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American Labour Movement.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

In the United States of America the labor movement of the great masses is conservative beyond the imagination of European labor men. Many of the Trade Unions are headed by rich business men; some of whom are worth over a million dollars. Dis-honesty and thieving are rampant. Many Union officials have been squarely convicted of taking money from the employers and sent to jail, others have openly admitted accepting bribes — yet, they still remain at the heads of their organisations. But, perhaps, no better evidence of the general backwardness of the American Trade Union movement is needed than the fact that it recently withdrew from the Yellow Amsterdam International, on the ground that this reactionary body was "too revolutionary."

According to Marxian principles, countries having advanced types of capitalism should also have highly developed labor movements, and this is true practically all over the world. The one important exception is the United States. There, we see the unparalleled situation of the most advanced and militant capitalism in the world confronted by the most backward and reactionary labor movement existing anywhere!

Whence arises this seeming paradox? What causes the strange conservatism of American labor in the face of its vigorous capitalist enemy? Numerous factors might be cited as contributory causes to this condition, but the one outstanding, decisive factor, is the faulty program followed by American revolutionists for a long time past.

This program is what we call dual unionism. For almost thirty years, practically the entire left wing of the American revolutionary movement, that part of it which believed in militant unionism, has had the idea that the trade unions are doomed to perish and that the revolutionists should construct an entirely new labor movement. In fact, this point of view became almost a religion with these revolutionaries. Hence, for many years, they have waged bitter war against the old unions, trying to break them up and to divert all the intelligence and energy of the workers towards creating the new movement. But their program has failed both ways. In the first place, the trade unions, instead of dying out, have become enormously larger and stronger, and, in the second place, all the attempts to start new labor movements have failed miserably. To-day the many rival revolutionary unions of America, which quarrelled bitterly among themselves, are absolutely insignificant in numbers and control of industry when compared with the great trade union movement.

Now we come to the explanation of the conservatism of the American labor movement. Although the revolutionists were unable to destroy the trade unions, they done them the gravest injury. For all these years, they have been drawing from their ranks the best fighters and most progressive workers — the ones who would ordinarily be the very source of life in the unions. By their constant preaching that the trade unions are hopeless and must be abandoned, the revolutionists have pulled out thousands of the best men, and turned other thousands to sabotaging the unions from the inside. The consequence has been, that no organized revolutionary minorities have been allowed to develop in the old unions. The reactionary bureaucracy has been left in uncontested supremacy.

Let us make a comparison. In England, the trade unions are rapidly becoming revolutionary. This is mostly the work of the militant minority of rebels, who showed good judgement by staying in the old unions. But, where would the English movement be, if this life-giving revolutionary element had pulled out twenty five years ago, and fought it religiously and relentlessly ever since? In such an event the English unions would surely be in about the same condition as those of America now are.

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

ENGLAND.

Coal Crisis.

London May, 24th (via Riga). Industrial circles of England, are extremely disturbed by the general depression, which is making itself felt, in all branches of English industry, as a consequence of the ruinous miners' strike.

The "Daily Herald" publishes a number of resolutions from localities which express the determination of the workers to continue the strike, and oppose all compromise.

The "Daily Herald" declares that nearly 50% of workers and employees on the London Tramway Service have declared against the permission to use foreign coal at electric stations.

London, May 25th (Radio). The newspapers announce that many railway workers who refused to handle foreign coal or goods, have been dismissed. Sixty three men were dismissed in Scotland. The London dockers have also struck. A meeting of dockers is being held at Glasgow to-day, to consider the situation, created in connection with the refusal of the Transport workers to come out on strike in support of the strikers, as promised. The "Daily Herald" publishes to-day considerable information from various localities.

"The miners stand for the fixing of wages on a national scale. United from the North to the South". On the other hand, 600 miners in Shropshire returned to work yesterday, because of the threat of the mineowners to close down the mines. Thirteen miners are awaiting trial, on a charge of taking part in the disorders in the Rhondda. In connection to the cost of the strike to the nation, it was stated in the House of Commons yesterday, that the expenditure on mobilising the reserves for defence reach nearly five million pounds sterling, and the claims put forward to the Government by the management of the Railways for the month of March, are three and a half millions. The preliminary figure of the claim for April exceeds 9 millions.

The London Coal Conference.

Horsea, May 29. (Wireless.) At yesterday's resumed sitting of the coal conference the prime minister laid before the parties the government's detailed proposals to reach a settlement. These proposals are for a temporary arrangement, leading up to a permanent scheme. During this period it is proposed that there should be a gradual scaling down of wages until they reach an economic level which the industry is capable of sustaining. The length of this period depends upon: (1) The amount available from external sources for making up the difference between the economic capacity of the mines and actual payment of wages. (2) The amount of the reduction which is immediately made in the wages. If this reduction is a slight one, it is obvious that all sums will soon be exhausted. If, on the contrary, it is a substantial one, the sum, available for covering the deficiency will last much longer. As it has already been indicated, the sums available for covering the deficiency are composed of an exchequer grant of ten million pounds and of the surrender by the owners of profits for three months. (3) That questions in dispute would be referred to a specially selected deliberator. The decision of the body or person selected should be binding for both parties. — The proposals were submitted first to the miners' executive and later to the coalowners. The former body retired to their headquarters and after a lengthy sitting decided to lay them before their districts to obtain the necessary instructions before Friday next when the Miners' executive will reassemble to consider them. It is stated that the proposals will be presented to the districts, unaccompanied by any recommendation from the executive.

NORWAY.

General Strike in Norway.

Nauen, May 29. (Wireless.) A general strike prevails all over Norway. The country is without light, trains, motors and newspapers, but apparently order has been, so far, maintained everywhere. The loss is estimated at 5,000,000 kroner a day, whereof 1,000,000 are the workmen's unpaid wages.

Christiania, May 29. (Wireless of the "Arbeiderpresse" agency.) The general strike is effective all over the country. The industrial life and all transports have stopped totally. The mobilisation of military forces has been achieved; it has so far provoked no disturbances. — A public open air meeting was held in Christiania yesterday attended by 10,000 workers. The Norwegian-American liner "Bergensfjord" returned to New York yesterday, carrying back the greater part of her cargo. — Negotiations continue concerning the sailors' wages. — A Copenhagen message states the Danish sailors union appealed to the Danish workers for economical support for the Norwegian sailors and labouring class in their heavy fight.

