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Rose Witcop

Editor of "The Spur" on

Women in England.

It is impossible to deal with woman's social and economic position in England at the present day without turning back to the period preceeding the war — the days of woman's struggle for the vote.

That movement was largely middle class and composed of professional and business women who needed other channels of self-expression, than had hitherto been open to them.

Their fight was not so much for liberty as for their recognition of woman's equality in law with man. It did not mean that woman demanded absolute freedom from the bonds of wage slavery, but that she had arrived at a certain stage of development in which she required to be recognised as man's social equal either as worker or exploiter.

This truth was established by the fact that at the outbreak of war the leaders of the suffrage movement laid aside their hammers, their banners and their opposition toward their own rulers, and became impassioned by one desire of defending their country.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who, in the year 1913 was prevented by the police from holding a meeting at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, in favour of the vote, spoke from the same platform a year later, to an enthusiastic audience, in favour of recruiting. This time, after having received a royal welcome from the Mayor of the City! It was, of course, a part of our work as Communists to criticise this movement: to point out that if women would be free they must organise industrially and change their mental outlook and economic conditions. These things being of greater value than all statute equality.

We have far to go yet in England before we attain that level of mental and economic freedom of our Russian sisters, whose strength and ability will have proven an inspiration to many in the struggle for liberty. For, in no other country on earth does women occupy the position she does in Russia.

The position of the English working-women is harder to define. The war has at least disposed of the argument that she is "inferior" to man. Without previous experience she has worked so well and so thoroughly in all the industries that had formerly been exclusively man's own that her severest critics were compelled to silence. To day, she is again being forced back into her pre-war occupations, because the men returned from the war claim their work back. There is little resistance to this claim, but there is resentment. After having once tasted the sweets of independence it will be impossible to confine women within the narrow precincts of home life or domestic service again. So that, although there is not at present a strongly organised party-body to organise working-women in England, there is visibly, a distinct change in woman's psychology and strong tendency in the direction of advanced thought, and new activities.

Economically, woman are slightly better paid to day, than in the days before the war. The discrepancy between the wages of men and women are not obvious although there is still a difference in most occupations in favour of man.

The position of the married working-woman is not an enviable one in England. Since the introduction of the Insurance Act women are entitled to receive a sum of thirty shillings for every child, that is born to her. If she is also engaged in some work outside the home she will receive weekly an additional sum amounting to about a fourth part of her usual weekly earnings, as sick benefit. It is well to point out in this connection that the physician's fee alone in cases where women are able to afford one, amounts to three pounds (sixty shillings).

No special attention is paid to the pregnant woman, who is often compelled to work up to the very last moment before childbirth and resume work as soon as she is able to walk.

Continued page 4 col 4.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Miners' Strike.

London, June 1. The „Daily Herald“ states that it seems certain that the reports from the districts on Lloyd-George's last proposal will show an overwhelming declaration against it. A rejection of the proposal has already been advised by the Scottish, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Notts Councils. Yesterday Hodges made a new statement, in the course of which he said: „The gap which divides the parties could be considerably narrowed, if the owners were now prepared to submit their proposals for a higher standard wage that which they have already proposed, namely the actual wage of June 1914. The workmen are proposing a standard which is in the neighbourhood of 80 percent above the June 1914 wages. It will be seen therefore that if there is a will on both sides, the parties themselves have plenty of room to find common ground“. All papers believe that this statement makes an agreement more possible than before.

SILESIA.

The situation in Upper Silesia

Nauen, June 3. (Wireless). Harmsworth declared in the House of Commons that the number of Polish insurgents in Upper Silesia amounted to nearly 100,000 men and that the German self-defence organizations under general Hoefler numbered but 30,000 men. He hoped that six British battalions were enough to re-establish the authority of the inter. Allied commission. General Hennicker, in command of the British commissioner Sir Harold Stuart, is expected to arrive there on Saturday. The British advance has stopped for the time being. New Polish attacks are reported from Kattowitz.

The Franco-British Relations to Upper Silesia.

London, June 1. To-day's papers confirm yesterday's news about the last French note on Upper Silesia to the effect, that the French after agreeing to the British point of view about the necessity of sending a commission of experts to Silesia, cannot accept the British proposals for a preliminary meeting of the Supreme Council. The „Daily Telegraph“ Paris correspondent regards this note as clearly marking France's disinclination to discuss the Silesian question at the present moment. The same paper's diplomatic correspondent says that the postponement of the conference is generally regretted in London and that the proposal to appoint a commission of experts without previously defining its scope, is regarded highly dangerous. The „Times“ announces that the French hold the view that the conference cannot be convoked earlier than June 20th, but that, if the British government continues to insist on the necessity of a preliminary session, France will give way. The „Morning Post“ believes that the members of the commission of Silesia will be nominated at the next sitting of the ambassadors' conference on June 4th.

FRANCE.

Communists Maltreated.

Torres, the counsellor for defence of the members of the Young Communist League who were imprisoned on the charge of anti-militarist propaganda, has petitioned the Minister of Justice, Bonnevey, for a transfer of the prisoners to a political treatment. The Minister has refused to cancel the measures of constraint applied to the young Communists for their having protested against the bad food and sung the „Internationale“ in prison.

As a sign of protest against the application to them of a criminal regime they have declared a hunger strike. Their comrades incarcerated in gaol at Santè have likewise declared a hunger strike as a sign of protest.

GERMANY.

New Policy of the German Government.

