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# MOSCOW

## ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
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1921.

### TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

#### Tom Bell on Persecution of British Communists.

The vendetta started in Great Britain against all militant labour organisations continues with increasing ferocity. The fine spirit of solidarity displayed by the miners, and the wave of sympathetic action running through all the labour Unions has put the bourgeoisie in a blue funk. Never before has Trade Unionism in the country shown such remarkable unanimity, and were it not for the reactionary leaders who instinctively shrink from revolution and hold the workers back by their specious pleas for constitutionalism, Great Britain would be celebrating the meeting of the Third Congress of the World International by civil war.

That this statement is no mere rhetorical verbiage is proven by the precautions taken by the Government when the strike broke out. Their first move was to rush through a special act of Parliament to give them powers to cope with just the circumstances which would arise from a state of civil war. Powers were given to raise 300,000 men for the army, 20,000 for the Navy and 10,000 aviators. The country was divided into regions with a Commissar and assistants to control each region in the event of the central machinery being isolated. The most extensive powers were given to local magistrates to deal with all acts of "sedition" and to provide ways and means for the safety of the "community". This act is known as the Emergency Powers Act. Fortunately for the bourgeoisie all danger was averted by the treachery of the leaders of the Triple Alliance on April 14th. — I. H. Thomas, E. Beyin, R. Williams, to name but a few of them — in calling off the strike and leaving the miners in the lurch.

Continued page 4 col. 4.

#### ENGLAND.

##### Mobilisation of Sinn Feiners.

The position in Ireland is becoming more critical. The leader of the Sinn Feiners issued an order mobilising all revolutionary forces. The Sinn Feiners control an army of 25,000 men.

##### British Miners Reject the Government's Proposals.

London, June 4. Yesterday the miners' executive informed the government that without exception all miners' districts rejected the last government proposals. The mineowners yesterday also sent their reply to the government's terms which accepts arbitration by a national board, but reaffirms their opposition to a national settlement and a national pool. The "Daily Herald" states: "The premier will seek to take the miners' views on the owners' terms. The miners' executive will meet again this morning, and it is expected that some further communications will be sent to it by the premier."

##### The Lock-Out in the Cotton Industry.

London, June 4. The papers announce a new lock-out in the cotton industry which will affect 500,000 workers. At the Manchester conference of cotton employers and operatives the employers insisted on wages cut of 25%. The workers' representatives accepted a 15% cut and, after this was rejected, asked that the question should be referred to an independent arbitration. The employers rejected this proposal, and so the operative leaders issued instructions to members that they are not to work on Monday. Commenting on this situation, the "Times" states: "The country is faced with the complete stoppage of the second of its greatest industries."

##### On the eve of a new war.

The "Daily Express" for the 4th of June writes: — "Great Britain is confronted by a new war". In the expectation for the combined naval operation on the side of Greece against the Turk, Britain is massing her fleet around Malta. Greece is figuring on active assistance from the Allies. France concluded peace with the Turkish nationalists, still it is hoped that she will join the rest of the Allies in their operations against the Turk so that Lloyd George will give France a free hand in Germany. Attempts are made, at the present time, to secure the participation of Italy. These machinations, however, are doomed to failure. The British tax payer is scared by the new war expedition, because he will have to bear heavy expenditures."

##### Lloyd George in a Hurry.

Lloyd George insists upon the immediate convention of the Supreme Council, in apprehension that France will capture the Ruhr if Bavaria does not disarm. The timely convention of the Council will enable Lloyd George to come out categorically against the occupation of the Ruhr.

##### British capitalist's anxiety.

London, June 3. Yesterday in the House of Commons a member asked "Whether the government proposes to introduce or to give any support to legislation for a recognition of Russian money, particularly since a number of British subjects have invested their savings in Russian currency and values and are now absolutely destitute in view of the worthlessness of which they often hold large quantities". The Prime Minister replied: "There is no intention on the part of the government to introduce or to support legislation giving an artificial value to Russian paper money".

#### GERMANY.

##### The Independents' Support to Wirth's Cabinet.

Hanover, June 5. (Eireless.) The "Freiheit" tells Wirth that the Independent socialists, though temporarily ready to support him, are still looking on the present government with scepticism and that the duration of their support will depend wholly on the nature of the cabinet's accomplishments. The "Berliner Tageblatt" demands that the cabinet's party basis be extended either to the right or to the left.

##### New title for Curzon of Kedleston.

Horsea, June 5. (Wireless.) Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Foreign minister heads the list of honours, conferred on occasion of the king's birthday. He has been made a marquis.

##### Debates in the Reichstag about the Government's program.

Nauen, June 4. (Wireless.) Yesterday continued the debates on the government's program. The German people's party too will not propose any special resolution, because an acute crisis would be extremely undesirable at present.

#### SILESIA.

##### The situation in Silesia.

Nauen, June 4. (Wireless.) Information was received from Oppeln concerning great activity of the insurgents along the whole line which they hold in Upper Silesia. Pless was occupied by Polish bands without any opposition on the part of a French cavalry squadron which was in that town.

Lyons, June 4. (Wireless.) According to the Wolf-Bureau, Allied troops have retaken Pless. The deputy who was taken prisoner has been set free.—The "Vossische Zeitung" states that the insurgents raided a train with victuals intended for Allied troops. French forces pursued them as far as their headquarters. Order was re-established after the exchange of a few shots.

Lyons, June 5. (Wireless.) The interallied commission has ordered its troops to proceed to the occupation of a zone which would separate the belligerents in Upper Silesia. The interallied troops have begun their advance for that purpose.

#### ITALY.

##### Election Results.

The Socialist Party received 1,630,000 votes, and secured the election 124 deputies.

##### Socialist Party's Denial.

The Secretariat of the Italian Socialist Party has published the following statement: "Refuting the rumours of the possibility of collaboration of the Socialist Party with the bourgeoisie, the Secretariat considers it useless to deny the tendentious reports disseminated by the bourgeois press on the likelihood of such collaboration. The tradition of our Party has always been stamped with class irreconcilability and was maintained by the resolution of the Livorno Congress, and gives no ground for the newspapers of the adversary's camp to dream of any such collaboration."

