



MOSCOW

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The Prerequisite Conditions for the Communist Move- ment in Techecho-Slovakia.

The Techecho-Slovakian proletariat was compelled to find its way to Communism through democratic illusions and nationalistic mis-guidance. Old Austria was a semi-feudal conglomeration of states, in which one nation dominated: the Germans, or rather, the German bourgeoisie, in consequence of their superior economic power and the powerful influence of German imperialism after its victory in Austrian foreign politics in 1908 (the annexation of Bosnia). Decades of struggle for bourgeois parliamentary democracy and against national oppression caused the masses to look upon democracy and national independence not as stages in the struggle for power, but almost as final goals. The Social-Democratic parties of the non-German nations devoted themselves almost exclusively to the struggle for national independence, for "national autonomy", resulting in the disruption of the Austrian party in 1897 when it proclaimed the national autonomy of all national parties, and leaving only a loose "superstructure", a common executive committee. The so-called "Austrian party" continued to exist only in name, until the aggravation of the national antagonisms, through the separation of the technical workers from the central trade unions, put an end to this farce of a united party. In 1905 it held its last congress.

German social-democracy in Austria, so far as theory was concerned, became engulfed in Austro-Marxism, which was actually nothing more than the adornment of an opportunist policy. Opposition to this policy and its theory was confined to Reichenberg.

The policy of the German and Techechian parties during the war was social-patriotic. Under the leadership of Renner and Seitz the German party hastened to the assistance of Austria, and prepared for the "renovation" of Austria, which Renner desired to achieve in Nauman's Central Europe after the war. Techechian social-democracy, under the leadership of Smeral, entered into a coalition with the bourgeois parties, and even surpassed the German party in patriotism. In neither case was this policy, as in Germany, based on the spirit of the masses. The German proletarians were indifferent to Austria, the Techechian proletarians were enemies of it. The leaders of the German party, on account of their Austro-Marxism, were simply unable to pursue any other policy, and found support in the stagnation of the German proletariat in the field of theory; the leaders of the Techechian proletariat, out of fear for the disruption of their organisation and persecution, were even unable to summon sufficient courage to pursue a nationalist policy. In the German party, only a number of Viennese comrades opposed the social-patriotic policy; in the local organisations there was opposition only in Reichenberg, where it organised itself at the very beginning of the war. In the Techechian party, the opposition, was entirely pacifist, and only slightly agitational, found support only with the centrists, who had separated from the Techechian party in the trade union struggle of 1910. But a left-nationalist wing was formed in the Techechian party, which at home participated in the struggle carried on by Masaryk abroad.

The ruin of Austria, the end of the Hapsburgs, brought a high tide of nationalism for the non-German nations, while the German proletariat, under the leadership of Otto Bauer, was rocked to sleep with the purest of democratic illusions. When Techechian troops forcibly occupied the Sudet regions, inhabited by Germans, and the Techechian social democrats to a man rushed to the aid of their bourgeoisie and the Entente, the naive, democratic self-determination illusion of the German proletariat of those regions gave way to a nationalistic spirit.

Thus it was that, at the end of the world war, Techechian and German proletarians were precipitated into a struggle against each other. The Techechian Social-Democrats formed part of a

NO "MOSCOW" TO-MORROW

To-day being a general holiday in honour of the Third Congress of the Communist International there will be no issue of "Moscow" published to-morrow.

ENGLAND.

A new adventure.

Berlin, June 14th. The "Daily Telegraph" reports that France and Japan are seriously discussing the question of transporting Wrangel troops to Vladivostok.

Under the Banner of the Red Trade Unions.

The "Daily Herald" of June 6th publishes the two following reports concerning the Red Trade Union International:

Walsall.— A sympathetic hearing was given by Walsall Trade Council to W. T. Cardinal (Birmingham), who presented the case for the Moscow International.

What was wrong with the Amsterdam International, said Cardinal, was that it was an organisation of trade union leaders, and not of the rank and file.

It was really an information bureau. No doubt that was important, but what was needed was an International capable of acting.

Russia had overthrown Capitalism, and and Russian workers, to protect themselves against outside Capitalism, must link up with workers in other lands.

Sheffield.— Some 280 trade union delegates from the district met yesterday under the auspices of the British Bureau of the Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The following resolutions were passed almost unanimously:—

"That this meeting calls upon the Trade Union Congress to sever its connection with the Amsterdam International, and to take immediate steps to be represented at the First Conference of the Red Trade Union International, to be held in Moscow on July 1, 1921."

"That this meeting strongly urges the branches to support the British Bureau in its efforts to secure the severance of the trade union movement from the Amsterdam International, and its affiliation to the Red Trade Union International; and further requests the branches to appoint delegates on the Sheffield Committee for the purpose of assisting in the attainment of the above object."

coalition with the bourgeoisie in the interests of the Tschechian Government, while the German proletarians demanded self-determination, as promised by Wilson. Besides, it must not be overlooked that the German proletarians of Techecho-Slovakia considered Germany, with its seven social-democratic members of the government, a proletarian state, whereas Techecho-Slovakia was an undisguised vassal of Entente capitalism.

Only very gradually did they awake from their stupor. The Techechian government revealed its capitalistic character, and the illusions of a "socialist republic", with which they had been lured into the nationalistic struggle, were dissipated. On the other hand, "proletarian-socialist Germany" disappeared, while the January and March struggles demonstrated to the German proletarians that they were standing between two capitalist states. But the economic development also taught the proletarians of both nations that the revolution of 1918 had in reality been no revolution, that their condition had not at all altered. Those were the primary prerequisites for the communist movement in Techecho-Slovakia.

Karl Kreibich.

GERMANY.

Trial of Holtz.

Berlin, June 13th. At the extraordinary courts of Berlin today the trial was opened of Holtz the leader of the March insurrection in Saxony. Holtz affirmed that all his deeds were acts of revolutionary consciousness. He refused to reply to many questions of the President. In reply to a question of whether the insurrections were planned in Russia, from whence the President alleged a million of gold marks were sent for this purpose. Holtz said that the movement was not roused up by Moscow, but by a provocation within.

