



MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.
No 7.
June 1st
1921.

The Polish Question.

Karl Marx has stated on many occasions that the crime which Russia, Prussia and Austria had jointly perpetrated on the Polish people bound these robber States together with indissoluble bonds. Though they disagreed over Poland, their ding politicians had to settle their differences on that question some way or other, for their chief concern was thejugation of the Polish people. The Polish pupils of the Master have always assistently maintained that the freeing the Polish people from foreign oppression can only be achieved by revolution. The results of the world war have fully dorsed that view. The revolutionary labour Government of Russia has in its very first decrees (November 1917) recognised without reserve the right of the Poles to settle their national destinies. On the other hand the German government with the Social Traitors at its head unable in 1918 to rise to the occasion and acknowledge the national rights of the Poles. However, it was in the interest of the victorious coalition to build up a Polish State on the ruins of German and Austria. They were unable to realise the principle of self-determination, which was proclaimed by Wilson with so much pomp and circumstance, except in so far as it corresponded to their imperialist interests. The chief stumbling block was the Silesian question. The overwhelming majority of the population of this region consists of Poles. However a pretext was found in the fact that Silesia has from the 14th Century onward been separated from the Polish State, and at Versailles the victors forced a plebiscite on Upper Silesia.

The historical argument was nothing but a pretext. The fact of the matter is that in the Upper Silesian industrial area at least eighty per cent of the workers are Poles (only a part of highly skilled workers are Germans), but the bourgeoisie is exclusively of Germans and their proprietary rights were sacred in the eyes of the powers that be. Therefore the principles had to be sacrificed. On the other hand the recognition of Poland as an independent State, was made conditional on her undertaking to act as a servant of the counter revolution. War against Russia, the same Russia which was first in recognising unconditionally the national rights of the Poles — such was the condition of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the Polish bourgeoisie was only too pleased to accept it. This was not only out of hatred for the Russian Revolution but also because the Polish bourgeoisie — only just freed from foreign domination — were anxious to subjugate to their dominion the peasants of the Ukraine and White Russia. There the state of things is the exact reverse of what exists in Upper Silesia: the Poles form a negligible minority, but they are the master class; the Polish large landowners sit on the backs of non-Polish peasants.

As a result we are faced by a preposterous situation: the present day capitalist Polish State comprises only a part of the Polish nation, a part of the Polish people remain under the dominion of capitalist Germany and Chekko-Slovakia, while on the other hand this same State extends over huge territories which are not Polish. This is a mockery of the principle of nationality, but such a state of things corresponds to capitalist interests.

Such a situation is bound to produce endless conflicts. There can be no compromise between Germany and Poland. The "vital interests" of these capitalist States are at stake. Capitalist Germany cannot exist without the industrial area of Upper Silesia; Capitalist Poland is doomed to remain a purely agricultural country if it does not obtain Upper Silesia. On the other hand in the East, the Ukrainian and White Russian peasants will never voluntarily submit to the Polish landowners. They will always strive to unite with the neighbouring Soviet Republics of Ukraine and White Russia; only downright oppression can secure these terri-

Continued page 2 col. 4.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

RUSSIA.

First Foreign Merchant Steamer in Red Petrograd.

The merchantman "Alexander Polden" sailing under the Dutch flag and carrying six thousand barrels of herrings passed Kronstadt on the 27th May and headed for Petrograd. The steamer was met in the Finnish Gulf by one of our packet-boats "Rustlan", bearing a Russian delegation. On approaching Kronstadt the Dutch ship was met by the dreadnought "Marat" with flag salutes and music. All the sailors of the "Marat" poured out on deck and hailed the Dutch seamen with flags. In reply the Dutch ship saluted in return with flags. The Dutch steamer did not stop at Kronstadt but passed on to Petrograd, whither it arrived on the 27th May. "Polden" left Yarmouth on the 18th inst. All means of transport and labour power etc have been mobilised to unload the boat. The work of unloading will be carried on in two shifts.

Food From Abroad.

Six steamers have left Yarmouth and Liverpool with cargoes for Petrograd. One steamer has left America. All are freighted with provisions: "Alexander Polden" has a cargo of six thousand barrels of herrings, the "Attleyarl" 60,600 poods of wheat and 6,000 poods of fats, the "Margarita" 8,000 barrels of herrings, the "Famarn" 10,000 barrels of herrings. The "Olivia" has 6,600 poods of conserved bacon and 3,000 poods of dried vegetables. The "Ludwig Fisher" has 9,000 barrels of herrings, the "Teera" (from America) — about one hundred thousand poods of wheat.

Energetic work is being carried on to prepare for the speedy unloading of these cargoes. Comrade Peters have arrived at Petrograd from Moscow in order to take charge of the work of unloading.

Finnish Trade Delegation in Petrograd.

The Finnish Trade Delegation headed by the engineer Hovilyne has arrived at Petrograd. Together with the Finnish delegation there has arrived the representative of the Russian trade delegation, comrade Ignatyev. The Finnish Delegation, after a consultation in the Department for Foreign Trade, left for Moscow together with Ignatyev.

ENGLAND.

Continuation of the State of Siege in Ireland.

Mauen, May 30. (Wireless.) The British government decided to extend the state of siege to Southern Ireland.

AMERICA.

An Alarming Prospect.

The "Mexican News" of May 28th communicates that the Adviser to the American Embassy, Summerlin, in an audience with the President of the Mexican General Obregon, communicated to the latter the state of alarm prevailing at Washington as a result of the bolsheviks' activity, who, it is rumoured, are preparing an uprising in Mexico. The General replied that he had taken all measures against propaganda by the extremist parties.

Another Comedy.

"Journal de Geneve" reports that according to the communication of the "New York Herald", the American Government has handed to the London Government the principles of the draft for a Society of Nations, the general statute of which are the statutes of the former Hague Tribunal. The American project, among other things, removes the small nations from participation in the projected Society.

FRANCE.

Bloodshed in Paris.