##### Withdrawal of British troops from Persia.

London, June 3. It is officially announced that the withdrawal of British troops from North West Persia has now been completed.

#### NORWAY.

##### Workers Still Holding out.

Christiania, 4th June. After the struggle lasting a whole week, the ranks of the Norwegian workers are still solid. A new spirit of animation seems to have run through the whole of the 170,000. The negotiations between the ships engineers and shipowners have been broken off until the new negotiations with the engineers of foreign going vessels have been completed. These negotiations are still proceeding. President of the Storting, Knudsen, has stated that the time for arbitration has not yet arrived. The shipowners declare that they will not resort to arbitration under any conditions whatsoever. In some places military precautions have been taken to protect blacklegs. The police of Christiania have three machine guns and armoured cars ready for use, in spite of the fact that complete calm has prevailed since the provoked attack of the police on the second day of the strike.

##### Meeting of Mensheviks.

A general town meeting of the members of the Menshevik Party was held in Riga on 2nd of June. In the report made on the work of the Riga Committee it is stated that Social-Democratic fractions have been formed in all trade union organisations in view of the strivings of the communists to seize the leadership in them. The report made on the tactics of the Social-Democratic Party points out that the party cannot justify the persecution of the communists; the legalisation of the Communist Party would make easier the fight against its erroneous tactics. Disagreeing as we do with the Bolshevik regime it is nevertheless our duty to stand up with all our might for the establishment of good relations between Latvia and Soviet Russia.

##### A Second Hungary.

Since the arrest of the entire Congress which has decided by a considerable majority to affiliate to the III International of Moscow, systematic White Terror is raging in that unfortunate country which has trebled its population as a consequence of the stupid Treaty of Versailles. Indiscriminate imprisonment and torture are the order of the day.

Official ferocity reigns supreme. A whole party is outlawed. Roumania which claims to be a civilized country, which with its humanitarian complicity of Wilson, has appropriated millions of Hungarians, Rumanians, Jews, etc., knows no right or law. She acts like a horde of savages. There is no liberty and no respect for human dignity. The lei which before the war was worth a franc, fetches now but 60 centimes. The distress is appalling. The county is at the mercy of thieves and assassins; and in order to stifle honest protests they persecute the workers and the socialist party.

("L'Humanité", 25th May)

##### The police international

Our Comrade Zalewski has again been arrested. The Swiss took him to the frontier and the Checo-Slovak police arrested him in Taus on the pretext our comrade had been instructed to duct communist propaganda in the Silesia of Central Europe.

This arbitrary arrest is a proof of the close understanding between the police forces in the pay of Capitalism. The great world blood letting has destroyed the internationalism of the peoples. It has remarkably strengthened the counter-revolutionary police force. The fear of communism is so great that the Governmental spheres of Europe the persecutions and molestations of militants are continually on the increase. In arresting our comrade Zalewski Slovakia has shown that she is a reactionary as victorious France and Catholic Switzerland.

("L'Humanité", May)



**"MOSCOW"**

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Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.  
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).**The Persecution of Communists in Germany.**

The trial of the First Chairman of the United Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Brandler, who has been in preliminary detention since the end of April, will begin to-morrow. Com. Brandler is charged with having been connected with the March uprising and the extraordinary court will undoubtedly find the hemp to make the rope for our comrade. The question is one of principle, namely, whether the Chairman of a party can be held liable for the acts of the subordinate district organisations. The State Attorney will find it extremely difficult to assemble sufficient evidence for a conviction. In Paul Levy the State has just found a witness in its favour and reactionary Justice could not wish for a better. A capable Prosecutor can easily make out a splendid case of high treason against the entire executive Board of the V. K. P. D. by close perusal of Levi's pamphlet, "Our May". Thus Levi, by his stupid trick, not only delivered valuable material into the hands of the counter-revolutionary forces, who cite with satisfaction from this pamphlet in their attacks upon the communists, but also became a purveyor to vindictive white justice. This is sad satire on Levi's declaration after his resignation from the Central Committee, "I shall devote my services to the Communist Party as a common soldier".

Highly interesting is the telegraphic report of Saturday, according to which the Scheidemann party are planning to demand amnesty for the participants of in the March revolt. Are the Scheidemanns and Hilferdings at last beginning to hear the rolling of the thunder of the imminent storm in the ranks of their own parties? We can scarcely believe that the social-traitors have suddenly become imbued with pity for the victims of the of the March uprising or that they are ceasing their former persecution for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the Communists. The opportunity was much too favourable for them to let slip. The State of Emergency made it possible for the social-traitors to carry on their propaganda unhindered. Hoersing, has prohibited the publication not only of our only paper "The Class War" but also of any other Communist paper. The new district leader was arrested even before he had begun his activities, and our trusted officials partly murdered, partly put behind prison bars and partly hounded like wild beasts fleeing from white justice. The holding of meetings and the circulation of propaganda material is entirely impossible here. To this end a large staff of industrious anti-bolsheviks in the camp of the social-traitors are working in the sweat of their brows, trying to fill their depleted ranks in order to paint red middle Germany pink or even yellow. We do not doubt that a number of the members of the V. K. P. D. will allow themselves to be cajoled into lending an ear to the S. D. P. and the U. S. P. D. One who knows the conditions in Middle Germany, especially the story of the Mansfeld movement, knows that a great number of hangers-on of the party, the "business communists" were anything but active, honest and ideal communists. The works of the Mansfeld Copper Slate Mining Company were, up to 1912, the El-Dorado of the yellow Labour movement. From far and wide, even from abroad, the agents of the reactionary capitalists came to study the conditions of the yellow workers in Mansfeld.