POLAND.

"Wind Up".

The Polish Government has prohibited the circulation in Poland of "Humanite" and the "Daily Herald".

Carrying Out the Peace Treaty.

The president of the Finnish Republic has endorsed the law passed by the Seim prohibiting the sequestration of the property of a friendly State on Finnish territory, allowing the sale of such property and guaranteeing the claims made to such.

The Post Office Board has been instructed, to draw up a postal agreement between Russia and Finland, in conformity with Article 34 of the Peace Treaty.

Polish Cabinet's Resignation.

Nauen, May 29. (Wireless.) The Polish premier Witos handed to the president the whole cabinet's resignation.

Persecution of Communists.

London, May 25th (Radio). The Communists were yesterday sentenced to six weeks imprisonment for revolutionary propaganda in Birmingham. The leader of the Red Trade Union International, Pollit, was allowed out on bail. In Portsmouth a seaman of the reserve was sentenced to three years imprisonment for inciting the soldiers of a naval battalion to mutiny. In Birkenhead, several workers were fined twenty pounds each for disrespectful remarks about the King.

Increase of British Forces in Ireland.

Nauen, May 29. (Wireless.) The London "Evening Standard" announces that the government intends to increase the number of British troops from 50,000 to 100,000 men, being resolved not to let itself be diverted by Irish violence from restoring order in Ireland.

British Proposals.

According to the reports of the "Morning Post" the British Government has renewed the proposal made by it two weeks ago to the effect that the northern best part of Silesia, which is really German, be handed over to Germany and the southern part to Poland. This decision would only be temporary, but, still, it would help the Allies to reach a final settlement. The French who, at first, disagreed with the British project, are now discussing it.

GERMANY.

Rampant Persecution.

The extraordinary Court in Berlin has sentenced the author Herring (Ferri), to eight years detention in the House of Correction for organising an attempt to damage the "Colonne de la Victoire". Previous sentences were executed in connection with the same affair, and the defence unceasingly asserted that the attempt was not organised by the Communist Party, but was the result of police provocation.

Persecutions of the Communist Press.

In Germany the persecutions of the Communist have recommenced. In Mecklenburg the "Communist" was suppressed, and is now only to be published under censorship. The "Rote Fahne" has been confiscated.

Another Strike.

A strike has been declared at Lyne's factory, near Halle, which supplies Berlin with the greater part of its electricity.

SILESIA.

In Upper Silesia.

Hanover, May 29. Spasmodic fighting continues between rebel Poles and bands of German irregulars in various points along the so called Upper Silesian front. Raid of Poles upon Kattowitz railway station yesterday was repulsed with heavy loss. British troops arrived in Oppeln to-day in large numbers, being greeted with great enthusiasm by the local townspeople.

Hanover, May 29. A great sensation was caused by the statement of a Polish cavalry officer in Gross-Strelitz, admitting that the Polish government, acting through regular officers selected and organized Uhland squadrons, which were shipped into Silesia through Sosnowitz.

Three thousand German volunteers under captain Roszbach, the notorious Baltic adventurer and monarchist, arrived in Kreuzburg. The Silesians are opposed to his presence there, declaring that the reactionaries and monarchists spoil the plans for a counter-attack and hurt the friendship with the British and the Italians. — The Entente commission has not yet heard anything about Korfanty's offer to surrender. — The Italians and British remain firm on both sides, improving trenches and barricades for coming battles.

The Battle Continues.

Skirmishes between Polish partisans and groups of German volunteers still continue on the Upper Silesian front. British troops arrived at Oppeln on the 29th inst and were warmly welcomed by the local population.

Three thousand German volunteers have arrived in Kreuzburg under the leadership of the well known Baltic adventurer and monarchist, Rusbach.

FRANCE.

Not Briand's But Lloyd Georges's Victory.

The vote of confidence expressed by the Chamber in Briand is regarded by the German bourgeois press as a victory for Briand over the chauvinist and catastrophic tendencies in France. "Vorwärts" welcomes the victory of Briand and declares that the democratic policy is entering upon a new era. The same paper declares that democratic Germany will help Briand to carry through the new line of policy and that the French militarists are having the ground cut from under their feet and that they will not be able to carry out the occupation of the Ruhr district. The Right German press does not see any symptoms in Briand's speech that would be to Germany's benefit.

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Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).**The National Movement Among the Kurds.**

There is again a revolt in Kurdistan. This is not the first year that the Kurd nation is struggling for its liberty and it is not their first rising against the yoke of the Turkish Bey's and Pashas and against the domination of the Caliph.

Forty years ago this movement had become quite defined and in 1903 it even had its own printed organ — "Kurdistan-Borreham-Boya" which conducted an energetic struggle for the liberation of the Kurdistan nation. The centres of these, "absurd visionaries" were the towns Publilmanne, Takiya, Semme and others. The Sultans struggled in vain against the Kurds: the punitive expeditions and cruel repressions had the exact opposite results to which they were intended. The Sultan Adul Hamid only "weighed up" the Kurds, and decided to bribe them. He made presents of land to the Beys and Sheiks, (the Spiritual leaders of the Kurds), granted them special rights, rewarded them with titles, and important posts. For instance for services rendered in the Russo-Turkish war the Sultan presented the tribes of Chamava with extensive lands. Their erected castles, subjected the "Raia" (a separate population) to their rule, and took to brigandage. The Sultan particularly tried to use the Kurds against the Armenians, counting the latter as enemies of the Turkish Empire; he gave the Kurds unlimited powers in comparison to the Armenians: the right to impose taxes for their own benefit, to dispose of their property unchecked, etc; by their aid the Sultan accomplished his brutal plans; created differences, caused massacres, etc. The Sultan was successful in temporarily disorganising the Kurd nation, but the intelligentsia clearly saw the ruin of such a policy, and conducted a fierce struggle against corruption introduced by the servants of the Caliph. "Kurdistan" more than once pointed out the danger for the Kurds—lying in these international relations. The migratory agitators of the Young Kurds strenuously tried to convince them against acts of provocations and more than once in recent years, the Kurds refused to carry out the orders of the Pashas and the Beys and in the last massacres during the war as was proved by the Armenians—that the places where the Kurds were in the majority suffered least. Not one thousand Armenian families were saved by the Kurds from the persecution of the Turkish gendarmes.

