

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!  
**M O S C O W**

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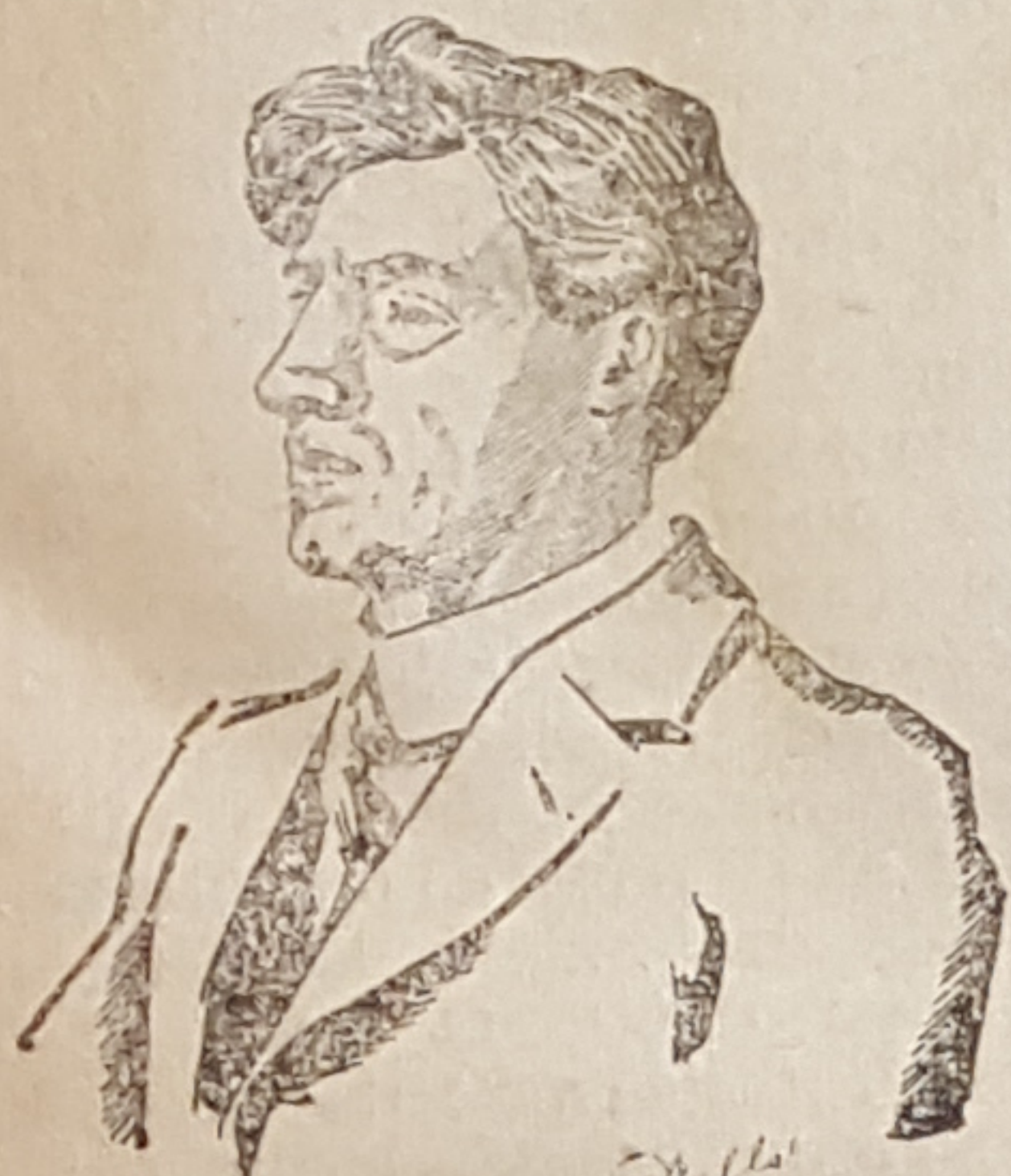
**TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.**

**American Labour.**

By Hulet, M. Wells.

I am a representative of a national labour movement which is one of the strongest and weakest of the world. So far as revolutionary spirit, international solidarity, social vision, or class-consciousness in its larger aspects is concerned, the American labor movement, as a whole, is pitifully weak. Yet numerically and potentially it represents enormous power.

The representative labor movement of the United States contain normally about five million members. It consists of the American Federation of Labor, numbering over four million members, and certain railway and clothing worker's union which do not differ fundamentally from the larger body, and are only casually separated from it.



Hulet, M. Wells.

Delegate from the Labor Council of Seattle, Wash., U. S. A.

Tho the Red Trade Union International has belonged in turn to the Post Office Clerks Union, Federal Union, Electrical Workers Union, Steam and Operating Engineer's Union, and the Office Employee's Union, all of them affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He was formerly president of the Seattle Central Labor Council, and Chairman of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington. He served one and a half years in prison for anti-war activity.

Contrasted with this main movement are several small revolutionary unions numbering all told perhaps two per cent of the larger bodies. These radical unions, of which the Industrial Workers of the World is the best known, contain a fine militant group of revolutionary enthusiasts who labor devotedly to spread their ideals; but in a decade and a half they have made little progress in organization.

The American Federation of Labor, then, must be considered as the typical labor body of the United States, and since I represent one of the units of that body, a body whose president considers the Amsterdam International too radical, it must also be plain that the section which I represent is not typical of the Federation.

As a matter of fact the workers of a few localities, including my own, have been partially imbued with a revolutionary ideology. This does not mean that all of them at any time, or most of them at all times, see clearly the irreconcilable conflict in society and the role in that struggle that their class is to play. It does not mean that they are altogether free from foolish prejudices and false economics of capitalist teaching.

All it means is that in the minds of the mass of the workers a few fundamental truths have taken root, upon which foundation active and sincere workers in the revolutionary cause may develop sound tactics. Among these truths are the principles that the interests of the capitalist and the laborer cannot be reconciled; that poverty is unnecessary; that unemployment is primarily due to a fatal defect in the capitalist system, and secondarily, because those who are

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**RUSSIA.**

**War Prisoners Gift.**

The Berlin group of the Russian section of the Communist Party has contributed to the Peoples Commissariat for Health four Riva-Rocchi apparatus for testing of blood pressure. The money for this purpose was collected among the members of the group.

**Floating Sanatorium for the Workers.**

The Peoples Commissary for Health has organized on the Volga a Floating Sanatorium for manual labourers. A club for educational work is being organized at the Sanatorium. It is expected that the Sanatorium will begin to function within a few days.

