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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

BAVARIA.

Important developments of Gaeris Murder.

Hanover, June 11. Defeated on the issue of disarmament of the Einwohnerwehr, wherein the majority of the nation's forces showed themselves on the side of wise conciliation with the Entente, Bavarian monarchists and reactionaries are resorting again to their old method of murder and assassination, and try to provoke a situation which would offer them an excuse not to dissolve the Orgesch and the Einwohnerwehr, and thus to preserve this last seat of militarism and reaction in Germany. The assassination of Gareis, the chairman of the Bavarian independents, who was an indefatigable partisan of disarmament and of dissolution of the Einwohnerwehr and of the Orgesch, is regarded as crime, second only to that of the murder of Kurt Eisner. There is no doubt that this murder was engineered by the upper circles of the Bavarian reactionaries who, as is usual in such cases, provided arms and safety to escape for the assassins. Socialists of all shades think that this murder was intended to provoke a workers' uprising in Bavaria, thus giving the militarist clique, that centre of reaction, an opportunity to drown the uprising in blood and to use same as an excuse for the non-dissolution of the various bodies, as demanded by the Entente. A three days' protest strike, proclaimed by all three socialist parties of Bavaria is proceeding peacefully.

Hanover, June 12. (Berlin correspondent of the "New York Tribune"). Although the news, coming from Bavaria, is indefinite, the tension, arising from the assassination of Gareis is increasing. The Bavarian authorities forbade in the most emphatical manner the demonstrations, arranged by the Munich socialists. A general strike is proceeding in nearly all centres of Bavaria, although the government prevailed on the yellow unions to run the trolley-cars in Munich. The regular street-car men who attempted to meet, were dispersed by the police. The railways in the whole of Bavaria are expected to stop on Monday. There is no doubt that the Bavarian reactionaries, being supported by the peasant population, are extremely strong and in position to crush any uprising which the communists are trying to provoke against the advice and efforts of other socialist parties. The majority socialists and the independents realizing the futility of an armed action, are merely seeking to utilize the situation in order to bring moral pressure upon the government, and indirectly upon the Entente, to insist upon the dissolution of the Einwohnerwehr and of the Orgesch. The independents have prepared an interpellation in the Reichstag with this end in view, demanding to know what the Wirth government intends to do about it, implying that in the alternative failure to receive a satisfactory reply, the independents would withdraw their tacit temporary support of Wirth. The government is apparently, willing to conciliate the independents, as may be seen from its yesterday's order, abolishing in many places the extraordinary courts, dealing with the cases of extreme radicals.

Official Version.

Nauen, June 12. (Wireless.) The social-democrats, independents and communists of Munich decided to proclaim a three days' general strike, owing to the assassination of Gareis, but failed to enforce it. Only part of the industrial works have shut down. The Christian Trade-Unions declined to take a part in the strike. All enterprises of vital importance, such as tramways, railways, waterworks and foodstuff supplies are working and all shops are open. Reinforced police patrols are circulating in the streets. — So far the police have found no trace of the murderer. — The agitation of the independent socialists is assuming a serious character.

ENGLAND.

The Capitalist offensive.

London, June 10. Commenting the new terms of the mine owners, the "Daily Herald" states: "These terms mean an immediate reduction of wages, with greater reductions pending at the end of three months. The lock-out to enforce this reduction is a part of the widespread conspiracy to lower the worker's standard of life and to break up the worker's organisations". — Summing up the industrial position, the "Daily Herald" states that one million and a quarter miners are locked out, as well as half a million cotton operatives. Half a million engineers are under notice, and two hundred and fifty thousand wool workers are engaged in a grim struggle. The seamen have been beaten down, the vehicle builders have had to accept reductions, the building workers have accepted modified wages, the chemical workers and the bakers suffered reduction, as well as the tinplate and steel workers. These cuts are only preliminary, and more are to come. The Agricultural Wages Boards are to be scrapped, and the railway directors intend to force down the railwaymen's wages. Big reductions are in full swing, and the workers will be its victims unless they stand together to defeat the capitalists".

Miners' Conference.

London, June 11th. — At to-days session of the Miners' Conference the miners' delegates discussed the final draft of the mineowners' terms. According to the evening papers the Conference decided to take a referendum concerning these conditions on the 15th June. The proposal recommending the local branches to refuse the terms was turned down by an overwhelming majority of votes, and a resolution to circulate the draft in the districts without any comments was carried.

Britain Arming.

Riga, June 11th. "Journal" of June 6th reports that the British Government has issued orders for the immediate construction of 4 battleships. Each ship will cost 9 million pounds.

Not a Naval Demonstration.

Paris, June 11. (Wireless.) Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that British warships would come to Constantinople to stay there for one month, in accordance with their cruising program, this being in no way a naval demonstration.

ITALY.

Persecuting the workers.

Berlin 9/6 (Via Riga). — The Facisti attempted to raid the workers' club in Turin but were prevented from doing so by troops. The police searched the club and arrested many socialists.

The Civil Servants' Strike.

Berlin 9/6 (Via Riga). — The prohibition of any form of gathering by the Italian Government has created a deep feeling of resentment in civil service and parliamentary circles. The republicans, social-reformers and socialists protest against the Government's activities and offer their help to the civil servants. 300 workers have again been discharged from the post-office. D'Aragona was howled down when he appeared at a meeting of the staff. The reformist party, socialists and catholics in parliament have decided to support the bill for improving the conditions of the civil servants, but the above-named party demands the calling off of the strike. The press reports a great demonstration of civil servants in which 50,000 persons took part. The Civil Servants' Executive in its manifesto emphasises the purely economic nature of the dispute.

GERMANY.

Bordeaux, June 11. (Wireless.) The German socialist Kautsky resigned his membership in the German Economic Council. His place will be taken by the chief editor of the "Freiheit" Hilferding.

Plundering Germany.

Riga, June 11th. "Journal" of June 6th publishes a report from Berlin that Zeppelin "Nordstein" will be given over to France this week, in conformity with part of the ultimatum dealing with disarmament.