Hanover, June 3. (Wireless from the Berlin correspondent of the „Philadelphia Public Ledger“ Conger). An indication of a new policy of the German Government under socialist pressure, is seen in Chancellor Wirth's announcement that high treason proceedings would be instituted against the ex-officer Nissell, who at the anniversary celebration of the battle of Jutland proposed that the „Orgesh bands from Southern Germany and from elsewhere, who had rushed to help the Germans of Upper Silesia to expel the Poles, should, after completing work there, stage a new Kapp putsch in Berlin in order to re-establish the monarchy. Nissell, who also boasted about his participation in the burning of French battle-flags to prevent their being returned to France in accordance with the peace treaty, and who was vociferously applauded by an audience of ex-officers, is one of the few individuals who do not experience any discomfort for preaching monarchical revolt. None of the leaders of the Kapp putsch have been as yet punished. Two or three indictments, which are outstanding for this military revolt are not being pressed. The socialists also introduced a resolution, asking for an amnesty for certain cases for the participation in the communist insurrection in March. They argue that since the amnesty was extended to all, except to two or three chief ringleaders of this reactionary conspiracy, it is only just to let off minor offenders in the March uprising, many of whom were condemned for such offences as the distributing of communist handbills or of copies of communist newspapers. The authorities at Brunswick have broken up an organization, which was secretly raising volunteers, ostensibly for Upper Silesia, contrary to president Ebert's proclamation, and have jailed the ex-officer who was at its head. He had participated in the Kapp movement and is supposed to have raised volunteers quite as much against the Poles.

Expected New Elections for the German Reichstag.

Hanover, June 3. (Associated Press). The „Börsen Zeitung“, organ of the industrialist wing of the democratic party, believes that new Reichstag elections are inevitable as a result of the restricted parliamentary basis, on which Wirth and his cabinet are now operating. The Reichstag to-day continued the debate on the chancellor's program speech. The voting which, as it is expected, will approve Wirth's program will take place on Saturday.

The persecution of Comrade Brendler.

On June eighth Comrade Brendler, President of the V. K. P. D., will be tried before the Berlin Special Court. Comrade Brendler was arrested by Ebert State Attorney and accused of having been the spiritual leader of the March uprising of the German proletariat.

He is accused of high treason. The special courts established by Ebert, have been famed up to now for a brutality extraordinary even in Germany, and they impose very severe sentences.

Conditions of transport in Germany.

Nauen, June 3. (Wireless). According to official figures of the German ministry of transport half the number of trains that ran in 1913-1914 are running now.

Communists Raided.

The Police have raided the apartments of Froissard, Pioche, Lorient, Souvarine, Meric, Kogan and a few Communist journalists.

RUSSIA.

On page 3. will be found the note sent by Tchicherine to Lord Curzon, Briand and Count Sforza on the Situation in the Far East.

Ambassadors for Soviet Russia.

The Warsaw papers state that the Council of Ministers decided on June 1st to form two Polish Embassies in Soviet Russia: in Moscow and Kharkov. The Ambassador for Moscow will be Darovsky, and that for Kharkov, Koliakovski. The appointment of a Minister for Foreign Affairs has not yet been made.

POLAND.

Negotiations With Lithuanian Broken.

The Poles have severed the Brussels negotiations. The Litvians had already replied to Haymans note agreeing to his proposal, recognising as it does the independence of Litvia and her claims on Vilna. They even consented to conclude certain compacts with Poland, categorically refusing, however, to enter into a federation with her. The Poles declared their readiness to conclude an agreement with Lithuania, if the latter will disclaim all pretensions to Vilna.

Polish Horse Marines.

Nauen, June 3. (Wireless). The deficit in the Polish budget for 1921, amounting to 96 billions of marks, might be explained partly by the following: Six thousand officers receive pay in Warsaw, without doing anything at all. Furthermore, the Polish navy, consisting of two gunboats and a few other smaller vessels, with a crew of about 2,000 sailors, is commanded by five admirals and 246 naval officers.

A Strike of Swedish Seamen and Stokers.

Karlsbourg, June 3. (Wireless). The Swedish seamen's Union and the firemen's union have declared a strike. The previous agreement between the ship-owners and the seamen's and firemen's union expired on June 1st, and the ship-owners now demand a reduction of wages of thirty percent, while the crews are insisting on the „status quo“. The ship owners having refused this, the strike was declared for June 10th, inasmuch as the agreement requires one week's notice. It is hoped that an agreement will be reached.

White Terror Continues in Hungary.

The White Terror in Hungary is still continuing. Dead bodies are discovered every day in the river Danube. Arrests are being made uninterruptedly. Three weeks ago sixteen youths, between the ages of 16 and 18 years were arrested for communist propaganda. The fate of those arrested is horrible. They are not allowed to see their friends and relatives and are subjected to torture, which not infrequently terminates in death, and their bodies are then thrown into the Danube.

Continued Unrest in Cairo.

The population of Cairo are strongly impressed by the alarming news from Alexandria. The workers of the arsenal and the railways have come out on strike. A kind of martial law has been established. The troops have received orders to shoot without warning. A petition containing fifteen hundred signatures of people living in the province of Afjut has been handed to Zaglul-Pasha, bearing an expression of confidence in the latter.

In order to help the English miners the Executive of the All-Russian Miners Union has proclaimed by wireless to the miners of the R. S. F. S. an All-Russian Mine Workers' „Voskresnik“. All the output on that Sunday will be sent to the English strikers on strike.

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A foreigner in Soviet Russia at present will no doubt remark of the lively trade being carried on in Moscow and other Russian cities. This appears to be in contradiction with the economic system of Communism. We must first of all, point out however, that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not yet the era of Communism. In this period of transition, therefore, trade within certain limits is justifiable.

But is it a fact that a year ago, for example, trade activity in Russia was much slier than it is today. This is a consequence of the change in the economic policy of Soviet Russia, which was initiated by the abolition of the government monopoly of all agricultural products and the levy of a tax in kind. The basic idea of the monopoly system was that the agricultural population was obliged to surrender to the state its entire surplus of foodstuffs, after deducting the portion required for the feeding of the members of the family and for carrying on the establishment, in return for which the proletarian State was to place at the disposal of the peasants all the products of industry they required. Under that system there could be no legal trade, as all the surplus food, according to the law, belonged to the State. Under the system of the present tax in kind, on the contrary, the peasant can freely dispose of all his products, after he has paid his tax in kind. The peasant is thus enabled to exchange the surplus of his products for articles of the non nationalised small industry.

It will of course occur to everybody to ask the question: why did not Soviet Russia take this course from the very beginning, why was the system of State monopoly introduced at all? The answer to this question is very simple: as long as Russia was obliged to carry on war, the government was compelled to lay claim to everything the population possessed, in order to be able to feed the army and the indigent population of the cities. The State monopoly of all the products of peasant agriculture was a necessity of war that became untenable as soon as the war ceased.

