads of the old cooperative movement resulted in a deep gulf being formed between the cooperative movement and the daily-growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The old cooperative movement does not help, but hinders the proletariat in its fight for emancipation. The old cooperators strive to revive moribund capitalism, against which they will conduct a harmful, "struggle by means of their cooperative stores and banks, etc. According to their notions this struggle is to be an affair for centuries. Therefore in their fight against imperialism for the triumph of socialism the revolutionary proletariat can by no means count upon the help of the cooperative societies, as long as the old leaders stand at the head them.

On the other hand the aid of the cooperative movement can be of great importance to the revolutionary proletariat.

Before the transference of power in the hands of the workers, the cooperative societies, uniting many millions of workers, can serve as an excellent means and place for propagating the idea of communism and the socialist revolution. They can serve as a means to organize the workers round the communist party and to help that party.

The cooperative societies can and must play an important role after the triumph of the socialist revolution, in organizing the socialist order. This important role of the cooperative societies was already mentioned by Marx in the "Inaugural Address" of the First International, and in the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of the International on the question of the cooperative societies. But in order to ensure that the cooperative movement play that role it must radically change its character and its functions.

The old cooperative movement fought not against the essence of capitalism, its power, but against separate manifestations of its exploitation and oppression. More than that, in its activity the co-

The Proletcult.

After having completely overthrown the then existing bourgeois culture the October Revolution set before the proletariat the task of establishing its own culture, upon entirely new foundations, expressing the real psychology of the masses employed in the various industries as well as giving a correct scientific analysis of all its social and intellectual tendencies.

It was then that the Proletcult came into being, as the hearth of the new proletarian culture, and, as it were, as a fully-organised "headquarters" of learning.

The first Proletcult arose in Petrograd in 1917. During 1918, the number of Proletcults increased to 4, in 1919 to 52, in 1920 it rose to 209, while at the present time, throughout the whole of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic 312 Proletcults exist, of which 42 are gubernia and 56 local seats of proletarian culture. In Moscow we have the Central Committee of the Proletcult with a series of central studios acting as "model" studios for the whole of the Republic. Besides this, attached to the Central Arena of proletarian creative talent where demonstrations are given of all that has been attained in the various branches of art, and provincial studios. The Moscow Proletcult is concerned chiefly with the work carried out in the town itself throughout its various district studios while the Moscow gubernia Proletcult conducts the work in the gubernia.

Recently, new Proletcults have been instituted in Odessa, Novorossisk, Kiev, Ekaterinodar and Baku by the Organisation Bureau of the Proletcult Central Committee. Steps are being taken to establish Proletcults throughout the Crimea and the Don Basin. The Bureau has at its disposal a railway carriage equipped with literature, gramophones, posters, etc. for agitational purposes. This carriage will, in the near future be sent to various selected points.

During the three and a half years' existence of the Soviet rule extensive educational work has been carried out by the various proletcults. At the present moment, throughout the whole of the Republic, there exist 268 proletarian theatres 128 literary, 224 musical-vocal, and 186 art studios comprising more than 80,000 students, all busily engaged in their respective studies.

The Moscow Proletcult has accomplished very extensive and important work. The Art and Scientific-Pedagogic Sections attached to the Moscow Proletcult have been instrumental in resolving many questions of principle in all spheres of principle in all spheres of art and have established methods of study in the various studios upon the latest and most rational lines.

In the Moscow Proletcult literary schools studies are being conducted in the theory of style, poetry, history of socialism, theory of artistic form and prose as well as in a whole series of social subjects for the general public.

In the theatrical studios, both in the central, of which one has been transferred under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the Proletcult, as well as in the local studios, work is proceeding extensively. The following pieces and sketches have been produced by the Central Studio: "The Revolt" and "The Woman at the Crossroad" by Verkharia, "The Avenger" by Clodell, "The Mexican" by Jack London, "The Dawn of the Proletcult" composed from poems of various proletarian poets, etc.; Rhythmic representations: "The Marseillaise", "The Leader",

The Situation in Portugal.

Lyons, May 23. (Radio.) The cabinet has handed in its resignation. It is expected that the President of the republic will publish a decree, dissolving the Portuguese parliament. (Rosta).

End of the state of war between Germany and China.

Lyons, May 23. (Radio.) China not having signed the Versailles treaty, an agreement has been signed in Peking on May 20-th between China and Germany by which the state of war existing between these countries is declared to have come to end. This agreement which will serve as a basis for a future final treaty provides for the re-establishment of commercial relations on the principle of reciprocity. Germany acknowledges all the obligations which the Versailles treaty imposed on her with regard to China. The Chinese government, on the other hand, discontinues the liquidation of German

national songs and a whole series of stagings of Kryloff's fables which repertoire was duly given throughout the various districts of Moscow, while, during the summer of 1920 these performances were given to the Turkestan Army of the Eastern front. In the summer of 1919 a studio to perform at the front for agitational purposes, was established. It staged "The Loss of the Hope" by Hejermens and the "Red Truth" by Vermisheff and, after giving eleven performances in Moscow this studio was sent to the front during the time of Denikin's advance, where it gave 16 theatrical performances and 9 concerts.

In 1920 the First Central Studio went to Siberia where it gave 42 theatrical performances.

In October 1920 a Studio of Synthetic study was established aiming at the creation and development of new theatrical forms, upon the lines of the synthesis of music, movement, words and colours. One of the best works of this Studio—"Labour", was to be seen during the First of May celebrations, and represented the struggle of organised labour against capital.