After all it was the Middle German capitalist group itself, by its brutal oppression of every symptom of free thought, that ploughed and fertilised the soil for communist seed. For that reason our propaganda in this region before and after the revolution was very successful. From the very nature of things, thorough educational communist propaganda has not been possible during the last few years, as such propaganda remained limited our work was confined to resolution and protests, to the smoothing of the path towards Socialism and satisfying the petty needs of the Middle German work-

ers. On account of the continual attacks of the counter-revolution, and the tactics of the U. S. P. D., which up to the Congress at Halle was the dominating force in Middle Germany. Nevertheless a communist fighting guard has arisen even in this region, which will always remain the vanguard of the Red Army.

In the meantime white justice is doing its fiendish work as before. The statistical data on the machine gun (summary) justice administered by Special Courts give us over 1500 years of imprisonment, many death sentences and life sentences. The Social Democratic and the Independent Press have so far done nothing to put a stop to this ferocious activity on the part of white justice. What we foresaw seems to be coming true. The counter-revolution will not stop at the Communists, it will also attack the ranks of those parties, which act with them. The Wels and Hilferdings have unchained monsters over which they have now lost control.

However the workers, who, owing to the agitation on the part of the respectable bourgeois and socialist press, and the Trade Union bureaucracy have been brought to a state of confusion, seem now to realise that they must look for their worst enemies in their own camp and the change in the tactics of the Scheidemannists is to be attributed to that fact.

Even though the March rebellion ended in defeat it has generated definite ideas among the rank and file of the Communist Party, and simultaneously was a good object lesson for those who were sitting on the fence. The hounding of the socialists has brought about a result which was the exact opposite of the one expected by the persecutors. The battle front of the Communists stands firmer than ever and persecutions may they be ever so cruel with not be able to shake it.

Joseph Schneider.

**The Seizure of Vladivostock.**

The seizure of Vladivostock, which was accomplished by the Semyonovites with the aid of Japanese bayonets, is undeniably the beginning of a new intervention prepared by a compact between Tokio and Paris. Japan and France are two active enemies of Russia. The plan to attack Soviet Russia by aid of Wrangel's whiteguard bands failed. Under pressure of the French workers France was compelled to relinquish its support of Wrangel, but French diplomacy did not abandon the idea of organising pressure on Russia. As can be seen from a number of secret documents, France advised Japan to take Wrangel's troops under its protection and to evacuate them to the Far East.

This is the inherent meaning of the events in Vladivostock. Vladivostock and the whole of the coastal region by a Franco-Japanese Agreement has been assigned as a new base for the counter-revolutionary forces, for the next attack on Soviet Russia through Siberia. Probably the echoes of the peasant unrest in the Spring inspired the idea that a new Siberian adventure is possible. The remoteness of the maritime provinces and the proximity of Japanese bayonets gave them the assurance that the Red Army will not so rapidly reach the new counter-revolutionary nest of the Russian Reaction.

It appears that the seizure of power by Semenov's forces was achieved by the aid of Japanese gendarmes who in spite of the agreement between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic disarmed the militia of the latter and thus facilitated the seizure of power by Semyonov. At the present moment Semyonov is at Port Arthur, evidently waiting for the final results of his new adventure. Nevertheless he has a government already formed headed by the notorious Tuscin, who in all probability will at the first opportunity come forth as the government of a new Black Buffer. Subsequently the Attaman himself will appear and repeat the same thing among the unfortunate population of the maritime provinces as he committed during his bloody reign in Chita.

But the workers and peasants know too well the horrors of the sanguinary Attaman, and already we have information to the effect that a guerilla movement has already commenced in the maritime provinces which is offering stubborn armed resistance to the rising Semyonovists. It is possible that the Semyonovists obtain support from Japanese Expeditionary troops and will conduct their adventure to the end, i. e. fortify themselves in the maritime provinces. We will admit the possibility of such an issue. But if the initiators of this adventure dream of something more, of seizing the Amur, the Trans-Baikal or an advance into Siberia, they are terribly deluding themselves. Not only Soviet Russia but the Far Eastern Republic has sufficient strength

**The Trade Union Movement in the Balkans.**

By G. Dimitrof.

In view of the specially important position which the Balkans occupies as a connecting link between Europe and Asia, the Balkans has been converted into an arena of struggle between two European imperialist alliances, one with England at the head, and the other under the leadership of Germany.

For years these two alliances endeavoured to utilise the Balkan peninsula for their aggressive imperialist policy, for investing their surplus capital, for selling their goods and for securing raw materials. Especially were the powers anxious to gain hold of the Balkans as the corridor between the East and West.

In the process and under the influence of this struggle the following separate States were organised, i. e. Greece, Roumania, Serbia, (now Jugo-Slavia) and Bulgaria. They were detached from the old feudal Turkish Empire, but they still continue to represent one general economic structure, regardless of the surviving ethnographic and economic distinctions between them.

Being at the beginning and remaining still agrarian countries, they were soon caught by the tentacles of capitalist production and its laws. With the aid of foreign capital which in 1914 constituted 60% of the entire industrial capital in the Balkans, the process of industrialisation of the Balkan countries soon acquired a great momentum. Of course, the powers permitted the development of only such industries as would not threaten their own industry, for instance: the sugar, tobacco, coal, the oil industries, and a number of other occupations which are directly connected with agriculture and relate to the extraction of raw materials and semi-manufactures necessary for the European industry. The most characteristic period in the industrial development of the Balkans was between 1900-1912 (prior to the Balkan War) when the number of factories increased in Bulgaria 115%, in Roumania 100%, in Serbia 80%, and in Greece 75%. The Balkan war of 1912-13 impeded the process of rapid capitalist development, while the imperialist war of 1914-18 entirely interrupted it and delivered a heavy blow to the young Balkan industry.

After the war the Balkan States were saddled with a colossal debt reaching into milliards. Their industry is undermined. The rise in the cost of living is higher than in all European countries. Unemployment is constantly increasing. The exploitation of labour is becoming daily more relentless. There is no chance whatsoever for the restoration of the totally ruined industry upon the old capitalist basis. The money accumulated during the war by the banks and trusts and individual capitalists, is chiefly employed for speculating in articles of primary necessity. Thus capitalists amass new fortunes at the expense of the starving toiling masses and the economic crisis and general break down is becoming entirely hopeless.