Instead of Amnesty Benevolent Revision.

While the German government was willing to grant amnesty to Kapp rebels immediately after the Kapp Putsch, it refused to do likewise to the victims of white justice after the March rising. In order to gain popularity and to somewhat allay the discontent of the working masses incensed by Menshevik treason, the Social Democrats introduced a motion that the sentences of the special court should be revised. This motion was supported by both Socialist parties, by Communists and by a small minority of the Centre Party headed by the State Chancellor, Wirth. This means a crafty sham concession to the workers for the execution of this measure will be entrusted to the same reactionary white courts.

Jewish Pogroms in the German Republic.

Jew baiting reaches its climax when it is a question of putting down the workers. This is proved by the news of unparalleled barbarism in the Starzurf concentration camp. A short while ago a fire occurred in one of the garages. The doors of the barracks were locked, and the prisoners wanted to escape from the conflagration by jumping out of the window. The whole property of these people, their clothing, money and documents were burnt. Several prisoners are suffering from severe burns. A sergeant declared that if another fire occurs the Jews will be allowed to burn. This refers to Jewish workers who in the course of the war were dragged from the Eastern zone of occupation to Germany. This was one in the interests of the war profiteers, who had to suffer for the sake of those parasites on the German nation. This is aptly expressed by the workers "You beat the Jew, when you mean to hit the worker".

Reconstruction Profiteer.

A new kind of parasite is added to the war and revolution-profiteers. Reconstruction profiteer in France M. Loucheur, in Germany Herr Rathenau were appointed Reconstruction Ministers. Both are industrial magnates who can rival Stinnes. It is certain therefore that the two brethren will not leave their relatives in the lurch. A socialist deputy gives interesting details of how the money squeezed out of the workers for reconstruction is being spent. 15 20 magnates are being favoured in a scandalous fashion, whereas the humble sufferer gets nothing. The industrial magnates who shamelessly drew profits out of the devastated regions, have had nine tenths of their claims settled, and their patron M. Loucheur regrets that no more can be given to big industry.

Herr Rathenau will surely not disappoint his supporters, and he will skin the German workers just as did his predecessors.

Orgesh Provocation.

It is reported from Munich that leaflets were being distributed containing an appeal to a general strike signed by the U. S. P. and U. K. P. D. The signatures were forged it is obvious that the Orgesh is thirsting for more workers blood in order to prove its indispensibility.

ITALY.

The "Little Entente".

Odessa, 13. Bucharest radio reports that according to Tuke Jonescu, who has just returned from Belgrade, a complete understanding between Rumania and Serbia has been reached which indicates that the foundations of the "Little Entente" have been laid.

In reply to a question regarding the "Little Entente", Benes declared that with the formation of the Little Entente, Checho-Slovakia has completed a political system equally beneficial to Rumania and Checho-Slovakia. The Little Entente will rise like one man in the event of a threat of war from Germany or Hungary. There remains only the question of the relations with Russia. Benes discounts the doubts with regard to a possible understanding with the Slavonic countries. He thinks that when the pact with Rumania is concluded the relations with Poland will become closer. In this connection Rumania is called upon to play a very important role.

Socialists Against Giolitii.

Higa, 14. According to information from Rome, the Socialist Party has unanimously decided to oppose the Giolitii Cabinet.

RUSSIA.

From all Corners of the Republic.

In Petropavlovsk (Siberia) a "Week" for combating illiteracy among the Khirgise is being carried out. Mass meetings are being held, lectures are delivered to the Khirgise population and discussions held among the Khirgise youth.

The railway workers and employees of Nikolayev, having heard the report on the 3rd Congress of the Comintern, have adopted a resolution greeting the British miners, and as an expression of solidarity, have resolved to work two hours overtime a day from the 7th to the 15th of June, and deliver the proceeds entirely to the benefit of the striking miners.

A Threatening Position.

Nauen, June 15. The situation in upper Silesia is considered very grave. After the English left Rosenberg, the Polish bands reassembled again.

Odessa, 13. "Novoe Slovo" reports that the Rumanian Polish negotiations which are taking place in Warsaw are proceeding favourably. A Trade Convention has already been drawn up, and that the Polish delegate will arrive shortly to sign it. The disputable questions as to division of territory are full of complications, and no agreement has been arrived at.

Rumanian Social Democratic Congress.

Odessa, 13. The Techernovitz paper "Das Folk" reports that a national congress of Rumanian Social Democratic will take place in Plueschta commencing on the 19th. June. The object of the Congress is to unite the Party.

Général Striké Spreading.

Berlin 13/6. The general strike of protest against the murder of Gareis is spreading from Munich to many Bavarian cities. A Nuremberg, Cabbage and other towns the trams, electricity, gas and waterworks have stopped. All the factories are at a standstill. In spite of all the precautions taken by the Munich police and the Bavarian government, meetings and demonstrations were held. The Socialist parties had a demonstration and the "Vorwärts" in a leading article cried: "Down with Kara".

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Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

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Rathenau's Debut.

Walter Rathenau, the new Minister of Reconstruction of the German profiteers' republic, made his initial appearance before the Reichstag on June 2nd. Walter Rathenau, director of the Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft (General Electric Company), is a very well-known personality in Germany. Even before the war, the A. E. G. was one of the mainstays of German expansionism, and the great majority of its shares are at present in American hands, an agreement having been arrived at between it and the American electricity trust dividing the world territory between the two concerns. Rathenau, who on Sunday afternoons spends his time fabricating ethic-aesthetic nonsense for ladies' journals, and later getting them published in complete volumes, was the organiser of the German raw material supply department during the war. He was probably privy to the colossal project, by which almost all the industrial enterprises in North France and Belgium were systematically wiped off the face of the earth under the pretext of mining iron, thus ridding German heavy industry, the probable sponsors of the project, of a competitor at a very small price. Rathenau therefore knows what he is talking about when he declares, in the German Reichstag, that France needs German aid, as it is a country that has suffered heavily through the war.

