



# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
№ 18.  
June 15<sup>th</sup>  
1921.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### Anticipated end of Miners' Strike.

Bordeaux, June 13. (Wireless.) Telegrams received from the British mining districts generally indicate that on Wednesday next, the day fixed for taking the miners' vote, the miners will vote for the acceptance of the mine owners' offer and that, consequently, work may be resumed Monday next, June 20th.

London, June 11. Discussing the last French note to Britain on the question of trade with Russia, the "Matin" suggests that the British reply has already been received, and that it "refuses to take account of the French mortgage on Russia." The "Matin" goes on to say: "When it is remembered that the French concessions in Russia represent 700 million francs, the extent of injury that may thus be inflicted on France may be imagined. To this must be added the loss we have already suffered through the transfer to England of the Russian gold which constituted the security for our loans. Therefore, the English commercial operations with Russia, are directed against French interest. Thus, one disagreement between England and France has scarcely been effaced, when another one comes up. France passes her time urging to stop enterprises directed by British diplomatists and military authorities against her essential interests."

#### Allies Indeed!

Berlin, June 11. (Via Riga.) The French press has received Churchill's last speech with great reserve; most papers charge England's pretensions to assume the part of arbitrator in future Franco-German conflicts, as being harmful to French interests. The "Temps", denouncing the indirect responsibility of the English policy, which it considers too conciliatory towards militaristic Germany, for the attack against and arrest of a French patrol in Upper Silesia, refutes Churchill's opinion that Franco-German relations would improve by England's mediatory action. The "Temps", commenting on the governing principles of Churchill's policy, concludes: "If England wishes to avoid a future European war, she must not yield to the dangerous temptation of sparing the German militarism in order to use it afterwards against Russia." — The "L'Information", pleading warmly for France's political autonomy, says: "Let us thank Churchill for his good sentiments, but let us follow our own policy". With regard to the Russian question, now preoccupying French public opinion, the "L'Information" advocates direct negotiations with the present masters of Russia and says: "The French government possesses on this point such information, as makes it its duty not to remain inactive".

#### British Consulate Employees Arrested in Warsaw.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) The "Daily Express" states that, owing to the arrest of employees of the British consulate, the British Minister in Warsaw threatened to leave, unless the chairman of the Polish military court, responsible for the arrests, would immediately apologize.

### ITALY.

#### Italian Civil Servants Strike Ended.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) The strike of the Italian state officials has ended, according to the statement of the Stefani agency.

#### New Latvian Government.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) A new government has been formed in Latvia by the former Foreign Minister Meirowitz with participation of the right wing of the socialist party.

### SILESIA.

#### Upper-Silesian Negotiations Fruitless.

Nauen, 13/6. (Wireless.) Information from German and from Allied sources has been received to the effect, that negotiations which have been going on at Blotnitz in the Rosenberg district between the allied generals and the leaders of the Polish insurgents and of the German self-defence organizations have so far yielded no results. The Germans have declined all offers that do not include the withdrawal and the disarmament of the Polish insurgents. The Oppeln correspondent of the "Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger" learns from various sources that the activity of the French, intended to clear up the contested territory, is nothing but bluff. As a matter of fact, the British General Henniker is subordinated to the French and he cannot undertake anything without their permission. It is said that general Le Rond who has completely overawed Henniker, whose troops are unable to fight, owing to their being dispersed among French units, has the intention of inducing the insurgents to withdraw over the Polish frontier, taking along with them their arms and their booty, thus conserving a basis for a new putsch. Korfanty whose headquarters are in Schoppnitz, is said to be in close communication with Warsaw, and his general staff is said to consist of twenty French officers in mufti. — Le Rond submitted to the Supreme Council a plan of entrusting Korfanty with the pacification of Upper Silesia. The well-foundedness of the German distrust of Korfanty's promises is furthermore proved by the fact that Polish bands are murdering, and burning houses near and behind the front lines. This is no sign of their intention to stop fighting. There is also the fact that the Poles again occupy the localities which had been evacuated by the Germans upon request of the interallied commission, saying they would be occupied by allied troops. — Measures for the Polonization of the Upper Silesian industrial district are reported, such as an order to replace all German shop signs by Polish ones, the extension of Polish teaching in schools and the prohibition to teach German and Prussian history.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) Korfanty's officers have stated to the correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune" that every attempt to disarm their men would lead to disaster. A regiment decided to destroy everything on its way home, if the political leaders would keep on plotting with foreign capitalists.

#### Council of League of Nations to Meet.

Horsea, June 13. (Wireless.) When the council of the League of Nations meets for its thirteenth session next Friday at Geneva, it will be faced with a long agenda. Among the principal questions to be dealt with are those of the Aland islands, the Saar valley, of the organization of an International Secretariat and an International Labour Bureau. Other questions upon the agenda include the Polish-Lithuanian difference and the appeal from the Albanian government concerning the relations of Albania with the neighbouring states of Greece and Yugoslavia. The situation with regard to the Russian refugees and the possibility of incorporating international bureaux, such as the Hydrographic Bureau and the Bureau of Public and Private assistance within the League will be considered.

#### White Terror.

Riga, June 11th. "Breeva Zeme" reports that the Court Martial has examined the case of 20 persons belonging to the Communist Party of Latvia and a group of Terrorists of Kretoul. The Court acquitted one person, remanded two in jail for further investigation, sentenced nine to death and eight to hard labour. The sentences have been executed.

### GERMANY.

#### Quiet in Bavaria.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) Sunday was quiet in the whole of Bavaria. No changes are reported with regard to the strike. The Munich police chief forbade all meetings with were convoked for Monday.