## II.

Owing to the low stage of development, capitalist industry in the Balkans, the trade union movement is weak. As a mass movement it has been in existence for 20 years.

The Balkan trade unions were organised in the heat of the class struggle and under the direct influence and leadership of the Socialist Parties. They always considered themselves organs of the class struggle of the proletariat. From the very first these Balkan trade unions were able to utilise the age long experience of the European proletariat and avoided many mistakes which were committed by the trade union movement of other European countries.

On the other hand, too late development of capitalism and the organisation of trade unions under the direct leadership of the Socialist Parties, the Balkans never developed that type "labour aristocracy" which is known in England and

to smash the bands of Russian white guards concentrated in the maritime provinces by the charity of Japan and France just as Kolchak's and Wrangel's bands were smashed.

We have not the slightest doubt that the new attempt at intervention by Japanese and French diplomacy in the Far East and in Siberia will be defeated, and their hirelings will be driven into the Pacific Ocean as Wrangel's were driven into the Black Sea.

V. Sibiryakov (Vilensky).

America. There was also no opportunity for the growth of such conservative and reactionary trade union bureaucracy that has grown up in Europe and America and is causing immense harm to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

This explains why all attempts to organise yellow unions in the Balkans has failed miserably. The trade union movement in the Balkans is a revolutionary factor in the class struggle of the proletariat. The trade unions are in the closest contact with the proletarian parties and recognise political leadership. Anarchism and syndicalism have gained no foothold among the working class.

Owing to the long and stubborn struggle against opportunism all vacillating tendencies in the working class movement, the struggle which began first of all in Bulgaria and then spread throughout the whole of the Balkans, has become a struggle of the broad masses of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It has dissolved the last remnants of the Yellow and Neutral organisations and has become a strong and unified movement under the political leadership of the Communist Parties.

In Bulgaria no other trade unions exist. The entire organized proletariat is a solid unit and is wholly under the strict guidance of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In Jugo-Slavia the social patriots who attempted to gain a hold of the trade unions in Chorraix and Slavonia have suffered defeat after defeat. The process of amalgamation of the entire trade union movement into one Big Union under the leadership of the Communist party is nearing completion. In Roumania the trade unions which were always far more revolutionary than the vacillating socialist party, will now after the formation of the Communist Party, come over to its side.

In Greece the one important trade union organisation the General Federation of Trade Unions is marching under the banner of the Communist Party. The yellow trade unions which were used by the bourgeoisie for their political purposes, turning them now to the side of Venezelos and then to the side of his adversaries have completely collapsed and all the healthy proletarian elements are rapidly going over to the ranks of the general Council of Trade Unions.

The number of workers in the Balkan countries organised before the imperialist war in the trade unions on the basis of the class struggle was not very large. Thus the class trade unions in 1914 in Greece comprised 3,000 members, in Bulgaria 5,000, Roumania 7,500 and Serbia 9,000.

The revolutionary temper of the working masses as a result of the war and the meritorious conduct of the trade unions during the war rendered a great impetus to their development. In Bulgaria, for instance the membership rose to 32,000 in 1919, and to 40,000 at the present time. In Roumania it rose from 7,500 to 25,000; in Serbia from 9,000 to 30,000, and in Greece from 3,000 to 35,000.

As is known, the war brought Roumania and Serbia considerable territorial aggrandisement. To these two Balkan States were attached large and important industrial areas that belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, where large trade union organisations existed even before the war.

In Serbia, therefore, (now Jugo-Slavia) the general number of workers organised in the trade unions now exceeds 200,000, and in Roumania it is 180,000.

In Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania the strongest unions are those of the transport workers and the miners, and in Greece it is the tobacco and dock workers. It is interesting to note that after the war the trade unions of the Balkan countries rapidly embraced the agricultural labourers as well as the administrative proletariat, who before were never susceptible to trade union organisation. The number of women in the trade union movement comprises between 15 and 25 per cent. In certain trade unions such as those of the tobacco and textile and confectionary trades the workers form a majority of between 50 and 70 per cent.

The trade unions of the Balkan countries are constructed on the industrial principle and are centralised organisations. The trade unions of various branches of industry are united into One Big Union in each respective country.

To be continued.



### The Anti-Militarist Movement.

At the end of a meeting held on May 22nd at the Montpellier People's Pavillion, the participants numbering 2,000 carried a motion protesting against the menace of war and demanding peace with all nations.

In Avignon, after an address delivered by Alexandre Blanc, communist deputy, 2,000 persons formed a procession and paraded the town with red flags, shouting "Down with war", "Demobilise class 1914". No disorder occurred.

(L'Humanité, May 24th).

On May 13th, 600 men of the 35th Artillery Regiment were entraining at the Vannes Station. The band played the Marseillaise, but the protesters interfered by singing the International interspersed with shouts "Down with war!".

A detachment of the 12th R. A. C. entrained at Saint Die singing the "International". At Creteil, on May 14th, 400 men passed through the town at 7 a. m. singing the International and shouting "Give us food!". Men of the 121st Regiment of the Turenne barracks at Langres, who have to buy their food, inform us that trains pass the station carrying people singing the International.

On May 10, a detachment of the 21st Colonial left the Bietre and passed through the streets of Tolbiac singing the International. After their return, Lieutenant Lepine wanted to punish the demonstrators for their rebellious action. Two sergeants who refused to denounce their comrades were dismissed.

At Achecourt, the headquarters of the 33 R. I. demonstrations took place. Reservists joined the 14th Dragoons and the 13th Army Corps. They formed part of a detachment of over 200 men who left Lore for the Ruhr with a spirit which was markedly revolutionary. These fellows on arriving at Nevers sang "International" and displayed Red flags.

The Military authorities have concentrated, at Plombiers, several important detachments of the 20th Rifle Battalion of the 36th and 12th Infantry Regiments in order to dispatch them to the Ruhr District.