Nevertheless, in spite of this support promised them, German heavy industry circles are not at all satisfied with Rathenau, for he has repeatedly recommended and demanded, in theory, the establishment of a certain kind of state capitalistic system, to serve as a transition to Socialism. Rathenau was also a member of the first German socialisation commission, which expired so dishonourably, and collaborated with Hilferding and Kautsky in planning the painless transference of production to the state, while at the same time Ebert and Noske attempted to make the German proletarians forget their desire for socialisation, by a liberal use of machine guns and flame throwers. The German Hansa-bund, an association of merchants and industrialists, declared its lack of confidence in Rathenau on his appointment to the ministry of reconstruction, because of these past activities, expressing their absolute objection to any system of State compulsion in industry. The German bourgeoisie does not desire any experiments at a moment when it is arming itself, along the entire line, for a campaign against the German proletariat. And Walter Rathenau understands the situation. He repeats the great phrases of an idealist, but runs the errands of the capitalist class. In the German Reichstag he said: "I am firmly convinced that our economic life will alter in the course of a generation. This applies not only to us, but to all the countries of the world. But I would be acting too boldly were I to combine the general reform of economic life with the immediate tasks." The German organism is too weak that we should experiment with any vital changes. You cannot drill under fire, or change horses when crossing a stream.

Rathenau's remedy for the sick body politic of Germany is to rob it of its last remaining vital forces. The German proletariat will have to make good the damage done by profit hunting capital in Northern France by extra work.

Rathenau says that the debtor must honour his bills in order to keep up his dignity, but it is the German proletariat, who in the last resort will have to pay. Strikes and lockouts are reported from all over Germany. They are the result of lowered wages and increased hours.

Despite all this the German Mensheviks support the Reconstruction Cabinet. The Independent fraction in the Reichstag voted against the no confidence of the Communist, and voted for the first part of the confidence motion moved by the Government Parties.

They were compelled to do thus. The attitude of the Independents is the natural consequence of their foreign policy since the revolution. They preferred to submit to Entente Capital rather than

The Russian Proletariat and the Congress of the Third International.

To-day the Red City of the Soviet Socialist Republic is honouring its dear guests,—the representatives of the World Proletariat, organised under the Banner of Communism. The work of the Third Congress is about to commence. The eyes of the whole of the Russian Proletariat of our whole Communist Party and particularly of the Moscow workers, are turned in hope, and expectation, upon it. For three and a half years, under incredibly difficult conditions the Russian Proletariat has been struggling for that order which alone will secure labouring nation a peaceful and quiet life of work, without oppressors and exploiters. The Russian proletariat under incredible conditions of starvation, want and deprivation, the complete ruin of the economic life of the country has suffered so much from the armed attacks of violence from the enemies to the world labour movement,—to tear the power from the workers and hand it over again to the bourgeoisie and landowners. At the price of incredible sacrifice, and efforts, we have repulsed all these attempts and have conquered our foes in an open fight. To this fight we had to give our best forces, not to grudge any means, and our poverty and deprivations, because of it, naturally increased. Many were killed, many got tired and our food gave out. The bad harvest undermined our very life. Under such conditions we had to begin the construction of our economy, and our industry. We are badly equipped for this task as regards our strength and means we have no machines, a great lack of indispensable articles and products. In such a position, we must utilise all means and methods, at our disposal in this difficult transition period, so as to save and raise our great industry, agriculture and transport, to safeguard and strengthen economic basis of the World Revolution—Soviet Russia.

We have mobilised everybody for this purpose, we have decided to give all our forces for it. But in this, we more than in all else need the energetic, and active support of our comrades from abroad. Comrades, you can see for yourselves, that the Russian Proletariat, on whose shoulders was placed the incredibly difficult, and responsible task, almost beyond his strength is tired, exhausted, and famished. During the three and a half years he has performed wonders of bravery and self sacrifice, but he has exhausted himself in the continuous struggle in which he stood alone and abandoned.

We expect from the Third International Congress definite and workable slogans for the development of one stable battle line of action, along the whole front of the world revolution. We are convinced that the comrades will consider our serious situation, that they will close their ranks and will carry into their tactics that activity, as well as give us the confidence to continue our struggle and a guarantee that in united effort we will overcome all the attempts of the world counter-revolution, to crush us by hunger and ruin.

Objective conditions and indications convince us, that our hopes will be realised. The new groupings, which are taking place in the ranks of other parties which have joined the Third Communist International are indicative of a growing activity to draw the greater masses of people into the revolutionary movement. We are convinced that the Third Congress will strongly and conscientiously move along this road, and that it will offer to all its communist parties, complete strong forms of organisation and directives, which will lead the universal revolutionary movement in the proper channels, which will cause all the communistic movements to merge into one mighty torrent which will overthrow the old world.

Comrades, the Moscow organisation of the Russian Communist Party and the Moscow Proletariat extend their heartfelt greetings. The cause of the World's Revolution is in your hands. We have reached a serious historic moment in which we must say to you "Hasten comrades, do not be late, your help is urgent. We expect from you more activity. We are convinced that you will find the forms and means how to extend it to us more fruitfully."

Long live the Third Congress of the Communist International. Long live the World's Revolution.

Lander.

German Trade Unions.

The Problem of the German Trade Unions.

Fritz Klockner.