Hanover, June 13. (Berlin correspondent of the "Boston Monitor") Berlin workers propose to hold a great demonstration tomorrow against the Bavarian government, whose weakness is regarded as contributing to the murder of Gareles. The latest news from Munich suggests that the situation has grown more serious. The strikers propose as conditions of their resuming work the following: (1) Resolute action on part of the government against the manifestations in Bavaria of the old military spirit. (2) The protection of life and security of all citizens. (3) Freedom of press and of public meetings, together with the suppression of the present unlimited police rule. (4) The release of all political prisoners. (5) Security and strengthening of the democratic socialist republic.

### TURKEY.

#### French Envoy in Angora.

Bordeaux, June 12. (Wireless.) Franklin Bouillon, on a special mission for the French Government, has arrived in Angora.

#### Angorian Mission to Rome.

Bordeaux, June 12. (Wireless.) According to information, received from Constantinople, Bekir Sami-bey, formerly Foreign Minister of the Angora Government arrived at Rhodes, whence he continued his voyage to Rome, on official mission. He will undoubtedly visit also Paris and London.

Berlin, June 11. (Via Riga.) The London correspondent of the "Temp" wires about the growing tension between the Venizelist and Constantinist Greeks. It is said that the military preparations of the Greeks with a view to an offensive against the Kemalists have been completed. The Greek troops have been equipped with apparatus for the use of asphyxiating gas and with flame throwers. Greek ships are to make a demonstration against Turkey in the Black Sea ports. The Kemalists are said to be placing floating mines in their ports.

#### The King Goes forth to War.

Nauen, June 13. (Wireless.) King Constantine of Greece, accompanied by his sons, by the Prime Minister Gunaris, and by the Minister for War has arrived in Smyrna, whence he will proceed to the front.

#### Constantinople Funking.

Lyons, June 12. (Wireless.) The Grand Vizier addressed a long telegram to Mustafa-Kemal-Pasha, dwelling upon the grave consequences which might result for Turkey from its intransigent policy and advising to respect the engagements entered into by Bekir Sami Bey.

#### Will not Tolerate Communism.

Berlin, 8/6. L'Humanite reports that the Rumanian Minister for the Interior stated in the Chamber of Deputies that he tolerated Communists so long as they confined themselves to the realm of theory, but their affiliation to the III International compelled him to adopt decisive measures. Pointing to alleged connection of the Rumanian Communists with the Government of Horthy for the purpose of destroying the independence of Rumania the Minister declared, "We do not wish to play the role of Kerensky." We must kill the Rumanian Lenin in the embryo, and crush the movement as soon as it reveals itself".

### RUSSIA.

#### Russian and Chinese Relations.

Tashkent 1/6/20. At Culdie the Chinese authorities published the following proclamation in Russian, Chinese and Uzensk languages:

Be it known to the whole population of China, that for the purpose of good neighbourly relations between China and Russia, trade relations are established between the two countries. From the beginning of the revolution in Russia, our republic, out of respect for International Law, has strictly observed her neutrality. Some irresponsible people on meeting the Russian representatives display impermissible conduct. This disturbs the friendly feeling of the two Republics, and undoubtedly is a result of an agitation by persons who do not understand that they injure the relations of both countries, and the prestige of the Chinese government. All foreigners residing on the territory of China, are its guests, and must therefore respect the Chinese authorities, and only in this manner they can have her protection and support. The diplomatic and commercial agents of Soviet Russia are representatives of the friendship between China and Russia. Therefore we must extend to them every respect. From now on anyone, who will level an insult against the representatives of Soviet Russia, will be severely persecuted.

#### Still at it.

Lyons, June 13. (Wireless.) The Russian national congress has ended. It decided to create an organization under the name of "National Union", whose purpose it will be to liberate Russia from the yoke of the Third International and which will be governed by a committee of fifty members, under the chairmanship of Kartshev. This organization will recruit its members amongst all political parties imposing upon them, however, the obligation to renounce to the idea of reestablishing the old régime, considering that Russia's regeneration should be effected on a democratic basis. The congress drew up a program of action and proposed that the Russian government should fill the state engagements, contracted with Russia.

#### Japs Leading Siberian Enterprise.

"Deutsche Allgemeiner Zeitung" of July 7th reports that the detachments of Semyonov are carrying out the Japanese plan for forming a buffer State including Korea, Manchuria and the Far East and is to be under protectorate of Japan. In reference to offensive of Semyonov's detachments representative of the Paris "Posled Novosty", learned in the local Japanese embassy that Japan does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Asia, but this does not mean that Japan will remain passive as regards the bolshevist attempts. The Japanese assy in Paris is aware that the Japanese High Commander, General Yakushiji in close relation with Semyonov. Japanese authorities did not put any obstacles in the way of disbanding the militia in Vladivostok, and encourage nationalists.

#### Scandalous Speculation.

"Deutsche Allgemeiner Zeitung" publishes an account of glaring administrative abuse in the Government Pure Bureau at Lwoff. The speculations director of the Bureau, ex-colonel Archinski, and his agents cost the Government a few milliard Polish marks. The principal culprits have been arrested. The affair has aroused much commotion in Poland. It is suspected that many persons of rank are implicated.

#### Venizelos Proposes a Cabinet.

Riga, June 11th. Venizelos proposed to the Allies to form a cabinet in Greece, with his participation in it on the condition of Constantinople's deposition.