Lyons, May 30. (Wireless.) The Communist Party in Paris organized a procession through the Pere Lachaise cemetery on Sunday to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Commune. No disturbances occurred during the demonstration, but late in the afternoon a collision occurred between a group of anarchists and the police, and some twenty people, including Ernest Lafone, a deputy, were injured.

Workers' Demonstration.

"Petit Journal" publishes a report from Brest to the effect that a large demonstration of arsenal workers took place in the form of protest against the reduction of work. The demonstrators marched through the streets with red flags and sang the "International" and the "Hymn of the Soviets" in front of the naval prefecture.

Socialists Win.

"Humanite" greets the demobilisation of the married men and men who support a family, of the 1919 class, as the first success of the socialists' campaign.

French Railwaymen's Congress.

Lyons, May 30. (Wireless.) The national congress of French railwaymen opens in Paris on Tuesday. It is expected that there will be a heavy fight between the communists and the reformists.

SILESIA.

Turn of the Tide in Upper Silesia.

Hanover, May 30. The correspondent of the "Chicago News" reports: "Heavy fighting, lack of money and their failure to force their will upon Upper Silesians are causing the insurgents to lose their high spirits. There is no longer any of the energy with which the movement started. Only in the centres, having an overwhelming Polish majority the interest is maintained. The number of deserters is increasing daily. The confirmation of the approach of British troops has turned the tide; the insurgents are ready to negotiate and have sent parleys, whom, however, British officers refused to receive, since the British and Italians in principle refuse to recognise the insurgents, who are now ready to disarm and to ask the inter-allied force to re-occupy the plebiscite area. However, part of the insurgents feel that the goal has been reached and they are attempting to assume the control of the mine administration and to demand taxes, hitherto paid into the inter-allied commission treasury.

Hanover, May 30. (International News Agency.) After the inter-allied war council, General Hennicker, in command of the British forces, expects that inter-allied operations will begin on Tuesday. Complying with the Allies' orders, the Berlin Reichsbank is forwarding 50,000,000 marks to Upper Silesia to pay the miners.

Murderers Acquitted.

It is communicated that on May 28th, the Assistant Minister Dombrovsky, presiding, a conference took place on the question of liquidating the Russian and Ukrainian internment camps. The trial of Captain Wagner, Sub-Lieutenant Malinsky, and Corporal Gazda, accused of ill-treating the Russian prisoners of war, in the camp at Strejelkoff, where by the order of the accused, the prisoners were flogged, and three prisoners of war shot, concluded with the acquittal of all the accused.

GERMANY.

The Situation in Bavaria.

Hanover, May 30. International News Agency. The Bavarian premier von Kahr threatens to resign unless the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr are allowed to retain their rifles. He concedes the surrender of artillery and of the machine guns.

Sentence in the Second Leipzig Trial.

Hanover, May 30. (Wireless.) The Leipzig tribunal has sentenced captain Müller to six months' imprisonment.

Unemployment in the German Iron and Metal Trades.

Nauen, May 30. (Wireless.) The German iron and metal trades show signs of economical decline. The official figures of the labour bureaux of the Rhine province, Westphalis and Lippe show a continued decrease of employment in the iron and metal trades. Many factories work only four days a week. Others are closed down owing to the impossibility of selling their products.

A Plebiscite in Salzburg.

Lyons, May 30. (Wireless.) In spite of the Austrian government's warning, a plebiscite took place in Salzburg. The voting was nowhere disturbed, and the officials in no way participated in them, so that it bore a private character. The results known so far show almost unanimous voting in favour of joining Germany. The German newspaper "Germania" notes that the agitation in favour of Austria's joining Germany is fomented by the pan-German press subsidised by the large factory owners of the Rhine province.

A new German Minister.

Lyons, May 30. (Wireless.) Upon the proposal of the chancellor, the German president has nominated Walter Rathenau Minister of Reconstruction.

POLAND.

For Trading.

The Organ of the Polish Ministry of Commerce and Industry publishes a long article on the question of the necessity of establishing the trade relations with Russia, and on questions affecting the mutual interests of both countries.

Cannot Agree.

According to official information, the Commander in Chief of the State, Pilsudsky did not accept the resignation of the Wittos Cabinet, and proposed to him to form a new cabinet. Wittos has not yet given a definite reply. Four central groups, on information from Warsaw newspapers have expressed their confidence in Wittos, and implied their readiness, to leave their representatives in the Government on condition that the election of the Minister for Foreign Affairs should take place by common agreement.

The Meeting of the Supreme Council.

Lyons, May 30. (Wireless.) According to the Havas Agency, the French Government has informed the British Government of its point of view regarding the procedure of the Supreme Council meeting which will take place at Boulogne, where the Upper Silesian question will be dealt with. The note indicates that, above all, order and the authority of the inter-allied commission must be restored in Upper Silesia. The Poles are now willing to submit. It is to be hoped that the Germans will lay down arms too. The arrival of the British reinforcements will also help to improve the situation. The Supreme Council will be called together as soon as law and order is restored in Upper Silesia and the commission of experts will have submitted their report on the different sides of the question.

"MOSCOW"

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.
Editor: Denezny 5, room № 18.
Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151.
Hours from 3 to 5 (except Sundays).
Responsible Secretary, Tverskaya 48.
Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).

Industrial Labor Colonies.

Economic conditions in Soviet Russia compel the Soviet administration to assist in the re-establishment of small industry and to allow a certain amount of free exchange in order to stimulate production and prevent starvation. We must plainly understand that these are acts of sheer necessity even though we know, that it means a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and of capitalism. Lenin puts it quite frankly and clearly "the development of small industry since we have exchange, means the development of petty bourgeoisie, capitalist industry." The Soviet government will try to direct this development through cooperatives and by applying different forms of State control, but there is no getting away from the fact, that "Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique, constructed according to the last word of science" (Lenin). Therefore the à la Soviet policy of stimulating small peasantry and small industry must be supplemented by measures to create a highly developed modern

The method largely advocated so far for this purpose is the giving out of "concessions" to foreign capitalists. All the dangers involved in putting our resources and to a certain extent our economic future into the hands of our most bitter enemies, will have to be taken into the bargain, if it only results in creating the fundamental industries, indispensable for the development of communism.

