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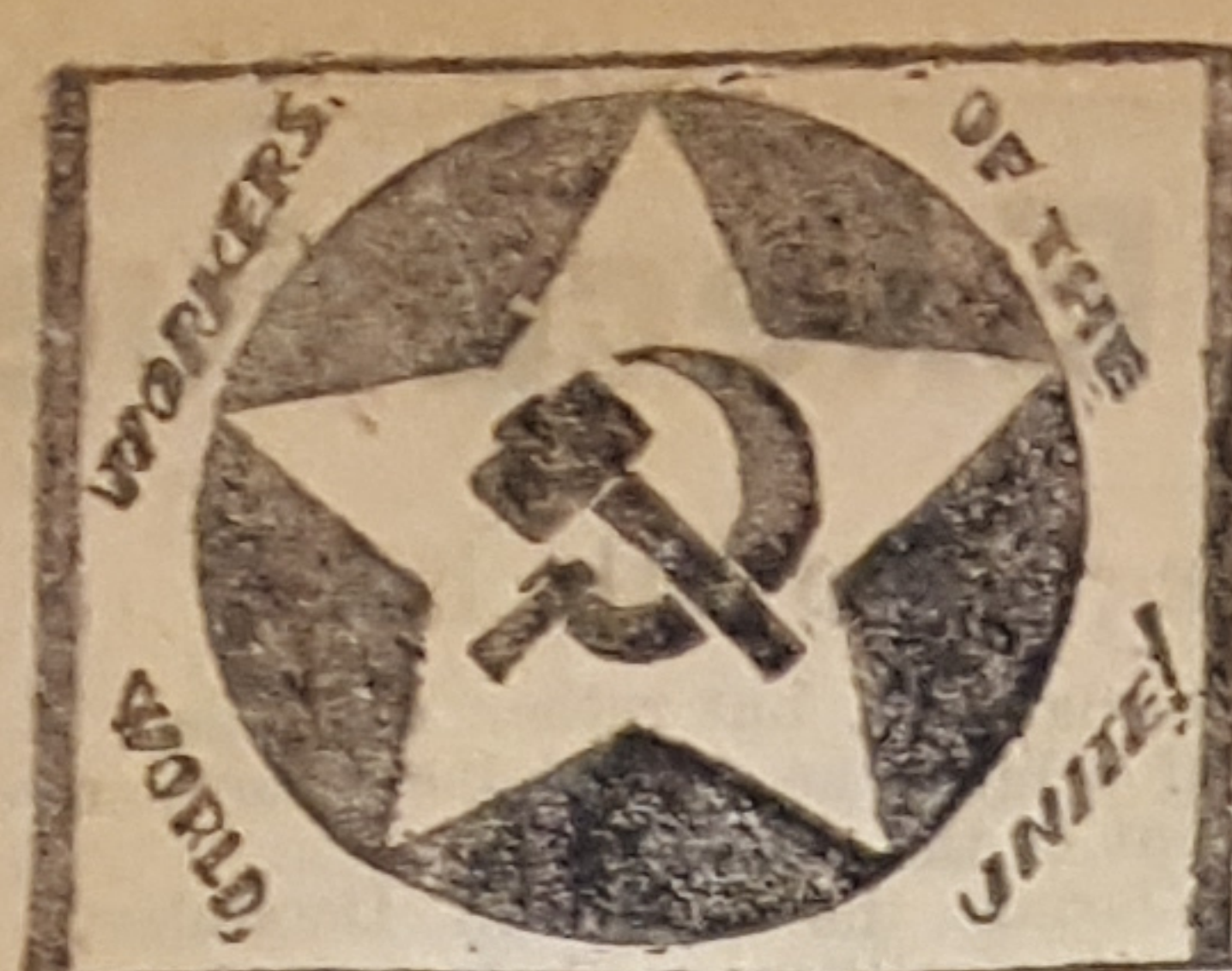
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# MOSCOW

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol 1.  
No 19.  
June 16th  
1921.