**"MOSCOW"**

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

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

## British Miners' Strike a Lesson for the International Proletariat.

For weeks the English miners have been waging a defensive battle on an enormous scale. They are carrying it on with unexampled valour and persistence. Up to the present moment they have consistently refused to consider any proposals either of the government or the mine owners on any basis unfavourable to the workers. And all this in spite of their having been betrayed and deceived on all sides.

The English mine workers' strike reveals more clearly than any other recent labour struggle, the faults and weaknesses of the international organisations of the world proletariat. It also demonstrates the close connection of every great economic struggle with the national and international labour movement. It is not sufficient, however, to simply take note of this general lesson of the English miners' strike. Certain concrete conclusions become self-evident on a detailed examination of the relation between the English and international proletariats, and the strike of the English miners.

The outbreak of the strike confronted England with the immediate danger of a proletarian revolution. The colossal Triple Alliance threatened to declare a general strike, and the government began to mobilise its forces in order to risk a trial of strength. The English trade union leaders shrunk back, however, from such a decisive battle. The general strike was called off and systematically negotiated to death in committee discussions, and the English mine workers stood isolated in the struggle, betrayed for the first time by their fellow workers.

A week later, the betrayal was repeated on an international scale. The Amsterdam trade union international issued a hypocritical manifesto, in which they complained that the mine workers had not applied to them directly, at the same time expressing their inability to grant any assistance. The German and French miners continued to slave for their masters, while the Belgian mine slaves retracted their original resolution to declare a sympathy strike, under the pretext that all the others had also denied support. Meanwhile English capital organised its strike-breaking forces. German reparation coals served the purpose of aiding the English bourgeoisie to hold out. In the beginning of June a declaration was made in the House of Commons to the effect that 94,000 tons of German coals had already been imported since the outbreak of the miners' strike, which had been delivered to France and Belgium in accordance with the reparation stipulations.

While capitalism, in spite of the existing imperialistic antagonism, is thus able to surmount the national barriers both politically, and economically, when it is a matter of defeating the proletariat, the isolation of the English miners is striking evidence that international cooperation of the proletariat is still in its infancy. And yet, mutual cooperation in the economic struggle must be the starting-point from which the union of the Middle West European proletariat in the political field, in the revolutionary battle, must be achieved. A common strike of the English, German and French miners and actions for the prevention of international strike-breaking, would be of tremendous importance for the defeat of European imperialism, which is waging its conflicts on the backs of the working class. National and international opportunism has succeeded in sabotaging mutual action this time. But just as the treachery of a part of the miners' leaders and of the leaders of the Triple Alliance has precipitated the further revolutionising of the English trade unions, the failure of the Amsterdam trade union international to come up to expectations must open the eyes of the European proletariat to its complete helplessness and worthlessness.

On the other hand it becomes the duty of the Red International Council of Trade Unions to participate, not only morally, but also actively, in every combat. The communist fractions in every union must take the initiative, and the International Council must coördinate all these efforts

MOSCOW

# The New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia.

By Bucharin.

Continued from yesterday.

At first this appears quite absurd. But though it is cryptically formulated this motto has an intelligent explanation. At the time of the October Revolution and previous to it we were the party that told the peasant to kill the landowner and to take his land. The bolsheviks were then thought to be capital fellows. They gave the peasants everything and demanded nothing in return. But in the end we became the Party which gave nothing and demanded everything from the peasants. They were consequently against the communists, who were taking away their bread and moreover preached absurd ideas of communism, unsuitable to the peasants. The second watchword was free trade. The first watchword was "For a Party". If there are even communists who fail to understand that a class party is the head of a class then we can easily understand the peasants failing to grasp that idea. Such is the intellectual atmosphere prevailing among the lower middle-class and the peasantry.

The proletariat, too, in so far as it was declassed of necessity shared the same views. In some places even metal workers took up the watchwords: "free trade" against the Communists, "for a Party" against the Party dictatorship. Thus the equilibrium between the proletariat and the peasantry was destroyed. A misunderstanding arose which threatened the whole system of the proletarian dictatorship. The crisis found its expression in the Kronstadt mutiny. The documents which have since been brought to light show clearly that the affair was instigated by purely white guard centres, but at the same time the Kronstadt mutiny was a petty bourgeois rebellion against the socialist system of economic compulsion. Sailors are mostly sons of peasants, especially Ukrainian peasants. Ukraine is more petty bourgeois than Central Russia. The peasants there resemble more the German farmers than the Russian peasants. They are against Czarism but have little sympathy for communism. The sailors were home on leave and there became strongly infected with peasant ideas. This was the cause of the revolt.

### The Principles of the New Policy.

As is known we acted with all speed; we mobilised and sent against Kronstadt one third of our Party Congress, we lost many comrades, but we quelled the rebellion. But victory could not solve this question. We had to take certain measures. Had there been a revolution in Germany we could have brought workers from there and have made a surgical operation. But we have to act on our own. There was one principle which we had to maintain at all costs: the preservation of the dictatorship. It was clear that we were making no concessions to the peasants. We had the picture of the Hungarian affair before us. It is true we should have come into power again after a few months or years, but the bourgeoisie would try its method of reorganisation, which costs something, and then we would again try ours. The disorganisation of national industry would be so terrible that no one can even guess whether any tolerable state of things could ever result from this chaos.