But the results do not wholly depend on our own willingness: we need the cooperation of foreign capital in accepting our Concessions. And even more acceptance will not be sufficient, since our hope is not in the floating of a new financial scheme, but in the actual results of labor and organization.

Whilst waiting for capitalists whose lust for profits will come to the aid of the anti-profiters, the question arises, whether other methods could not be added towards the same ultimate goal the creation of a modern machine-industry. The question arises, whether foreign labor, upon which concessions would have to be based largely anyhow, could not achieve results without the help of foreign capitalists. This question presents itself with more force, since a large number of American-Russian workers, partly trained in the highly developed American-Machine-Industry, loudly and insistently claim admittance to Soviet Russia. There is little doubt, that any amount of American labor of different degrees of skill and specialisation could be had and that no serious obstacles exist in having American technical and managing specialists join the exodus. It certainly is not the American capitalist we are most anxious to get.

All we can expect from concessionaires above the supply of labor and technical and organising abilities is the supply of capital in the form of machines, initial expenses, food funds, etc. This certainly would be important, since we are in dire need of everything, but we should not overestimate the factor. If capitalists are going into the Concessions at all, they will most likely restrict the amount of capital involved, developing the region on colonial lines, starting from the bottom and gradually extending, largely through the results of previous efforts.

A wood-concession i. e., such has been offered by the Soviet government in the North of Russia and Siberia does not necessarily require at the outset extensive machinery. The American lumber worker goes into the forests of the West and Middle west of the U. S. with his tent, a supply provision of food stuffs and the necessary saws and axes and within a very short time builds a camp to satisfy himself and the horses. He then proceeds to instal at the proper place a sawmill, constructed from the wood nature offers him abundantly. The necessary equipment for such mills require but relatively little machinery and Russia even to-day possesses enough material in this line, which is not utilised and could be made to work. But even if such an installation would have to be imported, it would be a matter of

little concern. The main transportation for wood will be water transport and if the place is well chosen no great outlay of capital will be required in this direction.

With only a small capital—outlay and within a short period we can already have at our disposal a commodity for exchange, enabling the purchase of food and other necessities. It will then not be very difficult to strengthen the enterprise by starting some wood-working industry such as manufacturing wooden articles for the use of the peasants matches, paper, etc. Moreover the development of agriculture will have to be attended to, right from the start.

In the meantime and since our main object is to create a modern industry, wood will have been in prepared for the exploitation of coal. Coal-mining largely depends upon wood for the shafts and the galleries and all the buildings, engine-houses etc. can be constructed in wood. No doubt certain machinery is needed such as pumps, engines, cables, etc., but if no special means are available, these can be purchased largely through the results of the exploitation of the

On the assumption, that the region also contains iron, it will be necessary and possible to erect a blast-furnace and to produce pig iron for a foundry as a basis for production of steel and steel products. The general policy must be in the direction of producing as soon as possible all that is required in the further development of the industrial unit, with the purpose in view of finally producing such finished products as i. e. agricultural machines, specialised and standardised according to American practice.

It goes without saying, that if capitalists were willing and able to put large amounts of capital in such a scheme, they could secure quicker results, than being largely dependent upon the results of previous achievements for gradual development. If such capitalists can be found let them go ahead. But it is by far more likely, that a capitalist who applies for a concession in Soviet Russia will proceed on more conservative lines; and that he will not dump into a class enemy country large amounts of valuable means of production.

The American worker, who is willing and eager to go to Soviet Russia, partly on account of sympathy for the first workers Republic and hatred against the brutal American plutocracy, partly on account of unemployment, moreover is not altogether without means. Many of them saved during the war a couple of hundred dollars and from the American working-class as such funds could be collected for the support of an American labor colony in Soviet Russia. The workers that will come as pioneers should be well selected and organized and should bring their own tools and foodstuffs etc for the initial period. The Soviet government would have to provide for transportation, horses, part of the food during the first period and whatever machinery is not used to its full capacity under present conditions in Russia or can be purchased spared for the purpose.

Such an experiment, that may be of the utmost importance to the further development of Soviet-Russia should be well prepared and all possible energy should be brought towards its success. The region to be carefully chosen as so to combine as far as possible: food, wood, coal and iron. Only such workers from abroad, should be admitted as pioneers, that give sufficient guarantees both as to technical capacities and to moral qualities so as to make the enterprise a success. The foreign delegates could do much by way of suggestions and recommendations to further this plan and when they go back to their respective homes, might help to create the right spirit and atmosphere for an effective and organized emigration to Soviet Russia. For it is by no means necessary to limit the plan to Russian-Americans or Americans in general: all industrially highly developed countries can participate. Care should be taken not to send away such communists that may play an important part in the movement of their own country. But on the other hand, the economic reconstruction of Russia is so all important, that it must be considered a vital part of communist propaganda to further this experiment, once it will be decided upon by our Russian friends. Since the requirements for being a good revolutionary fighter and propagandist in a capitalistic country are not altogether the same as those for making a good pioneer in an undeveloped country, a natural selection is likely to follow and Party-discipline will do the rest.

But even when the German revolution will be victorious, we can already clearly see, that this will be only after a terrific struggle in which the economic life of Germany and even the intellectual ad-

MOSCOW

The Historic Personality of Lenin.

JUNE 1st 1921.

Yesterday, I met a woman belonging to a company of one of the principal theatres of Moscow. Of bourgeois origin, she had been obliged to make the stage her profession. Superior to the average actress by her education, she is the real impersonation of that part of the Russian bourgeoisie, which passively accepts the regime of the Soviets, and all that en-crises, criticism is sharp and the communists are anathemised. When asked however, to formulate their desires, these bourgeois are singularly embarrassed.