The Kurd National movement is one of the most interesting phenomena. The Kurds a nation half of which are settlers "Paia" and the other half nomadic—pastoral, chiefly "settler" state. The tribal form still exist, the outlines of the "nation" are still very indistinct. But the national Movement for liberation has sprung up and has now assumed a very fierce form. How can this be explained? First of all Turkey did much to assist it by its executions and repressions.

The main causes however may be found in the economics of this country. Kurdistan is a hilly country with a great amount of cattle-breeding and the products therefrom, with a great need for imported materials. It has had close economic connection with Persia, Armenia and Mesopotamia for a long period, while it had no connection with its Metropolis apart from a political connection. The idealist Kurd intelligentsia has close relations with the Mesopotamian Arabs and the latter had a great influence in the formation of the movement for freedom.

The British, not wholly unsuccessfully, tried to take advantage of this latter circumstance, during the war. They made an effort by means of the Arabs to organise an uprising of the Kurds against the Turks. They succeeded in convincing a number of tribes to remain neutral during the English offensive from the south.

Towards the end of the war the English abandoned all thought of making use of the Kurd National movement in their own imperialist interests. It is very evident that the British are now still supporting the Kurd nationalists.

(Continued foot next col.)

National Question at the Tenth Congress Of the Russian Communist Party.

The entire history of modern times has proceeded under the slogan of the struggle for the National State and National Unity. But under the conditions of the bourgeois order the National idea and the National State have proven to be as much a political fiction and a deception as the great revolutionary conquests: the freedom of speech, press assembly, parliamentary elections, etc.

Bourgeois order has proven itself unfit to solve the national problem; on the contrary it has only intensified it.

The Soviet Workers and Peasants Government created by the triumph of the October revolution of 1917 represents the first Government in the world which undertakes the solution of the national question on an entirely new basis guaranteeing the liquidation of national animosity antagonisms among the numberless nationalities comprised by the former Tsarist Empire.

We do not pursue a policy of assimilation neither with regards to such cultured peoples as the Poles, Estonians, Letts, Jews, Germans etc., nor with regard to the most backward nationalities which enter into the body politic of our conglomerate Federated Republic. We do not wish to deprive the smallest nationalities of their integrity. We not only do not desire to compel them to speak one language, but on the contrary, we facilitate the development of the rudiments of literature amongst such tribes as have none, and thereby we perpetuate and develop the language of every nationality no matter how small.

It is the fundamental contrast between not only the class but also the national policy of the proletarian Government and the class national policy of the capitalist countries that is chiefly responsible for the invincibility of the Soviet Federation in its struggle with its internal and foreign enemies. Our victories on the Eastern front over Kolchak, on the Southern front over Denikin are not due to the heroism of the Red Army alone, but also to the support which was rendered by the Tartars, Kirghis, Kalmuks, Dagestans, Ossetins, Ingush and other tribes, who were operating in the rear of the White Guard Armies, and compelled the enemy to shift considerable forces for the protection of the rear. On our external front the failure of Churchill's plan to organise a simultaneous attack upon the Soviet Government by 14 different States, is the result of the fact that in most of the States, such as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and partially Armenia and Georgia even the bourgeois elements considered the preservation of their national independence impossible after the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Russia and its substitution by a new regime whether it be of Milukoff or Wrangel.

We deem it necessary to emphasise the following basic principles which were elaborated by the thesis on the national question at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

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Nevertheless this does not mean in the least that this entire movement is artificial and the result of the snares of the imperialists. It is carried on under the leadership of the young Kurds united around the Mutual Aid Society in Constantinople, which has branches in all cities of Eastern Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and a newspaper "Djin", the organ of the nationalists of Constantinople. A great number of the agitators of this Society tour all the cities of Kurdistan and untiringly agitate for the independence of Kurdistan. Ferid-Pasha, one of the Sultan's ministers, asserted that this movement had an immense influence over the masses of the Kurd people. At first Kemal promised to make them autonomous, but the Kurds following the example of the Armenians realized that the promise of Kemal meant nothing and continued to fight.

At one time Kemal-Pasha put down the Kurds very severely, this was in the middle of 1919 the second time will be much more difficult, for the aggressive tendencies of the Kemal Movement, to re-establish Turkey in its ancient boundaries (no wonder the Sultan had a prayer said in Aia-Sofia for victory for Kemal), united the anti-Turk forces as much as weaken the militarists by rousing a series of peasant as well as nationalist uprisings.

V. Suerto.

As the existence of Soviet Republics, even though the smallest, represents a mortal menace to imperialism, not a single Soviet Republic can individually under the existing international conditions of being surrounded by capitalism; consider itself at all protected and secure from economic exhaustion and military defeat on the part of world imperialism. This indubitable circumstance leads to the logical conclusion of the necessity of an Alliance of individual Soviet Republics as the sole means of escape from Imperialist thralldom and national oppression for the reason that the isolated existence of Soviet Republics is most unstable owing to the menace of the capitalist states. However, whilst pointing out the imperative necessity for a federation of Soviet Republics and citing the experience which fully corroborates elasticity of the federated organisation as the general form of an Alliance between Soviet Republics, the thesis states that the federation can be maintained only upon the condition of the reciprocal confidence and voluntary agreement of its component parts. That the Russian Federated Soviet Republic is the only country in the world where the experiment of a peaceful cohabitation and fraternal co-operation of a number of nationalities and peoples was successfully carried out as undoubtedly the result of the total elimination in that country of all political and economic inequality. Here there are no Rulers and ruled, no metropolis, no colonies, no imperialism, no national oppression. This federation rests upon the reciprocal trust and the voluntary aspiration of the toiling masses of various nationalities to form a free union.