In addition to the Central studios there exist a number of local studios.

Besides the theatrical studios, the Proletcult numbers 13 musical-vocal studios with 906 students; one of these is the Central Choral Studio.

Attached to the Musical Section of the Proletcult are the Repertoire-Publishing and Lecture Concert Sections. The work of the Publishing Section consists in the publication of a great quantity of the various musical works to be duly distributed throughout the whole of Soviet Russia and even abroad. So far 5,000 works have been distributed.

A great number of concerts and lectures and discourses with musical illustrations have arranged by the Lecture-Concert Sections both in the centre itself as well as in the various districts in the military clubs and in factories and works.

Besides this the Musical Department also comprises a Scientific and Technical Sub-Department. Among other work of a scientific nature, experiments are being made in the study of the aerotubophone, in the standardising of acoustics and rational construction of factory whistles, while Korean, Bashkir and other national songs, etc., are being duly recorded upon phonographic discs.

Six central as well as numerous local studios have been formed by the Art Section. This Department is subdivided into the following Sections: painting, sculpture, and the graphic decorative and applied arts. A series of exhibitions were arranged by this particular Department where the work accomplished by the students were to be seen. The Proletcult has, also, a great number of clubs which gives the students engaged in the various spheres of art, every opportunity of coming into contact with each other.

The Moscow Proletcult has at its disposal a very extensive library comprising 2072 volumes touching upon various subjects. Besides this central library each club and studio has its own library, with a total number of 12,000 volumes.

In spite of the scarcity of paper the Proletcult publishes its owned journals. Thus the Central Committee of the Proletcult publishes a journal entitled "Proletarian Culture"; The Moscow Proletcult two journals, viz., "The Forge", "Creations"; the Petrograd Proletcult "Coming Future"; the Saratoff Proletcult the "Stroke"; and the Orenburg Proletcult the "Hammer", etc.

In addition to the above, both in the centre as well as in the various districts, the works of proletarian writers, poets, dramatic authors, etc., are duly published.

property sequestered in China, returns the sums realized from the liquidation of German property and abrogates the order concerning the commerce with Germany. (Rosta).

From all Corners of the Republic.

In the Pensansk district, where up to the thetime of the revolution there was only one Tartar school, there are now 130 schools.

On May 22nd at Kieff by the Extraordinary Supreme Tribunal of the Republic, the trial commenced of the late president of the Council of Ministers of the Central Rada and eight others accused of grave crimes against the Government of the workers and peasants.

China and Soviet Russia.

The president of the Chinese republic being interested in the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, has ordered it to be translated into Chinese. The Cabinet has at the same time been charged to solve the question of China's relations to Russia within the shortest space of time.

Preparation for the Congress.

In the supreme state art studios work for the Third Congress of the Comintern is in preparation.

The art printing faculty is issuing an anniversary album, published by the Moscow Soviet under the heading of "Red Moscow to Third Congress of the Communist International". The album will be in the French, German, English, Italian and Russian language. The illustrations are divided into groups: Old Moscow, Revolutionary Moscow, the Factories, the Red Army, the Villages, etc. It is proposed to issue 2,000 copies of this album. Apart from this there will also be issued 2,000 placards with suitable slogans. In other faculties, work is carried out in embroidering badges, to be worn by members of the Congress, the printing of small flags with emblems of the Comintern, the preparation of cups, with artistic designs with inscriptions in all languages. The printing faculty proposed to decorate the squares and streets which were approved by the commission preparing for the Congress.

Special Congress Performances.

The Theatrical Society is organizing a performance of "Mystery Bouffe" by Mayakovskyy to be played in the German during the Congress of the Third International. The translation was made by a young poetess, a student of the Literary Organization, Rita Rite.

The "Mystery Bouffe" will be played at the first state circus under the direction of A. M. Granovskyy. The artists decoration was placed in the hands of the artist Altman. The performance will include a series of large mass scenes in which about 500 actors will participate.

The play is somewhat so that almost all the important parts are divided into several parts, which abolishes the lengthy monologues and enables more actors to participate. Actors of the Moscow theaters, with a knowledge of German will take part in this performance.

History of the October Revolution in Photographs.

At the opening of the III Congress of the Communist International all the delegates and visitors will be presented with copies of an album entitled "Photographic Illustration of the History of the Great October Revolution 1917-1920". The book was carefully prepared during the last 8 months under the editorship of comrade Glebov-Putloffsky, and is a valuable contribution to the History of the Great Russian Revolution. The book is issued by the newly formed World Bureau of Art Propaganda of the III International.

EGYPT.

Disorders in Egypt.

Fresh disorders have broken out in Cairo, Alexandria, which have resulted in a number of casualties.

MISCELLANEOUS.

German Representative for Russia.

German Government circles are discussing the question of appointing a representative to Russia. The candidature of the German Ambassador in Austria, Rosenberg, has been put forward.

The siege of Katovitz.

The insurgents who are besieging the capital of Upper Silicia, Katovitz, have stopped the water and electricity supplies to the town, and are beginning a systematic occupation of houses. The French troops are quite passively watching the preparation being made for seizure of the town.

The Silicia Labour League has addressed an appeal for assistance to the Geneva International Red Cross Society, pointing out the numerous cases of violence which accompanied the Polish revolt.

Japanese evacuate Siberia.

The Japanese Government has ordered the evacuation of Japanese troops from Siberia, leaving several detachments in Harbin, and near the Manchurian frontier.

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.