Thus, the above mentioned person expresses the complaints that are generally heard from petty-bourgeois elements. "The people of the whole of Russia are prisoners. We live as if in an occupied country." "What a dictatorship we are enduring!" Incidentally speaking of the Communist and Soviet press, she expressed doubts as to the existence of the Anglo-Russian agreement and avowed that in her "entourage" no one believed in it. (One must remember that a year ago, the representatives of the Trade Union among which Mensheviks were predominant, were considered by the Russian bourgeoisie as Russians that had long lived in England, and who had been disguised as Bolsheviks to represent British Trade Unionists). But, when I placed before her eyes, copies of the French imperialist organs, which vehemently reproached Lloyd George, "indulgence" for the "Dictators of Moscow", she was quite persuaded.

As she continued to complain, I questioned her.

— Tell me in a concrete form, what government you would like to substitute for the Soviet Regime?

She was silent.

— Perhaps you would desire that your friend Miliukoff should form a government?

She showed strong signs of being offended.

— I beg you will not call him my "friend". I detest this Miliukoff as I do all the Cadets.

Would you have a Tchernov government?

— No.

— All power to Martoff and the Mensheviks?

— No, no, she answered with impatience.

— A new Tzar perhaps?

Then, with faint and timid voice, blushing a little, she confessed:

— Lenin, as the President of the Republic, and a Constituent Assembly.

Lenin, who more than anyone else ridiculed the Constituent Assembly and who was the cause of its dismissal, Lenin, president of a Republic having a Constituent Assembly as a base! I burst out laughing. And then, reflecting upon it, I remembered that this was not the first time that I had heard that opinion expressed.

It is a most remarkable thing, that anti-communists of all categories that have the most confused notions of politics, should always reserve the first place for Vladimir Lenin. Does the admiration professed by the bourgeoisie for Lenin signify that the leader of the World Revolution has become one of the less austere of the Bolsheviks and the wisest of Communists? No, while other comrades, for the last four years sacrificing all their intelligence, all their energy, all their strength for the edification and defence of the Federative Soviet Republic, are regarded with wrath, and disdain by the petty bourgeoisie, Lenin, — I am certain that this is the first instance in the annals of history that such a phenomenon is ob-

moral capacities of German labor will be largely destroyed. Russia cannot expect an immediate relief even through a German revolution, as far as the reconstruction of the economic and industrial life is concerned. It has largely to rely upon its own forces and such forces as it can take in from the heritage of the western economic system now in state of decomposition. The sooner it embodies such forces into its own organism, the more chances that the proletarian dictatorship in Russia will lead towards Communism. If full energy is put in this direction, both in Russia and outside. Russia may be able not only to go far in building up its own economic life, but also to contribute much towards the reconstruction of western Europe, after the latter will have passed through the destructive process of a revolution against the well organised well armed and unscrupulous white guards of the European reaction.

S. J. Rutgers.

served—is becoming a historical personage, the only one that is instinctively taken without criticism, in short a popular hero.

The most fantastic, the most extravagant and the most varied legends are being circulated about him in the provinces. No one of the greatest reformers has known that sudden, rapid and incredible immortality. The most wonderful thing is that Lenin himself has remained exactly and mathematically the same—often met during the period of his exile at working-men's meetings, in the libraries, or in his small, low-ceilinged room; simple, familiar, hearty and of good humour. I have never known a man to be so devoid of vanity as he. The story of the sealed van carrying Lenin through Germany will probably not be forgotten by the historic cartoonists and biographers of the future. Excluding a half a dozen Bourzeffs, there is practically no one nowadays, even among the counter-revolutionaries of the worst type, that believe in the legend of Lenin being a German agent. Germany has made use of Lenin to the full extent, that is what the most obdurate bourgeois think, and that is where they stop.

The one who, in the history of humanity, is born every 500 years, was said of him by Zinoviev.

"A stern realist and an acute politician, Lenin becomes little by little a legendary personality" wrote Maxim Gorky about him.

A few months ago a professor delivered a lecture in Moscow impossibly entitled: "Peter the Great and Lenin".

In pursuing an aim infinitely larger and more distant, Lenin has reconstructed the national unity of Russia. Lenin has freed the Russian people from the yoke of Tzarism and world imperialism; the East awakening to fight for its emancipation, leans upon Lenin's works and name. History has known political geniuses, great reformists, audacious and glorious conquerors, but alone, up to this day, Lenin has subordinated his personality, his power to a doctrine, which he professed at a period when he, humble, disdained and calumniated had propagated Marxism.

Miliukoff is not yet weary of repeating. All "power to the Soviets (without Communists)".

"All Power to Lenin (without Communism)", think all other bourgeois and capitalists. These latter forget that Lenin is the very impersonification of the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism; that he is the apostle and the indisputable leader of International Communism, that he is the foremost leader of the greatest Workers' Party of the World.

Henri Guilbeaux.

Moscow 29-5 21.

(Continued from page I col. 1.)

tories to Poland. Such a situation fraught with terrible calamities for the Polish people is precisely that which satisfies best the imperialist and predatory appetites of the French, English and American capitalists. For the Polish State which must be thoroughly militarist and arch-reactionary, is at the outset economically bankrupt, dependent, and therefore bound to be a pawn in the hands of the robber politicians of France and England and a happy hunting ground for ruthless English, French and American exploiters. Only the European Social Revolution which would once for all do away with the dominion of capital can solve the Polish question, for the Soviet system is the means which does away with national oppression. The Polish masses feel it instinctively and this is one more reason why they should rally round the communist banner.

The Communist Labour Party of Poland is proud that its predecessor, the Polish Social Democracy has consistently advocated the idea that they can only be saved by the joint struggle of the Polish workers with their fellow-workers of Russia, Germany and Austria against political and economic slavery. It is for this reason that the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" has a special practical significance for Poland, and only the outburst of chauvinism at the establishment of the Republic temporarily obscured this Communist ideas are gaining ground in Poland by sheer elemental force, and the "Polish question" is bound to be solved in a revolutionary manner.

J. Marikhevsky (Karski.)

The Press in the United States.

The time was in the United States when the capitalist press had a trace of liberalism. In every city there could be found at least one powerful journal that would say a word in favor of Labor, especially during strikes. But this epoch has passed. Every semblance of liberalism has disappeared. Now all the big journals everywhere are violently against Labor. The whole newsgathering and distributing agency of America has become subservient to the interests of the most labor-crushing capitalists. It is entirely without independence and amounts in sum to a gigantic machine for poisoning public opinion with employers, propaganda.