**Vth All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists and Epidemiologists.**

The Vth All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists and Epidemiologists opened on the 25th of May. Three hundred delegates and two hundred visitors were present. Among the delegates were representatives of the Far Eastern Republic. The Presidium of the Congress is composed of the Far Eastern Republic. The Presidium of the Congress is composed of the Organisation Bureau and several representatives of local organisations. The Peoples Commissary for Health comrade Semashko was elected Honorary Chairman of the Congress.

In opening the Congress comrade Semashko emphasised the relative abatement of epidemics in Russia. Nevertheless expect isolated outbreaks of certain epidemics must be anticipated and prepared for. According to comrade Semashko plague, cholera and malaria represent the most acute problems. At the present time there is not a single case of plague in the Republic, but there is danger of it spreading from Manchuria and Persia. Outbreaks of cholera were observed in various parts of the Republic. Malaria assumes threatening proportions and is spreading even where it was never known before, as for instance in the Centre and North of Russia.

The chairman of the Congress professor Diatropoff related the history of the plague in Russia and in the adjoining countries. Later, papers were read by Dr. Nikanorov as to certain work that was undertaken in combating the plague in the Kirghiss Steppes as well as in the Astrakhan Region. Professor Shirokogoroff read a paper on the plague on the Black Sea Coast.

The Congress will last for six or seven days. Professor Schervontzev read a paper on the epidemic of the plague in Transbaikal and in Northern Manchuria which he has recently investigated. An interesting exhibition was organized in connection with the Congress.

**POLAND.**

**Sapieha Remains at Polish Foreign Office.**

Nauen, May 25. (Wireless) Paris reports that the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Sapieha has withdrawn his resignation on condition that he be allowed full freedom the Silesian question. It is thought in Berlin Entente circles that this is a sign that the Entente is using pressure against Poland to proceed against Korfanty.

**Irish elections.**

Horsea, May 25. (Wireless) Sir Hamar Greenwood, Secretary for Ireland, stated in the House of Commons that he had received a police report to the effect that in six counties of Ulster, were the new Northern parliament was being elected, polling had been very heavy everywhere, and that all was quiet. He thought that the peaceful nature of the elections was a matter for congratulation.

**GERMANY.**

**Situation in Germany.**

Hanover, May 25. ("Chicago News" correspondent reports.) "Germany has completely lost her nerves. That is in few words the conclusion one arrives at when reviewing the German government's attitude since it accepted the Allies' ultimatum. Germany feels sword of Damocles of occupation of the Ruhr district by the French still tickling her neck and is working feverishly to get away from under it. The position in Germany today is something like this: In Silesia volunteers are pouring in from everywhere to help the Silesians to throw Polish insurgents out. Although a large part of the country is howling to be permitted to liberate their compatriots, no one is allowed to cross the plebiscite frontier. In Eastern Prussia thousands of men are engaged in completely razing the fortifications built by the Kaiser at huge expense "against the Russian danger". Protests to the Entente governments to the effect that Germany is being robbed of her only means of defense against the "red waves of Bolshevism" have no avail. In Berlin the cabinet is holding one long conference after another, the German ruling class is exhausted in the quest for men possessed of the divine means by which the war indemnity could be paid, coal production doubled, shipping tonnage increased and a thousand and one other problems solved. In Leipzig German officers are being tried before the supreme court for offences, committed during war under direct or indirect instructions from the Kaiser. An Allied committee of control is watching over the proceedings of Germany's highest tribunal. Although hundreds of thousands of Germans are wailing over this "disgrace", severe sentences will certainly be imposed on war criminals. In Bavaria the "Einwohnerwehr" are being disbanded against the will of the majority of the people. The forming of rifle clubs and other societies which might serve as cloak for the organization of military nature had been forbidden under heavy penalties. In the occupied areas and in German seaports a heavy excess duty is being weekly paid over to the Allies. Meanwhile in the remaining parts of Germany 95% of the population are working as they never worked before in order to pay the heavy taxes. Why is all this happening? — Because the Allies command it. And yet strange to say, although it seems that Germany no longer mistress in her own country, one is daily meeting with proofs that it is getting stronger economically and industrially and that prosperity once more begins to show its head after six years of unproductiveness of the hated war. Every day brings new surprises at a time which makes them possible only by German's more than skindEEP strength.

**Against the Oppressors.**

Terrorist acts have recently increased in India. An attempt was made in Har-gapuri to derail a train which was occupied by the local Governor General. At Calcuta unknown persons have looted the treasury. A police inspector was killed at Nagapure.

**The Supreme Economic Council**

At the concluding session of the Tour-ter Congress of Econ omic Councils of May 24th a new presidium was elected of the Supreme Economic Council, composed as follows. President Comrade Bogdanoff, Vice President, Com. Tapronoff, and members of the presidium. Comrades Theyapnikoff, Kubisheff, Chubar, Rud-zutak, Smilga, Dolgoff, and Traigeff. The following Comrades were elected as candidates: Krassin, Sereda, Aismont, Pyatakoff, Martens, Maksimoff, Tudakoff, and Millootin.

**Eve of Downfall of French Cabinet.**

It is rumored in circles which are close to the French Chamber of Deputies that the fall of Briand cabinet is inevitable in the event of his refusal to occupy the Ruhr District.

**ENGLAND.**

**Fraternal Solidarity.**

The All Russian Congress of Trade Unions has decided to send to the miners on strike in England 2,000,000 golden roubles, from the funds of the All Russian Council of Trade Unions.

**Britain and the Occupation.**

Nauen, May 25. (Wireless) According to Reuter, Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that at the present moment there were no British forces in Upper Silesia, but that four battalions were en route from the Rhine to Upper Silesia. The government is considering the eventuality of increasing these forces.

**FRANCE.**

**France and Upper Silesia.**

London, May 25. Briand informed the Republican group of the chamber of deputies that the Silesian question is now, for the time being, satisfactorily settled and that, consequently, there is no reason to consider the question of occupying the Ruhr district. — The "Morning Post" Paris correspondent points out that, owing to the Silesian dispute, the rate of exchange of the pound rose from 45 francs last Friday to over 47 francs yesterday afternoon.

**The French on the Rhine.**

Nauen, May 25. (Wireless) The French commander in chief at Düsseldorf ordered that no news from Upper Silesia may be published without the authorization from the Censor.

**SILESIA.**

**Situation in Upper Silesia.**

Nauen, May 25. (Wireless). According to information from Oppeln Polish band are robbing the population and burning down their houses in those part of Upper Silesia from which the German forces had to to withdraw, owing to she insurgents' numerical superiority. The situation in Rybnik could not be adequately described. Murder, robbery and plunder is prevailing there. Every German is obliged to leave his worldly possessions and to seek refuge in some public building. A terrible disaster is liable to occur if help does not arrive quickly.