This voluntary character of the federation must be maintained in the future, for only such a federation can become the transitional stage towards that higher unity of the toiling masses of the world in the form of a world wide unified economy. The necessity of which is becoming increasingly more and more evident.

In connection with this point it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the Soviet Federation is the strongest and securest of all existing federations. Even apart from the danger which threatens the modern gigantic empires, England, France the United States from the national revolutionary movements in their colonies, the relations between the Metropolis and those parts of the empire which are inhabited by the same nationalities and enjoy equal rights are becoming exceedingly tense. Such are at present the relations between England and Canada and Australia. While England is driven into a closer alliance with Japan on account of her increasingly strained relations with America, those parts of the British Empire which hate and despise Japan are turning towards America.

Disintegration is threatening many of the large world empires, especially the newly formed states. They are liable to collapse under the pressure of internal complications or as a result of military defeats. Especially untenable is the situation of the many relatively small states which during the war amassed excessive territory such as Jugo-Slavia, Greece, etc. The lightest sign of military failure will be sufficient to blow them to pieces and leave their imperialists on a heap of ashes.

Among other resolutions adopted by the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, special attention should be given to the resolution which deals with the thirty millions of Turcomen. These Turcomen have not as yet passed through the furnace of capitalist development they have almost no industrial proletariat, they are still pastoral and have remained in the patriarchal-tribal stage. (Kirgeesia, Bashkiria, Northern Caucasus). Some of these peoples are still in a semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal stage (Azerbeidjan, Crimea, etc.), but have already been drawn into the sphere of Soviet influence.

"The elimination of the actual inequality, — according to the theses — is an extended process involving a determined struggle with all the remnants of national oppression and colonial serfdom. Here national inequality rested on the basis of the historically developed economic inequality. This inequality expressed itself first of all in that those outlying parts of Russia, (especially Turkestan) being in a position of colonies and semi-colonies, were forced to play the role of the provider of all kinds of raw material which were converted into manufacture in the centre of the empire. This was the cause of their constant backwardness and prevented their rise and still more the development of an industrial proletariat amongst

oppressed Nations. It was unavoidable, that the Proletarian Revolution should come face to face with all this in the Eastern border countries, and that its very first tasks should be the liquidation of all remnants of National inequality in all branches of public and economic life, the systematic planting of industry, the transfer of the textile, woollen, leather and other industries to the sources of raw material.

The economic policy of raising production in the border countries is directly opposite to the economic policy of the Capitalist Powers, in relation to all backward countries and colonies, as well to those states generally coming within the sphere of influence of Capitalist Powers.

The economic policy of England, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, etc., was based on the prevention of the development of native industry in the colonies. The policy of the Russian Communist Party is the destruction of the economic inequality between the central and the border countries of the former Tsarist Empire, which was a result of the policy of Tzarism. The grandiose project, of the engineer Pisenkamph, first put forward after the October Revolution by the Central Committee of Public Construction, was not carried out owing to the war against Russia instigated by world imperialism, and the consequent exhaustion of all the material resources of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. A further project was put forward at the 8th Congress of Soviets, that of the electrification of the Caucasus, Turkestan and other border countries. This clearly proves that our program of peaceful construction, our single economic plan, aims at, not only raising the productive forces of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic generally, but also the destruction of the historically formed economic inequality between the Central and the border countries of Russia.

Clause three, is of very great importance, as it treats of the necessity of a most determined struggle against the results of the transmigration policy of Tzarism, in the Bashkir, Kirghese, Tchetchentzeff, Inghushi territories. The consequence of this policy was the usurpation of the best arable districts by the Russian emigrants and the driving of the natives into sterile deserts. The gradual degeneration and dying out of the natives in the border lands was the inevitable result. The Russian Communist Party puts forward the task of returning the arable districts, and generally all suitable lands to the working native masses. We may remark that in many districts, the Russian Republic already, before the Congress, made an attempt to execute these necessary measures of recapturing the land from the "rich farmer element" of the Russian peasants and cossacks, and to return them to the natives, for instance, in Terek, Caucasus and Turkestan.

A large number of allotments, including the best districts, near the water sources, that were arbitrarily usurped by the "rich farmer" element, have been retaken and returned to the native population. In some instances the Soviet Power did not hesitate, even to evict and transplant whole "rich farmer" settlements. This measure, exists in many places in Turkestan, as stated by comrade Saffarov in his report at the Tenth Congress. The same is being done at present in the Caucasus.

After finishing with her external enemies, and entering the epoch of Trade Agreements with European countries, Soviet Russia energetically took up the task of peaceful reconstruction. The confidence and support and the loyalty of the working masses not only of the central, but also of the border countries in the hard struggle against Denikin and Kolchak, having been proved, we have the guarantee that in spite of the intrigues and the provocations of the bourgeois nationalist elements, the Soviet Power will link up in its federation, the oppressed masses of the population of all the border lands and, in collaboration with them, accomplish the task of the complete economic and spiritual liberation of the natives from the yoke of the predatory "rich farmer", and from the medieval culture, which prevents the intellectual and ideological development of working masses of the East.

M. Pavlovitch.

Review of the Foreign Press.

The Coal Crisis in Great Britain.

The British bourgeoisie press hopes that an improvement in the coal crisis. Of course, the bourgeoisie understands this improvement in the sense that they have reduced the workers to despair through hunger, and that they will be able to do what they like with them. The "Daily Chronicle" of the 19th of May, in this connection cynically remarks:

"It is likewise a good sign when a South Wales leader points out that the prolonged interruption of our coal export trade by the strike will mean that those of the South Wales miners, whose output should go into that trade, may have to wait for three months, and some for twelve months, before they get back to employment... The men, who have led the miners into this disastrous quagmire are doctrinaires... But the mass of miners are not doctrinaires, and now that they have had seven weeks to think over the problems of their industry, they ought to be seeing some things. They ought to see that there is no question of its living indefinitely (as their leaders suggested it might) on state subsidies, and therefore that without cheapening its cost of production, it cannot go on..."