Of course, in practically all countries the capitalists have a firm grip upon the large daily press. But in none of them is this control anywhere near so complete and deadly as it is in the United States. Visitors from European countries gasp with astonishment when they come to learn close-up of the utter degradation of American newspaper men and the shameless way they prostitute themselves to the service of the exploiters. Truth and they have completely parted company. Now nothing remains but capitalist propaganda.

The great capitalists of America control the press in devious ways. To begin with newspapers in the United States, being much larger as a rule than those of other countries, require considerable financial power behind them. This fact in itself makes them strictly capitalistic-minded. But the industrial kings of America do not rely upon this. They have set up a thoroughgoing, vertical and horizontal control in addition.

The vertical control is secured through the great news gathering agencies of which the Associated Press is the chief one. This big organization, which has thousands of offices and reporters, furnishes "news" to about 1000 daily newspapers, with 15,000,000 circulation and at least 30,000,000 readers or practically all of the United States. Ostensibly the Associated Press is a co-operative, non profit making concern which furnishes news to its member papers at cost. But in reality is controlled by a very few papers which own the bulk of its stock and which consequently dictate its policy. These controlling papers are the most reactionary in America and are all owned by big financial concerns.

Through this enormous organization, the equal of which is to be found nowhere on earth, the great capitalists are enabled to colour the news of the world to their own liking, and to poison the minds of the whole people just as they see fit. And they exercise their power in this respect with unparalleled effrontery.

The horizontal control of the press is exercised through powerful local organizations of employers and advertisers. Much more so than in Europe, American papers draw their sustenance from advertising. In fact without the support of advertising from the great shops, banks, etc., they cannot survive. Hence, these big advertisers, realising their position of advantage, proceed to dictate the local and editorial policies of the papers. And sad is the fate of any newspaper that attempts to defy them and to venture upon a course of liberalism. It is usually not long until it is either made subservient again, or driven out of business.

An incident will indicate how drastic this local control is. During a campaign to organize the workers in the Steel industry a daily paper in the city of Gary, Indiana, ventured to speak in a friendly manner of the unions. Immediately the editor of the paper was summoned to the office of a leading banker and peremptorily ordered to join the fight against the unions. In case of refusal his credit was to be stopped and his paper killed within a week. Like so many others have done in similar circumstances, he submitted, and at once joined the other papers in the most violent and slanderous attacks against the trade unions. And so it goes on constantly all over the country; the employers hold the press in an iron leash.

To defend itself against the lying attacks of the great capitalists Labor has but a poor press indeed. The few liberal journals have only a small circulation, and but slight influence. Nor is the revolutionary movement much better equipped. Its papers are comparatively few in number and have limited power. Among the trade unions there is a considerable press, such as it is. Each of the big organizations has its journal, going to all of its members at least once a month. But the stuff contained in such journals is thin gruel, being mostly articles dealing with technical matters and the usual trade union demands.

Continued on col. 4.

Lenin's Speech on the Agricultural Tax

The urgency of the special Party Conference.

Comrades: I have already had the occasion to discuss the question of the agricultural tax in a special pamphlet which I wrote recently. The majority of the delegates most likely are familiar with the contents of this pamphlet. Many comrades who have travelled extensively through the country, especially Comrade Ossinsky after his tour in a number of provinces, presented to the Central Executive a resume of their observation which prove that our policy in connection with the agricultural tax is being interpreted in an extremely confused and often entirely perverted manner by the local authorities. In view of the paramount importance of the issue involved it was deemed absolutely necessary to convene a special Party Conference at which the entire question would be taken up and discussed to the fullest extent.

It happens that I was called upon to introduce the question of the general significance of our policy. I should like to confine myself to a few brief remarks adding something to what has been carefully elaborated in my pamphlet. I must admit that I lack direct information as to how the question is understood throughout the country, i. e., what defects, shortcomings and irregularities are most keenly felt. I shall later give more extensive explanations of some particular points when the course of the discussion will make clear the direction in which the attention of our local party workers should be guided.

As far as I can see, most misunderstandings in connection with the new economic policy arise from over emphasizing some particular side of the question. Such misunderstandings are almost inevitable until we shall be able to place the entire matter on a practical basis. Not before we have actually gathered in our food stocks according to the new rules shall we be able to determine the exact limitations for the application of one or another side of our policy. I shall dwell in general upon a few contradictions which, judging by the notes received from the public at various meetings, created most of the misunderstanding.

No Basic Reversion of Policy.

Sometimes the agricultural tax and the consequent misunderstandings are interpreted as a basic change of policy. Small wonder that much ado is being made about this interpretation by the foreign white-guard and specifically by the social-revolutionary and menshevik press. Among us too, there has arisen an altogether exaggerated notion of the import of the enacted reform and the character of the new policy. Of course, in view of the decisive predominance of the peasant element in our country, the chief aim of our policy, especially of our economic policy is the establishment of definite relations between the working class and the peasantry. For the first time in modern history we have a social order where the ruling class has been deposed and two classes, working class and the peasantry exist. The tremendous predominance of the peasantry must naturally reflect itself upon the economic policy and the entire policy in general. The chief question for us at present is and for a long time will continue to be, how to regulate the relations between these two classes so as to bring out the ultimate extinction of classes.

The Formula of Agreement Between the Working Class and the Peasantry.

Very often the enemies of the Soviet Government resort to a formula of agreement between the working class and the peasantry as their general battle cry. This formula hurled by them against us owing to its indefiniteness which admits of any number of different interpretations. An agreement between the workers and the peasants can be made to signify everything and anything. Only ignoring the indispensable fact that any agreement can be considered acceptable, correct and desirable in principle from the standpoint of the proletariat when it undoubtedly tends to strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and represents one of the measures towards the ultimate abolition of classes, is it possible to consider the formula of agreement as really the formula which the enemies of the Soviet Government and all the enemies of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat earnestly propagate and whole heartedly adhere to?