## The Situation in Denmark 1920-21.

Unlike the Communist Parties of the two other Scandinavian countries, the Communist Party of Denmark did not experience any sharp inner dissensions over the resolutions of the 2nd. Congress of the Communist International.

This is mainly to be attributed to the break with the old traitorous Social-Democracy taking place at such a late period and under such unfavourable conditions that the new Party was spared an influx of vacillating elements.

This was clearly shown on the discussion on the Moscow Theses (the 21 conditions), at the extraordinary Party Congress which was called together on Nov. 7th 1920. There was complete agreement in principle with regard to the Theses. Only one quarter entertained any doubts as to the tactics of the purging policy. The Theses were unanimously approved and the Party Congress expressed its complete solidarity with the resolutions of the 2nd. Congress of the Communist International. The name of the Party, which, up to now was "The Left-Socialist Party of Denmark" was changed into the "Communist Party of Denmark section of the Third International".

At the next periodical congress, six months later, on April 22-24th 1921, the Party programme was revised and certain alterations made in conformity with the Moscow Theses. Moreover, the name "Left Socialists" was abandoned.

In the course of last year the number of Party groups grew from 33 to 39, spread all over the country. The membership did not increase appreciably and remained at about 2,500. The cause of the stagnation lies in the fact that since the 2nd. Congress of the Communist International, the Party was chiefly anxious to make sure that it consists of class conscious communists. Therefore, the activity of this period was mainly concentrated within the Party itself. However, propaganda among the working masses was not neglected. Apart from usual propaganda and electioneering meetings, three tours in the country were undertaken, of which one consisted of lectures with photographs of Soviet Russia.

In March 1920 a demand was made to the Government to resume economic relations with Soviet Russia.

The international economic crisis hit Denmark as well. The first consequence of it was huge unemployment which, in the middle of the winter affected 80,000 workers and which now (in May) affects 60,000 workers. The crisis and the consequent unemployment were utilised by the employers in their struggle for the reduction of wages. Thanks to the betrayal on the part of the right socialist leaders, the employers were successful in securing a reduction of an average of 20 percent. At this moment the last group of workers, the Land Workers are striking in order to escape the reduction of wages, which is specially great in their case.

As early as the beginning of the winter the Communist Party jointly with the Trade Union opposition roused the unemployed to great demonstrations and founded an "Organisation of the Unemployed". At the same time a stubborn fight was fought against any reduction of wages, and, when the situation became grave, a general strike against the reduction of wages was demanded. This demand gained the sympathy of the working masses, but the reformists, owing to their control of the organisational apparatus, succeeded in averting the general strike.

In June 1920 a general election took place in which the Party took part and scored 2,439 votes. In September 1920 a new general election took place and the Party obtained 5,160 votes.

Neither of these elections resulted in the election of a single communist, but communistic ideas were brought before a large section of the workers in consequence of the electioneering propaganda. The Party as such did not take part in the Communal elections in March 1921, chiefly because the finances of the Party did not allow it. Only in three small

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### The effects will remain.

London, June 13. All papers prophecy that the miners will accept the owners' terms, but the "Daily Herald" says that the result of the ballot is by no means a foregone conclusion. Examining the proposals, the "Daily Herald" states: "Their acceptance will mean that the real national wages board will be abandoned, that the national pool will be dropped and that flat rate increases will go. With all these factors in the situation, it will be seen that it is impossible to forecast the result of the ballot. It seems certain, however, that even if these terms will be accepted, the lock-out will not be forgotten and permanent peace is not in sight".

#### Cotton Lock out Continues.

London, June 13. The Negotiations in the cotton trade lock-out will be resumed on June 14th. The employers continue to refuse the workers' proposal of arbitration.

### GERMANY.

#### The Holz Trial.

Lyon, June 13th. (Radio). The hearing of the Holz case was begun in Berlin to-day. Holz commanded the Red Army in Saxony during the March revolution. 70 witnesses are to be examined. The trial will last several days. Precautions have been taken to preserve order as there is a danger of communist demonstrations.