It was untenable for various reasons. First, because it was possible while the war lasted and the defence of Soviet Russia against its external foes was being conducted, to make the hundred million peasants understand why they had to surrender their surplus to the State. And the peasants for the greater part yielded to this necessity voluntarily, because the struggle against the foreign enemy meant not only the protection of the Soviet power, of the proletarian dictatorship, but at the same time the protection of the property of the soil gained by the peasants during and by the revolution.

The peasants knew full well that if either Denikin or Wrangel or Koltchak succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Soviet government, it would signify the return of the great landowners and the reversion to the latter of the land taken by the peasants. Because they were aware of this fact, the peasants were prepared to accept the system of State monopoly. The same trend of thought that kept millions of peasants in the Red Army as fighters for the proletarian power, which they otherwise did not entirely favour, made the system of State monopoly for them, if not entirely agreeable, at any rate tolerable.

On the cessation of the defensive war, this system had to be given up. It had all the more to be abandoned, as the injurious economic consequences of the system were undeniable. For it was a contradiction, that one hand the peasant was the de facto private owner of his land and his other means of production, and on the other hand, under the system of monopoly, was only permitted to keep a part of the proceeds of his labour, whether great or small, for the sustenance of his family. There was consequently no stimulus for the peasant private owner to produce very much. That was the reason why the cultivated area since 1916 constantly diminished (the grain monopoly was already then introduced by the Tsaristic government.) This dim-

International Trade Union Movement and the Tasks of the Russian Trade Unions at the International Conference.

(Resolutions adopted by the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions.)

May 23, 1921, on report of Comrade Lozovsky.

1. When the world war broke out, the international trade union movement had entered upon the stage of moral decay and disintegration in point of organisation. The different currents within the trade union movement (revolutionary-syndicalistic, social democratic, and trade unionistic) which existed before the war had actually disappeared. With few exceptions the trade union movement in all countries ceased to be a class movement and assumed a national-imperialistic character.

2. The militaristic anti-class policy of the labor unions of the belligerent countries caused the break up of all international ties which existed until then, such as the International Secretariat, which was headed by Legien, and likewise of all separate international union organisations (textile workers, metal workers etc.) which, according to the country they were located in, divided into supporters of the Allied Powers and supporters of the Central Empires.

3. The suffering caused by the war, the accentuation of class contrasts, the insecurity, the uncertainty as to the next day, the increase of unemployment and the deep disappointment as to the results of war-all acted as a mighty impulse for the rush of the masses into the trade unions. The war had stirred new layers of workers, it alarmed them, destroyed their trust in their own individual power and caused the most backward worker to stop and think about the causes and consequences of the calamity precipitated upon mankind. Therefore there awakened with new force within the working masses of all countries torn by the war into national parts, what was suppressed by the years of war, — the feeling of international solidarity and the desire to re-establish international ties, the necessity for which is instinctively felt even by the most backward layers of the working class.

4. Hence, the efforts of the discredited leaders of the trade union movement to take upon themselves the initiative of rebuilding the international and to place themselves at the head of this movement in order, so much more effectively to decapitate it.

After attempting to establish a trade union international of the Entente Powers (Leeds, 1916), the leaders of the trade union movement in the Allied Countries proceeded, immediately upon the termination of the world war, to the "re-establishment" of international ties by participation in the working out of additional clauses to the treaty of Versailles, and thus complete, on an international scale, the traitorous work which they were formerly doing within their bourgeois Fatherland.

5. The victory of "democracy" in the international slaughter was manifested by the creation of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, which is the highest attainment of the idea of peaceful evolution and of co-operation of classes. This Bureau, consisting of six labor le-

aders, six capitalists, and twelve representatives of bourgeois governments, has for its aim not only the study of the social conflict, but to lead this struggle into channels of peaceful development and amicable settlement of conflicts between capital and labor.

6. At Berne, (February 1919) and at Amsterdam (July 1919) a Trade Union International was formally reestablished which is the continuation of the nationalist policy on an international scale. The new international commenced its activity by endorsing the International Labor Bureau, and consecrated the co-operation of its leaders with world-imperialism. Its program is peaceful development, co-operation of classes, gradual growing into Socialism and mortal terror and hatred for revolutionary mass movements.

7. Such international betrayal on the part of those who during the course of many years were betraying the workers of their countries, was quite natural and logical, but it ran counter to the deep interests of the proletariat which had been bled white. And we see how simultaneously with the creation of this international bulwark of the capitalist class there is growing and spreading in all countries a protest against the militarist-imperialistic policy.

8. This protest, accentuated by the growing social struggle, in the beginning had no international organized centre of its own. Such a centre was created on the initiative of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions in July 1920, in the shape of the International Council of Trade Unions. The appearance of this centre of the revolutionary labor union movement is the starting point of a bitter struggle within the world trade union movement under the motto, "Moscow or Amsterdam". The disintegration within the old organisations is proceeding much more rapidly to the extent that the economic crisis is increasing and as the outlook for peaceful development becomes more hopeless for the proletariat.

9. The very fact of the appearance of the Red Trade Union International gave a tremendous impulse to the increase of the number of adherents to the Red International in all countries. This fact, and the groupings in the world trade union movement which are being formed on the one hand, and the unavoidable weakening of the Amsterdam Federation on the other, raise before the revolutionary unions of all countries, and particularly before the trade unions of Russia, the question of further methods and means for the unification of their own forces in the form of an offensive against International Capital and the yellow leaders at the head of the Amsterdam Federation of Labor Unions.

10. Not all the revolutionary class unions of the various countries have joined the International Council of Trade Unions.

Furthermore among those who have joined there is as yet no unanimity as to tactics which is the prerequisite of any success in our struggle. Among those who are opposed to Amsterdam and are in favor of Moscow there are all shades of revolutionary thought; there are wavering left trade union men, there are pure anarchists who deny political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there are communists who take as a basis for their activities the principles promulgated by the Third Communist International.