When the State apparatus is in our hands we can guide it in any desired direction. But unless we are at the helm we can give no direction at all. Consequently we must seize power and keep it and make no political concessions. But we may make many economic concessions. The Opportunists imagine that first of all we will make economic concessions, and then political concessions. But the fact of the matter is we are making economic concessions in order to avoid making political concessions. We shall agree to no coalition government or anything like it, not even equal rights to peasants and workers. We cannot do that. The concessions do not in any way change the class character of the dictatorship. When a State makes

under its leadership. Success will not always be attainable; but one thing can be done even today: to hammer into the consciousness of all the proletarians of the world the conviction that only the Communists are willing and prepared to give evidence of real international solidarity.

Fritz Rueck.

concessions to another class it does in no way alter its class character, no more than a factory owner, who makes concessions to his employees, becomes a worker. If we look at it from a social and political standpoint the significance of the concessions lies in the pacification and neutralisation of the lower middle class. Our former investigations brought us to the conclusion that the economic difficulties consisted in the lack of an incentive to increase production. Now this incentive has been offered in the substitution of a tax in kind instead of requisitions. Now the peasant knows that he will have to give up more if he produces more, but he knows also that he will keep more. Experience has already shown that such are his calculations. As soon as we decided on this new system at our party congress the area under cultivation increased at once to that of 1916 and even 1915.

Politically a general pacification has set in. The guerilla warfare in the Ukraine has lost its intensity. These political measures succeeded in putting an end to the Makno gangs. Some will naturally doubt the wisdom of making these concessions to the petty bourgeoisie. They may say that a period of accumulation, such as existed hitherto, has been inaugurated, that usury will result which will transform itself into industrial capitalism. We are faced by the same danger as we were at the time of the Brest Peace, when we stood in danger of being wholly engulfed by German capitalism. However, such a state of things is only temporary. Our position now is that we want bread and a pacific peasantry, or else we shall go to the dogs. Even the worker will revolt against his own government if he has nothing to eat. Communism requires a certain time to mature and this process under our conditions of life is more painful than it would otherwise be. We have in our hands large industry, the coal industry, transport, etc. A whole period of history is required to transform the peasant into a capitalist. Our view is that capitalism will rise slowly from below, but we keep under our control the chief branches of industry. To obtain bread means to set the large industry in motion. Once this is achieved all the industrial processes will assume their normal course. The declassing of the proletariat will cease, we shall be able to invite foreign workers, etc. We could then pass on to the technical revolution, and will be able to realise the electrification of Russia, which is now in an embryonic stage. If we succeed in realising even a part of our program then we shall get the better of the petty bourgeois tendencies. If the peasant receives from us electric light and power he will be transformed into a social functionary and his proprietary instincts will not be offended.

If the tendencies of capitalist growth gain the upper hand over the tendencies to improve large industry, then we are doomed. But we hope the contrary will be the case,—then we shall master all difficulties in the field of economics.

Paul Levi and all the Opportunists of the world say: "You see, the Bolsheviki are making concessions to the peasants and we make concessions to the masses". But this analogy is not correct. We make concessions to secure the equilibrium of the Soviet system, Levi makes concessions to maintain the capitalist equilibrium, and he does not seem to notice this little difference. We might as well say that there is an army in France and there is an army here, a police system there and an Extraordinary Commission here. The essential point is—what are the class functions of these institutions, and which class do they serve? Whoever makes an abstraction of the class, lives in the skies, not on earth. And I think it would be better if our enemies remain in the skies and we remain on solid earth.

### Parade of Moscow Garrison.

A parade of the troops of the Moscow garrison will take place in honour of the III Congress of the Communist International on June 17th in the Red Square.

Admission to view the parade will be by ticket only which can be obtained, by sending list of applicants through institutions, to the Headquarters of the Moscow War Committee, Kropotkin Street 7, room 36, on 15-16 June, during office hours.

JUNE 15th 1921.

### Comintern Delegates at the Shatarski Constructions.

June 1st was quite an exceptional day for the Shatarski workers.

Late on the previous evening a party of 10 friends from Moscow, delegates to the 3rd. Communist International Congress arrived. These were: 4 American comrades, 1 English comrade, 1 from Japan, 1 from Mexico, 1 from India, 1 from Poland and an interpreter. The proceedings for the next day were arranged the same evening at a general gathering of the guests and members of the local Communist group. The meeting ended with the singing of the International, each delegate to the Comintern singing it in his own respective language.

The next morning our comrade delegates, accompanied by members of the Communist group, set out to view the Constructions. They first of all, visited the machine and electric shops whence they went in the direction of the peat marshes to see the peat machines. After acquainting themselves with the work of the peat cutters, the delegates visited their dining room and accommodation at the South village. A shift of the peat workers was, just at that moment, in the dining room. A lively conversation ensued, and, with the feeling of brotherly solidarity, of the proletariat, a peasant from the Riazan Gubernia heartily shook hands with the delegates. "Away with discord" said the peat worker to each of the delegates with whom he conversed. "Give us help as soon as possible, send your bourgeoisie to the devil and then it will be easier for us to live". "All right, comrade" answered the delegates through their interpreter.

Returning to the Central Offices they visited the school where the children were already at their lessons. A lively flock of children surrounded the delegates asking which was the Mexican, which the Japanese, and so on; they showed examples of their work prepared by them for a school exhibition and, finally the lively throng set out for the school dining hall where a choir sang the International and the "Smiths" song. The elder children formed themselves into ranks and, in company with the delegates, set out, under the strains of revolutionary songs, for the People's House, where a meeting had already been arranged to take place at 11 o'clock.

The Meeting under the Chairmanship of Com. Apenchenko was most successful. The delegates delivered speeches in their native languages which were translated by the interpreter.

Comrade Koshkin answered in the name of all those present.