**MISCELANEOUS.**

**Stoppage of Work in Elbing.**

Nauen, May 25. (Wireless). On Monday all the Elbing shipbuilding yards were closed down owing to rowdy demonstrations of the workers.

**Rallying to Our Banner.**

It is reported from Riga that the General Conference of the Railwaymen's Union adopted a resolution for the affiliation to the International of the Red Trade Unions.

**Departure of Finnish Trade Delegation.**

The Finnish trade Delegation accompanied by well known business men and specialists has left for Petrograd.

**Riots in Cairo.**

Riots have broken out in Cairo in connection with the demonstration in honor of Zaglul Pacha. One demonstrator was killed and many policemen were wounded.

**Yellow Delegation.**

The Amsterdam International Council of Trade Unions has resolved to dispatch to Upper Silesia a delegation under Chairmanship of Jouhaux for the purpose of investigating the economic situation of the country.



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**Progress.**

Superficially, the past twelve months may not appear to mark anything very definite in the progress of the world's proletariat towards its emancipation from capitalist-imperialism.

In Germany, and in Britain, there have been vast struggles, it is true and, in a lesser degree, in Italy and other countries, but nothing has occurred of a definite character to fix the year in the history of the proletarian revolution as one of outstanding significance. No revolutions have occurred. No clear breaks have been made with the old order of things. No historical happenings, as in 1871 and 1917, have flared up to grow for ever upon the dark facade of time.

Superficially this is so. Actually, when, at the right time, the inner and deeper happenings of the intervening period between the Second and the Third Congresses of the Communist International are rightly and properly considered, we believe this year will be reckoned the most important in the "fight of the ages" of the working class.

During this year the conscious elements of the proletarian masses in all countries outside Russia have been compelled to face the issue of revolution. Previously, the vague phraseology and the vague resolutions of the Second International, high-sounding enough in all conscience, but actually meaning and intending to mean nothing but vague aspirations, dominated the minds of the workers' vanguard. The Second International was without conscious purpose or clarity of vision. Its policy was one of indifference and aimless drift. The Communist International has broken down this indifference and has set the drifting masses clearly and openly on the road to world revolution. The theses of the Second Congress of the Third International were as cloud-dispelling lightning strokes in the mental outlook of the proletarian advance guard. They provided a clear theoretical basis, laid down the precise lines and tactics of the conquering hosts of labour. They have given purpose, consciousness, clarity of vision to the tumultuous struggles of the masses. And that is the great achievement. Where, before, revolution was but a word for lip-service, to-day, it is a word expressive of vital actuality. Workers now realise what revolution implies; what they "are up against", all that is involved. They understand that it certainly means something more than the passing of pompous resolutions to lay on the doorsteps of bourgeois Parliaments.

Now is it merely from the point of view of conscious understanding that the past year stands out as the most important in the history of the working class. The Communist International has fulfilled its purpose of preparing and marshalling the worlds workers for the conquest of power. There is not a capitalist country in the world to-day but what has its vigorous, growing Communist Party, its Communist Press, its multitudinous Communist propagandists. The battle lines and the battle fronts are being formed; the ever-growing ranks of the proletariat are marching into the fight to the vivid slogans of the final struggle—to the strains of the "International". The old leaders and lackeys of capitalism, the old battle cries that meant nothing and led nowhere, the funeral dirges of the Beggars Opera so triumphantly played by the Vanderveldes, Schiedemans and Hendersons, as they led their dopes into the Imperialist slaughter—these are being speedily abandoned by the assembling millions who raise aloft the Red Banner of the Third International. Surely no twelve months have been distinguished by such a general break with the past—with the old pettifoggers and Judases—as the twelve months just ended. That, too, is a great achievement. Wise, indeed were our Russian comrades to set in rigid lines the policy to be pursued by the Communist International. Now, the working class begins to breathe freely and to act freely, having ripped through the web of lines that held them loyal to their social-patriotic betrayers. Dangers and difficulties still beset our path—as experiences with Serratti and Paul Levi tend to demonstrate—but, if next year is only half as fruitful as the one that has gone the victory is well within reach.

Tom Quelch.

**Features of Post-War Epoch of World Capitalism.**

There has recently appeared a book by comrade Sultan Zade entitled "The Crisis in World Industry and the New Menace of War", in which the author produces valuable data concerning the economic status of each separate country (England, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and the United States), giving a vivid illustration of the hopeless situation of the post-war epoch of world capitalism.

The main features of the book consist in the following: The immense débâcle of world industry, which set in after the war and which has of late assumed a threatening magnitude, is the inevitable result of the development of the capitalist system of production, one of those crises which were its constant companion since the day of its birth. But the world war intensified the already accumulated contradictions in capitalist society and brought it face with the reality of utter collapse. The war at the same time, left, not only unheard of destruction, in its train but debts to the value of hundreds of milliards in the form of war loans of all kinds and an incredible flood of paper money.

The bellicose magnates of capital are now above all concerned with the realisation, of those loans, in other words those milliards which they acquired during the war and which they invested in various State loans seem to be disappearing.

The Governments are adopting desperate measures to introduce extensive taxation, but the bourgeoisie stubbornly refuse to pay and are boycotting these measures.

This becomes the basis for a fierce fight not only with the workers, but between the capitalist themselves, as a result of which a group of the trustified bourgeoisie, with the aid of the government machinery, throws nearly the whole burden of taxation on the shoulders of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the capitalists of the small and middle grades, being unable, in consequence of the growing economic crisis, to carry out these obligations and having no hopes for the future, are liquidating their enterprises and exporting the proceeds of their capital to safer places. This phenomenon is made more frequent by the fact that the working masses are forced by want, starvation and growing taxation to take up an unrelenting fight with the employers and to endeavour to improve their economic position by means of incessant strikes.

The class struggle in an acute form is introduced. Under the pressure of these factors the closing up of enterprises and continual lockouts become habitual phenomena.

The trustified bourgeoisie is in a somewhat different situation. Sure of its morrow, it merely reduces production, partially reduces the working day and correspondingly reduces wages. closes up the more inferior enterprises, and generally speaking adopts a policy of wait and see. The workers everywhere are forced to take out a pitiful half starving existence. The struggle for bread, for a mere physical existence, is becoming the most popular and revolutionary watchword with the working masses, who sometimes carry it the most extreme by seizing factories, works, estates, etc. The great contest unavoidably draws the broad masses of the workers into the vortex of the revolutionary movement, and cultivates their class consciousness by the test of the gigantic struggle. As a result of this incessant unrest, starvation and want the working masses are gradually losing the ability to work at an intensive rate. Therefore the productivity of labor is catastrophically falling in all capitalist countries. Parallel with this there is a

fearful decline of the purchasing capacity in of wiae sections of the population. This phenomena intensifies still more the ruin of world industry and is bringing it with rapid strides to its logical end.