11. Such a variety of currents, brought together by their common hatred of capitalism and its spokesmen, is quite natural in so far as the trade unions embrace the broad non-party masses. But this does not by any means relieve the leading centre of the international trade union movement in general and the Russian Trade Union movement in particular, of the obligation of preparing a revolutionary platform which makes united action possible and which establishes the policy of the development of the international trade union movement. This compels the Russian Trade Unions at the coming International Congress to raise all fundamental questions of the International labor movement, and defend its own revolutionary position.

12. The Russian revolutionary Trade Unions were always opposed to the idea

of neutrality and independence of the trade unions from the revolutionary party of the proletariat. In this respect the Russian Trade Unions followed the best traditions of the International labor movement, knowing that under the guise of neutrality and independence to revolutionary socialism, there is hidden the purely capitalist-reformist idea of separation of the political from the economic struggle of the proletariat for the purpose of weakening and demoralising the working masses.

13. Neutrality and independence of the trade unions from revolutionary socialism has been, and remains, the battle-cry of the most backward part of the Trade Union movement of all countries. The more closely bound the leaders of the Trade Unions in all countries have become, during the last few years, to the League of Nations, and the more dependent they are on the capitalist class of their respective countries the more strenuously do they advocate the independence of the Trade Unions from the Communist International.

14. Therefore the idea of the independence of the labor unions from Communism must be sharply and categorically rejected. The Russian trade unions must propagate the idea that the interests of the working class and of the world revolution demand the unification of all political, trade union and co-operative revolutionary class organisations into one International; that the independent structure of the International Council of Trade Unions, in point of organisation, the special conditions which will be worked out for the admission of trade unions to the International Council of Labor Unions in view of their non partisan make up, must by no means be understood to signify the separate existence of these two Internationals in point of political principles. The Trade Union International is a part of and a complement to the Communist International, which must embody all forms and phases of revolutionary labor movement.

15. The fact that the trade unions are not required to accept the 21 conditions worked out by the Second Congress of the Communist International does not mean that the International Council of Trade Unions henceforth will have to admit to its ranks all organisations without any conditions. Recognition of revolutionary class struggle and its expression in deeds, recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, acceptance of the general leadership of the Communist International in point of principle and severance of connection with the Amsterdam International, are the conditions which must be obligatory upon trade union organisations entering the International Council of Trade Unions.

16. Besides these conditions it must be established that all organisations joining the International Council of Trade Unions must in each country create at least a solid united front for joining offensive and defensive action against the capitalist class. This condition is absolutely necessary, otherwise it may happen, as it did happen in Germany during the movement last March, that some organisations belonging to the International Council of Trade Unions are fighting, arms in hand, against the capitalist class, while others (syndicalist) are attacking our comrades in the rear.

17. The relations between the Communist International and the International Council of Trade Unions must develop in the direction of creating a single International. This aim must be clearly set at the approaching International Conference of revolutionary class unions as the goal in the direction of which must develop the world labour movement.

Joint representation, joint consideration of the most important questions effecting the international trade union movement, and joint activity with regard to the basic questions of the social-economic struggle, must serve as transitory measures for this purpose. Organic and constantly growing connection between the Communist International and the International Council of Trade Unions will ultimately lead to that form of organisation which is the most rational and desirable, i. e. to the single revolutionary class Communist International.

To be continued.

Eugene Varga.

Situation in the Far East.

Tchicherine's Note of June 1st to Briand—France; Lord Curzon—England; Count Sforza—Italy.

The struggle of the working masses of Russia to secure peace and the right to independently settle their own destinies has entered a phase of new tests. Having, by gigantic efforts and marvelous heroism repelled combined attacks of the counter revolution within, and the majority of the foreign powers without, the working masses of Russia have won the right to rule themselves by their Soviets of workers and peasants. They hoped henceforth to secure the possibility to devote themselves unhindered to the internal reconstruction of Russia, by collaborating with other countries for their mutual interests, and for solving the economic tasks confronting them.

Their hopes, unfortunately, were deceived by a new attempt at foreign intervention and a fresh coordinated attack of Russian counter revolution and foreign governments. Under cover of Japanese bayonets, the whiteguards of Vladivostok, representing a small clique, have suddenly seized the power in that town. A similar coup was effected in Nikolsko-Ussurisk, and other places occupied by the Japanese. Thus the most avowed counter revolution has been installed by Japanese armed force in the districts of its occupation.

The Russian toiling masses of the Far East have done all in their power to secure a just peace with Japan. They formed a separate democratic Republic in order to make such a peace possible and with this aim the independent Far Eastern Republic signed an agreement with Japan who was, precisely on that condition, ready to withdraw her troops from that district and return to the people of the Far East their freedom. On their behalf the government of their Republic untiringly strove to come to a complete agreement with Japan, in order to live with her in peace and goodwill. The Japanese Government, however, replied to these peaceful aspirations by a new and violent attack upon their freedom and independence.

The most rabid enemies of the Russian popular masses, the arch-reactionaries whose obvious aim it is to conquer Siberia with the aid of Japanese bayonets, and subsequently become the agents of the Japanese conquerors, have forcibly seized power in those places where Japanese armed forces predominate. This first tentative step to conquer Siberia, however, is not a single fact. The Japanese government is allowing its native capitalists the right to fish in the waters of Kamchatka, which right up till now belonged to the Russian cooperative societies and other Russian citizens. Japan has introduced there its control and taken possession of the duties imposed on the fishing industry in Kamchatka. This is a deliberate seizure and plunder of Russian wealth, which the Russian Government regards as a violation of the elementary rights of the national masses of Russia.

At the same time the remnants of the counter revolutionary bands of Semyonov and Kappel are maintained by Japanese armed forces on the frontier of China and are occupying the Chinese Eastern Railway; and it is by aid of Japanese auxiliary forces that brigands of Ungern are terrorising Mongolia and preparing to attack the Soviet Republic. The agents of Japanese Imperialism have penetrated even to Central Asia, where they are attempting to provoke an uprising, and the emissaries of the Turkestan counter revolutionary elements are flocking to Japan to draw up their plans conjointly.