U. S. Troops to remain.

Nauen, June 12. (Wireless.) The American senate rejected the amendment to the army budget, proposing that the American troops in Germany be withdrawn within three months.

FRANCE.

Radical-Socialist Going Left

Berlin, June 11. (Via Riga.) The executive committee of the French radical socialist party, assembled under the chairmanship of Herriot earnestly reproved the internal policy of Briand which has led to the nomination of an ambassador to the Vatican. On the other hand it approved the Government's Foreign Policy against adventures and wars. Thereupon the assembly voted the expulsion of the member Bonnet who had his name placed in the constitutional list at the elections in the 2nd Paris sector, thus going against Lorient and Souvarine. The "Journal des Debats", with great indignation, says that now the question arises whether the radical socialist party which placed itself outside of the policy of the Republican Alliance, is going to become openly an ally of the left extremists.

"Humanite" Demands Repatriation for Russian Soldiers.

Berlin, June 10th (via Riga). "Humanite", in the name of the detachments of Russian soldiers in Algiers, demands that an official Russian Soviet Delegation be allowed into the French port to carry out the repatriation of the men. The newspaper is actuated by the apprehensions of the Russian soldiers who fear that they will be sent to the far East instead of home, or be drawn into another reactionary adventure.

France Demand Priority in Robbing Germany.

Riga, June 11th. According to the reports from Paris Briand claims the priority of France in the sharing of the German milliards. The Belgians object to this. A Conference is being convened in Paris to elucidate this question.

NORWAY.

Workers' Solidarity.

Stockholm 11-6, via Riga. In accordance with the decision of the Trade Unions, the workers of Norway with the exception of the seamen, firemen and transport workers, began work to-day after a two-weeks' general strike. The negotiations between the seamen and the shipowners are proceeding with a new arbitrator nominated by the government in place of the former one who was removed as a result of the pressure from the trade union executives. The municipal workers' executive was stipulated that all paid-off municipal workers be reinstated before work is resumed.

Lian, president of the trade union executives has stated in an interview with a correspondent of the Norwegian "Social-Democrat" that the general strike in which 120,000 persons participated was a fine example of working class solidarity.

RUSSIA.

Foreign Office to Briand.

The following is a translation of the note from the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, dated June 13th, and addressed to Briand, Foreign Minister in Paris.

The Russian Government begs to remind the French Government of the declarations which it made to the latter on April 22nd, in reply to its radiograms of April 8th and 16th. The Russian Government had emphasized the flagrant violation of the Copenhagen Convention by the French Government, it being stipulated by the said Convention that the French Government undertakes to repatriate to Soviet Russia and Ukraina all the Russian civil and military persons who so desire and must provide them with transportation facilities as far as the ports or frontiers of Soviet Russia or Ukraina. The said Convention stipulates furthermore that all legal proceedings, instituted against Russian or Ukrainian citizens must be discontinued and that no new proceedings may be taken against them before their repatriation and that the penalties, sentences or fines or other fiscal obligations which might have been imposed or will be imposed on them, will not be taken into account. Violating the above mentioned stipulations, the French Government, whilst indicating in its radiograms of April 8th and 16th that Russian soldiers who have, according to its own statements, returned to their civic occupations, as well as other Russian citizens, who are still in France, proposed to the Russian Government to transport them not to Russia or to Ukraina but only as far as the French terrestrial or maritime frontier. It is proven by the confession of the French Government itself, that not only were the legal proceedings against Russian citizens not discontinued, but that a great number of them are still subjected to imprisonment in military and civil prisons of France. On April 22nd the Russian government declared that it could not consider the French Government's proposition but as a trick, intended to disguise its bad faith with regard to Russia. At the same time, taking into consideration the circumstances which accompanied the execution of the Copenhagen convention, the Russian Government declared that the only issue, capable of satisfying the justice and its full right would be to send to France a Russian commission of control which could look after the proper execution of the Convention. Having always strictly adhered to it, the Russian Government once more insisted on the necessity of strictly executing the stipulations, concerning the repatriation of Russian citizens at the expense of France. Having received no reply from the French Government and to Russian citizens in France the Russian Government is obliged to note the fact that the French Government deliberately violates or does not execute the repatriation Convention. The Russian Government must state that the French Government alone will be responsible for the hardships which the French citizens who recently arrived from distant provinces must undergo and who, consequently, remained in Russia, among whom there are many women and children, it being impossible to repatriate them owing to the practical annulment by the French Government of the convention regulating this matter.

Commissary for Foreign Affairs the People's Tchitcherin.

Plunder.

Chita, June 3. It is reported from Kiachta that Ungern has selected for his base, the city of Vanketren, where he will have a telegraph line from Urga and that he is transporting on hundreds of waggons and camels, his plundered valuables, food and military supplies. He is also driving there hundreds of thousands of cattle which he ruthlessly takes from the Mongolians.

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The New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia.

By Bucharin.

On July 8th 1921 Comrade Bucharin delivered a lecture to the delegates of the Third World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow on the significance of the new economic policy of Soviet Russia, from which we quote the following passages:

In order to understand the new policy and its practical importance, we should consider it in connection with the economic and social crises, which we had go through this spring. The experience of the Russian Revolution has proved that our former notions of the revolutionary process were rather naive. Even the orthodox Marxian section thought that all the proletariat had to do to take over the technical apparatus after ejecting the upper layers of the bourgeoisie was to capture the reins of power. Experience taught us something very different to that. It proved that during the proletarian dictatorship the complete dissolution of the old capitalist apparatus is a necessary stage in the revolutionary development. Perhaps some will object that this experience does not give us a theoretical proof and that development in other countries may assume a different character from that of Russia. They may say that Russia is backward, her proletariat is not numerous, big industry constitutes a small proportion of the economy of Russia. In Western Europe and in America, however, the development will take quite a different direction. This idea can be refuted not only by Russian experience, — we are convinced of the absolute necessity of an economic disorganisation generally during the revolutionary process.