In what manner was this agreement accomplished during the first period of our revolution (i. e. that period which we now consider to be over)? How did the Dictatorship of the Proletariat hold and become consolidated in spite of the overwhelming preponderance of the peasant population? The chief reason, the motive force of our agreement was the civil war. The civil war sprung up every where and was conducted by the alliance of the White guards, the S. R.'s and the Mensheviks against us, but on every occasion it naturally led to the S. R.'s, the supporters of the Constituent Assembly, and the Mensheviks been pressed in the background by means of a coup-d'etat or without it, and the leadership of the movement being taken by the landlords and the capitalists. This was the case in the governments of Kolchak, and Denikin, and in all the numerous petty attacks and onslaughts directed against us. These were the chief factors which formulated and determined the basis upon which the unity of the workers and peasants was based. This was the cause of many inconceivable difficulties which we had to face but, on the other hand, it relieved us of the necessity of pondering over the basis upon which unity between the workers and peasants could be established, because the basis and the conditions of unity were absolutely and categorically determined by the state of war, which gave us absolutely no choice in the matter. Only the working class could accomplish the dictatorship, which was necessitated by the war and civil strife, and the participation of the landowners, closely united to the workers and peasants, without any conditions, any comments or any difficulties.

The Need for a Change of Policy.

Under such circumstances their were no internal political struggles faced by the gigantic difficulties, due to the isolation of Russia from the main grain centres, and because the food crisis had reached the extreme, we could maintain our policy of requisitions for the supply of food. I cannot dwell in detail just now on the injustices resulting from the requisitions. At any rate the requisitions accomplished their purpose—the preservation of industry during the period of more or less isolation from the grain districts. Only during a state of war could this be at all satisfactory, and as soon as we had definitely finished with our internal enemies, which only happened in 1921, another problem—the problem of economic relations between the worker and peasants arose. Only in the Spring of 1921, did we really touch the question and only then, when the bad harvest of 1920 reduced the peasants to an incredibly deplorable state. Then for the first time did we experience an internal political disturbance, not caused by any of our internal enemies but by the relations between the working class and the peasantry. If 1920 had given us a very good, or at least a good harvest; if out of the 420 millions we estimated to secure by the requisitions we had gathered 400 millions we could have carried out our economic programme almost in its entirety and would have had left a certain reserve whereby town goods could have been exchanged with agriculture.

To be Continued.

The Don and Kuban Water Transport administration has succeeded not only in carrying out the planned repairs of steamers etc. but has even exceeded that. Thus instead of the 27 passenger steamers of the program 31 were repaired. Instead of repairing 13 motor boats and barges as planned 17 of the former and 78 of the latter were actually repaired.

The Flax mill in the city of Torzhok has produced 50% more than the average pre-war output.

Three hundred workers children have arrived at Odessa from the Don Basin to be distributed to the various local resorts and sanatoriaums.

Comrade Ozimin a member of the Petrograd Department for Proletarian Culture has been appointed director of the Petrograd Theatrical Section. Comrade Ozimin is a working man.

The Women of the Don Basin.

During a comparative but short period, the work amongst the women of the Don Basin has embraced large numbers of working and peasant women. Meetings of delegates, work in the Soviet section and various investigations were very successfully carried out both in the towns as well as in the stanitsas amongst the peasant and Cossack women. During 1920 the number of women delegates elected at various delegates meetings is 930 women. There are 603 apprentices in the Soviet Departments; the number of peasant and working who have been elected for constant work by various Soviet institutions is 300. 8 working women are members of the Gubernia Executive Committee there are 12 women members on the Volost Executive Committee; 20 working women have been elected to the Town Soviet.

Notwithstanding the fact that there are only 5,704 members of the Don Basin Trade Union the number of working women in the factory committees amount to 51. The working women take an active part in the opening of various childrens institutions; Thus it is interesting to notice that in the city of Rostoff on the Don the working and peasant women have without assistance opened 16 creches.

Defence of the Country and the Working Woman.

During the critical days when the Soviet Republic was surrounded by the White Guards the whole of the working class volunteered every possible aid to the front. Working and peasant women took an active part in defending the Republic and have also rendered direct assistance to the Red Front. On many occasions they left their children and went to the front as sisters, nurses, and so forth.

In 1919—20, 2,298 working women left for the front to work and 7,806 more as nurses. The number of women perished on the front is 1,854 which does not only include nurses, but also rank and file women soldiers.

Continued from col. 1

In most of the large cities and towns there are local trade union papers, of poor quality, small circulation and inconsiderable influence. Some of these local papers are parasitic in nature. While pretending to be labor papers they are actually supported by the employers to fight the unions. Such usually start out as genuine labor papers, backed by the trade unions. But after awhile, in their incessant search for advertising (without which even labor papers can hardly live in America), they find that the employers will pay them heavily if they agree to carry on a sort of right wing agitation in the movement. This many of them do. In the city of Pittsburgh alone there are three of such papers, all of which began as real labor papers, were bribed by the employers and finally were repudiated by the labor movement—but they all still continue to call themselves labor journals and lose no occasion to fight everything in the unions that is progressive.

The need for a great labor press is a burning one in America. Of late years much has been done in this direction, including the launching of several dailies in various cities. But the most important achievement was the founding a couple of years ago of the Federated Press. This organization is a federation of labor papers for the purpose of gathering and distributing labor news. About 150 of the leading labor papers of America are affiliated to it and take its new service. It has correspondents in all the large industrial and political centers, which furnish a constant stream of reliable labor news to the labor press.

The Federated Press is non-partisan in character, confining itself so far as possible to news and special articles, with which its affiliated journals (mostly all of progressive or revolutionary tendencies), can agree. Since the Federated Press' appearance the general tone and quality of American labor papers has greatly improved. Its founders are planning to build it into an organization capable of competing with its great capitalistic rival, the Associated Press, and of breaking the capitalist class ironclad control of American news service and public opinion.

William Z. Foster.

The Communist Women's Conference and the Third International.