The Russian Republic has unceasingly repeated its peace proposal to the Japanese Government, and in spite of all the strivings of Russia to secure peace, the Japanese Government at the present time is the initiator of a new interventionist campaign directed against the government of the Russian workers and peasants. The Soviet Government, reflecting the latter's wishes, warns the Japanese Government that the broad masses of the Russian people who have taken their fate in their own hands and repelled the attacks of their enemies, will be capable of waging this new battle to a successful issue and make their strength felt to a more than sufficient degree with their attackers. The responsibility for these hostile acts, however, cannot be laid upon the Japanese Government alone. There is evidence of the fact that the French Government in its implacable hatred of the government of the workers and peasants of Russia, is one of the most active instigators of this new campaign and takes part in the Japanese plans of con-

French Communist Party.

Administrative Congress.

(Continued.)

The entire morning Session of May 17 was spent in reading the articles of the statutes which were adopted either unanimously or by a great majority. Such ticklish questions as Trade Union obligations of Party members, and relations with the Communists were defined in a manner satisfactory to all members of the Congress. Finally, the detailed and almost technical debate on propaganda has shown that the Party, while recognising the difficulties of its task, is determined henceforth to combine method and study with enthusiasm.

The afternoon session was resumed at 3 p. m. under the chairmanship of Marcel Cachin.

Comrade Louis Kuntz reported on the situation in Alsace-Lorraine:

The workers of Alsace-Lorraine had welcomed the return of the annexed provinces to France, but they were becoming more and more estranged from that very same France.

The clericals constitute a political party quite openly favoured by the Government. There are no secular schools in Alsace-Lorraine, for did not the Bishop of Strasbourg declare recently in Colmar that one must "defend to the utmost religious teaching". It is not the tricolour, symbolical of the Republic, which floats over Alsace, but the yellow flag of the Pope.

Thereupon Kuntz read the following proposition which was adopted with applause:

"The Congress of the Communist Party invites the international proletariat to express its indignation at the exceptional regime which the French Republic continues to inflict upon Alsace-Lorraine. It condemns this regime which penalises especially the militants of vanguard organisations who are exposed to the whims and persecution of police and law authorities.

He asserted that the French bourgeoisie, not content with the oppression of the workers and peasants of Alsace-Lorraine by the forces of the State and capitalism, is endeavouring to dominate also the unfortunate populations of the Upper and Lower Rhine and of the Moselle by all repressive measures at the disposal of the clergy which enjoys all privileges and into whose care the schools and younger generation are consigned.

The Congress sent fraternal greetings to Comrade Altenbach, councillor of the municipality of Mulhouse, savagely condemned by the court of Colmar to a year imprisonment for having reprinted in the "Young Revolutionary" a manifesto which had been distributed throughout France and had been published in "L'Humanité". He assured the Federation of Alsace-Lorraine of his wholehearted solidarity and energetic support in the vigorous protest campaign. The chairman Marcel Cachin then spoke as follows: Our comrades in Alsace-Lorraine must know that there is more than one France: there is a clerical and revolutionary France, and a workers' and Communist France. However the executive committee must carry on energetic propaganda in order to stem the flow of reaction in Alsace-Lorraine.

Comrade Lapovte, political secretary of the Young Communist League gave the lie to the information published in a socialist paper to the effect that the Congress of the Young Socialists and Communists had proclaimed the autonomy of that organisation.

"It is true" said Lapovte, "that some six months ago the Young Communist League proclaimed its autonomy at a time when the Socialist Party thought it necessary to throw cold water on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the proletariat.

"To-day there is only one kind of action, namely Communist action—there is no separate ideology for the Young Communist League.

est in Siberia. Soviet Russia cannot but consider all the Entente powers morally responsible for this new link in the chain of intervention, which is the collective result of the Entente's work. Soviet Russia sees in this an act of hostility on the part of the British government, which is not at all in conformity with the Anglo-Russian treaty. The Russian government most energetically protests against these acts of hostility directed straight at Russia or through the Far Eastern Republic, as an intermediary stage, and leaves itself the right to draw the inevitable conclusions.

Tchicherine

"It does not behove the latter to go against the dictates of the Communist Party.

Since the Young Communist League and the Party have adhered to the Third International, both have accepted the methods of centralization. All the Communist organisations must bow to the decisions of the Communist Party which alone has the right to dictate. After action, the Young Communist League has a free right to criticise. But in the course of action not to accept the dictates of the Party would mean to stab it in the back.

"In order to insure friendly relations between the League and the Party we are asking that two members of the National Committee should be delegated to the executive committee, should be delegated to the national committee of the Young Communist International League both delegates to have a consultative voice.

Froissard thanked Laporte for his statement and asked the Congress to adopt the system of reciprocal delegations, adding: I think that Laporte's declaration. "In action the Young Communist League is subordinate to the Party" should be incorporated into our statutes. Other comrades who are at the head of the League must not look upon this as a mark of distrust: It is merely a matter of determining relations.

Auclair, of the national committee of the Young Communist League insisted upon space in "L'Humanité" for the League. He was of the opinion that the insertion of party statutes, proposed by Froissard, was not possible. The Congress of the League having come to a close, the delegates of the League had no mandate to express an opinion on this point.

Ferdinand Faure said that the Young Communist League had been the door through which he had entered the party. Therefore all his sympathies were with the League, but the latter should devote itself wholly to study.

The pupil wielding the rod was, in his opinion, an impossible proposition.

Chantereau differed with F. Faure: "There are times", he said "when it becomes imperative to be teacher first and pupil second".

Froissard insisted that it would be wise to insert in the statutes the present agreement in order to avoid future conflicts.

Marcel Cachin, who was in the chair, assured the Young Communist League that "L'Humanité" in particular was at its disposal: the paper opened its columns to the young, but (and this is meant for all the comrades) we have an accumulation of material.

Every day we receive enough material to fill three "Humanités", and owing to this abundance (which testifies to the vitality of the party) we are obliged to make a selection.