Every revolution is a process of reorganisation of social relations. In a bourgeois revolution this process is not so thorough or extensive as in a proletarian revolution, because capitalism has already been developed and only a political transformation becomes necessary. Feudal property had already become private property, and the bourgeois revolution had only to secure this private property and allow it a wider scope of action. It was mainly a question of transferring the political machine from one set of owners to another. But even in this case it was necessary to undergo a certain process of reorganisation, which had to be paid for dearly. Even a bourgeois revolution is accompanied by a temporary decline in productivity. Such was the case in the Great French Revolution. The same was manifested in the American Civil War, where economic development was thrown back for a decade. In a proletarian revolution the same thing takes place on a much larger scale. During a proletarian revolution we must not only destroy the State machine, but completely reorganise the industrial relations. That is the most important point.

What are the industrial relations in the capitalist system? First of all there is a capitalist hierarchy, the subordination of one group to another; high on the top there is the class of capitalists, then follow the directors, then the technical intelligentsia, the so-called new middle class, then the skilled workers and finally the rank and file workers. If these industrial relations are to be reorganised it means that we must first of all and immediately destroy the various ties that bind these groups. The workers achieve this not by street fights only, but by struggling industrially by means of strikes, etc. The working class cannot win the army in time of Revolution if the soldiers obey their officers. It is equally necessary to bring about a breakdown in industrial discipline, if the proletariat is to gain a hold over the economic apparatus.

Once these ties between the classes and strata are severed, the whole process of production will be brought to a standstill. When the workers strike or fight on the barricades, no work can be done. When there is a sabotage on the part of the technical intelligentsia, the whole process of production is interrupted. Only when the proletariat is fully in possession of the whole government machine can it put down such attempts. Until that time the process of production will be paralysed. Kautsky and Otto Bauer were talking utter rubbish when they spoke of the continuity of the process of production and wish to connect it with the revolution. It would be the same if an army wishing to defeat its officers were to preserve a strict discipline under their command instead of killing them. Either the revolution will win, and then there is an inevitable disorganisation of the process of production, or discipline will be maintained, and then there will be no revolution at all. Every revolution is paid for by certain attending evils, and it is only at that we can bring about the transition to higher forms of economic life of the revolutionary proletariat. We need not be afraid of that temporary disorganisation. One cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs.

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Proletarian Dictatorship and the Peasantry During the Civil War.

Now it becomes clear that the price to be paid for the revolutionary process is greater where there is a more stubborn resistance on the part of all the other classes and groups to the proletariat, attaining its maximum in the country which is first in adopting the dictatorship. In Russia the class struggle assumed not only a civil but also a foreign war. Where civil war is transformed into foreign war against powerful States the revolution has to be paid for at an outrageous rate. This is the chief cause of our impoverishment in the course of the last few years. We had to sacrifice nearly 75 per cent of our small supplies and of our latest products had to be given to the Red Army. Every intelligent man will understand what this means to our economic life.

It is impossible to live without bread. The bread question is the most difficult problem of the revolution. The process of economic disintegration during the revolution is also expressed by the severance of ties which connect town and country. When the battle of classes is raging and the process of production in towns is paralysed, communications with the rural districts cease. The ties of finance and capital which bind the large landowners and the rich farmers to the banks are immediately severed. The same happened to the connecting links between the various peasant cooperative organisations. All exchange between town and country ceases. The credit system in particular is ruined. When towns cease to supply anything to the country, there is no stimulus to give anything to the towns. The economic equilibrium is destroyed.

As the town population must exist also in time of revolution, special means must be found to feed it. First the supplies stored in towns are consumed. Then compulsory means may be adopted against the peasants. The third expedient is the consciousness of the peasants that only the Proletarian State defends them against the landowners, the userous, and others.

The peasants were greatly influenced by that consideration during the civil war against foreign counter revolution. Our compulsory methods found their economic justification in this circumstance. As regards the arguments of the Opportunists that the peasantry was opposed to the Bolsheviks and that the latter rule by sheer force, every Marxist will say that this is nonsense. Not even the Czar's government was capable of performing such a feat. Our compulsory actions found their economic justification in the fact that the peasants, as a class, fully understand that there is no force that can defend them from the landowners, of whose estates the peasants have taken possession. In Russia 82 per cent of land formerly owned by large landowners was given to the peasants. The close-fisted peasant will not allow this land to be taken from him. He was wise enough to perceive that the main economic problem is to keep fast to the land, as land alone gives him the certainty of growing food. That is why he put up with our methods of requisitions and that is why we were on the whole able to maintain an equilibrium in our social structure. We felt the ground under our feet.

Of course, every war has its laws. The experience of capitalist countries has shown that the economic changes can more easily be effected in war than in peace time. The same can be observed in our country. Certain classes, especially the petty bourgeoisie, were honestly convinced that everything must be sacrificed for war. Due to this we were able to estimate our resources and regulate economy by strongly applying the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But after the war was over the contradictions in this economic system came to the surface at once — first and foremost the contradictions between the regulating tendencies of the anarchical tendencies of the peasantry.

The Refractoriness of the Peasants and the De-classing of the Proletariat.

It was proved economically that if we take away all the surplus of the peasants' produce we take away almost all the incentive to further production. If the peasant knows that he will be deprived of all surplus produce he will only produce for himself and nothing for others. The only incentive that remains is of an intellectual kind the knowledge that he must support the workers who defend him from the landlord. After the victory at the civil war fronts the effect of this incentive was destroyed. It was observed that the cultivated area diminished. This was also due to the drafting of the labour forces to the army, to the decrease of the stocks of cattle, peasant stock generally, etc. Agriculture was in a critical condition, and we stood in an anger of being left without sufficient bread.