Parallel with this there is growing unemployment. The demobilisation and the industrial crisis is throwing millions of workers on the street, and swelling the ranks of the reserve army of toilers. The bourgeoisie is already beginning to speak of a longer working day. In many countries a reduction of wages is being systematically carried out. Exploitation is assuming monstrous forms, reminiscent of the old "sweating-system". But these reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie collide with the stubborn resistance of the workers organisations. The extraordinary growth of the trade unions, the growth of proletarian solidarity, collective agreements and class consciousness—all constitute a vexatious hindrance to the bourgeoisie to carry out its plans.

In the epoch of acute class struggle, when ruin and disorganisation is assuming a long drawn-out character, separate enterprises lose all hope of a successful issue for themselves, and, under pressure both of the workers and of the perpetual fluctuation of economic circumstances, seek salvation in the gigantic concentration and centralisation of industry.

The increase of the horizontal and vertical concentration of capital that is now being manifested in almost every country in the world, is chiefly a consequence of the War and the crisis. That circumstance is accelerating the ruin of the small and weak manufacturers and is in the highest measure accentuating the struggle between the trustified and non-trustified bourgeoisie, thus splitting the capitalist class into two implacable camps.

Comrade Sultan Zade further points out that the War and the crisis in world industry have to a terrible extent intensified antagonism between the classes, and has led to unprecedented differentiation of capitalist society. The helm of government is still in the hands of the financial oligarchy, which is maintaining the most pitiless reaction and suppressing every revolutionary manifestation with blood and iron. Having robbed the whole world it is forced to pursue a policy of new armaments in order at least to retain the plundered booty and to bridle competitors.

New powerful coalitions are now appearing on the world arena. This time the leading role belongs to Japan and the United States. Following the basic law of financial capitalism, i. e., the expansion of economic territory, they are both contesting the right of each to hegemony on the Pacific Ocean and on the Asiatic markets. England and France will not remain passive in this game, and that is why they are arming as well. The imperialist bourgeoisie hopes that a new military adventure will somewhat delay the hour of terrible retribution.

But the proletariat who, over the heads of its Yellow leaders, are carrying on a desperate fight for bread and existence, will not tolerate a new adventure, the more so that its struggle for bread must inevitably become a struggle for dictatorship, concludes comrade Sultan Zade. Only a proletarian dictatorship is able to put an end to the incredible distress of the working class and eliminate once for all bellicose capitalism and the criminal bossing of the trustified bourgeoisie.

Comrade Sultan Zade's book is being translated, and will appear in English, French and German at the end of the Congress.

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**American Labour.**

Continued from page 1 col. 1.

employed work too much; that the capitalist press cannot be trusted; and that wars are of capitalist origin. Lastly they vaguely perceive that various governmental agencies turn upon the workers at critical junctures. The poor man, it is seen, is not on equal footing with the rich before the law. The Department of Justice arrests strikers, the courts issue injunctions against them, and award damages to their employers, and the local or general government sends soldiers to shoot them down. These things arouse bitter resentment, but the resentment is largely directed against individual officers, and the true function of the capitalist state as a class institution is not rightly understood.

The reason for this is obvious enough. The growth of industrialism in America has been so rapid and intense that the spirit of the middle class liberals who furnished the ideology for the American revolution is still kept alive, although absurdly incongruous. These men, who were despised by the privileged class of their time, are now represented in the schools and the press as saints and heroes. Their fine sounding generalities about liberty in the abstract serve admirably as a glorification of the political system under which capitalism flourishes.

The American worker knows too much and too little for his own good. He is educated in a capitalist school and learns to read capitalist newspapers. Hence he drinks in poison from two sources from which many Russian workers were free. And on the other hand he does not learn enough to enable him to think for himself.

So the problem of revolutionary activity in America at the present time appears to me to be the relatively prosaic problem of education. The question of the form which organisation shall take—the question over which different groups of radicals wrangle so bitterly—seems to me more or less academic, and not of much present importance. Why discuss so heatedly the relative value of political and industrial organisation when each side has only a handful of adherents, and the great mass of workers heedless of the disputants takes its own way, forging spontaneously out of its practical needs its craft unions and its farmer-labor parties?

Would it not be a good idea for the social revolutionist who has a message for organized labor to present himself occasionally at those places where organized labor may be found? I think so. That is the policy I have always followed, and that is why I can represent an American Labor council at a Red Internationale.

It is sometimes said by its critics that the American Federation of Labor has no organic strength; that it is a mere shell held together by a few politicians. No more ridiculously superficial criticism could be made. The politicians are there undoubtedly. They may be tolerated or respected as the case may be, but for better or for worse the unions of America are a virile force, moulded the that of countless industrial battles, and they will no more crumble at the command of a group of tacticians from the outside, than the walls of the Kremlin will fall down at the blast of a rams horn.

The greatest educational force for our workers and all the world to day is the Russian revolution. As I contemplate the immensity of the thing that you have done, the obstacles overcome, the sacrifices made I feel that the representatives of backward nations like America have little cause for national pride and much need for humility.

**Tenth Anniversary of a Revolutionary Poet.**

There is hardly a corner in Soviet Russia, be it either town or country, where the name of our poet, Demian Bedny, whose anniversary is to-day, is unknown. The emotional lines of Karl Radek in the pages of the "Pravda" revealed the Power of the revolutionary poet and his services to the movement for emancipation, and to the Revolution.

His biting satires directed against the enemies of the proletariat opened the eyes of the Russian workers and peasants to actual reality during the years of black tzarist reaction.

"The little fables of Demian Bedny, in which a superb popular language is combined with a vivid imagination, has helped the working masses to find their place in the situation, in the struggle of various parties. Comrade Lenin better than anyone else appreciated the significance of the poems of Demian Bedny. He understood immediately after the appearance of the first fables and satires of Demian Bedny that the Russian revolution had produced its own poet.

A broad-shouldered and thick-set son of the village, Demian learned in the city to

know that there can never be a human existence for the peasants unless they join hands with the proletariat. That "moozhik", with folk tales in his soul, who (learned in the town to think the thoughts of the workers, has become the poet of the Russian revolution.

"Demian Bedny, during the years of the revolution, at the gravest moment of danger, always stood at his post. The fact that Demian Bedny was able to sing bottle songs to us both in dark days in happy days, is the best sign that he is a soldier-poet, the poet of the revolution.

"Demian Bedny is the incarnation of the Russian Revolution—that combination of worker and peasant".

Comrade Radek further points out that it would be most desirable to have the works of Demian Bedny translated into foreign languages, but

"... nothing will come of that, because they will not comprehend him abroad; for in Europa there is no "moozhik" going hand in hand with the proletariat, there is no proletarian with a peasant's soul, nor a peasant with a proletarian's mind".