On the night of the 18th, the soldiers expressed their dissatisfaction in a violent manner, formed a column and sang the "International" at the top of their voices. The Rifles took the initiative by hoisting the Red flag, and soon afterwards the streets of the peaceful city, were filled with the strains of the revolutionary song and the shouts "War upon war!".

The General Staff lost its head. A lieutenant of the Rifles who wanted to restore order among the demonstrators was roughly handled.

In order to re-establish order, detachments of the 26th Dragoons of Cavalry and a company of the 27th Regiment of Infantry were sent from Dijon. An encounter took place between the soldiers and a patrol, the latter being ordered to retreat. At nightfall, the storm seemed to die away, but it returned on Wednesday morning, and at 3 p. m. a general was given for departure, the soldiers were compelled to leave the barracks alone. At about 10 p. m. motor cars took the soldiers to the Dijon station for entrainment. Violent protests were made on the platform where the military train was in readiness. This was a slow train consisting of cattle cars.

General Arbanere sent, troops. A company of the 27th Infantry Regiment with bayonets watched while the soldiers entrained: horsemen were hidden in part of the station ready to intervene. At 3.20 a.s. the train started with a jerk, young soldiers filled the air with the International.

On May 13th, the Anvaurs Camp commune of Champagne in the Sarth, the sang the International in chorus in presence of captain Garnir. The men on leave, departing from the front, sang the International at the station of Saint Eloi le Mines. At Motterou, revolutionary anthem was sang on the streets on May 18th. In the same day the 3rd Rifles and the 13th Artillery were entraining singing the International shouting: "Down with war!" "Long live the International!"

Flags are attached to railway coaches and the officers cannot remove them. All the way they floated over the trains. At Moulins detachments of the 1st Infantry, 33rd and 36th Artillery were shouting "Down with the army!".

At Etienne men of the 14th Dragoon and the 16th Rifles. I joined them in singing the International.

(L'Humanité, May 20, 21, 22, 23).

## Work Amongst Women.

### The Plan of the Work as Prepared by the Secretariat.

Continued.

1) Establishing connections with the women communists of all countries on the questions of the Conference, 2) the carrying on of the information of the Russian and foreign press concerning the coming Conference and its tasks. 3) The organization of exhibitions, lectures and excursions for the delegates for the purpose of acquainting them with the work of the Russian Communist party among women and with the participation of women workers in the Soviet Reconstruction.

4) To pass a series of technical measures which will insure the material conditions, necessary for the successful work of the conference.

The agenda, the resolution, which was proposed by the Organization Bureau, which with minor changes, was accepted by the General Secretary, and at the present time has been dispatched to all countries. The agenda consists of the following questions:

1) a) Ways and Means of strengthening the universal ties of the departments for work among women of the communist parties. b) The Tasks of the International Secretariat and its activity.

2) Methods and forms of work of the communist parties among women.

3) The participation of women workers in the struggle for the establishment and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4) The political rights of women under the Soviet regime and under the old capitalist system.

5) Participation of the women workers in the economic struggle and reconstruction (woman labor and unemployment.)

6) Various questions.

Dependent upon the location of the speaker, the theses of the reports are sent partly to the General Secretary, Comrade Zetkin and partly to the Organization Bureau in Moscow.

Together with the agenda an appeal was dispatched to the Communist organizations of all countries, concerning the aims and tasks of the conference, which were prepared by the Organization Bureau and sanctioned by the General Secretary, the proportion of representation at the conference, set by the Communist International. The information was dispatched by radio, by means of couriers and by comrades leaving for the different countries. The apparatus of the Comintern was utilized for this purpose. Besides this, the Organization Bureau sent a special person abroad with a mandate. Seventy sets of materials were dispatched and, we hope not a single country which has communist organizations, remained ignorant of the coming conference. Besides news of the conference would have reached all countries through the press.

Space has been assigned in these columns for questions connected with the International Conference. Besides this the Bulletin, in which the secretariat will be published during the Congress.

The Organization Bureau is preparing a series of pamphlets for publication; "The Woman Worker and Peasant in the R. S. F. S. R.," by A. Kolontai, "Protection of the Mother and Child" by Comrade Lebedev, "Woman Labor, its Protection in Soviet Russia" by Comrade Kaplun, "Social Education" by Comrade Lilina, and the "Russian Woman Workers and Peasant in the Civil War" by Comrade Vinogradov.

Together with the above mentioned pamphlets the "Report of the Work Among Women" of the Branch connected with the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, must be published.

Owing to the shortage of paper, which hinders the publication of the above mentioned pamphlets in foreign languages in Soviet Russia the Organization Bureau prepared the translation of these pamphlets typewritten in three languages (English, German and French) to be given to the delegates.

The organization of exhibitions. Diagrams, schemes, placards and photographs collected by the information department of the secretariat have been prepared. The exhibition has been prepared to show the work of the women workers and peasants in the different departments of the soviet construction and to show what has been done by the soviet power in the interests of the working women. The exhibitions will be followed by discussions, information and explanation in Russian, German and French.

A special guide has been prepared for the delegates. The organization Bureau has prepared a special questionnaire to secure full information of the condition of the women workers in the different

countries and their participation in the civil war, which will be filled out by the delegates and those interested in the questions of the work among women. When the conference will end the Organization Bureau has arranged the following excursions for the delegates—the first day: 1) Delegates meetings of the workers at the factory. 2) Woman's Page. 3) Investigation of the dwelling of the workers of the Tram Park. 2nd day 1) Investigation of the factory at Gabai: a) meeting of the Factory Committee, b) colonies for the children of the workers and c) Protection of Labor of the Women. 2) Subbotniks. The third day) Investigation of the Childrens city.

These excursions will wind up the work of the conference.

Assistant Secretary

International Secretariat for work amongst Women (Comintern).

A. Kolontai.

### The Second International Conference of Women Communists.

Thirty five women delegates have at present arrived to the Second International Conference of Women Communists, representing the following countries: England, Germany, Switzerland, France, Armenia, Rumania, Ukraine, the United States, Norway, Spain, Bulgaria, the Far East.

Before the Conference opens the delegates will visit the uezd and district delegate meetings of women workers, before which they will make their reports and convey greetings.