The German revolution induced a great mass of labourers to join the trade unions. The greater part of them became inactive and indifferent members, others were conscious revolutionaries. But these former revolutionaries have grown so "pink" in consequence of the counter-revolutionary tactics of the trade unions, that they no longer differ materially from the Kautskys, Dissmanns or Hues. How could it be otherwise? The paper of the transport workers wrote the following on April 26th last: "It is better for the workers to live under prosperous capitalistic conditions than to suffer the pangs of hunger in a socialist commonwealth." And the Transport Workers' Union is one of the most revolutionary German unions (The Editor?). What is the cause of this counter-revolutionary policy? In No. 10 of the "Communist Review", Richard Müller writes: The reason for the misfortunes in the trade unions is to be found in the vague tactics pursued by the U. S. P. D. and the K. P. D. during and after the revolution. The battle must be waged with the requisite clearness of principle. And what is the result of this struggle carried on with the requisite clearness of principle? The failure of the March revolt. At Halle we had a communist trade union federation. It might have been expected that all would be in favour of the revolt. But no. Another federation suddenly appeared, declared all the announcements invalid, and demanded the cessation of the action, as otherwise no strike funds would be distributed. And the great masses returned to the workshops. The policy of keeping the communists in the trade unions is untenable in the long run. No man can be a member of two Internationals one red and the other yellow, at the same time. No man can serve two masters, not even a communist.

A second logical fact is that a communist in the trade unions must sanction all the decisions, be they ever so inimical to communism, taken by the trade unions' bureaucrats, for he helps to pay these bureaucrats who make such decisions. Another question is this: can we not remove these parasites from their high places in the trade unions? This has been attempted at various times, but the communists soon found out how difficult it was swimming against the current, and they were soon forced to splash along in the stream. There are ten proofs to one of the truth hereof. The others who remained communist, were expelled from the trade unions and thus rendered harmless.

And what do the masses say to this? I have already remarked in the very beginning that the greater part of the masses are indifferent, and for these masses the word of Dissmann or Hue is gospel truth, in other words, infallible wisdom. In the face of such stupidity, even the gods are powerless, thus even Comrade Radek. What are we communists to do? The tenth thesis says: "we must support the unions affiliated to the red international". Can we support these unions better than by bringing them revolutionary members? In No. 10, of "Moscow", Comrade Radek says in an article: "J. A. U." were too weak to carry on greater actions. This evil could be remedied by the increase of Communists from the trade unions. Then the communists would be in possession of a favourable field of activity by making communists of the revolutionaries organised in the "J. A. U.", in so far as they are not yet communists. A little further Comrade Radek says: "Wherever, for example, the members of the J. A. U." have reason to fear that, in case of an action, they will be thrown out of employment, they are very cautious, and are afraid to take the lead, as a little isolated group, lest they lose their jobs." This is true of the communists in the trade unions as well. For they know just as well that the best stomach is of no use, unless it has something to digest. And they have had sufficient experience with the spirit of solidarity in the trade unions. They know very well that they will be in the same position as the starving man who tore up the grass in front of a magnificent villa and devoured it.

His trade union leader, oh no, the lady of the villa, seeing how greedily he devoured the grass, told him to go into the garden, where the grass grew more thickly.

These two arguments of Comrade Radek are therefore untenable. He attempted to get away from the question in a very simple way, by trying to make his opponents appear ridiculous; only he

should not have used such platitudes. Comrade Radek's conclusion is however acceptable: a detailed discussion of this matter will be one of the tasks of the Third Congress.

A Reply.

The objection of Com. Klockner to the Trade Union tactics of the Communist International do not in any way differ from arguments advanced on a thousand occasions by the supporters of the Workers' Union. Their power of conviction is not enhanced by repetition. The arguments of Com. Klockner can be summarised as follows:—the greater part of the workers is even to-day indifferent and will let the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy act as it will. Consequently, let the Trade Union bureaucracy exercise its influence in the unions and the indifferent masses and let us found unions consisting of reliable comrades or such workers, who, by their leaving the trade unions, proved that they have the intention of becoming such.

At Heidelberg, the Communist Party of Germany has already rejected this somewhat primitive and convenient conception of the Trade Union question, and the previous development failed to convince the German communists, that their trade union tactics were wrong.

On the contrary! The efforts of the Trade Union bureaucracy to secure the absolute sway over the indifferent masses by throwing the Communists out of the Trade Unions, must incite every revolutionary to take up in all earnest the struggle against the Trade Union bureaucracy and to wrest from it the leadership of these masses. For a communist who regards the realisation of the revolution as a problem of to-day, the voluntary forsaking of Trade Unions appears as the giving up of a strategic point. The overwhelming majority of German Communists will, in the future as in the past, work for the revolutionising of the working masses within the trade unions, instead of withdrawing to the dark corners of the labour unions.

With regard to statements of fact made by Comrade Klockner, I must add that he presents in an altogether false light the attitude of the Halle workers. For, in spite of the foundation of a Menshevik Trade Union Federation, it was precisely in Halle that the general strike was entirely successful and lasted for several days. The masses did not go back to their factories at the demand of the Mensheviks, but the strike subsided only after the struggle was nearly over in all other fighting areas and when the communists declared themselves in favour of the strike being terminated.

Moreover, the duty of the communists is not to run the errands of the "Mistress of the Villa", i. e. the Trade Union bureaucracy, but to throw this mistress out of the Villa.

Fritz Rück.

Program of Celebration of the Third Congress of the Comintern, 17th June.

At 12 o'clock there will be a parade on the Red Square of the Universal Training Corps and the Special Service Corps together with the participation of many delegations of the town districts.

The Peoples Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, Comrade Trotzky will relieve the parade.

The commander of the parade is Comrade Vaskanoff.

The parade will be opened by Comrade Trotzky, who will relieve the reports from the Commander of the parade, after which the meeting portion of the demonstration will commence.

Simultaneously with speeches from the central tribune, speeches will be delivered from five or six automobile tribunes in other parts of the square to detachments of troops and district processions.

The meeting will last for a quarter of an hour.

At the close of the meetings, the district processions, headed by the Special Service Corps will ceremoniously march past the Grand Tribune. These will be followed by the military detachments on the Red Square, and by other military forces and training corps.

The parade will end at 4 o'clock.

Representatives of every Trade Union Branch District Councils and other labour organisations will take part in the proceedings.

Testimonials will be presented to the heroes of labour by the Moscow Soviet and the Moscow Gubernia Council of Trade Unions.

After the proceedings their will be a concert of the best artistes of the Art Workers Union.

Women's Congress.

Report of Evening Session of June 13th.