Such is our Proletarian Poet, comrade Demian Bedny.

V. M.-8

**Bourgeois "Law and Order".**

The social-traitors of all countries try to overturn mountains in their endeavour to help their native bourgeoisie recover from the last war and the crisis connected with it. The lackeys of capital are doing all within their power to befuddle the heads of the toiling masses who are protesting against the unrivalled oppression. In this they are, to a certain extent, successful. This gives wing to the hopes of the stock exchange kings, who begin to have sweet dreams of a "normal state of things", in which they will again be able tranquilly to exploit the masses of the workers and peasants. The capitalists of all countries hasten to declare through the lips of Hoover, the American Minister of Commerce, that everything will be "quiet" in two years.

But reality laughs mockingly at such prognostication.



## Turkey Under Kemal.

(Continued from yesterday.)

### Political parties in Anatolia.

After "Kua-Milye", the next influential party in Anatolia, is the party of "Chalk-Zumrasya" (Peoples Party). This party has many sympathisers among the delegates of the Great National Assembly. This party is also called the party of the Islamites. The most important point in the program of the party is expressed in the declaration.

The "peoples group" was organised... "To establish the absolute power of the people in the government.

The aim of this group is to insure the necessary reforms and their achievement in accordance with the demands of the period and the needs of the people.

The group, depending upon the sacred foundations of Islam aims at the return of sincere cooperation and also the extermination of the corrupting influence of the west and the liquidation of its appetites and considers it opinion correct ones, as they coincide with those formerly drawn up by Allah.

The main aim of the group is to serve the people and to achieve general equality and conquer the rights which they deserve. In the opinion of the group all those living by physical or mental labor: the peasant, the worker, professional teacher, officials and lower employees—all those elements of action and labor are the actual servants of humanity.

One of the most important aims of the group—is the future bringing up and strengthening of ideas of the superiority of universal brotherhood and the unity of national interests.

The group considers that foreign debts, foreign concessions at the expense of unfortunate, and innocent, are chains of people and serve the capitalists interests of exploitation a excuse convention and ruling over them.

Executive and legislative power is centralized in the Great National Assembly.

The Great Assembly consists of the representatives of the provinces, elected at a general election. Every citizen who has reached the age of 18 years has the right to vote.

Members of the Great National Assembly are subject to reelection and are not less than four months duration.

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The group absolutely believes in compulsory free education, more over in social life schools will be opened everywhere and no one will remain illiterate. The number of professional and educational institutions will be increased, they will all be under the control of the government and they will be free institutions.

On economic questions the aim of the groups is to establish a just distribution of social burdens.

The distribution of land will be made by the government according the quantity which a worker can manage, each worker will be able to work freely and in that manner the greater part of the land will be utilized.

Schools for the workers, must be in good sanitary condition impartial and be controlled by the government.

Pharmacies and hospitals should be under government control. Each citizen should have the right to obtain free treatment.

The group must also look after the helpless, unfortunate, the aged, cripples and the sick, in the interests of all. The government must supply the poor children with homes, education and food until they reach the age of sixteen.

The peoples group considers that the real wealth is wealth which is the product of mutual satisfaction, harmony of labor, and earnings, and not the capital which is hoarded by speculators as a result of their cleverness and swindling. For the distribution of a large part of illegal earnings it is necessary to institute food credit cooperatives. Foreign trade must be under the direct control of the government.

The program of the "Chalk Zumrasya" and its petty bourgeois reformist tendencies (cooperatives) is a mixture of purely socialist slogans with philanthropic tendencies and especially the idea that this program is in accord with the sacred foundations of Islam and also with the desires of Allah. All this assures the party success among the population. The party has many sympathizers among the laboring masses.

The party of the "Green Army" agrees in principle with the "Peoples Party", it was organized by Nasi Baem and Sheikh-Isserbert in 1919. The queer name "the Green Army" by the way, can be explained by the fact that in Russia the main army is called the Red Army, the unity of the Red Army and the Green Army is the symbol of unity between Revolutionary Russia and the Revolutionary East.

Of the other parties which are controlled by the petty bourgeois element there is "The Worker—Peasant Socialist Party" (Besharkodash) this party founded in 1918 by Turkish students studying in Germany who had studied the ideas of the German Independent Party and who organized the very same organization in Turkey. This party has sympathizers only in Constantinople, in Anatolia it has no members.

There is also the "Social-Democratic Party" of Turkey working in Constantinople, which was founded in 1919. This party is strongly controlled by the petty-bourgeois element and is of an opportunistic character.

Besides the above mentioned parties groups a official Communist Party functions in Anatolia. This leggi party was organized with the of some of the former members of the party of "Kud-Milye" and also of the vanished party called "Unity and Progress", is a "Zutaloff" organization which aims at drawing the laboring masses away from the real communist movement, which slowly but surely is beginning to gain the sympathy of the conscious and active elements of the labouring population and army of Anatolia. Besides the official Communists in the different parts of Anatolia there are separate small groups of underground communists working in contact with the foreign Bureau of the Turkish Communist Party represented at the present time by Comrade Ismael Chakki and by Comrade Subchi who went to Anatolia recently.

We will speak of the Turkish Communist movement in greater detail in another article.

Nicholas Pavlovich.

\*) During the 90's, a certain Zutaloff organized "trade unions" subsidised by the Tzarist Government for the purpose of sidetracking the labour movement from politics.

## The International Situation.

### The Tasks of the Congress of the Communist International.

#### I. The principal question.

The Communist International is based on the precepts of the Marxian theory, which are valid for the entire epoch of capitalism. Its principles are gleaned from a knowledge of the developing trend of capitalist society, i. e. the general laws of the struggle of the proletariat on the basis of the development of capitalism. But, just as a knowledge of the fundamental tendencies of capitalist development does not release Marxists of the obligations to study every particular phase of capitalist development, it is also insufficient to simply know the principles of communism. Communism as a fighting party, must rather investigate how these general principles should be applied in a particular epoch.

In the period of so called peaceful development, i. e. in the period in which the classes do not attempt to change the seat of power by force, but to undermine it, the policy of civil war would be inapplicable, although it would be the duty of communism, in such a time as well, to prepare the proletariat spiritually for the civil wars of the future.

Present day communism grew up in the epoch in which the world war was already breeding revolutionary mass struggles, in which it was therefore requisite not only to equip the proletariat spiritually for the actually impending civil wars, but also to organize it for these civil wars.

In its call to the First Congress of the Communist International the Russian Communist Party and the Spartacus Bund outlined the fundamental principles of the new International as follows:

In the theses adopted by the Congress, the Communist International declared:

"The imperialist war is turning into civil war; the new era the era of the dissolution of Capitalism, its internal collapse, the era of the Communist revolution of the proletariat is being born."