The number of varied proposals that are being widely discussed in the press indicate that the employers propose to make some concessions, which it is alleged the starving workers will be eager to accept. The "Daily Herald", of the 19th of May, points out the absurdity of these rumours and calls upon the working class to exhibit the same firmness and determination which they have shown up till now. It says:

"...There are signs that, even if the coal-owners are not yet tired of having the pits closed down, their fellow-capitalists in other industries are beginning to be seriously worried. Hence the insistence in the capitalist Press that it is time for negotiations to begin again... neither the miners, spirit nor their power of resistance has been broken; and they have shown plainly that they will accept no settlement which means starvation wages for any section of their members."

... All sorts of fantastic plans, we are told, are being discussed, Lord Londonderry, whose family claim mining rents and royalties for minerals nature has created, has so far come down on the side of the men by declaring in favour of centralising the mining industry in districts, if not nationally. He also has come out on the side of those who say the mining industry is run by wasteful and incompetent methods. So far so good.

All the paper plans appearing in the press are at present only talk. Who the miners and owners are that met at Chequers and Downing-street we are not allowed to know. Of one thing we are certain: nobody, whether he be a miner or not, has any right at this moment to speak for and on behalf of the miners of Great Britain. The executive and delegate meeting, who alone have authority in this matter, dispersed days ago, and until either one or other reassembles, nobody can pledge the organisation to any alteration of the original demands.

The nonsensical rumours that the demand for the Pool is abandoned, that even a National Wages Board is not now to be pressed, are only part of the Government's game, which is to divide the men and create feelings of uncertainty and doubt.

We urge on comrades, whose heroic endurance in the face of terrible suffering has been splendid, to stand fast a few days more. If they do that, a full open conference must be held, and a settlement satisfactory to the men secured.

We also urge the miners in all the coalfields to demand that all secret negotiations shall cease, and the whole business of negotiations conducted in the light of day."

The "Manchester Guardian" points out the real cause of the coal crisis, which extends beyond the limits of Great Britain, and is assuming the character of a catastrophe, for the whole economic policy of the British Empire. In its issue of the 19th of May, it states:

"The responsibility for the present position of the mines, and as a consequence, for the actual dispute lies with the Government. Foreign policy as interpreted by the Government has involved the paralysis of industry in Central Europe. It has also involved the transfer of one important German coal-field to French administration. France does not want our coal and Germany cannot buy it. As to what remains of the European market, it was destroyed by the forcing up of prices under Government control to a point at which the foreign purchaser revolted and called in American and even Eastern supplies. The British consumer was temporarily enjoying coal below the cost of production, at the expense of the foreigner whose economic necessities were ruthlessly exploited. Now comes the Nemesis. The export market is cut off, and our richest coalfield is the greatest sufferer."

"Correction"

In comrade Haywood's article "Conditions in the United States" published in our number of May 29, the words "officially declining the withdrawal" was printed in error for "officially declaring the withdrawal".

The Congress.

Preparations for the Congress.

The Central Organisation Committee of the IIIrd Congress of the Communist International has received the following information with regard to preparations being made for the Congress.

Since the forthcoming Congress will be occupied in analysing the fundamental and practical trends of the revolutionary movement co-ordinated by the IIIrd International, and its work will therefore bear a more pronounced practical character, the Organisation Committee has directed its attention towards providing such conditions as would enable the delegates to carry on their work most productively.

The atmosphere in which the work of the Second Congress as well as of the First Congress was carried on suggested a great deal of ceremony and external effect. The forthcoming Third Congress in which representatives of much greater and more influential revolutionary parties from all corners of the globe will participate will be distinguished from the First Congress in that it will not present the first occasion for a ceremonial meeting of the representatives of the revolutionary parties of the world proletariat under the banner of the Third International, but will be a Congress at which the practical and urgent problems of the revolutionary movement will be dealt with in a thorough businesslike fashion.

Owing to the fact that the delegates are arriving in Moscow in separate groups at different times it is rather difficult to welcome them in the manner due for such occasions. However it is proposed that a few occasions will be utilised in order to honour the delegates. The Committee strives that this honouring should bear the character of an intermingling with the mass of the Russian proletariat and that along with the honouring of the Congress should also take place the honouring of the entire body of the Russian workers.

The commission is making arrangements for the honouring of the heroes of labour at various factories and mills.

It appears that the Congress of the Third International and simultaneously with it the Congress of the International Council of Trade Unions will attract to Moscow something between seven and eight hundred delegates.

This year all the sittings of the Congress will take place in the Kremlin.

A special exhibition is to be organised for the delegates in the Trade Union House during the Congress at which Special demonstrators will illustrate the International Labour movement, Party activity and work in connection with Soviet Construction. A part of the exhibition will be devoted to the International Trade Union Movement. This exhibition will be open to all the Workers as well as to the delegates.

It is proposed to arrange a number of theatrical performances prior to the opening of the Congress. Notwithstanding that our theatres are supposed to close down for the season on the 1st of June, this time they are going to be open until the 5th of June in accordance with arrangements which have been made with our Commissary for Education, Com. Lunacharsky.

A revolutionary historical drama "The People" will be given at the Second State Theatre. The First R. S. F. R. Theatre will present the revolutionary satire "Mystery Bouff". At the Aquarian Theatre Gnediche's play "The Hinds" which gives a bright illustration of the feudal system, and Ostrofsky's play "The Forest" will be given in new setting by a group of artists from the Little Theatre. The Art Theatre will stage the "Blue Bird" and Gorky's "The Lower Depths". At the Court Theatre will be given the "Chancellor and the Locksmith".

Comedians.

"Rhul" of the 26th inst. makes the following comments on the significance of the recent industrial-commercial Congress: "The Congress allows one to assert that the advanced progressive thought of the Russian bourgeoisie categorically renounces the policy of socialistic ideology. The Congress has but again confirmed that the inviolability of the rights and obligations of the individual rests on the basis of private property and freedom". This supplies the newspaper with the excuse once more to censure Miliukov and his followers for attempting to unite with the Lefts.

Affairs in Italy.

Russian Trade Delegation in Italy.