However, we do not want to eliminate our young comrades especially at a time when thirty-seven of them are in prison. Therefore, we shall do our best to give as much space as possible in the columns of "L'Humanité" to the young Communist League, (applause).

Charles Rappoport supported the demands of the young Communist League: "I do not intervene, said he, in order to grow young again, but I do not agree with F. Faure. It cannot be said that study is the only function of youth.

"The young Communist League is a moving power. If it lacks experience we have perhaps too much of it. We have seen too many things and we are not daring enough. We grew up in a period when enlistment meant more than action.

"I am certainly not in favour of infantocracy. There are things which can be acquired only by study.

"I was not in favour of saying to the conscripts in the young Communist League of the Seine: Do not go! I was of the opinion that they would have been sorry if the League's demonstration had not taken place. It is magnificent that after the slaughter of the last war, they should have had the courage not to say: We do not want to go!" (applause).

Laporte rose again and added: "We accept wholeheartedly Froissard's proposal, but the congress of the League has not discussed it. We should like the congress to entrust the Executive Committee with the drawing up of the articles concerning the Young Communist League".

Froissard approved Laporte's proposal, and he urged the Congress to adopt the following recommendation:

The Congress requests the Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Nat-

Review of the Foreign Press.

Angora and the Entente.

The "Times" explains the events in Egypt as the result of the intrigues of the Kemalists, and the change of Angora's attitude to the Entente as a result of Bolshevik intrigues. There is ferment in the East and Great Britain observes with consternation the terrible conflagration that is spreading in the heart of her colonial possessions and in the neighbouring Islam countries. The following is what the "Times" writes on the position of the Angora government:

"Angora newspapers give the impression that new nationalist cabinet will follow a decidedly extremist policy. The fact that Yusuf Kemal Bey, the new Foreign Minister, is at present at Moscow as head of the Kemalist delegation is interpreted as a sign that the Entente between the Nationalists and the Bolsheviks has been strengthened.

The "Yeni Gun" of May 11th contains an interesting article by Yunus Nadi, a member of the Nationalist delegation to London, in which the question whether Turkey should follow an "Eastern or a Western Policy" is discussed. The writer pronounces in favour of an Eastern policy. England, he says, is Turkey's enemy. France and Italy are only "cajoling" Angora. But social disturbances, financial difficulties, and international jealousies will prevent the Western Powers from exercising force against Turkey, and Angora will be well advised to seek the friendship of the "disinterested" Soviet Government and the Moslem neighbours of Turkey.

It is reported here that the Nationalist counter-proposals, which will be laid before General Gurah, include a demand for the cession to Turkey of Alexandretta and the coastal district extending to Latakia. It is hardly probable that the French will agree to a surrender which would make their position in Syria one of great difficulty".

Wher in lies salvation?

At a moment when the great British Empire is cracking at all its seams having peace neither at home nor in its numerous colonies, the "victor" is confronted, by the most complex and involved questions of international relations in all their terrible magnitude. Should armament be resorted to? If so, where is the enemy? Is it Japan? Is it America? Or is it Soviet Russia? General Smuts attempts to achieve the impossible when he tries to form a union of from the variegated wolves of world Imperialism. The following are the questions, writes the "Manchester Guardian", which General Smuts considers will be come up before the June Conference of Premiers for solution:

"General Smuts, in his speech in the Union Parliament, deals with the tasks that confront the Conference of Premiers of the British Dominions that meets next month in London. It is confronted now with questions of world policy. The three chief items in next month's agenda the foreign policy of the Empire, the renewal of the Japanese Alliance, and Imperial defensive measures, are, properly considered, parts of one programme, and it is a programme on which clear and earnest thinking is urgently needed. Defensive measures imply a potential enemy against whom precautions must be taken. The Canadian Parliament seems to fear that of the British Alliance with Japan is persisted in and it must in some form be renewed in July if it is not to lapse. America will regard the fact as a challenge, and an armaments race will inevitably follow. Australia, on the other hand, appears to see in an Anglo-Japanese understanding the best means of guaranteed peace in the Pacific. But Mr Hughes, like the Canadian statesmen, insists that this security in the Pacific must not be purchased at the price of alienating America".

ional Council of the young Communist League, to draw up the paragraphs of the statutes which regulate the relations between the Young Communist League and the Party, in accordance with Laporte's declarations.

After consultation, the Congress this recommendation was carried unanimously.

At this juncture Treint stated that there had never been any "doctrinal divergence" of opinion on the subject of action against war, but only a "different estimation of the most convenient circumstances for engaging in action".

After the Congress had finished its labours, Cachin expressed his satisfaction at the unity, good form, and enthusiasm maintained throughout. He said: "The Party is strong and more united than ever. It behoves us to profit by all the events in order to get on with our preparation for the revolutionary struggle, and in order to be ready for action. (applause).

"Shortly the Third Congress of the Third International will open in Moscow", said Cachin in conclusion. "Let us assure our comrades of our complete confidence, and let us close the last sitting of this Congress with the cry: Long live the Third International, long live the Soviet Republic, and the World Revolution!"

After prolonged applause, the Congress, lifted to a high pitch of enthusiasm, struck up the International, and the delegates marched slowly out the Hall to the strains of the revolutionary song.

"L'Humanité", May 17, 1921.

Work Amongst Women.

(Continued.)

III.

International Woman Workers' Day.

The secretariat attached to the Comintern in Moscow, expected to celebrate the International Woman Workers' Day this year on the specified day, March 8th, as has been done since the beginning of the great Russian revolution in 1917. The secretariat, not having received word from Berlin of the postponement of celebration this year until April, commenced the work of preparation, as early as the end of January.