In the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International, a year after the First Congress, the Communist International declared as the first point in its statutes:

"The new International workers, association has been created for the organization of the mutual struggles of the proletarians of the various countries, who are striving towards one goal: destruction of capitalism; erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic for the complete elimination of the classes and the realization of socialism, the first step towards the Communist Society."

In the guiding principles concerning the fundamental questions of the Communist International, the concrete situation in which the world revolution had come to be in July 1920, was characterised as follows:

"The present moment in the development of the International communist movement distinguishes itself by the fact that the preparation of the dictatorship for the realization of its dictatorship has not yet been completed in the great majority of the capitalist countries, as a matter of fact has not even been systematically begun. It may not be concluded from this fact, that the proletariat revolution is an impossibility in the very near future, on the contrary; or the whole economic and political situation is uncommonly replete with explosive material and motives for their sudden combustion. A further prerequisite for the revolution, besides the preparation of the proletariat, namely the general crises in all the ruling and all bourgeois parties, is also present. But from the above it follows that the momentary task of the Communist parties is to accelerate the revolution, without provoking it by specious means before sufficient preparation has been completed; the preparation of the proletariat for the revolution, however, must be stimulated by deeds. On the other hand, the above mentioned cases in the history of many socialist parties compel attention to be directed to the fact that the "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat may not remain an empty phrase."

The question must be investigated whether the objective conditions do not require alteration of the immediate aim of our whether that which we call the slow tempo of the world revolution may not really be the slow tempo of capitalist restoration. This indeed forms the foundation of the two-and-a-half International, from Hilferding to Levy.

Concerning Hilferding's position, Martoff, in a private letter to the Executive Committee of the Mensheviks, printed in the Moscow "Pravda" of April 5th, writes: "Such authoritative economists as Hilferding are more that cautious in their prognostication. He has declared very clearly in private conversations that he

considers it questionable whether capitalism is in its final period of collapse, and whether we are not perhaps proceeding, after a prolonged crisis, to the phase of revival and State Capitalism, which will be able in an entire period to win a part of the working class for the policy of division of profits and super profits, the which might lead to the revival of reformism in the labour movement. To tell the truth, Hilferding is himself inclined to believe that such will be the case."

Furthermore Levy's pamphlet closes with the following declaration:

"If the Germans do not succeed in once more building up the Communist party, if it is doomed to such a fate as was its lot in March, then convincing evidence has been submitted that the counter-revolutionary tendencies which we see passing throughout the world, are of greater duration and power than we previously believed; and that the doom of the Communist International is sealed."

Naturally Levi declares that it would be desirable and it is to be hoped that this will not be. But his conduct proves one thing, that is, that he fears that the period of world revolution will give place to a period of triumphant capitalism, and this fear is the source of his centrist vacillations. For a revolutionary naturally, such doubts would not be sufficient to raise doubts as to the fate of the Communist International. The Communist International justifies its existence even if we were not in the midst of the struggle for the capture of political power on a world scale; for a revolutionary knows that the capture of political power does not fall from heaven; that it is necessary to gather the spiritual, organising and political forces even in the period of decline. He knows that this preparatory work can be carried out neither in conjunction with the social reformers nor the Centrists. The revolutionary will not abandon the struggle for power until the fate of the revolution has been determined. It is the opportunist, the one who stands for a policy of expediency, who hastens to base himself on facts when he believes that this basis is the long peaceful capitalist development, which does not give birth to Putsch-ists (may God curse them) but to respectable, peaceful exploitation of the proletariat. But doubts as to the character of the epoch prove that the development of the world during the last few years contradicts the picture of the progress of the world revolution, which some revolutionaries represented to themselves. It demands for that reason a sober valuation of individual tendencies. If these doubts are well founded then they must naturally be taken into consideration when we draw up our tactics. Before going any further we say, that the progress of the revolution expresses the picture that every sober revolutionary must have represented to himself, if he did not lay the desire for a speedy success of the revolution as a basis of his tactics. In the theses on the tactics of the Communist International in the period of struggle, and during the Proletarian Dictatorship which we wrote in December 1919, and which was published in January 1920, over the signature of the Western Bureau of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the Spartacus Bund, we wrote:—

"The revolutionary struggle for proletarian dictatorship will become more acute, deeper and wider with the progress of the collapse of Capitalism. The domination of capital will become more and more intolerable for the Proletariat. The Proletariat will by experience learn the inevitability of the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but in distinction from Russia, the victory of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries will not be as sudden as it was in Russia, but will come as a result of a long period of arduous self-sacrificing struggle. Only by bearing in mind the slow and arduous character of the struggle for emancipation in laying the basis of tactics, can the Communist Parties of the Western countries save the proletariat from thoughtless attempts to capture power with the insufficient forces of an impatient minority and give it an understanding of the proper means of conducting the struggle. The victory of the proletariat can only be secured when the socially decisive sections of the working class, like the miners, metal workers, railwaymen, and agricultural labourers are on the side of the workers, and possess sufficient power to break the resistance of the excellently organised and militarily equipped reaction which relies on the support of the rich peasantry. The foundation for the construction of the Soviet Dictatorship stands or falls with the conscious will to power of the proletarian masses."

Karl Radek

## Protection of Health in Western Europe and in Soviet Russia.

Doctor Freiberg, the Acting Secretary of the People's Health Commissariat, read a report in the Hall of Sanitary Instruction concerning the organisation the medico-sanitary affairs in Western Europe.

The National importance of health protection has been acknowledged by all civilised countries. The idea of creating a separate ministry for Health in Russia arose in the 80's of last century, but was realised fully only after the October Revolution. The experience of the three years existence of the Peoples Commissariat for Health proved the vital necessity for such a central institution.

The Ministry for Health in England, established June 3rd 1919, unites the functions of sanitary inspection, particularly in the schools, combating infectious diseases, medical aid, protection of motherhood, infancy, etc., and maintains the right to exercise its influence on the

source and organisation of social insurance.

In separate states in Germany health sub-departments have been instituted in departments of the Ministry for "National Welfare".

The report evoked a lively interchange of opinions. Comrade Semashko pointed out that West European literature has not yet solved the question of concentrating the whole business of health protection into one authorised organ. In Russia the form of the health departments and their organisation into one State organ was achieved because all reactionary obstacles were swept aside, which is not the case in Western Europe. Medical insurance should be abolished and all medical treatment socialised. Medico-sanitary legislation should at combining and unifying military, civil and naval medicine.



## Health Protection in Russia.

(The Results of the Activity of the Peoples Commissariat for the Protection of Health and Its Possibilities).