The proceedings were closed by a rendering of the International, to an orchestral accompaniment. After dinner the delegates visited "Chernee Lake", where they inspected the local power station and buildings and bathed in the lake. A concert-meeting was held in the evening in the large dining-room.

The guests departed for Moscow the next day.

### The Labour Movement.

#### Tactics of the Freie Arbeiter Union in the Rhineland.

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the delegates of the V. K. P. D. of Essen:

"The delegates of the V. K. P. D. of Essen, in session on May 19, most severely condemn the action of the Management Board and Editors of the Freie Arbeiter Union (Gelsenkirchen) in resigning from the Party, and at the same time protest most strongly against the renewed propagation of the policy: "Leave the trade unions" as begun by the F. A. U. The assembled delegates consider such action of the leaders of the F. A. U., not only detrimental to communist activity in the trade unions, but also as a breach of all international agreements. Such a policy, if persisted in, will endanger the union of all revolutionary forces by leading to a split among the revolutionary workers, whereby fatal injury to the revolutionary movement will be incurred. The delegates agree to increase all efforts to revolutionise those enormous masses of workers organised in the trade unions who are not yet on our side, and appeal to the party members as well as to the Union to promote these efforts, which are of such immediate importance, for the more rapid growth of the revolution, and the organisation of the millions of workers under communist leadership".



### The March Action of the German Proletariat.

We have received the following protest from Comrade Clara Zetkin against the opinion on the consequences of the March rebellion contained in the appeal of the International Women's Conference.

We also append a declaration of the German Women's Delegation on the same subject.

The Editor.

#### A Protest.

At the opening Meeting of the International Communist Women's Conference a motion of sympathy for the victims of the counter-revolution was carried, containing the following sentence: "Do you not see that the German proletariat has emerged stronger than ever from the heavy March fights?"

My conviction compels me to protest against this sentence. According to my estimate of the German situation this view is wrong in point of fact. My view is based on figures and facts.

This motion, unfortunately, was not known to me in time, so that I was unable to express my disagreement with it. I do not propose to deal with this question here, as it is far too important and controversial and one that the general International Congress will seek to solve. It is there that I propose to give my reasons for my convictions.

I regret that any judgment should have been passed on this controversial and one that the general International Congress will seek to solve. It is there that I propose to give my reasons for my convictions.

Of course, I fully endorse the expression of sympathy to our heroes and martyrs as well as to the conception that we must be thankful to the historical development.

I am fully convinced that the German proletariat, in spite of the March defeat, taught by its experience, will appear more prepared and enthusiastic than ever in the field of revolutionary struggle and rectify what in my opinion it had omitted to do.

Clara Zetkin.

#### Declaration.

With regard to the protest made by Com. Clara Zetkin to be incorporated in the proceedings of the International Women's Conference the German delegation has the following statement to make:

1. The alleged data and figures intended to prove that the United Communist Party of Germany has suffered greatly during the March days, were up for investigation by the Central Committee of the above party, and by unanimous assent have been found either entirely false or fantastically exaggerated.

2. This data alleged to have been based on facts, have been compiled by the henchmen of Paul Levi, who had actively and passively sabotaged the March uprising, and rendered assistance to the enemies of the party, and to the Government Prosecutor.

The German delegation of the Womens' Conference is therefore obliged to vigorously oppose the protest declaration made by Com. Clara Zetkin, albeit the ultimate decision regarding the March uprising is to be reserved for the world Congress.

3. The German delegation is likewise opposed to the view expressed by com. Zetkin to the effect that the Womens' Conference must not overlook the tactical problems of the Communist International and is empowered to discuss the same.

In making this statement, the German delegation and only it alone, speaks in the name of the Party.

Bertha Braunthal.  
Berta Sturm.  
Berta Geffke.  
G. Faber.  
J. Mildner.

#### Upper Silesia.

London, June 10. The "Morning Post" Berlin correspondent states that the British advance in Silesia is proceeding rapidly and when the British objective is reached, only a small spot of Upper Silesian territory will remain in Polish possession. — Reuter announces that the proposal to establish a neutral zone between Poles and Germans has been abandoned, as being impracticable. — It is announced that a British note has been sent to Paris and Rome, emphasising the necessity of a close cooperation in action and of using force if necessary. Reuter comments on this as follows: "Although no reply to this note has yet been possible, the latest reports show that the Silesian representatives of the other two governments have acquiesced to the British point of view."

## The Metallurgical Industry in Soviet Russia.

By A. Belyakov.

At the very beginning of the imperialist war, when various guesses were being made as to the fate of mankind after the stupendous slaughter some bourgeois economist let fall the following winged words "That nation will win, which produces most metals".

Of all the nations that took active part in the war, Germany, was just such a nation. In produced on an average 13.4 poods a year per head of population; whereas Russia in the year it produced the maximum quantity of iron could only reach the figure of 1.5 poods per head.

The October Revolution of the Russian workers and peasants disappointed the expectations of that bourgeois economist, for victory was in fact won by the country most backward in the metal industry, poor in metal ore with ignorant, badly organised workers (the output of metals is 12 1/2 times less than in the United States where 19 million poods yearly is produced per head of the population).

However, if we succeeded in gaining a victory and in defeating bourgeois calculations we are unfortunately unable, in the domain of peaceful construction, to avoid the fundamental rule that only that country will destroy disorganisation and misery which produces the maximum quantity of iron per head of population.