A series of visits was commenced on June 3rd to institutions dealing with the emancipation of working women in industry and in Soviet construction. On the 3rd June the delegates visited the Znamensky factory; on the 4th they visited the State Tobacco Factory № 1, where they participated at the meeting of the Factory Committee, inspected the creche for the children of the working women and familiarised themselves with the laws in connection with female labour.

Arrangements are shortly to be made for the delegates to attend a women's Subotnik and inspect one of the "Children's Cities".

Preliminary discussions on questions on the agenda are meanwhile being carried on.

During the conference an exhibition illustrating the following fields of work will be on constant view. 1.) Departments in which chiefly working women and peasant women take part, such as—the Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy, Department of Social Maintenance, Department of Public Restaurants and the Department of Communal Economy; 2) Work amongst the women of the West, and 3) Work of the Russian Communist Party among the women of Soviet Russia, through the Women's Sections.

The visits to the exhibition will be supplemented by additional information.

On the proposal of the delegates themselves, comrade Kollontai will deliver a lecture on "Our Work Among the Women of Soviet Russia".

Apart from this a controversial evening will be arranged on the question of "The New Ethic".

It is intended to open the Conference on the evening of the 9th of June by a Ceremonial session at one of the theatres.

The business sessions of the Conference will begin on the 10th of June in the morning at the Kremlin.

The proposed agenda of the Conference is as follows:

1. Participation of working women in the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (a) The political rights of women under the Soviet system and under the capitalist system.

2. Methods and forms of work of Communist Parties among women.

3. Participation of working women in the economic struggle and construction (Female labour and unemployment.)

4. (a) Methods and Ways to establish International Contact between the Communist Party Sections for work among the women. (b) Task of the International Secretariat and its activities.

5. Other business.

## Red Trade Union Movement.

Comrade Lozovsky.

(Continued.)

18. Holding, therefore, that from the standpoint of economy of forces, the most suitable and ideal form of unification of the entire revolutionary energy is the creation of a single Communist International within which the trade unions must constitute an autonomous section, the Fourth Congress charges the delegates of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions to the International Congress of Red Trade Unions to keep in mind the state of the trade union movement of other countries, to consider its multiform state, and authorises them as a disciplined section of the revolutionary army to submit to the decision which will be adopted by the majority of the Congress with regard to this question.

19. The work of the Russian Trade Unions was not sufficient, with regard to its influence upon the international trade union movement and the influence of their ideas upon the disintegration of the old organisations. If the All-Russian Central Council of Labor Unions had to work, and will do its work, through the International Council of trade Unions of which it is a part, the Central Committees of separate industrial unions had to do much bigger work in bringing together the revolutionary trade unions of all countries. This work must be recognised as one having extreme importance in the activity of the Central Committee. We must send to Western Europe more representatives from separate Central Committees, must as frequently as possible call conferences of separate trade and industrial organisations, must participate in all congresses and conferences called by the old Secretariat. The Central Committees must resort to creation of Red Trade Unions of separate trades and industries only after they have exhausted all means of influencing the rank and file of local and national organisations of the respective labor unions.

20. Recognising the conquest of the mass unions, as the prerequisite for the social revolution, the Russian Trade Union movement must conduct a determined campaign against the motto "Leave the Unions", which is advanced by comrades who, though revolutionary in sentiment, have not sufficiently considered these tactics. A revolutionary program cannot be a substitute for masses organised into unions, and therefore it is the duty of every revolutionist, not to get out of the unions but to struggle inside for the revolutionising of these unions, exposing in daily practice, the treacherous tactics and policy of the leaders.

21. The aggressive policy of the yellow leaders which was inaugurated, and which expresses itself in the exclusion from the labor unions of individual communists and complete revolutionary organisations, raises before the International Council of Trade Unions the most complicated and serious problem of counteracting this policy of provocation. The Central Committees of Russian Unions must do great work in this respect, taking upon themselves the initiative in convening, through local and revolutionary centres, of conferences of expelled groups for the purpose of preparing common lines of action within the territory of a given country.

22. The expelled local organisations should in no case dissolve. They must continue the work of consolidation and organisation of the masses, recognising themselves as the proper authorised local organisations of the union that had expelled them. The expulsion of any group of revolutionary workers, and especially of a body of more than local importance, must become the basis of a bitter and merciless campaign against the parties immediately responsible for the split, and must be the basic lever for the struggle inside of the labor unions.

23. The Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Union holds that the principle of proportional representation on the one side, and of unity of local delegations on the other, must be regarded as guiding principles for the organisation of the work of the International Congress, the leading organ of the International trade Union Movement. By giving to each organisation an equal number of votes independent of the number of its members and the importance of the organisation we would set a premium upon scattering forces, and would act unjustly with regard to the labor unions of countries where the unions in view of their better organisation and more consolidated state with

Continued page 4 col. 4.



## Marcel Cachin. Debate on Foreign Policy.

Europe having emerged from the tactics which followed the war, does not by any means offer those guarantees of calm and security which we had every right to expect from a just peace.

There is hardly a place in Europe where at any moment and under certain conditions, an outbreak of hostilities would be an impossibility.

What is the reason for this universal precariousness? It is evident that the five treaties and the conferences of the diplomats have not fulfilled the expectations of the peoples.

In Balkanised Europe freedom has been bestowed upon small nations who cannot exist without subjection to the Great Powers. If any of these small nations possess riches in coal and minerals, they become the happy hunting-ground of rival international capitalists who foster national hatreds with the help of the world press. That is your Europe of to-day.

M. Tardieu has told us that Mr. Lloyd George had intended to draw Russia into the peace negotiations. But is it possible to establish a state of peace in Europe from which a nation numbering 150 millions is excluded? (Loud applause at extreme left).

On the other hand, what is going to happen between France and England. It seems that even our alliances are beginning to crumble. One begins to wonder if, after the many serious misunderstandings, one is justified in speaking of the Anglo-French alliance as a guarantee of peace.