Rome, May 29th—Stephens agency Communicates that the Minister for Foreign Affairs has had an interview today with the head of the Russian Trade Delegation in Italy. It was admitted that the Russian Trade Delegation had arrived in Italy in accordance with an agreement reached between the two nations. Both sides have again confirmed their mutual desire of arriving at a definite trading agreement whose main outlines have already been sketched. The newspaper "Il Povero" comments upon the above mentioned communication in the following words: "We congratulate our Minister for Foreign Affairs on his good sense in deciding at last to act as he could and should have done the moment the Russian mission arrived in Italy". The decision of the mission has been received with satisfaction.

Rome, May 27th... Comrade Vorovsky has had an interview with Count Sforza, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Comrade Vorovsky has appealed against the decision of the court acquitting the Fascisti Servanti. The Italian Government has climbed down, has recognized the immunity of the Russian Trade Delegation and has arranged to allow its members the immediate right of carrying arms. Comrade Vorovsky is approaching the discussion of a trading agreement between Russia and Italy.

With Vorovsky in Italy.

Rome, 27—V. — To refute the false rumours being disseminated concerning Vorovsky's delegation, the Russian Trade Delegation publishes the following communication: "Anonymous reports have appeared in certain Rome papers to the effect that the Russian delegation has presented to the Italian Government as a condition for the conclusion of a Russo-Italian Agreement the recognition de facto of the Soviet Government. The same report hints likewise at an agreement that is said to have taken place in London with Krassin on this question. The authorised Russian delegation in Italy declares that the above quoted reports do not conform to facts". The evening papers publish reports of an interview between Sforza and Vorovsky. The former promised Vorovsky a guarantee of diplomatic immunity, following which Vorovsky will remain in Italy.

Rome, 8—V.—In connection with the conflict between the head of the Soviet delegation in Italy and the Italian Government, the official "Tribuna" states that the Italian Government is even now prepared to sign an Agreement with Vorovsky, generally similar to that signed by England and Russia. "Massaggio" writes that Vorovsky's demand for passports was unexpected. There is no reason to cavil at that step and draw from it any, even hypothetical conclusions. The newspaper accuses the Government of an ambiguous attitude, and ironically greets France who has laid an anti-Soviet channel in Italian policy. "True—remarks the paper—"such a friendship with France can only be bought at the cost of stagnation in Italian industry and increased unemployment".

The Arrival of the American Mission.

Chita, May 23rd, Krasnochek, Minister for Foreign Affairs, received the American Mission composed of Dr. James Abbot and Colonel William Davis. The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Far Eastern Republic Com. Kozhevnikoff was present at the reception. The reception lasted till 8 o'clock in the evening. In the morning the American Mission will be received by the President of the Council of Ministers, Nioffor and the Minister for Trade.

New Cabinet in Angola.

A new cabinet has been formed in Angola under the presidency of Fevsi-Pasha. Usuf-Kemal has been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hassan-Bey Minister for Finance.

The Collapse of the Greek Offensive.

The new Greek offensive ended in complete failure. The Greek front is completely broken.

Bourgeoisie Alarmed.

Debates concerning an increase in the Indian army because of the growing menace to British power by the revolutionary movement in India, have taken place recently in the house of Lords, according to British Blue Books, just received, Lord Sydenham, formerly Governor of Bombay Presidency, is quoted as saying:

"No one can possibly say what form the government of India will take, or whether there will be any government in India within a few years time from the present; but what is certain is that authority is at a very low ebb over large areas of the great sub-continent of India. The only policy that I can discern seems to be to do nothing and to wait until something turns up. I believe that before long something will turn up, and that it will be a great surprise to the British people, who have been kept in the dark, and that it will be a very unpleasant surprise. Since the Committee reported, agitation has been growing at a great pace and it has greatly increased in its violence and scope. It is more than ever necessary that we should have a contented native army in India"

Lord Sydenham recommended an increase in the pay of the Indian sepoy from 15 to 18 or 20, rupees a month with pensions for widows of the Indian soldiers amounting to 8 rupees a month for the mother and 2 rupees each for each child: One rupee amounts about thirty cents. He then continues:

"The need of a contented army in India was never so great as it is now, because never was agitation so dangerous as it is at the present moment..."

"The duties of the India army may be said to be three-fold, two domestic, one external. In the first place, it has to maintain the authority of the protected Princes and Chiefs of India. As your Lordships know, there are six hundred of these people, some of them with large estates, but in all cases the military forces which they maintain are very small, because at the back of them are the forces of the Crown to maintain order. Lastly, the Indian army has to protect the lives of our countrymen, women, and children, scattered broadcast among 315,000,000 of most excitable Asiatics."

"Our rule is now undoubtedly being treated with contempt in many parts of India, and that a violent anti-British agitation is proceeding, with complete or almost complete impunity..."

"Mr. Gandhi's non-cooperation movement will certainly fail in some parts of its program, but together with the Khilafat agitation, it has resulted in the spread of race hatred to an extent which has never before been approached in our time in connection with India. Those two movements, together, must leave behind them a legacy of evil for years to come."

"If all Persia were to go Bolshevik, as is quite possible, how would that affect the policy of Afghanistan? Already Bolshevism is a very real danger in India. Mr. Gandhi has proclaimed publicly that he prefers Bolshevism to British rule, and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, who is actually his vice-regent in Bengal, when inciting the Calcutta students to non-cooperation, spoke of the 'divine idea of Bolshevism'."

Strike in Fiji.

The Indian cane workers in Fiji are again on strike, according to dispatches from Sydney, Australia, to the "London Daily Herald" of May 11. The demands of the strikers, while sounding fantastic to the educated proletariat of the West, yet show that at least the Indian workers are not compromisers, and demand as much as they can think of.

Demands of a political nature have been put forward by the strikers, and meetings have been held. The cable states that "trouble" is expected.

The strike of the Fiji workers is a repetition of a general strike in the fall of last year, which was put down by a massacre of the workers and the deportation of the leaders. Shortly after this strike two Indians, a woman and a man went to Fiji to investigate conditions, since all news had been suppressed. Upon returning to India, the women gave an interview about a massacre and about labour conditions on the island. A report from her at hand reads:

"The reporter who took my interview was soon after put on the staff of the "Rangoon Mail". He reproduced my interview there, and was consequently sentenced under the Press Act and sent to prison. Three other papers to whom I sent articles on Fiji refused to take them after this".