The delegate from Bulgaria continued the discussion; she said that the question of methods and forms of the Woman's movement are not new to us. The theses worked out by the conference last year were accepted and carried out by us. Our small country with its small agrarian population of 4 million can present to this conference actual results of our work. Capitalism commenced to develop in our country 10-15 years ago and at the very start the women were drawn into industry. Out of 500,000 workers 40% are women. This is why the large masses of women joined the growing revolutionary movement. It reached however, a special stage of development in 1914. In that year auxiliary apparatus within the parties were formed for agitational work among women. The Central Committee formed a special Women's Central Commission and Women's Committee with the local committees, which numbered 162, all over the country. Great work is being done in the formation of circles among the peasantry. Every 6 months we have a Woman's Red Week. During the railway strike of 1919, the women participated most actively in the movement and served as a living connection between the comrades who were in prison and the Central Committee which was leading this great strike.

The speaker concluded her speech by expressing the wishes that the women's movement next year will have grown to such a stage as will demand the working out of a thesis for Soviet re-construction the world over.

The representative from Tchecho-Slovakia said: "All our work is being conducted on the principle established by the Third International Congress. At this conference we must correct the mistakes of last year. The women must get the right to vote, and this, not for feminist reasons, but because of the great educational value of such a right. Only when the woman will be involved in political work, shall we make a revolutionary fighter of her."

"We will be glad", concluded the speaker, "if next year we will not need a special woman's congress, but will have a general interparty communist congress."

The Armenian representative said: "The task of the Communist International is to mobilize the proletarian masses for a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But side by side with the proletariat there are other great masses of people, who suffer not less than the proletariat under the yoke of capitalism. These are the peoples of the East. They are also ripe for the revolution. They rising already for the storming of the capitalist stronghold. The whole nation participates in this struggle. This is a war for liberation of nations. The work of the women of the East must make it its object to draw in great masses of women into this war. Naturally work of such a character demands special methods. We must remember, that without successful work done in the East, we will not be able to establish the social revolution in the West. The women of the East must go hand in hand with the women of the West". The speaker proposed to all the representatives of Eastern countries at the conference to gather at a special conference to discuss methods and forms of work amongst the women of the East".

The delegate from Hungary said: "Before we discuss the theses and methods among women, permit me to describe the women's movement in Hungary, Hungary, at present has not any women's movement in the real sense of the word. The reign of White Terror for the last two years has rendered it impossible to create such a movement. However a certain interest in the movement is noticeable. Within the communist parties, which are illegal, there are special apparatus for work among women. These organisations are also illegal. It is necessary at this conference to work out for them a form of organisation. Of course it is impossible to build one international form of organisation for these illegal apparatus. The speaker therefore asked delegates of countries which have underground women organisations, assemble in order to work out methods for their work."

"Before the war, she continued, the movement was insignificant. During the communist revolution in Hungary women were not given responsible political

work. Now things have changed, for the bloody reaction equally affects the working women as it does the working men. Now the woman of Hungary is ripe for revolution".

Comrade Kudell, dwelt on methods for the rousing activity among woman workers. There is one sure way to this, viz. closely to observe the woman masses and know how to draw out their abilities. For this purpose special circles, literary, agitational and others, must be organised where the most able can display her abilities. Such a method of work has a great educational value. The speaker replied to comrade Collier who stated that in France the work among women is done by teachers. The working women must rely upon themselves and not upon the intelligencia. The intelligencia is revolutionary only as long as it is oppressed, but it will desert the proletariat on the day when the proletariat will take power. It is necessary to create a purely proletarian intelligencia. Comrade Kudell speaks of the formation of special organisational courses for the training of instructors for agitation in the country and in the provinces. The speaker concludes her speech by an exclamation: "Long live the communistic intelligencia which came from the ranks of the proletariat".

Comrade Smythe then spoke and said: "One cannot approach a British worker with a mere dry theory. The English worker is more class conscious and better trained for the understanding of his position and his problems, than we think. Although he lacks knowledge and theory and fundamentals of communism he learns by actual practice. All that takes place in Russia is understandable by the healthy mind of the English worker. Nothing is so rapidly approaching the social revolution in England, as the labour movement at the present time. The English workers are conducting a firm policy in the spirit of the Third International."

In the field of woman's work, very little has been done. The International Secretariat is partly to blame for this. We have not yet received the instructions, which were worked out at the First Women's Conference last year.

In England we have not any special apparatus for woman's work but the English delegation considers it necessary to have such apparatus.

In England the working women are mature for Communism. The work among them, however, should be carried not on the basis of theory, but by training on concrete activity. We should infuse in them the principles of self activity. In England the Party is weak, if judged by its membership. But if judged by its influence over the masses, it should be considered very strong. Thanks to the Communist Party the workers refused to load arms for the White Polish Army during the war with Soviet Russia. Much credit for this should be given to the women communists, who carried on a lively agitation at the dock for the purpose. The hour of the social revolution in England is undoubtedly approaching, and precisely because of this it is necessary to exert all efforts to ensure that the women do not become an impediment to that revolution. Attention should be paid to the growing generation. Care should be taken that the working mothers bring up their children conformable with, and attach them to the necessary Communist institutions. In England it is important to pay attention to the housewives, who are more susceptible to communist propaganda than the women in the trade unions. The speaker further objected to the thesis on parliamentarism, considering that the germ of parliamentarism would only undermine the revolutionary feeling of the masses and hinder them from undertaking direct methods of struggle. The speaker concluded by pointing out the importance of intensified work in the cooperative societies.