The chief purpose of the Third Congress of the Communist International, to unite and gather under the Red banner of Communism the vast masses of the proletariat of all nations and countries and to work out the practical lines of action to hasten the inevitable Social Revolution, cannot be achieved without the help and active support of the millions of starving and enslaved women of the working class, crushed by Capitalism. The very first Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in 1919, showed the necessity for all Communist Parties to win over the large masses of proletarian women to the great principles of liberation of the Comintern. It was proclaimed that, without the activity of the working-women and their energetic support of the civil war which is being waged throughout the world, — the dictatorship of the proletariat class, as well as the construction of a new Labour-State in the Soviet Republic, could be accomplished. At the Second Congress of the Third International, in July 1920, the chairman of the Comintern called together a special conference of Communist women, which clearly mapped out the lines upon which the struggle for the liberation of the women, — this special task in the general struggle of the working class for its liberation, — ought to be fought out.

These were worked out by the Conference of Communist women, which were accepted later by the Executive of the Comintern. But although the principles and methods of this special work were pointed out a year ago, the majority of the Communist Parties have not as yet adopted this necessary step, in practice except in Germany and Austria where the work of winning the working women over to Communism, is developing rapidly, the Communist Parties of other countries as yet have not, even fixed a special Party body, a Committee or Department to carry on agitational and propaganda work among the large masses of the class unconscious working women.

The percentage of self-supporting working women, at the time of the Second International although increasing rapidly was still very low. It is different now, after the war. During the war from eight to ten million more women were mobilised for production purposes in Europe and America. They had to endure all the sufferings of the war, and now these great masses of self-supporting working women, about seventy millions, form a great part of the unemployed in all capitalist countries. More than ever before women are the most down-trodden and also the most resentful category of the suffering proletariat of the world: they suffer doubly — for themselves and for their children. We see that women are beginning to be more and more class-conscious, that they are taking an active part in all the great economic struggles arising throughout England, Germany, America, and other bourgeois countries. It would be poor policy if the Comintern to further its great purpose were not to make use of this great newly awakening force — discontented, suffering, resentful working women, hating as they do their double slavery the one imposed by capitalist exploitation, the other by the old traditions of a bourgeois standard of life.

The question of winning over the women to the International class struggle of the proletariat is entering upon a new phase: At the time of the Second International the struggle for the liberation of the proletarian women was a mere principle, a purpose, put forth by women themselves rather than by the International, and, only to a certain degree rather in theory than in practice, supported by the socialist parties. It is quite different now. The liberation of the proletarian women from all the terrible sufferings of the present time, sufferings born of the chaos of the capitalist system of production, can only be achieved through the Social Revolution, through the dictatorship of the working class, and the establishment of Soviet Republics. The proletarian women must be made to see it clearly... She must be taught to support the joint struggle of working men and women. She must be enlightened and made to understand that no party, ex-

cept the Communist Party, can help her and bring relief to her from the hell of today's existence. She must be encouraged to turn decidedly against all supporters of the Second International, and to fight bitterly against all kinds of conciliating elements in her party or group, which tend to support a 2 1/2 International.

What is the 2 1/2 International? A method of compromising with the Socialist parties the unconscious or willing servants of the bourgeoisie. Can compromise with the old world and hasten the social revolution, and with it the liberation of women? Certainly not!

Co-operation with bourgeois women, or with the parties that stand aloof from the Comintern will only postpone the inevitable day of the final battle. The working women must have that clearly set before them. That is the duty of the Third International, as long as one of its practical purposes is to spread its influence all over the world, in order to bring relief to the suffering proletariat of both sexes of all races and nations, to unite them and spur on to action, in order to hasten the conquest of the world's dictatorship of the proletariat class.

Practically at the same time as the Congress of the Third International, the Second Conference of Communist Women is to take place in Moscow. This Conference has no separate aims and is merely a part of the general Congress. All men comrades are cordially invited to take part at the Communist Women's Conference. The purpose of which is not to duplicate the work of the Comintern, but to enrich the creative force of the Communist Parties by pointing out new ways and methods of agitation and propaganda to gain women for Communism, to educate the vast masses of toiling women, into active supporters, as well as the soldiers of the Red Army, in their struggle for a new social order.

The Conference is to take place several days before the Congress. Special delegates carrying on party work among the women in their respective countries, will attend the Conference and be present at the General Congress, with a consultative vote. All women-delegates of the Congress will be admitted as delegates to the Conference.

The chief question of the Conference will be: "Methods and Principles of work among the proletarian women, carried out by the Communist Parties". The resolutions taken by the Conference will, later, be passed by the Congress.

It will be necessary for the Conference to get a clear view of the fact that our antagonists the Socialist parties, and the supporters of yellow workers' organisations, as well as the bourgeoisie, are actively entering upon a world-wide campaign among the working women.

Women are beginning to be an object of political interest to all the militant groups.

The League of Nations is calling, in Washington, a world-wide Working-Women's Congress. The League for Peace of Freedom is organising, in Vienna, an International Women's Congress, inviting all women, even representatives from hated Soviet Russia!

The Comintern must meet this danger now of the women being influenced against Communism by mobilising special forces of all Communist Parties, and by winning over the large masses of the working women to our great cause.

It must be made clear to all proletarian women that the liberator of women is Communism.

The way to Communism is, only through the methods and tactics pointed out and accepted by the Third International. He who is against the Third International is against the liberation of women.

Not a separate women's organisation, but the appointment, in each party, of a special body to carry on the work among the women members, is the practical proposition which stands upon the Agenda of the Communist Women's Conference which is to help the Comintern to hasten the victory of Communism in the civil war both East and West.

A. Kollontay.

The Committee dealing with the improvement of the workers in Kostroma, in cooperation with the Ouezd committees has set itself the task of setting up factories for the repair of workers' clothes and boots, opening the cooperative workshop for their scheme.

In Balashava, Saratov Gubernia, the Ouezd Communal Department is starting repairing of workers' homes. The millings of those trade unionists who distinguished themselves by an increase in production will be the first to be repaired.