The work of the Peoples Commissariat for the Protection of Health was conducted during the last years under unheard of difficult conditions. First of all the inheritance received from the regime of the Czar and the capitalists was absolutely good for nothing: the medical organization of the capitalist regime was a class organization, it took care of the interests of the masters of the situation, the landlords and the capitalists. The institution of private property, the interests of surplus value placed insurmountable barriers for the carrying on of broad sanitary measures in the interests of the toiling masses. How could it be possible to better the housing conditions of the poor under the existence of private property of land and houses, safeguarding the housing privileges of the bourgeoisie. How was it possible to carry out the protection of labor, the protection of working women-mothers, and the protection of child labor in a regime, the bases of which were the interests of surplus value, the interests of capital?

This is the reason why we inherited from the Czarist Russia a complete absence of any broad sanitary (preventive) measures. That is why the sanitary conditions of the masses were appalling, and that is why for instance the child death rate in Russia was reaching such frightful dimensions unseen in any of the estates of Europe: Yearly out of 100 infants one year old, 26 were dying; that is more than one-fourth of the children born died in the first year of their life. Yearly in the country there were buried from a million and a half to 2 million infant corpses.

Not much more attention was given by the Czarist government to the medical cause: It was not to the interests of the capitalists to improve the health condition of the population at their expense or at the expense of the state but merely to cure the worker who has left the working ranks so as to place him again into the whirlpool of exploitation. That is why, however, more attention was paid to medicine. But even here the class capitalist state created a class medical apparatus: The first class medical aid was at the service of the masters of the situation, landlords and capitalists — and only the worse for the toiling masses. The best hospitals were concentrated in the cities, and their prices made them available only to the very rich circles of the bourgeoisie, the poor in the cities and especially the peasants in the villages were lucky if they could get even a surrogate of medical aid: A not too well trained nurse or an ignorant midwife. Such forms of assistance as free medical aid at home, ambulance assistance for accidents amongst the poor was not provided for even in the capital cities. Thus the Soviet Government was faced with the basic problem of radically transforming the whole plan of the medical sanitary organization. First place in this reorganization was assigned to measures of prevention, because to them as our great authorities Pirogov and Verchov taught, belongs the future; it is in this way that the whole medical sanitary organization that was topsy turvey and it was necessary to place it on its feet. Alongside with this revolution of the organization of medical and sanitary apparatus it was necessary to perform yet another one — it was necessary to unite the whole medical sanitary apparatus in to one organ (The People's Commissariat for the Protection of Health — in the center, and its branches in the provinces) and in place of the former bureaucratic confusion, inconsistency of plans, waste of forces and means, create a single working organization that would take care of the whole medical and sanitary problems in the republic.

Furthermore, both in the sanitary and in the medical department it was necessary to pass a series of measures not in the interests of the parasiting minority but the numerous toiling majority. In order to achieve this in our republic of toilers it was necessary to carry out measures for the protection of labor. This protection of labor was entrusted to the toilers themselves: Both in the center and in the provinces there were created branches for the protection of labor of the representatives of the labor unions; in each factory and mill, in each institution there were organized local commissions for the protection of labor out of the members of the workers and employees themselves. Their functions were — to see to the exact fulfillment of the labor code of laws, to inspect the carrying out of the sanitary and technical conditions. Child labor was prohibited and the labor of youths was limited to 4—6 hours. The compulsory cessation of work by pregnant women for six weeks prior to and six weeks after child birth was established

(prior to giving birth mothers are given linen for the child), Nursing mothers are granted certain privileges (the choice of a place of work nearer to her home, interruptions in work for the feeding of the child, and freedom from labor service) etc.

A whole series of institutions for the protection of mothers and infants was created not only in the large cities but also in the remote provinces; we have now in the republic:

Asylums for infants from 0 to 1 year old	267
Nurseries " " " 1 to 3 " "	159
Summer Nurseries " " " " " "	507
Free Medical consultation " " " " " "	51
Milk Kitchens " " " " " "	180
Homes for Infants and Mothers " " " " " "	96
Maternity Hospitals " " " " " "	108
Training School for Nurses and Instructors " " " " " "	13
Dispensaries " " " " " "	15
Milk Farms " " " " " "	2
	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 59</b>

The number of children in these institutions are . . . . . 140,700

The number of mothers . . . . . 14,600

As regards children of a somewhat older age, schools were created in the woods for the physically weak in which the training is conducted in the open air, in a healthy locality and according to an abbreviated curriculum and childrens colonies and sanitoriums were also organized for the tubercular children. Attention is also given to the physically defective children. At the beginning of 1921 the number of institutions was as follows:

1. Medical Observation and Testing Wards 37: number of children in them 1360.

2. Auxiliary Schools for Mentally Backward Children 64: which contain 1890 children.

3. Colonies for Morally Defective Children 64: which contain 3060 children.

4. Schools and Pre-school Training for Deaf and Dumb Children 45: with 2247 children.

5. Schools for the Blind with 1215 children.

6. A State Institute for Scientific Investigations of the Defective child, with 5 departments (Mental defectives, Moral defectives, Functional neuroses, Psychiatric and Medical Observation Wards.)

The city of Petrograd with its district alone has 53 institutions for defective children.

The question of the physical training of the growing generation was taken up anew: At the newly organized Central Institute of Physical Culture there were rapidly organized a whole series of courses for physicians and pedagogic-instructors, on Jan. 1921 we had the following establishments in this department:

Houses for Physical Culture . . . . .	11
Courses Physical Training . . . . .	13
Gymnasia and Athletic Fields . . . . .	8
Training Camps and Sanitoria Colonies . . . . .	

Together with these measures for health protection the ordinary sanitary measures were carried out also: the protection of the sources of the water supply and their betterment, the sanitary protection of housing conditions, the improvement of canalization and sanitation, the struggle with epidemics (amongst other a decree was passed for the compulsory vaccination, etc.). In the purely medical department also first of all our attention was directed to the provision of medical aid for the poorest part of the population: Not only in the gubernia capitols, but even in the smaller cities there was organized medical aid at home and rapid medical assistance for the poorer part of the population; medical assistance was brought nearer to the factories and the mills. Private hospitals formerly available only to the rich have been nationalised and are free to the whole population. Medicaments are given out gratis on prescription. The total number of beds in the hospitals were increased; at present we have a total number of beds for civilians reaching over half a million (not considering the military beds of which there were on the first of Jan. 1921 400,000). That is we have an increase as compared with the pre war time of 30%. The best qualified medical aid is given first of all to the toiler: Sanitoriums, country places, watering places where formerly the rich bourgeoisie were spending away their lives are now filled by workers, peasants, Red army men: According to the established rules 65% of the rooming accommodations in the country places and sanitoriums are assigned to persons engaged in physical labor and only the remaining 35% to the other categories of citizens.