The delegate from Korea said: "On Kolontai's theses and in the discussion of them I heard nothing about the methods of work among the women of the Far East. Western Europe and to some extent, the Near East has been made the centre of activity, particularly of the women's movement. It does not need repeating that the basis of every social movement, including that of the women, is economic conditions. Economic conditions have forced the women of the Far East to leave the harems and go to work in the factory or on the plantation. I am in possession of

Japanese statistics from Korea. In 1920, where there was a population of 20 millions, there were 3,235,000 women workers working at the plantations, 128,000 working in the factories, 66,000 on transport; there are altogether four and a half million women wage workers. These figures speak convincingly of what Japanese Imperialism has accomplished. The same thing although in a milder form, is obtained in China. Further, women have only merely broken with the harem, they have become revolutionized to no less degree than the men. At the beginning the women's movement bore a feminist character like the movement in America, whence it was borrowed. But the economic conditions have done their work. The famine in 1919 deprived a huge part of the small proprietors of their plots of land, and consequently still more the army of the women proletarians. In Japan, moreover, there is at present an acute over production, as a result of which unemployment among women has grown enormously. Traffic in women has developed to an incredible extent. Societies have even been formed to engage in that traffic. As a result of all this, the women in Korea have become active revolutionaries; the more progressive part of them, even armed themselves and went into the ranks of the insurgent forces. In Korea, there are quite a number of revolutionary women's organisations, (Society of Patriotic Women, Society of the Red Cross, League of the Red Death and others) which are of a terrorist nature, and whose leaders have now been in jail for two or three years, 597 members of these detachments are now incarcerated in the jails of Korea. All these organisations bear the character of a movement for national liberation, directed against Japanese Imperialism, and this is what we have to reckon with in drawing up the methods of work among the women of the Far East. Swayed precisely by these considerations the Delegation of the Far East proposes two supplements to the theses:

- 1) In relation to the movement for national liberation, and;
- 2) in relation to the revolutionary intelligencia.

Kolontai then spoke, she said: "The Austrian delegate was perfectly right when she pointed out that we have combined under one principle, diverse conditions of work such as exist in Soviet Russia and in capitalist countries. This diversity of methods is necessitated by the diversity of political conditions. While here, in Soviet Russia, our chief care is construction, in capitalist countries it is destruction, which according alters the methods of work. The capitalist countries are now living through, not a preparatory period of the dictatorship of the proletariat generally, but are on the threshold of the social revolution. This should be taken for a guiding factor in the appreciation of every practical demand. Comrade Zetkin, — and many others too have spoken here about the work among the intellectual women. I generally, have no objection to this work, particularly on consideration of the role which the intellectual women occupy in the bourgeois economic machine, and which renders them extremely valuable for the proletariat at the moment of the transfer of power into the latter's hands. It is necessary, however, to introduce full clarity on the point as to who is to serve as the fundamental nucleus, the foundation of all our activity. Neither the peasant woman, nor the intellectual women, nor the housewives are that. The foundation of all our work should be and can only be the woman worker, the wage labourer. It is necessary to have a well crystallised communist nucleus, organically strong and welded by an iron party discipline concentrating withing itself the will of the revolutionary Proletariat. Only if we possess such a nucleus shall we be able, at the necessary and decisive moment, to secure the backing of the broad masses, only on that condition shall we be guaranteed against fatal vacillation and irresolution at the critical moment."

Our Oriental comrades called attention to the fact that the intrinsic value of our conference is not at all in that it has advanced or established any new methods of work they have remained as before, but precisely in the fact that this Conference was the first in History to set up in all its magnitude the question of the working women in the East. Our Eastern comrades would like to see in our resolutions exhaustive instructions for carrying on the work among the women of the East, whereas we are at present only able to mark out here the main road,

On the Eve of the Congress.

It was anticipated that from 800-1000 delegates would arrive to the Third Congress of the Comintern. Up till now over 650 have arrived in Moscow. Certain groups of delegates are still en route, and there is every reason to suppose that the number of delegates will reach the earlier estimation. Part of the delegates to the Congress of the Red Trade Union International have also arrived.

One can judge of the degree of representation at the Third Congress by the fact that such large Communist Parties as the German, French, Italian, Tchecho-Slovakian will each be represented by as many as 20 delegates. From the delegates that have arrived we already have all the large West European Parties represented nearly fully. The Congress will be opened within the next few days. The delegates are already taking a active part in the work of preparing for the Congress. The Executive of the Comintern is now meeting daily, in extended representative form, — the supplementary representations being obtained from among the delegates. These Meetings deal preliminarily with questions pending solution by the Congress. The Executive has, conjointly with the delegates, formed a number of special commissions to carry out a preliminary examination of a number of questions brought before the Congress.

Before the opening of the Congress, a holiday in honour of the Third Congress of the Communist International will be held on June 17th. The holiday celebrations will start at 11 o'clock in the morning by the organisation of meetings with the participation of the delegates at the Red Square of Revolution and Sverdlov Square. After the meetings, a parade by the Moscow garrison and the workingmen will be held at the Red Square. Com. Trotzky, at the head of the delegation will receive the parade.

The Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party, conjointly with the Trade Unions is organising for 6 o'clock a procession of labour heroes with the participation of the delegates at ten points in Moscow, chiefly in the factory districts.

The formal opening of the Congress will take place a few days later in the Grand Theatre, and the business Sessions of the Congress will be held in the Kremlin.

Tickets to the opening at the Grand Theatre have already been distributed among the Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Owing to the lack of seats and also to the necessity of accomodating the foreign guests who have arrived together with the delegates, it has been decided not to issue many tickets for visitors to the business meetings in the Kremlin. The Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions will be given 100 visitors' tickets.

The Sessions of the Congress will take place in the same Hall in the Kremlin where last year's Congress was held. In view of the bad acoustics of this Hall, a special adaptation, consisting of a resonator has been instituted there, which has greatly improved the acoustics.

In view of the fact that the various delegations, being so large will wish to hold private sectional consultations, during the Congress, and, also in view of the necessity of holding parallel meetings of the commissions on the premises during the Congress, special apartments have been set aside for the meetings and work of these Commissions and groups of delegates.

and leave to the Eastern comrades themselves to suggest the details for our methods. Our methods, established last year have proved correct. This is attested to by our Conference and our debates which have revealed that many countries, not knowing of the resolutions adopted, have independently approached them and employed them during all their work. Our Conference has merely broadened, vitalised and complemented them, as is proved by the number of amendments made by comrades of various countries. It speaks most strikingly of the fact that however modest the work of our Conference has been, it signifies a step forward on the road to establishing the Soviet Government in all the countries of the world.