(Continued from page 1 col. 1.)

In the face of the separatist tactics of American revolutionists, is it any wonder that the trade unions are conservative? How could it be otherwise? Do we expect the conservative, left to themselves, to make their organisations revolutionary? Such a thought is ridiculous. With the revolutionists systematically quitting them and fighting them during all these years, the wonder is not that the American trade unions are conservative, but, rather, that they have been able to survive at all.

In a word, the principal cause of the backwardness of the American labor movement is that the Revolutionary elements have suffered from a long attack of "infantile sickness". They have wasted their vital efforts on vain utopias and left the real work of the movement undone. But, there are signs of recovery. The declarations of the IIIrd. International, the writings of Lenin, Lozovsky, Radek, Zinoviev, etc., on the folly of quitting the mass unions (not to mention the lessons of our bitter experience) are having a great effect. Already, the minorities are beginning to organise in many unions. This is something that has never been seriously undertaken before.

The American worker, although not a clear revolutionary, is naturally militant. His very environment compels this. And, if he is given a chance, if American revolutionists will approach him properly in his unions, lead his fight, he will inevitably respond and it will not be very long before the American labor movement will take the place where it belongs, fully abreast of the most militant and aggressive working class organisation in the world.

Panic Stricken.

New Zealand Governor General refused to give permission to the Workers' Sporting Union to make a collection in order to secure the means for participation in the International Sporting Competition at Prague. The explanation given for this prohibition is that the union manifested its sympathy with Communism and that there is a possibility that the money will partly be utilised for Communistic purpose.

Bribery.

The Japs have promised to the bands of Ataman Semenoff, in the event of a successful coup d'etat in Vladivostok every assistance to obtain the ammunition which is kept in the Vladivostok Customs House. This ammunition was intended for Check-Slovakia for the equipment of ten thousand soldiers.

Against the White Guards.

Being apprehensive of the growing influence of Ungern upon Mongolian affairs. Khutukhta has begun the organisation of a large Mongolian army. Khutukhta's intention to replace the Russian command by Mongols has met with resistance on the part of Ungern. Ungern's differences with the Mongolian princes are increasing. It is reported that a serious conflict has taken place between Khutukhta and Atarman Annenkov.

The commander-in Chief of Mongolia arrived at Peking to take part, together of the War Ministry for the elaboration of a plan for the further campaign against Ungern. The mobilisation which has been declared by Ungern gave almost no results whatever. The latter however, has not given up this intention of starting war operations against Transbaikal.

Annenkov Arrested.

According to the report of the Japanese Telegraph Agency with the arrest of Annenkov the liquidation of his detachment has been confirmed.

A New Adventure.

A number of active officers who have been sent for by Semenoff's headquarters have hastily left Grodekoff for Vladivostok. The important events that are now developing at Primorye are the centre of attention of all the conferences held by the Right Wing Groups.

New Coup d'Etat in Persia.

Send-Sia-Edin-Bey has been deposed by the War Minister, Risa-Hun, owing to too much scope having been given to the British officials and officers in managing the country, new reforms having been introduced. Whether Risa-Hun intends to take premiership or not, is as yet unknown.

MOSCOW

The Fourth Congress of Russian Trade Unions.

The 4th Congress of Trade Unions was held during the transitional period of the workers dictatorship. By the number of the problems it had to solve, by the number of its members, it is the biggest congress yet held.

There were 3,105 delegates, of which 2,357 had decisive and 748 an advisory vote, altogether representing a total of 8,485,800 members. Ten autonomous republics, 3 national districts and 66 guberniyas were represented at the congress. At the 3rd Congress there were only 1,508 delegates present.

At the first congress in January 1917 there was a strong "opposition" that is those who stood for the independence of trade unions, whereas at this congress only 17.7% (555 persons) were non-party, 14 persons voted against the resolution, adopted by the congress, on the question of the role and problems of trade unions.

The congress during the whole progress of its work declared clearly and definitely that there was no need to re-open the question of general policy as adopted by the Russian trade union movement, solve the practical questions brought forward by the development of the revolution. The congress not only stated this in its resolution, but it began its session by appointing the various sections to which were submitted the most important questions. By this it made it clear that an earnest and practical approach to the problems of the day was the best recommendation of the congress to the working masses, waiting for a solution of their present problems.

The announcement of the congress, the questions put before it for discussion emphasized the necessity of settling the all important question of the Russian workers revolution — the economic recovery.

The questions of wages commissions, economic structure, the co-operatives and the protection of labour, questions of educating the proletariat and the structure of its organizations, — were approached by the congress from the point of view of the necessity of preserving the dynamic force of the revolution — the working class — through the revival of industry.

At the head of all its work the congress placed the very fundamental problem of the revolution to gather together the working class, as a class, not to allow it to disperse, its most skilled class forces, promoted by the economic chaos in which the Soviet Republic generally finds itself. The burden of the economic condition of Soviet Russia primarily affects the working class. That is why the fourth Congress dealt specially with the question of cooperatives and the protection of labour. The work of the section dealing with these problems was very animated and on the question of the problems of trade unions the congress considered it essential to point out that every question connected with improving the status of a group or an individual of a trade union, must be the most important question in the practical activities.

Two important questions faced the fourth trade union congress — the re-establishment of large industry and the improvement of the workers conditions. Having already given a number of practical proposals for the solution of these questions — the congress gave to the rank and file of the proletarian trade union organizations the following fighting slogan: "Get busy, on to the struggle for our large industry, the basis of our large industry, the basis of our regeneration". The call is being taken up. The trade unions will prove the correctness of the path they are directed to follow and will lead the working class to further victories in the world revolution.

Results of Italian Elections.

Final Results.

Party.	Number of Deputies in the previous Chamber.	Number of Deputies in the present Chamber.
Constitutionalist Party	239	275
National Party	100	107
Socialist Party	138	122
Communist Party	18	16
Republican Party	13	7
Germans	—	4
Slavs	—	4

In connection with these results the "Corriere della Sera" says:

"The new Chamber too much resembles the old one. The hopes and aspirations of the Government have not succeeded. The violence of the Fascisti bands have only damaged and brought the enthusiasm against the revolutionary danger to nothing."