Transportation of all kinds, which is the pulse of industry, and upon which the well-being of the country depends, cannot be organised without iron. Without iron it is idle to hope to develop agriculture, that mainstay of the economic life of any country, without which there would be no food for workers, and no raw material for industry. Only hopeless dreamers can think otherwise.

Unfortunately, at the present moment, the position of the Workers' Republic in regard to the metal industry is exceedingly bad, and the official report of the Supreme Economic Council to the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1920 described it as catastrophic.

It is true that all over the world, and especially in Europe, the metal industry is rapidly decreasing, but in no country save Russia does it assume such catastrophic proportions, as may be seen from the following table of iron and steel production for the years 1913—1920.

COUNTRY	In millions of poods			Output of 1920 comparatively with that of 1913 percent
	1913	1919	1920	
Great Britain	—	—	—	70.—
United States	—	—	—	45.4
Germany	3,750.—	2,625.—	—	—
Belgium	155.25	—	70.50	—
Russia	183.—	1.—	5.—	2.1

Never in the whole history of mankind have we seen such astounding disorganisation of industry, such ruin of the most important industry in the country as we saw in 1920, not to mention 1919 when the production of metals hardly exceeded 0.8 percent of the production of 1913. The guiding spirits of the economic life of the Republic are apt to lay the claim for this state of things exclusively on the proletarian revolution (a patient beast of burden, which will put up with almost

YEAR.	The number of factories working.	The output of pig-iron smelted in m-poods	The average output of each fact. in mil. roub.	Number of blast furnaces working.	The average product of 1 blast fur in th. poods.	Number workers working blast furnaces.	Yearly smelting per head of work.
1874	157	23.2	0.1	247	94	?	?
1884	134	31.1	0.2	198	157	?	?
1894	142	81.3	0.6	234	347	14,209	5,700
1904	206	181.5	0.9	205	878	19,998	9,000
1905	199	165.5	0.8	196	845	22,058	7,700
1906	194	164.2	0.8	187	878	20,605	7,900
1907	191	172.0	0.9	187	920	21,622	7,900
1908	181	172.4	0.9	668	1,018	21,040	8,100
1909	171	176.8	1.0	154	1,138	19,388	8,900
1910	173	185.8	1.1	156	1,190	16,999	10,800
1911	169	219.4	1.3	166	1,321	21,047	10,400
1912	167	256.3	1.5	168	1,525	21,974	11,700
1913	167	283.0	1.7	171	1,651	22,394	12,500

To be continued.

#### Celebrating the Congress.

A large meeting was held in the circus at Kieff in honour of the third Congress of the Communist International. After the report of the Gubernia Committee, a number of speeches were made by Jack Votner in English in the name of the English workers and emigrants in America, Comrade Manet Sada in the name of the Soviet Azerbaijan and Comrade Atashvi in the name of Soviet Georgia. The Kiev Soviet sent greeting to the Third Congress of the Comintern, which concludes "We are expecting fighting orders from the Third Congress. We look forward to real activity along the whole front of the world proletarian struggle."

#### U. S. Declines to Ratify Versailles

Riga, June 11th. — The Senate of the U. S. publishes a report from Washington to the effect that the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs has expressed itself against the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, so long as the reinstatement of the pre-war rights of the United States are not realised.

Warsaw, June 11. (Wireless). The Parliamentary Food Commission, in accordance with the proposal of the Polish government, decided to introduce from July 15th, free trade in agricultural produce throughout Poland.

## To the English Miners.

At a meeting of delegates, to the Congress of the red labor unions, it was resolved to send the following fraternal greetings and appeal.

Dear Comrades:

With deep emotion and absorbing interest we are following from Moscow your historical duel with the arrogant bourgeoisie.

We understand well that your struggle is complicated by the treachery of some leaders; we discount also the fact that the challenge accepted by you, has been purposely thrown by the capitalists at a time when it is particularly hard to conduct the struggle.

But at the same time we are convinced that revolutionary wave that has taken possession of your powerful ranks will give you strength to come out of the struggle with victory.

Your act, comrades, is the prologue to a decisive battle between labor and not merely in the coal industry but also in all other branches of industrial life.

The issue now is no more the improvement of your position but the breaking through of the first obstacles and the taking of the first fortifications with which the bourgeoisie of your country and of the world has surrounded itself from all sides.

You have answered the attack of Capital with a blow. It is the only worthy way for true proletarians who understand that in class-war there must be no hesitation, particularly at a time when the class-war is inevitably assuming the form of civil war.

Unfortunately, you remained isolated in the struggle. The largest unions in England did not support you; they cannot yet relinquish their craft egotism and cannot understand that your defeat is their defeat and that your victory is their victory. Just as deaf to your struggle remained also the miners of France, Belgium, Germany, and America failing to understand that they are thus forging their own chains. The chauvinistic work of yellow leaders during the war shows its poisonous sprouts, and only by creating international revolutionary class unions will it be possible to overcome this cursed heritage of the war and to struggle by a united international proletarian front against the fully armed world bourgeoisie.

In greeting you we on our part promise to render you every possible assistance and do everything in our power in order that your red banner should be visible to the proletarians of all countries, that their attention should be fastened upon it, and that your historical act should not pass without effect, but on the contrary should play the role of a revolutionary turning-point in the labor movement of England and the other capitalist countries.

Courage, dear brothers. Do not retreat one step. And remember that you are fighting not only for the interests of the working-class of England but also for the interests of the gigantic proletarian army of the whole world.

Long live the English miners and their victory.

Long live the victory of Red International over World Imperialism.

(Signed) Delegates to the first International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions.