French Communist Party Conference.

The First Conference of the French Section of the Communist International opened on Sunday, the 15th of May at 11 a. m. in the Hall of the Union des Syndicats of the Seine, under the chairmanship of Marcel Cachin, assisted by Loriot and Souvarine.

The principal question on the Agenda of the Congress was the inauguration of the new Statutes of the Party.

Marcel Cachin's Speech.

The President of the Congress, Marcel Cachin delivered a speech in which he greeted the Third International and our imprisoned comrades.

"I am sure, — said Cachin, — I am expressing your sentiments in addressing to the Communist International and its Executive Committee, the expression of our absolute solidarity and our entire devotion. In the name of then First Conference of our Communist Party, I greet the Third International, the daughter of the Russian Revolution.

The Party has never before been as strong, as united, and as wholesome as it is to-day! According to our friends of the Third International, it is becoming, with each succeeding day, a "revolutionary fraternity".

In my life as a militant, I have seen several splits, as important as the last one. Previous experience, however, has shown that the Party always overcame difficulties by reconstructing itself around those who maintained intact the idea of the class struggle, and of the revolution. A number of the honest, sincere fighters, who, have left the Communist Party by mistake, will be certain to join it again in the near future... The forthcoming events will compel them to do so! Do we not see, even to-day, that the leaders who were most conscious of the role assigned to the split up of the Party, work for the organisation of the Left Block throughout France?

Among the socialists who have forsaken us, there are many who do not sanction the policy into which they are being dragged into. The real revolutionaries, who have as yet not joined our ranks

will be brought, to us by the mere course of the events. Capitalism is rapidly decaying. It is faced with insurmountable difficulties, of the international, financial, economic and social order. Everywhere, the proletariat has broken with it. Everything points to its approaching end, and in the decisive moments which are at hand, the true-hearted socialists will rally round our banner.

Meanwhile, our Party indefatigably pursues its task of propaganda, gathering its energies; and we may with pride, never before has our Party inspired so much confidence among the proletariat. Let us say it! This is due to the particular clearness of our attitude! And Cachin concluded:

"Comrades, we will now work upon our future statutes. It will be the work of the comrades here, the delegates, to furnish the Party with firm and supple statutes, which will efficaciously aid the workers of this country to realise, with the least possible delay, the Social Revolution!"

L. O. Frossards Speech.

Comrade Frossard took up the question of the effects of the resignations from the Party, and pointed to the way in which the Party has re-gained vigor:

"By the 31st of March 1921, 121,000 cards and 350,000 stamps have been taken by the federations. By March 31st 1920, they had withdrawn 130,000 cards and 650,000 stamps.

Before the Tours Conference, the Party was composed of 95 federations; to-day there are 94 federations, and before the end of the month, the 95th federation will have been created in the Jura.

The Party possesses five dailies: *L'Humanité*, *L'Internationale*, *le Populaire de Bourgogne*, *La Dépêche de l'Aube et le Volkstribune de Metz*; two bi-weeklies: *le Travailleur de l'Yonne et Germinal de Belfort*, and 40 weeklies.

Frossard concluded: "We are the great political revolutionary force. We are the Party that knows what it needs, for it needs the Revolution.

(*L'Humanité*, 16th May).

News from all parts of the Republic.

The Textile union of the city of Ekaterinbourg has passed a resolution to the effect that those workers who regularly attend school should be the first to be supplied with a all articles of primary necessity.

At the last "Subbotnik" of the miners of Yemeliasok near Bakum 137,740 pounds of coal were obtained.

The gubernia Council of Trade Unions of the city of Tamboff has opened the first Rest Home.

The Committee dealing with the improvement of the workers condition in Tzaritzin are opening 14 steam laundries, building river bathing places and fitting up baths. All city parks, squares and streets must be repaired as soon as possible.

In the Ilik (Ural Oblast), the non-working element has been sent to the suburbs and the rooms thus freed given to the workers.

The Novgorod branch of the Russian Communist Party collected 118,000 roubles at a meeting for the English coal strikers.

90 delegates have been appointed to Kursk Town Soviet. 60 are Communists and 30 non-Party.

The work of the Sevastopol Depot factories are proceeding most successfully. 54 trucks were repaired in March, 80 in April, and 102 in May.

The workers of the Ulukov tannery in Gomel Gubernia at a general meeting decided to take upon themselves the task of re-equipment and repairs, agreeing to work over their fixed 8 hours in order to increase the productivity of the factory.

We have received news from the town of Briansk to the effect that the local "Isvestia" has recently been receiving daily letters from Left and Right Wing Socialist Revolutionaries announcing their resignation from that party.

The Korneyeff Textile Factory (Pavlov Posad) has bought up its output for the month of April to 154% of the program. This was accomplished with the aid of 183 looms out of the 200.

There are at the present time 355 Soviet farms and 200 communal farms in the gubernia of Petrograd. These Soviet and communal farms have made considerable improvement in agricultural management. For instance, in the model Soviet farm at the Suvorin near the Volost of Gatchina the workers have cultivated with ordinary ploughs more land than that had been done in the pre-war days. In Belgorodsk Rojdestvenskaya Volost four villages have been lit with electricity by the Soviet, whilst the cultivation of the land extended to the pre-war norm.

A model kitchen garden has been organised for workers children at the "House of Education" of the Baltic works at Petrograd. The entire crop of this kitchen garden will be divided equally amongst all the school children. Knowing this children work very assiduously watering and taking care of the vegetables in every possible way.

The Experimental Chemical Works at Petrograd has manufactured for the quarter year 12 poods and 25lbs of red phosphorus which was formerly obtained from abroad.

The crew of the Steamer "Historian Klutchevsky" on arriving at Rybinsk with a cargo from Lower Volga organised a "subbotnik" and unloaded the entire cargo owing to the absence of transport workers. The money earned amounting to 300,000 roubles was granted to the local kindergarden.

Armistice.

According to information received from insurgent headquarters, quiet reigns on the whole Silesian front. In many places the Germans approached the Polish posts, with white flags with proposals of an armistice.