The following work was done by the secretariat in Moscow in this connection:

- 1) Two radios, numbers 3 and 6 were drawn up, translated and sent out.
- 2) An appeal of the Executive Committee of the Comintern to all the Communist Parties and sections on this International celebration was written, translated and mailed.
- 3) Comrade Kollontai wrote an appeal on the International Day in German, which was translated into the Russian and sent out.
- 4) The theses of the International Day were translated and sent out by radio.
- 5) The articles written by Comrade Stahl: "The Celebration of the International Woman Workers' Day in Viatka, Gubernia of Witebsk (for the Russian and Foreign press) and: Prepare for the International the Woman Workers' Day printed in the bulletins of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and also the article of Comrade Samoilov: "Woman Workers' Day in the Czar's Prison" were translated and sent out.
- 6) Delegates from Germany, England, Switzerland, Norway, South Africa, India, France and Austria were obtained to speak in Moscow and Turkestan on the International Woman Workers' Day. The secretariat prepared and sent out: 1) Thesis of the International Woman Workers' Day. 2) An appeal on the International Day.
- 7) Greetings were sent to a) Comrade Clara Zetkin and b) To the woman workers of all countries from the Woman Workers of Moscow, c) Greetings were received for the International Day from the women workers of Norway, (published in the Bulletin of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) and greetings from the women of the East (Bulletin of the Executive Committee of the Communist International).

Report.

The Work of the Organization Bureau in connection with the convocation of the Second International Conference of Woman Communists.

The organization Bureau of the Second International Conference of the Woman Communists was organised in accordance with the resolution of the International Secretariat for work among women, at the Communist International, on March 27th, 1921.

The members included: 1) Members of the International Secretariat, Comrades Krupsky, Kollontai, Samoilov, Stahl, Smidovich and Lilina, 2) the chairmen of the Women's Department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Comrades Menshinsky, Itkin, Godubov, Kasparova, Vinogradskaya 3) Delegate of the Women Workers of the Moscow Committee Comrade Unksov and 4) Delegate from Petrograd Comrade Nikolaev, the foreign delegates present in Moscow: Comrades Kusinin, (Finland), Quelch (England), Chirki (Hungary), Rossmer (France) and Molt (Germany).

Comrade Kasparova was appointed responsible secretary of the Organization Bureau.

The task of the Organization Bureau on the one hand was to work out a program of the Conference, appoint the speakers on the fundamental questions of the agenda, obtain the theses of their reports from them, edit them and work out the agenda of the Conference, on the other hand to get connections with all countries, inform the branches of women workers among the Communist Parties of the world, of the coming Conference and finally, to do the entire technical work in preparation for the Conference.

In order to do this work properly the Organization Bureau formed an Editorial Board and three committees: 1) Literary-publishing, 2) Information, which takes charge of the connection with the countries of the world and 3) a technical committee. Besides this a special working apparatus was formed.

Political Parties and Groups in Russia.

MOSCOW

JUNE 5th 1921.

by Vardin.

I. The Menshevik Party.

The Menshevik Party came into being simultaneously with that of the Bolsheviks. That was eighteen years ago—at the second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The Congress split up into two fractions, on questions of organisation. During the election of the central organs of the Party the followers of Lenin received one and Axelrod.

The differences turned on the question of party organisation. The adherents of the Party declared that the doors of any man can consider himself a member of the party who recognises its program and gives it his support.

The Bolsheviks on the other hand declared that to accept the program and help the party was not sufficient. Many no great revolutionary self-sacrifice. But the party should lead the struggle of the working class, conduct the war against the bourgeoisie and the autocratic government, which it is able to do only if it is strong, united and firmly welded. Therefore—asserted the Bolsheviks—anyone who desires to become a member of the party must, besides accepting the program, take a "personal part in one of the party organisations", in other words be an active member of the party.

What was the cause of these differences? It was the fact that the mensheviks assigned to the party one task, and the Bolsheviks another. The Mensheviks declared that a bourgeois revolution was approaching, in which the bourgeoisie would take the leading part; that the working class should support the bourgeoisie in its fight against the government; that in putting forward their economic class demands the workers should act "cautiously" in order not to frighten the bourgeoisie and thereby drive them into the camp of reaction; that the workers' party withdraw its claim to lead the revolution—it being the affair of the bourgeois parties; that the workers' Party make a compact with the parties of the bourgeoisie, when the interests of the struggle against Tsarism demand it.

The Bolsheviks reasoned otherwise. The approaching revolution—they said—would not be a bourgeois revolution, but one of a transitory type. In any case the bourgeoisie would not play the leading role in it. It was the function of the party of the working class to lead the revolutionary movement. The Party of the working class would have to realise the dictatorship of the workers and peasants and deliver the death blow to the autocracy. The proletarian party would fulfill that important task only if were strongly welded, militant and disciplined. Working underground, the Party could not be a militant and mass party at the same time. Working underground the Party should consist of determined and fearless revolutionaries. At the necessary moment such a party would draw the masses after it and take the lead in their struggle.

The Mensheviks charged the Bolsheviks with "narrowness" and "sectarianism". Why? Because they (the Mensheviks) did not want a fighting revolutionary party. The Mensheviks only needed the Party as an auxiliary force to the bourgeoisie. They urged the working class to make way for the bourgeoisie and accept its leadership.

What was the role of the mensheviks all through those eighteen years? It was one continual attempt to subject the working class to bourgeois influence and leadership. For, according to them only a bourgeois revolution under bourgeois leadership was possible in Russia, and every independent action on the part of workers was considered detrimental to the cause. Such was the single refrain of the Mensheviks.

Take the revolution of 1905. The Mensheviks desired to take the workers in tow of the bourgeoisie. They were against the watchword of dictatorship by the workers and peasants and of an armed uprising. They stood for unity with the bourgeois liberals, for "Cooperation" among all the opposition parties, viz., the liberals, democrats, and socialists.

In the Autumn of 1905 the Mensheviks, under pressure of the revolutionary storm fell in line with the Bolsheviks. Reaction set in, and the Mensheviks fell back again into the arms of the bourgeoisie.

The years 1908—1914 were marked by implacable struggles of the Mensheviks against underground revolutionism. The

old Party had outlived its time, the old party had to go therefore the cry was. "Long live an open workers party having nothing to do with revolutions. Long live legality, acknowledged by the Czar's Ministers".

In that period the Mensheviks were the apostles of decay, venality and apostasy. In Czarist Russia, where a monstrous, rabid police regime was rampant, they desired to establish "a legal workers' party with in the limits of freedom established by the Czarist law".