Russia: A. Losovsky, Tsiperovitch, Sergiev, Andriev, Antipov, Shmidt, Tchirkov, Meller, Kroi, Beresin, Trofimov, Osol.

France: Rosmer, Victor Godonish, G. Gay, Glosman, Sirole, Clodin Lemoine, A. Lemoine, Mishel, Victor Labon, Tomassi, Eshel.

Germany: Heckeet, Mayer.

England: Watkins, Hewlett, Bell.

America: Broocks, Underwood, Williams, Flynn, Harney, Crosby.

Bulgaria: Dmitrov, Popov, Gorbanov, Tchervenkov, Wangelov, Koyundiev, Konstandinof, Dvorianov, Vasiltev, Tabatchin, Tellalov, Kovatchov.

Spain: Arlandis, Leval.

Swiss: Yubasher, Browner.

Norway: Nilsen, Stosbad.

Denmark: Hisseman, Jogansen Nill.

Canada: Morgan.

Mexico: Rameres.

Moscow, 8, June, 1921.

#### In Upper Silesia.

Riga, June 11th. Reports from Breslau state that the Commander of the British forces in Silesia has reported to the Allies the impossibility of establishing a neutral zone, as the Polish insurgents have settled strongly in the country.



# Women's Congress.

MOSCOW

JUNE 15th 1921.

## Report of Session of June 12th.

The Session of June 12th opened at 11 a. m. with comrade Zetkin in the chair. **The delegate of the Polish Communist Party** to the Third Congress of the Comintern, conveyed greetings to the Conference, in the course of which he said that although there was no women representatives from Poland at that conference, it did not mean that the women of Poland do not participate in the communist movement. "We have no separate women's organisation. We approach to working woman in the same way as we do the man. Furthermore the illegal conditions of our party do not permit the organisation of a special women's section. Perhaps, when conditions will change, we will have to build a special technical apparatus. My burning desire is to see the women drawn into the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. For without their active participation this great aim cannot be accomplished."

aneous with this cultural and educational work should be developed to the highest degree.

In summarising her report, comrade Kollontai, remarked that the centre of task of winning over which represents the fundamental problem of the Communist Party.

The discussion on Kollontai's report was adjourned to the next session which will be held on the 13th inst.

### White Guards Disappearing.

The white guards assault on Vladivostok on the 23rd of May, provoked by those who hate the peaceful work of the Republic, is falling to pieces for lack of support. The Semenovists formed a government of sorts with the re-actionary advice of a congress which was dominated by non-socialists. In its first declaration it complained bitterly of the passivity of the population and threatens to repress all those who sympathise with the workers of the Republic.

The brothers Merkulov, Erenev, Markovitch, Anders, and Bershtitski have entered this property owners government of mercenaries. Nevertheless this government denies that it is a government of foreigners or of the Japanese general staff which demands that this band of comical liars and adventurers, after grasping power in part of Vladivostok, should at least try to obtain some shade of support from the masses by organising faked popular demonstrations. Nothing however in this direction is being done. This government of hypocrites is trying to represent itself to foreigners under the mask of democracy. But no one can be deceived by the adventurers. The population is keeping to its homes, and the workers and peasants are not turning out to work. The Town-Trade Union of Railway Workers has issued a manifesto in which it asks the workers not to give one single hour work for the benefit of the Semenov adventure. The station of Iman in congested; the Merkulov gang has dispatched three punitive trains there. Partisans have disarmed the Keppelists and Semenovists at the station of Ugolnaia and after collecting all the arms retired to Solzhi. According to the latest information the Japanese retainers are trying to open up relations with Commissar Maddef of the far Eastern Republic in Habarovsk, who has however categorically refused to have any parley with bandits. The Merkulov clique has declared a general mobilisation although its power has not extended beyond the Svelliansk street. The rest of the town is in the hands of the government militia and the workers. Vladivostok is guarded by the Japanese troops. The Japanese general staff has refused to protect the town of the Keppelists. The life of Vladivostok has disappeared with the adventure, which is evidently dying out as a result of the non participation of the population. The impression exists that the whole affair has been provoked by the Japanese gendarmerie.

The First Conference of Jewish workers which is just coming to a close in Smolensk has sent greetings to the Third Congress of the Comintern.

"Comintern Day" was strikingly celebrated in Rechitz, Pochep, and other places in Tomsk gubernia on the 5th of June.

A large conference of workers just ending in Sebastapol has sent a telegram of greetings to the Third Congress of the Comintern and to the English miners.

In celebration of the Third Congress of the Comintern a "Voskrisnik" was organised in the Liubomir Volost of the Pervomaiski Uzed in Ukraina when a public bath was built and a theatre repaired.

Timbrov reports that many resignations have been tendered to the S. R. and Menshevik parties by the workers of the wagon workshops.

## The School of the White Terror and the Proletarian women.

However incredible it may at first sound, it is nevertheless a deplorable fact that the proletarian women in Hungary only became revolutionary in masses during the White Terror. During the dictatorship of the proletariat they were, except for a small revolutionary group, against the revolution.