"Ordine Nuovo" writes: "The assertion of the bourgeois press that the elections throughout the country were conducted in an atmosphere of calm, is untrue from information received, for the 15th May alone, in different towns, 60 persons were killed and over 100 wounded. Even some of the bourgeois papers, giving information as to the course of the elections, acknowledge, for that day, 40 killed and 92 wounded."

"Le Populaire Paris". (Jean Longuet): "With regard to the course of the election campaign, simple statistics, drafted by the correspondent of the English periodical "The Nation", will speak for themselves more than any comments upon the subject. It is the list of the bloody deed of the White bands, according to the bourgeois papers themselves, for 17 days only, from the 5 to the 21st of April last:

Conflicts with fire arms	60
Persons struck with clubs	34
Killed (43 socialists and 6 Fascisti)	49
Wounded	270
Localities assailed and raided (38 socialist and 2 Fascisti)	40
Localities set on fire (Labour Exchange) and Peoples Palaces	70
Arrests: Fascisti	2
Socialists	212

"Workers! Protest Strikes!" In this list one must particularly take notice of the inconceivable fact that in

2 cases, the assassins were arrested, and the 212 cases were those who were assassinated.

"Humanité" (Paul Louis) says:

"It does not appear as if the Italian capitalist class could boast of the issue of the list of candidates for the 15th of May. The National block before hand proclaimed its triumph and the collapse of the proletariat. Nothing has come of it. The blood-thirsty and terrorist Fascisti have attempted to intimidate the working masses in vain. To-morrow's parliament will not essentially differ from that of yesterday. In all the large towns, the bourgeoisie has felt the strength of the workers. We shall, however have to refer again to the conference that M. Giolitti, with the aid of all the reactionary fractions, had thought was prepared to his liking."

The French "Temps". (Leading Article): "The Giolitti Cabinet, whatever merits it had has outlived so many internal difficulties, and the re-establishment of the exterior policy of Italy, does not get the triumph that certain of its friends seemed to assign to it. The block which it has constituted smash neither the Catholics, who seemed to have gained in homogeneity and also perhaps in numbers, nor the socialists, who have more than 100 seats."

With regard to the activities of the Fascisti "Temps" adds: ".... Perhaps they have submitted themselves to the inconvenience to which, once upon a time the King of Sparta submitted, when by means of thought unceasing combats taupht the enemy the art of fighting? In any case, they seem to have obtained less seats, than the blows they received and distributed."

The Removal of Trade Restrictions.

Riga 25. 5. L. T. A. communicates that the United States Foreign Office has declared that from now onward all restrictions in force during the war, of trading with enemy countries, are removed hence forth only trading in valuables confiscated during the war will be prohibited.

Outcasts of the World.

The Brazilian Government has finally declined to admit the remnants of Wrangels forces. In view of the fact that four thousand men are already on the way, they will be landed on the island of Corsica, where they will be given temporary refuge.

MAY 31th 1921.

Penitent Sinners.

"Kaaryala" of the 27th inst. communicates that the Kronstadt refugees at the Concentration Camp in Turkinsari, all of whom have declared their desire to return to Russia, have been sent across the frontier, in groups. In Ikho likewise preparations are being made to repatriate to Russia, Kronstadt refugees who are all anxious to get home.

Unemployment in Poland.

Over ten thousand unemployed have been registered in Bielostok.

A Strike Near Halle.

Nauen, 29 May. (Wireless.) The communist "Rote Fahne" announces that a strike has been proclaimed in the Leunawerke near Halle, which provide part of Berlin's electrical power. The paper warns the unemployed from breaking the strike.

Ferment Continues.

The situation in Alexandria is still grave. The rumour of the murder of a native by a Greek resulted in an assault being made against the Greeks and other Europeans, during which many people were killed. The mob smashed the windows of European shops. Firing is still continuing and many houses have been burned. British troops have arrived on the scene.

Evacuation of the Rhine.

The Commission for the Improvement of the living conditions of the workers in Sevastopol have organised a number of Rest Homes at country houses not far from town for workers on vacation.

The shortage in metal parts for repairs is being gradually overcome. We are beginning to receive smoke stock from abroad, tyres of all sorts, the results of which are already evident.

The commercial speed has also increased by 2 versts since January, this is a very small increase but the results are evident.

To talk about Armaments.

Harding next week proposes to invite the representatives of the English and Japanese Governments, to a consultation in Washington on the question of Naval Armaments.

Strike Continues.

The strike of the workers in the oil districts of Borislav and the neighbouring districts, is proceeding. The minister of Commerce has telegraphed a proposal to the workers to send delegates to Warsaw for conducting negotiations with the engineer Vidomsky, representing the government for the cessation of the strike. All the workers in the oil industry of Western Galicia are participating in the strike.

Arrest of Communists in Rumania.

The Rumanian authorities after arresting 72 Rumanian Communists, arrested another 52 Hungarian Communists.

At the meeting of parliament on the 29th of May, the question of the arrest of the Communists was discussed. Toma Dragu, pointed out the illegality of the arrest of 9 deputy-Communists. The Minister of the Interior, Argetoian, declared: "You will be the tenth". Dragu refuses to speak. The most important organs of the press standing to the Left of the Government, not excepting even Take Jonescu's paper the "Universul", condemn the action of the government, and consider the arrests anti-constitutional, so long as Communism remains in the sphere of ideology.

"Stampa" in an article on Upper Silesia, points to the competition amongst French merchants on the Upper Silesian question. The rivalry in the commercial circles of France affects the position of the French Government. Millerand supports the plans of the railway magnates Leron and Schneider, who procure coal from the Ruhr and Upper silesia. The large manufacturer in the electro-technical industry supported by Louchereau are leading a vigorous campaign against the flooding of France with cheap coal from the occupied areas.

The Berlin press is replete with communications purporting to give an account of a settlement reached by the German and Bavarian Governments on the question of disarmament. The "Rote Fahne", devoting a leading article to this question states that the evidence about disarmament is unreliable. Escherich and Kahr will never disarm their forces unless their militia becomes the foundation of the power of reaction.