#### Bavaria.

Nauen, June 14. (Wireless). Work has been resumed in all the enterprises of Munich this morning. No disorders took place. The bourgeois newspapers have appeared again. The disarmament is going on normally, in spite of the strike.

Nauen, June 14. (Wireless). The American house of representatives accepted Porter's resolution about the termination of the state of war with Germany.

### TURKEY.

#### Angora Firm.

Nauen, June 14. (Wireless). The Angora Government unanimously resolved to maintain Turkey's unrestricted sovereignty. The "Times" Constantinople correspondent draws attention to the fact that the Sublime Porte's situation is becoming rather difficult owing to Angora's intransigent attitude and to its own financial conditions. The anti-British agitation in Asia Minor is increasing constantly. Greece took up her offensive against Kemal.

Lyons, June 14. (Wireless). Bekir-Samy-Bey, whilst at Rhodes en route for the European capitals, declared that the Angora government is by no means disposed to pursue an adventurous policy. The members of the Angora Government, especially the Foreign Minister, are convinced partisans of a moderate policy.

#### Scenes in Turkish National Assembly.

Bordeaux, June 14. (Wireless). According to information from Constantinople, violent scenes took place in the Angora National Assembly and exchange of revolver shots. Moustapha-Kemal-Pasha threatened to hand in his resignation.

#### The united front in Switzerland

The "Bern Tagwacht" reports: all the Trade Unions in Lausanne, with the exception of the masons, painters, plasterers and tanners, have declared their opposition to the united front propagated by the Communists. Among those supporting this opposition are the timber construction workers.

### FRANCE.

#### General Wrangel in France.

Le Puy, May 28th. General Wrangel, who commanded the Russian forces in Crimea has for the last few days been residing at Fangeres Castle Brionde in the Department to La Haute Loire.

The castle is of recent construction and is beautifully situated at a spot overlooking the Allies valley. It is on the Nimes Paris railway.

(*"Journal des Debats"*.)

#### France Satisfied.

Nauen, June 14. (Wireless). Loucheur informed the French government from Wiesbaden by telephone that Rathenau's proposal regarding the rebuilding of the devastated districts is quite acceptable, the more so, as they take into account French counter-proposals.

### SPAIN.

#### Police Action After Duto's Assassination.

Madrid 26th May. The police still in search of Casanellas, one of Duto's murderers, have made new investigations in the suburbs of Madrid. Several arrests are reported among others that of Hormes, the advocate, who, a few days ago, was arrested for the first time and then released.

#### Discovery of Barcelona Terrorist Plot.

Madrid May 27th. The Barcelona police has just discovered a plot, to murder General Martinez Anido, Civil Governor of Catalonia. The general was to be killed in his office, but owing to temporary illness he was compelled to remain at home on that day and the plot was discovered before it could be executed. The number of conspirators known to the police is considerable.

(*"Journal"* May 29th).

#### Five Years Imprisonment for a 24 Hours Strike.

Bucharest, May 25th. White terror is constantly increasing. The tobacco workers of Bucharest owing the high cost of living which makes it impossible for them to exist, wanted to draw the attention of their miserable lot by a 24 hours strike.

The Government chose to regard it as an act threatening the foundations of the State. A score of workers of both sexes were brought before a court martial and were given five years imprisonment each for a single day's strike.

(*"L'Humanite"* May 28th).

#### Railway Workers' Agitation.

Cairo, May 26th. The threat of a railway strike did not result in an actual strike. Severe measures were taken with regard to workers engaged in the Railway workshops, who are striking: 2500 of them were dismissed; even if they will be reinstated, they will not benefit by the different advantages accruing to their functions.

(*"Le Journal"* May 28th).

#### New Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Nauen, June 14. (Wireless). The Polish Minister in Rome, Count Skirmunt known as a pro-French leader, is appointed Foreign Minister to succeed Sapieha.

#### The Jaffa Disorders.

Jerusalem, May 26th. As a result of the recent disturbances in Jaffa sentences varying from 6 months imprisonment with whipping to three months imprisonment with small fines have been delivered against a number of Arabs guilty of pillage and other misdemeanours. A special tribunal will try the more important crimes.