Naturally this state of Lagriculture reacted on industry. It is not true that our technical apparatus is totally disorganised. In many important branches of the textile and metal industries as well as others we possess a good technical apparatus. But the great problem facing us is how to provide the towns with the necessities of life. In our country the workers are hungry because the exchange of goods between town and country is paralysed.

These economic conditions have their social consequences. When large industry is in such a miserable condition the workers seek to find a way, e. g. by manufacturing small articles of everyday use at the places where they work, which they subsequently sell. By such methods the proletariat became declassed. When in this way the worker becomes interested in free trade, he begins to regard himself a small producer, a petty bourgeois. This means the transformation of the workers into petty bourgeois with all their characteristics. The proletariat goes back to the villages where it works as small craftsmen. The greater the disorganisation the stronger this process of degeneration of the proletariat, which is now demanding free trade.

The proletariat as such is weakened. Moreover the flower of the proletariat was destroyed at the front. Our army consisted of an amorphous peasant mass which was like wax in the hands of the Communists, and non-party men. We have lost an immense number of these proletarians and it was precisely these which enjoyed the greatest esteem and confidence in the factories. Moreover we were compelled to utilise the best strata of the proletariat for the State machine, the administration of all the villages, etc. To organise proletarian dictatorship in a peasant country meant to distribute the proletarians among certain localities like so many pieces on a chess-board, in order to guide the peasants. One can imagine how the factories suffered in consequence through lack of proletarian forces. Only the worst elements remained in the factories. And on the top of it all came the declassing of the workers. Such is the social crisis within the working class.

The peasantry had also to suffer, but not to the same extent. If we take an economic view on the subject, i. e. not in the sense of power and political rights, the peasantry has derived more benefit from the revolution than all the other classes. Economically the peasantry is better off than the proletariat, though the latter is the privileged class. The peasantry feels itself stronger than ever. There are other secondary causes. The peasants obtained a good training in the army. He returned from the war a different man. He is now on a higher intellectual and moral level than he was before. Now he understands politics very well. He says: We are the predominating force and we shall not allow others to treat us as silly children. We want to feed the workers, but we are the senior partners and demand our rights.

As soon as the war was over the peasants immediately presented their demands. They are interested in small trade. They are supporters of free trade and opposed to the compulsory socialist system of economy. These demands were presented in the form of peasant risings in various districts in Siberia, Tombov, etc. Things did not look so bad as the counter revolutionary press tried to picture it, but these events were symptomatic. In their eyes the political solution of the economic situation consists in the motto "For the Bolsheviks and against the Communists".

To be continued.

Down with the East Asiatic Gendarme!

Not long since an American journalist gave a fleeting picture of the situation of Modern China in the words: "The East-Asiatic Balkans are undergoing partition". This is really so and events during the last ten years strikingly confirm this. The imperialist robbers of all shades and colours have pounced on China and are tearing it to pieces. Undoubtedly, all the political strife which is going on inside China at present (including even the revolutionary outbursts) has its root in the one desire of ridding China of the "guardianship" of foreign imperialists. But this is the tragedy of China, that this guardianship has taken so deep a root and that there are so many guardians that the struggle amongst them is extremely difficult. Everybody will recall the crushing of the so-called "Boxer Rising", when the combined strength of the European imperialists knocked the pride out of irreconcilable China.

After this striking lesson the Chinese decided that until China became a modern State, gathered together its forces scattered throughout the provinces of China, until it recovered its commerce and finance, and equipped itself a well armed force, China could not seriously consider the question of her independence and liberation from the yoke of foreign bondage. The revolution of 1911 was in reality an attempt of this. The idea behind this revolution was to establish first of all the Daitsing Dynasty and then to consider the question of changing China into a united modern Republic. But this was an extremely difficult task. The revolution roused over 400 million Chinamen and this mass of humanity had to pass from a patriarchal-tribal organisation to participation in the public life of a Republican State. At the same time China, in spite of its apparently monolithic character presented an extremely varied mass. The valley of the river Yang-Tse split it into two parts: the backward North, and the live and active South. Besides this it was supplemented by Mongolia and Thibet. It is evident then how difficult and tremendous is the task of uniting and building this heterogenous immensity.

The Japanese were the first to understand the difficult position of wakening China. Years ago Japan herself was in the same situation and hence it was not surprising that the Japanese immediately aimed at taking upon themselves the role of leading and educating awakening China. But Japanese "leadership" cost China dear. China was to Japan a place wherein it could scrape or "fertilise" in order to uplift itself in the world's eyes, everything else, Japan simply neglected. As a consequence China was still further enchained; and together with this there was the most unbridled plunder and tearing to pieces.

Japan has now almost reached the gates of Peking, and the Chinese do not really know whether Shantung and all Northern and Southern Manchuria belong to it, they see how the underhanded militarism of Japan is stretching out to Mongolia, etc. The Japanese imperialists have reached the limits of decency and contemporary China is struggling in the net of intrigue and the vice of Japanese imperialism.

What is the way out? Only one solution: a fight with Japanese imperialism. The many millions of Chinese toiling masses must understand that only by cutting the head off Japanese Imperialism — the East Asiatic Gendarme — can the toilers of Asia clear the road to their own emancipation.

V. Sibiriatoff (Vilinski.)

JUNE 14th 1921.

International Congress of Women Communists.

Report of Session of July 11th.

The question of the organisation of an International Secretariat was under discussion at the Session of July 11th.