The Tsarist law however, allows no freedom for "drops of revolution" or "drops of socialism". This did not embarrass the Menshevik "liquidators"; they threw both revolution and socialism, and old program and old militant watchwords overboard. They combatted the strike movement, and denounced it as an "anarchistic strike delirium". They tried to inculcate the masses with European "temperance" and "accuracy".

The Mensheviks for many years took a great deal of care to have the Russian workers as well "brought up" as the Eberts, Scheidemanns, Hendersons and other capitalist lickspittles. The labours of T. T. Martov, Dan and Liber and their like, were all in vain, for in October, 1917 the Russian proletariat treated "his" capitalists quite unceremoniously.

The world war broke out, and found the Menshevik party marching to "defend the fatherland" side by side with Czarism and the bourgeoisie. The Gvosdyevs, Skobolyevs and Potresovs endeavoured to fetter the working class to the chariot of Imperialism.

The February revolution found the mensheviks in coalition with the bourgeoisie. In league with the Cadets and Octobrists and with the amiable support of the officers and junkers, the mensheviks (and social-revolutionaries) strove to destroy the Bolshevik Party, disband the working class, subdue it and throw it under the heel of the bourgeoisie.

The October Revolutions found the mensheviks on the other side of the barricades, together with the Czechoslovaks, Cossack Generals, Kolchak and Denikin. In 1908—1912 it was a "Stolypin Labour Party"; in 1917—1921 it became a "Denikin Labour Party".

Just as thirteen years ago and during the revolution of 1905, so during the February and October revolutions the Menshevik Party declared that there can only be a bourgeois Government in Russia, and all their activity was directed towards maintaining the bourgeoisie in power. It is no idle abuse when we call the Mensheviks lackeys, servants and agents of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution shook the foundations of the Menshevik Party. It is crushed, splintered, and utterly disorganised. The honest revolutionary elements, loyal to the working class, left its ranks and joined the Communist Party. They are split up into various fractions and groups which, stewing in their own juice, are fighting among themselves. The "Lefts" are philosophising, raising their eyes to heaven with sorrowful sighs. The "Rights" support all the enemies of the Soviet Government and exert all their efforts to disintegrate the working class, crush its fighting spirit and its desire for victory. Both "left" and "right" as well as the "centre", in fact the whole Menshevik party, are unanimous in their hatred of the dictatorship of the working class and of the party which is realising that dictatorship.

In chorus with the Social Revolutionaries, Cadets, monarchist, anarchist, white-guard plotters and all the counter-revolutionary parties and groups, the Menshevik party is wailing about the necessity of destroying the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party—the Red Proletarian Dictatorship. The liquidation of the Red Dictatorship, however, signifies the advent of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and White generals.

For eighteen years now the Menshevik party is stubbornly and untiringly pulling the working class over to the side of the bourgeoisie and trying to subordinate it to its rule.

Now the bourgeoisie is crushed, and has been hurled from the territory of the Soviet country. The mensheviks however are taking care of them and their ver are taking care of them and their "rights", and soliciting for them "freedom" and "Dominion". What is the "last word" of Russian Menshevism? Of that we shall speak in our next article.

I. Vardin.

Notice the 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.

Women in England.

Continued from page 1 col. 1.

Respecting the care of women Russia has set an example which the countries of Western Europe and America would do well to emulate, for in those countries motherhood is not a joy but a thankless ordeal.

In matters of sex knowledge the women are probably neither better nor worse than the women of other countries. They know very little, and even that little has to be learned in secret. No respectable mother would ever dream of talking to her children on the subject of sex although marriage is always encouraged and talked about and girls are taught to regard it as the great end for which they must strive.

Since the prosecution of Annie Besant about a quarter of a century ago, the dissemination of sex knowledge has been a very risky undertaking. The Neo-Malthusian League, which has supplied birth-control methods to those married or about to be married when applied to, has been permitted to conduct its work. It has not been aggressive. Others who attempt to give information on sexual hygiene or birth control directly to the people are constantly being prosecuted charge of obscenity, notwithstanding the fact that the cry of the women is always for knowledge and more knowledge.

These are the questions in which women are becoming vitally interested.

She has already partly awakened to the realisation that economically her interests are identical with the interests of her brothers and it is for that reason that apart from the Women's Co-operative Guilds and the Woman's International League (a feminist organisation) — there is no distinct economic or political women's organisation in England. Every advanced working-class organisation permits women to work within its ranks — only the economic conditions, under which woman always finds herself more enslaved than man, keep her from playing a more active and important part in the methods and tactics, which will help to educate the working-women to active communists.

Her sympathies are with us, however. She has taken most kindly to the ideals of freedom. She is an apt pupil.

When the hour for fighting arrives, she will fight and work with us wholeheartedly. All we of the advanced guard of England require is the means to set the revolutionary machinery into motion and the odds are that the women will not be behind their brothers in making sacrifices and showing endurance.

Through Soviet Russia.

According to figures supplied by the Chief Petroleum Department on the Grozny Oil Fields 17,000,000 poods of petroleum were produced for the whole of 1920. This figure exceeds that of 1919, and is almost the same as that of 1918. In 1920 it is hoped to produce 120,000,000 poods,—exceeding the output of 1916 (102,000,000 poods) and even that of 1917, a record year, when 107,000,000 poods were obtained. For the first quarter of the current year the quantity produced by the Grozny wells was equivalent to: in January 35.6%, February 49.8% and in March 57%. So that the output from January to March has been continually increasing. In order to increase the output of the wells by raising the productivity of its workers and officials the Executive Committee of the Grozny Oil field has devoted its activities to replacing and repairing destroyed homes of the workers. The Caucasus Army of Labour has played a big part in this work, having repaired almost 100 cubic sargens of houses. The lack of material and skilled workers has had a bad effect on the work in the oil wells.

In view of the fact that many sugar refineries are situated near deposits of peat, and as the immediate electrification of the sugar industries is their only hope of revival, the Executive of the Sugar Industries has organised a committee of experts to inspect thoroughly all those sugar refineries where the work of electrifying the industry may be commenced.