End of the Evening Session.

Communist Demonstrations.

Police brutality.

Sunday, May 29th. Yesterday the Communist Party, the Trade Union Federation of the Seine and the A. R. A. G. made a demonstration at the Pere Lachaise Cemetery before the wall of the confederates. A big crowd took part in the demonstration.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party was standing at the foot of the wall, while the sections passed by with unfurled banners, lead by the fighting leaders and followed by the C. S. R. R. A. C. The procession was taking place without incidents, quietly and orderly until an anarchist group which was marching by provoked a slight demonstration.

Soon after the anarchists came out, citizen Lafout was informed that certain incidents took place at the Place Gambetta. A Catholic crowd having met anarchists and communists emerging from the Pere Lachaise, disorders occurred. The gentlemen of the police gave vent to their feelings and did "fine work".

Ernest Lafout wanted to go to Rue de Cour des Nonnes. He met a detachment of police which were running towards Place Gambetta. He wanted to use arguments. "Who are you" demanded the agent N° 253 of the 20th Arrondissement. "Ernest Lafout, Deputy", was the answer. Thereupon the policeman without saying a word dealt him a powerful blow with his truncheon.

Lafout stunned by the blow and having lost his glasses went towards Place Gambetta. He went to Guichard in order to demand explanations. And at the very moment when he was speaking to the Director of Municipal Police, a terrible blow was dealt at his head from behind. he was conveyed to a chemist's. Blood was freely running. Although he was rather seriously wounded in the head, his state does not cause any anxiety.

In the evening M. Lacomblez, Examining Magistrate called on Lafout in order to hear all the circumstances under which the outrage on Lafout was perpetrated. But owing to the state of his health, the latter was unable to receive him.

Arrests.

While these incidents were taking place, the police and the Republican Guards which were concentrated in the courtyard of the Mairie, Place Gambetta, suddenly went out and made several charges with their usual brutality at the peaceful crowd, which was slowly passing. Several arrests were made. After the incidents, Lacomblez, Examining Magistrate went to the police Commissariat of Pere Lachaise to interrogate the arrested demonstrators. Eight of them were remanded and two were provisionally released.

To-day, they will be brought for trial seditions ejaculations and violence to the police.

Searches.

As we have already announced, numerous searches were decided upon Sunday night as the result of a conference held between the Public Prosecutor and some high officials of the police prefecture.

At an early hour some fifty police commissaries of Paris and the suburbs called on militant communists.

The police ransacked the drawers, emptied the dossiers and took away papers and documents. No arrests have been made.

What was the Government's object in instituting these searches?

At the Court of Justice it is stated that they are conducted in connection with the prosecution of Vandeputter the publisher of a "Humanité" on May the 12th a notice of the Young Communists' Section and of the A. R. A. C. Section of the 19 Arrondissement: "Mobilisation is war, down with mobilisation!"

Police called on the leading members of the Communist Party, among others on L. O. Frossard, the General Secretary of "l'Humanité", Georges Ploch Secretary of the Seine Federation, Tommasi and Vadecart, Secretaries of the Trade Union Federation of the Seine, Lorient, Bouvarine, Victor Merie, and Cartier of the Executive Committee, Bernard Lachache, Editor of "l'Humanité"; Noel, Ribart and Tournay of the A. R. A. C., Pegy and Williams of the Young Communists.

Henry Torres and Antonia Cohen both advocates of the Court were also visited in the morning by the police commissaries, followed by representatives of the Council of Order. The offices of the Party, of the Young Communists of the Seine and of the A. R. A. C. have also been searched.

The Ripening of the Revolution in the United States.

James A Marshall.

The originators of the world war, the dominant class in all the belligerent countries, assign to the war the role of bursting the fetters of national exploitation, and by establishing a world dominion to abolish the objectionable competition in the field of international competition.

In reality the world war let loose the Social Revolution, and released every where the forces of proletarian upheaval. Capitalism everywhere is facing bankruptcy. It is incapable of solving the social problems which itself has created, and which have become more acute as a result of the war. The working class is every where agitating to seize its patrimony and to cut the gordian knot by proletarian revolution.

Every where—and yet, not every where! The United States seem to form an exception to all the large capitalist countries.

But, this is more apparent than real. Even this colossus of American capitalism stands on the clay feet of a thoroughly disorganised capitalist world economy, and is built upon the slumbering volcano of a discontented working class. The war filled the pockets of the rich and gave the American capitalists the welcome opportunity of drawing wealth out of the misery of the European nations. And yet, though it appears to be brimming with health and full of arrogance, American capitalism is incapable of effecting the return of industries to pre-war conditions without disturbances.

The bankruptcy of the capitalist countries of Europe presses down on it like a heavy load and poisons its very existence. The giant is at a loss how to face the present crisis. Violence seems to him the only remedy for the growing unrest of the working class. But this violence in accordance with the unavoidable laws of nature generates a power that will destroy it in the end.

The present crisis is extensive and terrible. Millions of workers are out of work. The figure is supposed to be 6-7 millions. At any rate no less than four. These four million unemployed form the Army of Reserve with which the American capital reckons to cut off the citadels of the workers' economic organisations. Trade Unions must be destroyed, the Workers must be delivered to the tender mercy of capitalist exploitation.

But even the employed workers themselves swell the ranks of the disaffected. The decreased wages do not in any way correspond to the exorbitant prices of the necessaries of life. The implacable pressure of the economic conditions is now welding the workers together, though only yesterday their organisations were destroyed. If hungry when employed, they will be less afraid of starving when on strike. Fights break out sporadically and even if the jobs of the strikers are snatched by blacklegs recruited from the army of the unemployed, these latter will be forced to strike and fight tomorrow or the day after.