The Conference opened at 8 p.m. comrade Zetkin was in the chair. (Comrade Schwarz, Germany) "We had a Conference last May when the position of the International Secretariat was discussed. We know that the work of the Secretariat was faced with great obstacles due to the difficulties of the position of the Communist movement throughout the world. We know that it was difficult to work from Moscow. A great deal has been done by Moscow in face of these circumstances, but little of what was done reached other countries, and we must confess that the secretariat did not take advantage of all the means at its disposal for developing the women's Communist movement. If we further consider the complete absence of labour legislation for women in many countries, then we must confess, that the Secretariat shall have pointed out to the respective communist parties of Switzerland, France and others countries, the need of developing a women's movement and the devising of suitable slogans. The slogans which were made for the International Women's Day, were almost without exception only applicable to Russian conditions and were of little use for the political situation of other countries. Comrade Kolontai spoke here of two French journals on the women's communist movement but one of them edited by Boudin, is altogether outside the control of the communist party and is really a feminist paper; the same can be said of the other. It is absolutely essential that a single party organ be issued in France. Further, communist women take part in the revolutionary Women's Union of Holland which accepts anarchist and christian-socialist elements. In England where the feminist movement is strong, a great deal was done in the woman's suffrage struggle but little has been done to spread the communist women's movement. We listened with joy to comrade Kolontai's declaration that the Secretariat would publish the necessary literature which would suit the particular conditions of each country. It appears necessary that the Secretariat in conjunction with the Executive of the Comintern should send trusted comrades to those countries where the women's movement is weak in order to strengthen it and to organise the necessary party machinery for attracting large numbers of women workers in the communist movement. We consider necessary the creating of Western European auxiliary organ of the Women's International Secretariat, which would help the latter in the work of spreading the communist movement among women of Western Europe. The German comrades are willing to take upon themselves the work for the creation of such an organ.

Rose Block, of Switzerland said that she came from a small country, which however is located in the centre of Europe and that she is more or less aware of the course of events in European States. "Our organisation, she said, was all the time in contact with the general secretary. The Russian comrades did all they could to keep in contact with the foreign organisations. It is necessary to observe that this was harder for us women, than for the men—communists.

Something has been done already for the unification of our work. In connection with this we must mention the celebration of the International Women's Day, True, the international women's day was established already in 1910, but in a number of nations it was observed for the first time in 1921. Not long ago comrade Zetkin commenced the publication of the "Women's Communist International". Three numbers have so far been published in the German language only. It is necessary to publish it within the shortest time in French and English, and the Russian comrades must reprint articles from this magazine for their Russian press.

Comrades Nikolaeva. "The first impulse on listening to the report of the Secretariat was to subject it to severe criticism. We hoped to learn from this report things, regarding the international movement, of the stages of its development, its experiences. The report however said nothing about this. Of course, great obstacles, the lack of connections explain the complex and difficult character of the work of the secretariat. The Secretar-

iat must obtain from those, who came to this Conference, the most detailed facts and figures with regard to the movement, which we have failed to obtain up till now. Last year we accepted the Thesis at our Congress, but it is necessary for us Russians to know, what methods of work were appointed, how these Theses were conducted outside of Russia, have the parties abroad established women's departments? Last year we were also told, that, in the West there were separate Womens organisations. It is important for us to know, whether such organisations exist, whether they have been destroyed. Criticising the work of the Secretariat, comrade Nikolaeva pointed out yet another serious mistake. The International Secretariat, formulated those basic theses, last year, on prostitution, abortion, and an International Women's Day. These theses are totally inadequate. Instead of the theses on prostitution, and abortion, we showed how to put forward a basic thesis on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, because only when we will attain the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will we solve the problems of prostitution, and abortion.

Comrade Lilina said, the report of Comrade Kolontai made the same impression on me, as it did on comrade Nikolaeva: The Executive Committee of the Comintern, holding the formal point of view of the singleness of the movement, took no interest in the work of the Women's International. Therein lies the chief evil of our work. If you ask me, what is my attitude on the question of creating a technical organ; my reply is: I am for it, and also against it.

We should have a uniform communist movement, incorporating within itself the movement among the women as part of a whole. But under the present circumstances we shall not make progress in our work without a technical organ. The most important point lies in supporting the Executive of the Comintern. Probably it is not the fault of the latter that the women's movement is so weak, — the communist movement assumed too large dimensions for it to be able to concentrate its attention on the women's movement. In any case, our one demand should be that the Comintern devote sufficient attention to the weak places in the communist movement among the proletarian women. That is the quintessence of the whole question.

Lucy Colliar (France.) remarked that there was no need to complain of the lack of contact with the International Secretariat, because she is well aware of all the difficulties which one has to contend with in Russia, when the country is surrounded by enemies and where the correspondence even of the French women does not get through. The speaker further stressed the neglect of work among the women that is generally observable in the Party, and pointed out the difference in the activities of the women communists and feminists, the latter having no sympathy with the proletariat. Those three press organs of which Kollontai spoke, do not as yet altogether belong to the Party. We want to make them organs of propaganda, specially devoted to backward masses. Expressing regret that France does not have leaders equal to Zetkin and Kollontai, Comrade Colliar nevertheless expressed complete faith in the success of the future work of women, and hoped that the methods of work which she will draw of the present conference will have yielded the most fruitful results by the time the next Conference is held.

Comrade Roland Holst (Holland.) then spoke, she said:

"It was pointed out here that we work together with the anarchists, syndicalists and even Christian socialists. I wish to briefly explain the situation. Holland does not have any women's organisation of its own.

There is only one small union to which Communists, Anarhists and Christian Socialists belong. This union was formed during the war, for combatting the poverty of the working masses. After the Second Congress of the Comintern, a Communist group was organised in our union. A keen opposition was raised against this group, and many members left the Union. But the best section remained in the Communist Group, thanks to its organised character, we were able to do a considerable amount of educational work. The organs of the press of the Union and the agitational apparatus fell into the hands of the Communists. In the

future, after the present conference, we shall have to change the form of organisation. We shall have to organise the Communists in a separate organisation which will be an apparatus attached to the Communist Party. If the International Secretariat does not desire to have women remain passive during a general strike or civil war, but desires that they should march side by side with the men, as they did in Petrograd in the February days, it must not limit itself to sending us watchwords and leaflets. What is wanted above all, is organisational work among women, a work which is confronted by tremendous difficulties. Therefore, the Secretariat must send us agitational and organisational assistants, who could instruct us how to conduct the work.