(*"Le Journal"* May 29th).

### SILESIA.

#### France preventing settlement of Silesian Problem.

London, June 13th. "The Times" Silesian correspondent suggests that the Polish insurgent government is considered by the Germans to be "proletarian and not very different from the soviet regime in its early stages". The correspondent believes that the Germans will certainly again attack the Poles, if the interallied commission will not suppress the insurrection. As to the attitude of the inter-allied commission, the Silesian correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" emphasizes that the British attempts at action are hampered by the French supremacy, and also the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" wires that the French influence is an obstacle to peace and renders the presence of British troops ineffective.

#### Semenov turned down.

London, June 13th. "The Times" to-day gives the following information from the Japanese embassy about the Vladivostok situation: "Semenov expressed his desire to join the leaders of the Vladivostok movement against the Bolsheviks. The Japanese, upon learning his intentions, did their utmost to dissuade him, believing that complications would ensue. Semenov disregarded the advice which was offered to him and left for Vladivostok. However, the Vladivostok consular corps refused him the permission to land and summoned Semenov's supporters to lay down their arms. Furthermore, the Japanese military authorities announced to Semenov that they would not render him any assistance, either moral or material, and that they would not recognize Semenov's presence, as having any connection with whatever position he had formerly held. It appears that Semenov subsequently proceeded to Nikolsk".

#### Telephone Rostroms.

The Commissariat of Post and Telegraph is establishing loud-speaking telephones with radio-intensifiers (Telephone-Rostroms) on the principal squares of Moscow (Arbatsky Ploshad, Sovietsky Ploshad, Serpukhovskiy, etc). These telephones will at first be used as oral newspapers, and subsequently for meetings, concerts, etc. Further research is being carried out to perfect this apparatus. On the 15th June, on the day of the Congress of the Comintern, the speaking-trumpets will have been fixed and will start to work. In the future it is proposed to spread this kind of telephone over the whole of Soviet Russia. A conference of non-party women of the East has just come to an end in Astrakhan. The conference was very lively and the working women of the East were deeply interested in the question of Soviet construction.

#### Communists work for Uniting the Trade Unions.

The Italian Communist Party has just issued the following eloquent appeal: "To all Trade Union workers". After declaring that one of the principal problems preliminary to the revolution is the trade union problem and denouncing the vacillations of the Italian movement — the C. G. T. acting jointly with the socialist party, the Italian Syndicalist Union which only fights on the basis non — political revolutionary syndicalism, the manifesto thus describes the other organisations:

"There are large national organisations, the Italian Railwaymen's Union and Marine Workers' Federation and some smaller Trade Unions which in view of this situation are hesitating as to which of the two trade union federations they should join, and therefore remain outside both of them."

The Communists of Italy, and the whole world believe that the most effective means of furthering revolutionary ideas among the organised masses, is not to split the unions led by reformists, opportunists and counter-revolutionaries.



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MOSCOW

JUNE 16th 1921.

## Meeting of Executive

### Continuation of Meeting June 13th. 1921.

International, but rather concealed himself behind the veil of the "slow movement of the masses".

During the strike in December, in which a million workers were engaged, the Tschecho-Slovakian labour masses fought like communists, and want to be communists and therefore join our ranks. They are however being led by a group which does not pursue a communist policy. Smeral and Levi attempted to raise the theory of slow progress. The Tschecho-Slovakian movement demonstrates that the path, I therefore proposed the adoption of a resolution, to be worked out later, embracing all our fears and all our ideas in this matter, and admitting into our ranks not only the Tschecho-Slovakian, but also the German-Bohemian workers. We greet them as fellow combatants, but at the same time acquaint them of our opinion about the policy of the leaders of their party, who instead of leading them forward, only weakens and dooms their activity to stagnation. We support the standpoint of the Second Congress, that a united party must be formed, with due consideration of the local difficulties".

Comrade Sturm, representing the Tschecho-Slovakian Young Communists, delivered a sharp attack upon Smeral, who, he said, should be treated like Serrati, Levi or Longuet.