In November 1918 it was Marshal Foch and the French militants who did not want to completely disarm Germany. (Interruptions and noise on the right).

M. Provost de Launay.—What are you going to do in order to disarm Russia? has armed herself in order to repulse the invasion of the French capitalists who wanted to strangle her, and she has repulsed all your attempts. If you are with England and Italy you are creating a state of conflict in Poland. On the other hand, if you concede to the latter the whole of the contested district, you will arouse England and Italy against you.

Not one of your settlements gives satisfaction to the interested nations. Moreover, there are the interests of the international capitalists. The greed of the financiers adds new complications to a problem which owing to racial hatreds, was already almost impossible to solve.

The third question discussed in London was that of reparations.

M. Briand declared in London that he was compelled to proceed to the occupation of the Ruhr, "an act of violence which, by the bye, he has not yet accomplished". Will he not definitely renounce the idea of occupation?

Cachin. | We would have spent hundreds of millions, but how could we have recovered them? The problem becomes more and more involved. Great Britain wants to know if we are going to the Ruhr even in spite of the Silesian difficulties.

(Yes, yes, from a hundred excited voices on the right.)

Why then, asks Cachin, have you mobilised class 19? Under a shower of invectives Cachin pluckily takes his stand:

You mobilised it under the worst conditions possible, and now you recognise your mistake. You did not prepare for that mobilisation. Often you left the men who were called up without food, and in shocking condition. (Interruptions from the centre and right). The barracks had not been made ready to receive them. (Interruptions from the same benches).

They protested vehemently. To-morrow their protests will continue. You have thrown into prison fine young men who added their protests to those of the men who were called. (Interruptions on the right and the centre).

We boldly proclaim our solidarity with them (loud interruptions from the same benches, loud applause on the extreme left — disorder).

(„L'Humanité", May 21, 1921.)

## Counter-Revolution in Eastern Siberia.

Lodon, June 3. Reuter announces from Vladivostok that the premier of the new Pri-Amur government Merkulov issued a statement to the effect that, as Semenov's authority is unacceptable to the masses, it will not be established. The correspondent adds that the Bolshevik leaders are in the hands of the Japanese and that the town of Grodekovo has announced its adherence to the new government.

## The old Guard of the International.

Although the Communist Party of Poland collaborated with the Bolsheviks, Spartacists, and Italians in founding the Third International, so far it has not been represented at our Congresses by any delegates direct from Poland. The Party has been obliged to work illegally all the time, and has literally been cut off from the outside world. It is still entirely illegal to-day, and it is not at all certain whether it will succeed in sending its delegates to the present Congress.

Nevertheless this Party deserves the interest of its foreign comrades. Just as in the days of Tsarism, and later during the German occupation at the time of the world war, the Communist Party of Poland for the past two and a half years, i. e., since the existence of the capitalist Polish Republic, has been systematically persecuted and thwarted in its activities by measures far more severe than those employed under the Tsar's regime. (Polish Social patriots serve in the gendarmerie, police etc. and betray our comrades whom they know personally). And yet, in spite of the fact that frequently half of the party members are in prison, and the party is compelled to work with a proletariat disorganised and enervated by war and unspicable economic ruin, it has not gone to pieces, but on the contrary, it has established and strengthened itself, and has gained overwhelming influence in the ranks of the Polish proletariat, exercising more and more authority among the workers.

This is due to the fact that the proletariat has faith in its party and adheres to it as to a tried leader. The workers know that the program and policies of the party which were hammered out during the 23 years since the party was founded (in 1893), will not fail them in their hour of need. Its unswerving adherence to its principles, even at the expense of the Polish proletariat, unites the older so-called Social Democratic Party Congress of Poland and Lithuania (S. D. K. I. L.) that has existed since 1893, and the younger "Left Wing" of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) founded in 1906.

The S. D. K. P. I. L. came into existence in 1893 as a result of the breach in the Social Patriotic P. P. S., (also founded in that year which had raised the nationalistic, petty-bourgeois slogan of "Polish Independence". What Lenin advocated several years later in respect to the Mensheviks, namely, the slogan "Two Parties", became the norm of the movement in Poland from the very beginning, thanks to the S. D. P. I. L. This party called itself "The Social-Democratic Party of Poland" in order to distinguish itself from the Nationalist Polish Socialist Party, and to make clear that it was a party operating in a specific territory, that of Congress-Poland (1815). This party, founded by Rosa Luxemburg, Warski, Marchlewski, and Tyzka, fought not only Social patriotism, but also social reformism and revisionism, and, on Russian territory, Menshevism as well. It issued its proclamations along the lines of the Russian revolutionary movement even before the Social-Democratic movement of Russia had come into being, and when the Social-Democratic Party of Russia was founded, it allied itself to it. It also protested against the establishment of the Third International on the basis of National independent parties, and demanded greater centralisation and organic connection of the national parties with the International. The greatest triumph of the Party was the Revolution of 1905 when social-patriotic independence went bankrupt and its champion, the P. P. S. split in two.

Since then the so-called Left Wing of the P. P. S. began to pursue a policy similar to that of the S. D. C. P. I. L., it gained a majority and, in 1906, expelled the "Right Wing" from the party.

## Assassinator of Talaat-Pascha acquitted.

Hanover, June 2. ("Universal Press Service"). "The killing of Talaat-Pasha, often called the "Armenian butcher" did not constitute murder", was the verdict of the German Jury to-day. After a three days trial Salomon Tiliriantz, the young Armenian who assassinated the former Turkish Grand Vizier in the streets of Berlin, because his family was exterminated during the Armenian massacres, was declared not guilty of murder by the jury this afternoon. The jury took the view of the medical experts, that Tiliriantz was not mentally responsible for his deed.

After the "Left Wing" had thus freed itself from social-patriotism, it kept constantly approaching the standpoint of the S. D. C. P. I. L., battling against the vacillations of those in its own ranks inclined towards Russian Menshevism, as well as against its own centrist elements. Ever since the beginning of the war, the "Left Wing" lined up with the S. D. C. P. I. L. as a party of the social-revolution and the dictatorship, and is fighting against the social-patriotic deceptions employed in establishing the capitalist Polish state. Side by side with the S. D. C. P. I. L. it participated at the conferences of Zimmerwald and Kiehintal. At the Unification Congress of 1918, the Communist Party of Poland recognised the necessity of establishing the Third International on the ruins of the Second.