The next speaker was comrade Morova (Ukraine) who said: "I am convinced that the Women Communist Movement will not develop unless the Communist International takes the work up, for that reason we must construct our apparatus so that it shall be inseparably connected with the Comintern. It does not matter where the Comintern will be, what is important is that it should be directly under the Comintern. As for the Technical Bureau, it is necessary to establish contact through the Party and the Women's Department".

Comrade Arachian (Armenia) referred to the necessity of devoting greater attention to the work among the women of the East.

A representative of Tchecko-Slovakia stated that the movement in Tchecko-Slovakia was still young. It began in 1918, as the overwhelming majority of working women are employed in small workshops, these masses are not yet affected by Communism, but one thing at least may be said of them, that is that they are revolutionary. We hope that as a result of energetic work in this sphere, the women will be drawn within the circle of Communist ideas. We are awaiting instructions from the Third Communist International and promise unconditionally to carry them out. "To us one thing is clear", she said, "If Russia wins, we will win".

Comrade Kolontai's concluding speech.

Replying to the discussion, Comrade Kolontai in her concluding speech emphasized that her report was exclusively a business report of actual work done that the methods of that work will be discussed in another point on the Agenda. Once again it is necessary to point out the terrible isolation of the Secretariat from our Western comrades, which resulting from the world civil war has prevented almost any material reaching us. As a result of this, it is impossible to give a complete report of the work of the Secretariat in the West, and the guidance of the work only answers the requirements to a minimum. Moreover, it is again necessary to emphasize that the absence of proper apparatus in the form of Women's Departments in the Communist Parties, does not render it possible to carry out these methods in the various areas. There is a tremendous consolation however; that life itself compels our comrades to avoid some of the mistakes we have made. Thus, recently in Sweden there were separate organisations, which however now are being abandoned. Replying to the remark of comrade Nikolaeva, that the theses on abortion and combatting prostitution were distributed by the International Secretariat, Comrade Kolontai recalled that in her report she had stated that the International Working Women's Day, and the theses of comrade Semashko on abortion, and that of the Inter-Departmental Commission for combatting Prostitution were referred to in the enumeration of the literature despatched abroad in response to the demands of our Western comrades, who were interested in these questions. In reply to the question of comrade Smedovitch and Arachian (Armenia) as to whether it is possible in the resolution to give individual countries the right to have contact with each other, comrade Kolontai stated; whereas comrade Zetkin had already pointed out all questions of principle must be conducted through the centre, but this should in no way interfere with the possibility of communication between the various countries, if however the control of the centre is preserved.

On the proposal of comrade Roland Holst to send organisational and agitational assistance to the various areas, Comrade Kolontai stated that the Secretariat has already worked out a plan in this connection. We foresaw this, but we did not submit the construction of the Secretariat for discussion by the Conference because we are only a section of the Comintern, and we, as an auxiliary organ of the Comintern could not discuss our organisation before the Congress of the Comintern had discussed its own re-organisation. Comrade Kolontai spoke with particular warmth on the importance of the work among women of the East for its struggle against capitalism. "Not a single large capitalist country she said could maintain itself if its colonies would revolt against her. The work must be conducted among the women of the East in order to shake the power of our world enemies; to attract to ourselves the women of the East is to obtain a future ally. In conclusions comrade Kolontai speaking for herself expressed the opinion that the title of the new organ of international work published in Germany "The Women's Comintern" should be changed to "The Bulletin of International Work among Women" if the language permits such an alteration.

The following resolution on the forms and methods of Communist work among women was then put to the vote and carried.

Resolution on the Forms and Methods of Communist Work Among Women.

The Second International Women Communists' Conference in Moscow declares that the crisis in capitalist industry and the bourgeois system which rests thereon, makes it absolutely of vital importance for the proletariat of those countries where such a system exists, to fight for the conquest of political power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This can only be accomplished by the proletariat of the wide masses of women workers allying themselves to this task consciously, determinedly and self-sacrificingly. In those countries where the proletariat has already seized political power and established the dictatorship as in Soviet Russia, it behoves us to concentrate all its attention on the struggle against national and international counter-revolution and to commence building the Communist Commonwealth which shall free the whole of humanity. The wide masses of women workers must conceive, with a clear and inflexible consciousness that the defence of this commonwealth must be one of their cares.

The Second International Women's Communists Conference in Moscow therefore demands that the Communist Parties of all countries, in accordance with the statutes and theses of the Third International, exert the greatest efforts in awakening the wide masses of women workers to Communism, to unite and attract them into the Communist Party for the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary re-construction. The will and ability to act and fight of the wide masses of women, must be continually intensified and spread. To achieve this all those parties which are affiliated to the Third International must organise women's committees in every one of their organs and institutions from the highest to the lowest, which must agitate, organise and educate the wide masses of women workers, and have their representatives in all the leading and guiding organs and parties. These committees must not be separate organisations inside the Communist Party, they only are organs of practical necessity for the actual solution of their own particular problem: to mobilise and educate the wide masses of women workers for the struggle for political power, and the Communist Commonwealth. Hence they must work in close contact with the party in all its spheres of work, but have special mobility in the methods and kind of work and in the establishment of order which is absolutely necessary for the success of the work, taking into consideration the peculiarity of women's psychology and the special position of women in society, which has not yet disappeared. The concrete work of these Women's Committees is pointed out in the theses accepted by the Conference.

The Women's Organisations, which exist at present in the Communist Parties, must constantly have in view their double

Report of Meeting of the Executive of Comintern.

The Executive Committee resumed its meeting on June 12th. at 8. P. M. and continued the discussion of the agenda begun at the Friday session. Secretary Kobetzky delivered a report on the formation of the Commissions. A motion proposed by Comrade Zinoviev was carried, postponing final approval of the list submitted by the Hungarian comrades. Tomorrow the Small Bureau will discuss the differences of opinion that have arisen among the Hungarian delegates. Yesterday the following Commissions were formed: Commission for the report of the Executive Committee, Commission for the world situation and the world crisis. Commission for tactics, Commission for the Russian situation and that for the Problem of organisation. Next the language question was put to a vote. It was resolved to recognise German, French, English and Russian as the official languages and to abbreviate the translations.