Strikes increase in size and volume. They precipitate the crisis, by throwing the capitalist economy out of gear. Capitalism in spite of all its sham power, is aware that it is on its last legs. But this sham

The "Populaire" of May 31st, from which we take this news, adds: "Here we witness police and the bench let loose on the communists.

The privacy of homes has been violated, a real pillage took place, and the Republic, which allows its professed enemies to hatch their plots, persecutes republicans, because they are communists. This reflection only serves to emphasize the odiousness of yesterday's actions, which went as far as to violate the dossiers of the advocates.

We emphatically protest against such actions and draw to them the attention of all citizens who have any regard for liberty.

When will all the republicans agree not to allow their common fatherland to go to the dogs?

The "Journal du Peuple" writes: "The excellent Aristide is apparently jealous of the laurels of Millerand and he is now making searches at our communist comrades. Should we wax indignant? Such actions, such attempts on liberty certainly call for vigorous protests. But above all they are childish and as such perhaps they only deserve a shrugging of shoulders".

power is being exercised with absolute ruthlessness. To the scourge of hunger are added machine guns, hand grenades, police truncheons and prisons.

These tactics instead of bringing the workers to their knees only teach them to adopt new fighting methods. The interference of the State does not solve the problem which had driven the workers in the fray. It only assumed a different form. And, just as formerly, the worker was seeking to solve it in the old form of strikes, backed by the economic fighting methods, so is he now seeking its solution in the new form of political fighting, and in the final revolutionary struggle. There is no other way out for the working class. Its vital interests force it to fight the employers and since the capitalist State uses its power only to help the employers, the working class will finally be compelled, — also in defence of its vital interests, — to fight the capitalist state.

This development in the American class struggle is not so manifest and rapid that it would be nothing short of unpardonable pessimism to strike off the United States in considering the possibilities of the world revolution. Hardly 400 years have elapsed since the territory now comprising the United States entered the ranks of those states, which were on the path of capitalist progress. This country has covered this period with seven league strides and has left behind most of its older competitors, though they were a thousand years older. This country will not lag behind in the revolutionary development either. It will destroy Capitalism more thoroughly and rapidly, it will, after a sharp but decisive revolutionary struggle in the not far distant future, pave the way to communist development, will leave behind its elder revolutionary brethren thanks to its economic ripeness, and, instead of being the bogey of the world revolution, will become its ministering angel.

Brandler's Trial for High Treason.

The following are quotations from the reports of Brandler's trial, which have been received up till now.

The trial of Comrade Brandler started on June 6th before the Extraordinary Court of the 1st District of Berlin. The accused was defended by two advocates Dr. Wineberg and Dr. Gereis. Brandler was accused of having attempted a revolution by spreading pamphlets and by inciting to deeds of violence. Appeals and articles published by the "Rote Fahne" during the March rising was used as evidence.

Before the beginning of the trial a little interlude took place in the shape of a wrangle over the nationality of Comrade Brandler, who as is known was born in Bohemia. However it was held that since the beginning of the revolution Brandler was Under secretary of State in Bavaria and therefore had acquired German nationality.

Comrade Brandler declared that he assumed responsibility for everything, but that he declined to supply any information which might incriminate others. The following are the reasons which actuated the Central Committee of the U. K. P. D. to decide on the March rising:

1. The danger of an armed collision in Upper Silesia, which was threatened by an accumulation of troops and armaments on the Upper Silesian frontier. Also by the simultaneous declaration by Rahr in the Bavarian Landtag, that the demand of the government with regard to the disarmament of the Orgesh gangs will be resisted.

2. The sanctions of the Entente.

3. The measures taken by Horsing who wished to put down the workers in order to be able to increase armaments. Comr. Brandler categorically denied that the March uprising was anything resembling high treason it was only a question of securing the eight points which after the Kapp Putsch the government promised to the three Socialist parties and the Trade Unions, but which were never fulfilled.

The president cited a few passages from the program of the Communist International on the violent overthrow of the governments and the annihilation of the bourgeois system. Brandler answered that these tendencies serve only as a theoretical basis for the great political problem, but that the March action was not based upon

Notice to Delegates.

We beg to remind the delegates of the various countries of the arrangement by which the editor of "Moscow" was to receive a short article concerning the Communist movement in each country. It is requested that the manuscripts be sent in as soon as possible.

Parade of Moscow Garrison.

A parade of the troops of the Moscow garrison will take place in honour of the III Congress of the Communist International to day in the Red Square.

Notice

To All Delegates of the Third Communist International

Delegates are requested to send one delegate to the "Luxe" Hotel, room 2 for purpose of making arrangements for each delegation to take part in a Demonstration in Memory of the Comrades Who Fell in Defending the Revolution and also for making arrangements for placing wreaths on the graves of the Comrades in the Red Square on Friday at 8 p. m.

The Delegates from
England, America, Mexico,
Australia, South Africa, Canada

The United Session for the Delegates of the Printing Trades and the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Workers of the Printing Trades

will be held on
Saturday June 18th at 3 p. m
instead of Friday
at the CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
12 Rozdestvensky Boulevard

All the Delegates of the Printing Trade Unions are requested to be present.

Notice to French Delegates

Comrades are requested to forward all communications which may be of interest to the French delegate, to
Boris Souvarine
Secretary of the Communist Delegation
or Tommasi,
Secretary of the Trade Union Delegation,
both at Hotel Luxe, Room 14.

Continued from page 2, col. 1.

make an alliance with Soviet Russia. Now they are supporting the slave drivers who are presenting their bill.

During the next few months the German proletariat will feel the double scourge of hunger and poverty. It will realise what Reconstruction and restoration means under capitalism, and then it will "drill under fire". The transformation of the world, which for Rathenau is only a phrase, and a subject for a feuilleton appears to the German proletariat as a practical task which it called upon to fulfill.

Fritz Rühl.

them. The Reconstruction Minister of the Saxon Republic and two factory proprietors were called as witnesses. Fehlich of the Saxon Reconstruction Minister declared that he always knew Brandler as an intelligent, reasonable man who never in the whole course of his political activity incited any one to acts of violence.