The young Hungarian proletarian dictatorship, during the short four and a half months of its existence, fought consciously and heroically against the internal and foreign reaction. Its existence was continually threatened. The Red Army defended its frontiers against the Czech and Rumanian capitalist hordes, economically it was weakened by the boycott of the Entente, and furthermore, as is inevitable in the first period of a dictatorship the contact between the town and the country, between the class conscious industrial proletariat and the ignorant peasant was broken. In the industrial centres there was starvation, and in such difficult economic conditions the Hungarian women, as a consequence of their lack of class consciousness, did much to undermine the position of the Soviet system. They were dissatisfied. The capture of power created much greater needs among the proletariat. Particularly in the first months wages rose from day to day, but in a little while the money lost its purchasing power and it was impossible to buy anything for it. The distribution of the necessities of life could not be so rapidly organised. In front of shops and distributing centres there were large queues in which the women had to stand for hours, and in which an anti-revolutionary temper reigned. This anti-revolutionary feeling was due to the scarcity and economic crisis, but it was also due to counter revolutionary provocation. Bourgeois women disguised themselves in shabby clothing and stood in these queues, and took advantage of the difficult economic conditions to further their counter revolutionary aims. The Soviet Government had other problems to contend with, the Red Army etc., and could not spare any time to combat this propaganda. At that time there was only one small and young group of Communists which, owing to numerical weakness was unable to put up any organised resistance, all the more so since the leaders of the bourgeois women's movement, which on the establishment of the dictatorship was dissolved by the feminists and the social democrats, came over to the communists without shedding their opportunist and petty bourgeois ideas. It is obvious that these women leaders were not in a position to take the lead of the women's labour movement. As an illustration of the manner in which they hampered the progress of the revolutionary the following incident can be quoted: At the Women's Congress that was held in Budapest an attempt was made to adopt a resolution against the "Red Terror", and this would have been successful had not comrade Adele Spady (political commissar for the Hungarian Post Office Savings Bank) and a small group of revolutionaries violently opposed this petty bourgeois "humanitarian" idea.

Experience shows that every revolutionary movement produces its own leaders, and so it was proved during the Hungarian Dictatorship which, for the first time, produced women communists and women leaders. The Russian Revolution trained the central European revolutionary vanguard from among the prisoners of war that were in Russia. The leaders of the Hungarian proletariat Revolution (Bela Kun and his small group) came from the Russian school. As there were no women prisoners of war so it was not possible beforehand for the young Hungarian Communist women's movement to have had leaders, — these were trained during the period of the dictatorship.

Actually the Hungarian proletarian women became revolutionary for the first time during the period of the White Terror, however incredible that may appear. The blind were made to see, and the striking contrasts made them understand; the White Terror attacked women with the same brutality as it did the men. Many women who had not sympathised with the Soviet Government were imprisoned. In many instances women, were imprisoned for no other reason than that they were proletarians or because one of their relatives belonged to the Red Army. The White Terror trained the women to become communists. The women prisoners of the notorious White Concentration Camp of Haymasker and other prisons, and even those women who fled and remained free, see now from the great poverty and oppres-

sion that only the proletarian revolution can emancipate them from exploitation. They all almost unanimously confessed — "I was not a communist, but now I have become one".

When to-day one sees queues of proletarian women outside of prisons waiting to bring probably their last piece of bread to their imprisoned relatives, and when the Horthy-Gendarme deals out blows among them, one senses a revolutionary temper and one has the conviction that these women will stand much more patiently in the queues outside of a Soviet shop or store.

The Hungarian proletarian woman has a bitter school to pass through, and we will set her up as an example to the proletarian women of other countries in order that they may much more easily come to an understanding of the necessity for a proletarian revolution.

Christe Csires.

### Czekho-Slovak Delegations impressions of Moscow.

The following radio was sent to Prague by the Delegates of the Czekho-Slovak Communist Party to the Congress of the Third International:

"To all comrades in the Czekho-Slovak Republic; the delegation of the Communist Party of Czekho-Slovakia to the Comintern, which has already been in Moscow for several days, considers it its duty to share with you its impressions of Soviet Russia. During our journey to Moscow in a fast train we observed great and fruitful activity in the sphere of re-establishing the economic life of the country and construction of a Socialist system. The fields are well cultivated, the railways are in good condition. In Moscow we became convinced of the complete collapse of the Russian bourgeoisie and the complete triumph of the proletariat. In the city itself life is seething. The revolutionary power of the proletariat is strong and invincible.

"It was under such impressions that the delegation commenced its work. We have established the following order: Comrade Burian has been elected president of the delegation, comrade Krschak vice-president, comrade Gundlirk secretary, comrade Vanek minute-secretary. A special committee has been appointed for the purpose of informing Soviet Russia on the labour movement in Czekho-Slovakia, which at the same time will keep Czekho-Slovakia informed on Soviet Russia and on the work of the Congress of the International. Furthermore separate committees have been appointed for work in various spheres — economic, trade-union, cultural, social-political, socialism, etc. — the functions of which will be to study life in the Russian Soviet Republic. Arrangements have been made for the delegations to place a wreath on the graves of the fallen heroes of the Russian Revolution. We are convinced that our journey to Soviet Russia will enrich the knowledge of the Czekho-Slovak proletariat.

"With Communist Greetings,  
"The Delegation of the Czekho-Slovak Communist Party to the Congress of the Comintern."

### To All Foreign Delegates Arriving to the First International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The International Council of Trade Unions begs to request the delegates arriving to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions to register their credentials with the Communication Department of the International Council of Trade Unions

PETROVSKY LINIE, formerly HOTEL ELITE, Room 3, Telephone 5-33-65

The present notice refers to delegates to the Congress having a decisive or consultative vote, as well as to those who came to Moscow with the purpose of attending the Congress as guests.

On all matters concerning the Congress, Comrade LOSOVSKY, General Secretary of the International Council of Trade Unions, receives daily from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. in the office of the International Council

PETROVSKY LINIE, HOTEL ELITE Room 3

For information apply to Com. AROSEV, Manager of the International Council at the same address.