The matter of Chairmanship and vice-chairmanship was discussed, and it was decided to submit the following names for the approval of the Congress for election Comrade Zinoviev. (chairman) Comrades Koenen (Germany) Loriot (France) Galovan (Bulgaria) and Genurai (Italy) as Vice Chairmen.

A resolution was then adopted, proposed by the Russian fraction, on the conviction of Comrade Brandler chairman of the V. K. P. of Germany. Two reports were made concerning the Techecho-Slovakian question, one by the Techech and the other by the Germany party. The speaker for the Techechian party reported on the causes of the unfortunate events in the Techecho-Slovakian party and proposed affiliation to the Third International. The representative of the German section of the Communist Party of Techecho-Slovakia, delivered an extremely sharp attack upon the opportunist elements in the Techecho section, severely criticising the attitude of Comrade Smeral during the March revolt, by which the expulsion of the editors Lev and Kernansky was prevented. He had nothing to say however against the affiliation, of the Techech party. The attitude of its leaders is a point against such affiliation in its favour is the "excellent" communist spirit of large masses of the Techech party.

The discussion was then closed and the session adjourned until Monday.

The Prelude to the Congress.

Last Sunday evening the Moscow Soviet held a big meeting in the Zimina Theatre, in celebration of the opening of the Congress of the Communist International, which, as a demonstration of international fighting spirit, was a splendid prelude to the actual work of the Third Congress commencing this week.

The celebration was opened with the "International, played on Russian balalaikas. In spite of their fine rhythm, revolutionary battle songs lose in ardour when played on instruments, and one might have wished that the audience had spontaneously joined in the strains.

Speeches were held by representatives of Russia, France, Germany, Bulgaria, Italy, England, Switzerland, America, Techecho-Slovakia, Holland and other countries. They outlined the situation in the various countries, and vowed that they would exert every effort to further the cause of the world revolution and support Soviet Russia.

The main feature of the evening was the concert choir of Juchof. Few choirs in Europe are capable of giving expression to such deep emotion in song and to such a degree of technical perfection. A Ukrainian folk song, with imitation instrumental accompaniment, earned overwhelming applause.

The feelings of the foreign delegates on that evening were put into words by Comrade Roland Holst, when she said: "Now that I have the occasion of addressing an audience of Russian workers for the first time, I am overcome by a sense of shame and wrath that we have not yet found the strength to make an end to capitalism in our country too!"

The Communist University for Eastern Workers.

The strengthening of the Soviet's Eastern policy is best proved by those steps which have been taken by Soviet Russia in educating the Eastern peoples both of those states which are under its influence and of those which are parts of the R. S. F. S. R. The first step taken by the Soviet Government towards activity and propaganda amongst the Eastern peoples was undertaken in Baku where six-weeks courses were organised, at which lectures are read in Eastern languages on Geography, the origin of the earth and man, political economy, the Soviet system, etc. etc. These courses were only a weak attempt, which, however, had great significance, to show our desire to forward the spiritual emancipation of the downtrodden Eastern peoples, without which it would be impossible to fight that terrible economic oppression which burdens the whole of the Eastern races.

To-day another tremendous stride in direction is being undertaken. By a decree of the All-Russian Executive Committee, in Moscow, a Communist University for Eastern workers is to be founded under the authority of the Commissary for Nationalities. The Collegiate of the Commissariat for Nationalities has made Com. Broilo, member of the Collegiate, the Head of this university. The University will be able to accept 2,000 students immediately, amongst whom will be included workers from all those nationalities and tribes which were the Eastern border-provinces of Russia.

The University has already its programme of work under the following language sections:

1. One (English) for Chinese, Japanese, Indian and other emigrants.
2. One (in Russian) serving the Burato, Yalhoots, Maru, Mordvi, Votiaki, Korels and Koreans.
3. A Tuscoman group for the Tartars, Yzbeks, Khirgiz, Turmen and some Caucasian tribes which speak the Turcoman language.
4. A Persian group for the Buharts, Hivintsi, Azerbeidjanians and Persians.
5. A Mongolian group for the Kalmuks and Burats.
6. An Armenian group.
7. A Georgian group.
8. An Upper Daghestan group in six languages for the Ossetins, Ingushes, Chechentsi, Karachaevtsi, Kasikycnucs.

The small number of intellectual forces does not allow a long stay for university students in Moscow. For the border peoples sent to Moscow their most capable youth which they wish to see started on practical work as soon as possible in their own districts. Hence the first University course will only last for a period of six months. The University curriculum is split into two courses, a theoretical one for 4 months and a practical one for 2 months.

The syllabus for the theoretical course consists of: 1) natural science, 2) outlines of the evolution of organic and inorganic nature, 3) the theory and development of capitalism, 4) the history of the Russian Revolution and the Russian Communist Party, 5) the programme and constitution of the Russian Communist Party, 6) the economic geography of the world and particularly of Russia, 7) the national and colonial question, 8) the study of the Orient and the history of the revolutionary and national movements of Eastern countries (Central Asia, Persia, Turkey, China and Japan).

This course extends over a period of 4 months with 6 working hours a day.

The two-months practical course sends all the students into the special spheres of Soviet and Party structures, namely:

Sections of: industrial, commercial, agricultural, co-operative, educational, agitational, party organisation, labour and trade union movements.