A "splitting" policy, sharp demarcation from the elements of the "Right", a consistent struggle against the "Union Sacree", and against the conception "defence of the fatherland" — this last as a result of the terrible national oppression to which Poland was subjected by three Great Powers constituted the principles upon which the Party was founded. Furthermore, not only the traditions of 25 years, but other peculiarly favourable conditions as well, contributed to the establishment of a united Communist Party in Poland. Menshevism and Centrism were in the long run an impossibility in Poland, on account of the absolutely reactionary character of the Polish bourgeoisie and the complete lack of any bourgeois "Liberalism". Neither can the "left wing" be compared with the "left wing" of the German Independents, as the former did not become communist through the disillusionments of the war, but very much earlier, through the radical break with the "right wing" in 1906.

Since 1918 there have been no serious conflicts in the Party. During the offensive against Warsaw last year, the Party took a consistent stand on the side of Soviet Russia, laying itself open, as a "traitor party", to the horrible vengeance of the court-martial, executions, and White Terror. The gaps caused in our ranks at the time have now fortunately been filled. The slight inclination to boycott parliamentary action was overcome with little difficulty at the National Conference of February 1921. This anti-parliamentary movement arose on grounds other than in Germany namely, the insignificance of parliamentarism in Poland since its introduction, for the Reichstag in only a fiction serving to disguise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The same conference pointed out, with respect to the 21 points which it readily accepted, that the Party had been working in entire accordance with the contents thereof long before those points were drawn up.

In unity and experience, the Communist Party of Poland may only be compared with the Russian Party. It is, however, ten years older than the latter. The fate of the Party is inseparably bound up with the fate of the Communist Party of Germany. The party bonds between these two very important sections of the International must be welded as tightly as possible, in order that the Polish Party may be in a position to fulfil its historic duty at the moment of the Communist victory in Berlin, laying a bridge between Socialist Germany and Soviet Russia, and preventing the overthrow of Polish bourgeoisie from stabbing the German proletariat in the back, if western imperialism should attempt to strangle Red Germany. May the proletarians of England and France succeed before that time in uniting under the banner of Communism and organising themselves so as to be in a position to thwart the efforts of their bourgeoisie.

J. K.

## New Angora Ministry.

The composition of the new Angora Ministry is as follows: President of the Council and Minister for National Defence Fevsi-Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs Yusuf-Kemal-Bey, Minister for the Interior Atta-Bey, Minister for Religious Affairs Femi-Efbey, Minister for Finance Hassan-Bey, Minister for Trade and Industry Djelal-Bey, Minister Public Health Dr. Rafi-Bey, Justice, Refik-Shifket-Bey, Minister for Public Works Omar-Lutri-Bey, Minister for Public Instruction Handoul-Soubhi. All the ministers belong to the Nationalist Party of the National Assembly.

## Persecution of Communists in England by Tom Bell.

(Continued from page 1 col. 1.)

But the least interesting part of the situation is the miserable position of the I. L. P. and the National Labour Press. This latter is the official press of the Independent Labour Party of Ramsay MacDonald. They acted as printers of the "Communist" and the "Theses". As such they have been involved. True, however, to their peaceful intentions, and not wishing to "aid and abet" such distributees of "law and order" as the Communist Party, they apologised at the Court and undertook not to publish any more of such "vile" literature. Indeed they actually stopped printing our paper in the middle of running it off, causing tremendous inconvenience and harm to our work. But the workers will not be slow to judge by these proceedings who are their real friends or enemies. The I. L. P. has been on the rocks since the Labour Party extended its constitution. They are damned for good by their present miserable exhibition of bourgeois ideology.

Similar treatment by the Government has been meted out to the Bureau for Red Trade Union International. Their headquarters have also been raided and the secretary and principle organisers arrested and clapped into jail. Obviously the labour movement here is at the parting of the ways. The question of "peaceful" or "violent" revolution is now the dividing line between the school for action and the school for preaching the millenium in the sweet bye-and-bye. The former will crystallise in the Communist Party, the latter will sit straddled on the Labour Party and the I. L. P.

One thing is quite clear: big finance has become alarmed at the phenomenal growth of revolutionary opinion among the working class. They see in the new Communist Party and the Communist International a different foe from the old Socialist parties of pre-war days, and the Second International. They realise the day for twisting the working class with the aid of bought up labour leaders has gone. There is but one alternative and that is the mailed fist. It is thus that Capitalism in Great Britain is revealed to-day as the same Capitalism of Germany, France, Italy, Japan, America, etc. National frontiers no longer separate it from International labour or Communism.

But while it may drive the Communist Party underground or hold the struggling masses down by sheer force, it will never do so with the willing consent of its victims. Again and again the working class will return to the task of shaking the monster off its back.

Though the United Communist Party is but a few months old it is receiving its first baptism of fire in fine style. To the vendetta of its enemy it replies with increased enthusiasm and vigour. Always and under all circumstances fresh voices and recruits rally to the front. Nor will it desist until the slogan "Down with Capitalism" materialises in the liberation of the working masses not only in Britain but throughout the world.

(Continued from page 3 col. 4.)

regard to political principles, appear as a united body.

24. The Congress instructs the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, while endeavouring, as they should, to come to an agreement with the revolutionary element of the labor movements of all countries, to firmly and undeviatingly defend and propagate the basic principles of the Russian Trade Union movement; unseverable connection of the labor unions with the Communist Party; the forcible overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat; the organic bond between the world trade union movement and the Communist International in point of political principles, opposition to the antistatist revolutionary phraseology directed against the dictatorship of the proletariat; the necessity to conduct relentless struggle against all kinds of vacillations and against the attempt to smirch over the irreconcilable contradictions between the right and the left wings of the International Labor Union movement.