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## Review of the Press.

### The Food Crisis.

"Isvestia" of May 26th reviewing the causes of the difficulties of the food supply, which the Soviet Republic is passing through just now, dwells on the possibility of improving the food supply of the population, (chiefly bread), principally to the workers of Moscow, Petrograd, Ivan-Vosnesensk and other industrial centres.

"We are again passing through difficult days of food crisis," says "Isvestia", we are again obliged to exert colossal efforts, to make great sacrifices, to overcome these difficulties. Every spring, with the season of bad roads, we are threatened with food complications. There are no roads, no transport of corn from the collecting points, to the railways; neither is there any wood for the engines.

We foresee these difficulties and we tried to prepare against them as best we could. But troubles never come singly. To the bad roads of the spring weather, were added the wanton by destruction of bandits, who struck at our weakest spot, our food supply.

In one month the bandits killed 200 employees of the food department, and destroyed six million poods of corn. These six million poods of corn would have covered the needs of Moscow and Petrograd for four months.

The bandit movement, by itself would not have done much harm, if the bad harvest of last year would not have created a certain temper among the peasant mass. The starvation in the villages is an undoubted fact. Famine has afflicted very large districts. The peasantry is starving, and fears increased starvation in the future. That is why the peasantry, so convulsively snatches the corn before it is yet taken away from the collecting point. That is also the reason why the state has such difficulty in getting corn from the villages.

Owing to these circumstances, the road transport has fallen considerable, and instead of the 21 million poods, transported by road in January, and 18,500,000 poods in February, April only gives 16,500,000 poods, which means a decrease from 15, to 25%. A perfectly natural consequence of such a situation should have been a decline in the loading on the railways.

However the further development of the crisis is checked. Exceptional measures have been taken to increase the local loading; the bandits are at the last gasp. Operations for trading have commenced. Siberia, Caucasus and the Ukraine have again sent their corn to us. The Obi and the Irtish in Siberia, the Don in the Caucasus, the rivers of the interior basin of the Republic, are at present carrying to the centre thousands of poods of corn. At the beginning of June there will be bread in Moscow, and Petrograd.

The food crisis will not last longer than the middle of June."

We share the sound optimism, of the author of the article. We must win, and we are confident that the united efforts, and the straining of all their energies, the working-peasant masses, will as usual, win through in the struggle against famine.

General Slastchev, who was reduced to the ranks by Wrangel's court martial continues to wear a General's uniform with all his medals. Commander of the Volunteer Corp General Kutepoff has opened a restaurant and a moving picture theater in Gallipoli.

A number of officers from Korniloff, Markoff and Drozdoff bands enlisted as privates in the French Foreign Legion and were sent to Africa.

General Balakhovitch who is now living as an ordinary citizen in Warsaw is at the present time engaged in writing his memoirs.

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We have not by far carried out even half of what must be performed in the sphere of preventive (sanitary) measures. The cause of it — is our poverty, economic and material ruin to which we were brought by the imperialistic and the civil war. We have not satisfied even one hundredth part of the needs, let us say in the sphere of the protection of mothers and infants, and in the medical sphere we must at least create a whole sphere of new hospitals, in order to somewhat satisfy the all growing needs of the population. The cause of that is the lack of the necessary equipment for hospitals, of the result of the hideous blockade on us by the imperialists. For it is well known that Russia always received medicaments from abroad. Many plants from which the most necessary medicines are prepared do not grow in Russia (for instance, quinine).

In one of the last issues of "The Common Cause", Bourtzev asks the question: "Who is with us? His own answer to the question is as follows: "Speaking frankly, we are not only compelled, but we also heartily desire to co-operate with the Constitutional Monarchist, who following the advice of Milukoff on the 3rd of March 1917 are ready to accept the fundamental conquests of the revolution being at the same time convinced that a constitutional monarchy is more in accord with Russia's interests than a Republic".

In the city of Spaask (government of Tambov) the Onezd Congress of the Russian Communist Party adopted a resolution requesting all members of the party to submit immediately all ring and other gold articles for despatch to the State Fund for Commercial Exchange in Moscow. The resolution was carried out immediately on the spot.

The Municipal Conference of Transport Workers in Smolensk resolved to support the British miners in their struggle, and deduct two days pay for that purpose.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine has requested the party organisations to put a large proportion of non-party people on Soviet work. The Communists at Soviet institutions are to go to the factories and works in order to recruit fresh proletarian forces.

The Executive Committee of the government of Kharkoff had adopted a number of measures to disperse many superfluous military and civil institutions.

The temporary All Russian Executive Committee for improving the conditions of the workers, at its session of May 21st, having heard the statement of Comrade Semasko recognised the fact that in order to improve the housing conditions of he workers, it must first of all use more economically the housing space occupied by Soviet, and Trade Union offices and of private houses. The space thus freed must be allocated to the workers, and then those who live in verminous or unfit houses at the first opportunity. For the purpose of establishing a House Communes it was deemed possible to move from one house to another. In order to encourage a greater care of houses, the committee recognised it necessary to grant the greatest amount of exemption from obligations to those tenants who have kept their houses in the most satisfactory condition.

In order to regulate the distribution of agricultural machinery, the Soviet of Peoples Commissars has resolved that the government supply of agricultural produce, and to Soviet and registered co-operative undertakings on the actual delivery of their produce to the government.

On the proposal of the communist group the Fourth Congress of Trade Unions elected a new Executive of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions as follows.

Andrufl—all Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. Antipoff—Executive of Transport Workers, Artem, Miners Executive, Vorobieva,—Novogorod—Holtzman All Russian Cen. Coun. T. U. Gorshkov. Textile Workers, Dogodaff,—Riasap,—Koroloff,—Ivano,—Vosnosensk, Kylishoff, All Russ. Cent. Coun T. U. Rikoff, Council of Labour and Defence, Sapanoff Builders E. E. Uglanoff Petrograd, Chernisheff, Urals, Schmidt All Cent. Coun. T. U. Shlapnikoff—Engineers, Shirinski Turkistan, Yanson Samara, Udoff Bogorslan. Nikolaeff Petrograd, the last two are non-party.

Therefore, in spite of all our increased attempts to begin our own manufacture of medicines we could not cure the wounds caused by the blockade of the Entente. All this enables us to improve at once considerably the medical and sanitary department of the republic. The active participation in it of the whole toiling population serves as a pledge of its further development. For all measures of the People's Commissariat for the Protection of Health are accompanied by a wide sanitary educational activity amongst the very broad masses of the people; and because these measures are worked out and carried out with the actual and permanent participation of the cause of the workers themselves. The motto "The health of the workers is the cause of the workers themselves" is the basic motto of soviet medicine.

N. Semashko.