The news of the opening of this university in Moscow was received with the greatest joy in all Eastern and autonomous districts of the R. S. F. S. R. The whole of the Eastern peoples will fittingly observe the significance of this fact and will again be convinced of the vast difference between the policy of the proletariat on the one hand and that of the bourgeoisie on the other in their attitude towards backward colonial countries. Whilst "civilised" Republican France is fighting with all its strength against the spreading of education in its Mussulman colonies, of Algiers, Tunis and Morocco, whilst "constitutional", "freedom-loving" England is holding down its hundreds of millions of Indian slaves in the mire of

ignorance, Soviet Russia, starving, worn out and bleeding, is giving away its last representatives of the East. This one fact alone proves that Soviet Russia is not striving to conquer the Eastern peoples by the strength of the sword, nor desirous of exploiting them as do the imperialist states, but, on the contrary, it is doing everything possible to hasten the national and revolutionary development of the Eastern peoples. Our attempts, up to the present in this direction, truly weak, but due to no fault of ours, are the best arguments in the circles of the educated elements of Persia, India, Turkey, etc., to prove and illustrate the fact and truth that Soviet Russia's policy in approaching backward peoples is diametrically opposed to that of imperialist states; that Soviet Russia is the true friend of backward nations and is not striving to conquer them but to free them from all forms of exploitation.

The opening of the University for Eastern peoples is to be celebrated in the proceedings of the Comintern.

M. Pavlovitch.

Cultural Efforts.

Amedée Dumois writes in the Communist Bulletin of May 26th:

Longuet who does his best to get reconciled to his errors, his faults and his disappointments, has dared to write that the entire former elite has gone over to the dissidents.

If this is true that the elite has left us, it is also true that our most urgent task should be — to form a new one, and to build up our cadres. The wonderful instinct of the socialist masses has driven them towards the Third International because it is the International of action, and not of words, of struggle and not of never ending compromise, of universal revolution at last, and not of national opportunism, or rather of opportune nationalism.

But instinct is and never will be a firm foundation. The only firm and solid foundation is culture and culture alone. The basis of the Communist Party is the education of the communist masses and of our cadres. It is education which the Third International expects of us, and not immediate revolution which, unfortunately, does not depend on us. Communist comrades, may we prove worthy of the task imposed on us: the future of the revolution depends on what we will achieve as educators and propagandists.

The Third International needs well informed militants capable of occupying every degree in what may be termed (do not let us be afraid of high sounding terms) the communist hierarchy. We must therefore do our utmost to bring into being such militants. Since the Tours Congress, the Party has, fortunately appreciated this need. It has endeavoured to raise the standard of culture and propaganda. We have in Paris a "Propagandist School" founded by the Seine Federation, and a "Communist Marxist School" which has no official character.

However, it is within the reach of possibility, and it is absolutely necessary to form inside every section, study circles which could be known as Marxist study circles, whose members would endeavour to complete their theoretical education by mutual help and readings and studies in common.

This idea of raising the intellectual level of the party is not in the least utopian. This does not, of course, mean that we want to repeat the failure of the Popular Universities which took up every subject under the sun but produced only vanity and dilettantism. The circles would have one object and one program: to improve and increase among their members the theoretical and practical knowledge of socialism with the sole object of benefiting the revolutionary activity of the party as a whole.

Three weeks ago I said in this very place that we must produce communists who are organised as well as conscious and thoroughly Marxist. What I am advocating to-day is — the permeation of the party by the Marxists.

Amedée Dumois.

Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on the conviction of Brandler.

The Executive Committee of the Third International has despatched the following radiogram via Nauen.

To the German Proletariat.
The Executive Committee of the Communist International declares its absolute solidarity with Comrade Heinrich Brandler, leader of the valiant United Communist Party of Germany, who has been convicted to five years' imprisonment by an Extraordinary Court of the Ebert Republic. In also declares its solidarity with all the other hundreds of the bold fighters who took part in the March revolt, and whom white sham-justice has condemned to long prison sentences and hard labour, that same justice that has not touched a hair on the heads of the leaders of the Kapp putsch, or the infamous assassins of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, but even publicly and secretly protected them. The Executive Committee declares, before the workers of Germany and of the entire world, that the full responsibility for this disgraceful act of vengeance rests upon the Social Democratic Party and the trade union leaders of both organisations which, during the March revolt, denounced the Communists as "gutter" — proletarians and counter-revolutionary criminals, and without whose active coöperation or toleration the vindictive campaign against the March fighters would have been impossible. The Social Democratic party and the trade union leaders, as members of the government, not only bear the actual but also the full formal responsibility for all those acts of white justice.

The Executive Committee appeals to the independent and social-democratic workers to choose between the aiders and abettors of white justice, and all those who staked their lives for the protection of the working class against counter-revolutionary force, who courageously wielded revolutionary force against that of the counter-revolution.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International. Moscow, June 1921.

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responsibilities. They must unite the ever increasing mass of women, those possessed of consciousness, and firm will and to draw them within the Revolutionary Class struggle. They must attract to Communism, and draw away from capitalism, all the oppressed and exploited and after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution, to attract to Communist construction, all those women who are more loyal and more capable of self sacrifice.

From the ranks of this awakened mass of women workers, and their proletarian sisters, the Communist International will form a nucleus in every country, which will lead its comrades: The Women's organisations in the Communist Parties, must remember in their work that the spoken and written words are not the only means of agitation and enlightenment, but that there are still more active means, viz. the participation of women workers in all active movements, and in the struggle of the Revolutionary Proletariat, in strikes, general revolts, demonstrations and armed risings.

Russian Counter Revolutionists in Paris.

Lyons, June 6. (Wireless). Yesterday in Paris a Russian conference was opened for the purpose of unifying all Russian anti-bolsheviks and democrats. Burtsev explained the purposes of the conference. After this Kartashov, who was elected chairman, honoured the memory of those who gave their lives for the salvation of Russia. Dolgorukov paid a tribute to France's hospitality, accorded to the Russian exiles and added that he was convinced the day would come when Russia would again become France's ally. Several other speeches were delivered. The conference will last five or six days.

The Old Story.

Riga, June 11th. "Petit Parisien" of June 6th reports that the Japanese Government stated in reply to the April note of the League of Nations concerning disarmament, that until measures for disarmament are taken it prefers to wait until the Council of the League of Nations will have drafted its scheme for a general disarmament, which would be acceptable for all States.