Comrade Thausnik opposed the statement made by Comrade Heckert, with reference to the congress of the agricultural workers union. He defended the policy of Smeral, and maintained that he had said nothing more nor less about putschism than Comrade Radek had once done. "We have accepted the 21 conditions, and we have fulfilled them all. Give us time, wait until we are confronted by a struggle, and then you will see whether we are good communists or not".

Comrade Froehlich expressed the view that Smeral's statements at the party congress were pure and simple opportunism on principle. After such a bitter struggle of the Tschecho-Slovakian workers, in which white terror raged to a fearful degree, Smeral's speech simply admonishes: "No civil war, no bloodshed". The continuation of the report concerning the Tschecho-Slovakian question will be published to-morrow.

### White Justice in Germany.

The trial of Christoph Kramer, of Charlottenburg, a labourer, has taken place before the Extraordinary Chamber of the Berlin Land Court III, presided by the director of the Land Court, Ernst. The defendant was accused of participation in the destruction of the public lavatory in the vicinity of the Holzendorf Bridge. He is a member of the Communist Party and the Council of the Unemployed.

The court sentenced the defendant, Kramer, to 5 years and 7 months prison with hard labour, and confiscation of the weapons.

The presiding judge was not ashamed to declare that the sentence, was light, the age of the accused (60 years) having been taken into consideration.

And now let us look at the other side of the medal.

The trial against the war criminal, ex-Captain Müller, before the State Court, brought to light the horrible methods practiced by this illiterate person against prisoners of war. It has been confirmed that this ex-captain took snapshots of dysentery patients rolling in agony in the toilets. One witness, Lawrence, even described how this captain jumped into a grave and took away a blanket in which a corpse was wrapped. The food served to prisoners of war consisted partly of the flesh of horse which had been dead for 6 weeks. Six or seven men died daily under these conditions. The ex-captain brutally maltreated the prisoners of war under his change, striking even the sick in the face with his whip and hitting the open wounds. He called a dying, Englishman, who lay covered with lice, "Dirty English pig." Prisoners refusing to perform servile tasks, were forced to stand in the middle of the camp and stare at the sun.

This man who misused his awful military power to commit such "heroic" deeds against unarmed prisoners, who it is his brutality destroyed health and life and trampled on human honour, this man did not act dishonourably! At any rate Capitalist justice says so and considers a sentence of 6 months a sufficient punishment.

for socialist industry, as we will not speak of the petit-bourgeois villages which will not only supply the town with a tremendous amount of valuable produce, but will give those very products, such as food, which are of paramount importance during a world wide agricultural crisis.

Such briefly is the economic significance of small industry in Soviet Russia, if we deal with the absolutely indispensable facts and considerations. If in 1918 we did not have a period of fierce civil warfare then undoubtedly the specific significance of small industry in Russia would have compelled us to adopt the same tactics three years ago, as we adopt today. This policy pre-supposes a long coexistence of socialist economy with petit-bourgeois economy and the latter's gradual economic extinction by the competition of socialist large industry, with the help, of course, of government compulsion in small doses.

This path is long, difficult, wearying and for many "dull" but at present it is the only one possible. Until, until the proletarian revolution of Europe begins, which will undoubtedly, radically change the whole situation and hasten the whole process of our socialist construction.

E. Preobrazhenski.

## The Bavarian General Strike.

Already two weeks ago the Munich Trade Union Federation adopted a resolution severely condemning the state of siege in Bavaria, the white terror and the murder of Gereis, the Bavarian independent leader, who has roused the general strike of the Bavarian workers, reported in our columns yesterday. This strike is of special significance as it was precisely in Bavaria that the reaction regarded itself safest. Even if the movement does not attain complete success—a section of trade union bureaucracy seems already to be at work sabotaging the movement—it will still contribute to the revolutionising of Southern Germany. Undoubtedly the struggle of the German proletariat will receive a new impulse through the general strike in Bavaria. We can assume that in Munich especially, the Communists exercise a great influence on the movement.

## Russian Delegation to Congress.

### I. Deciding votes.

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Zinoviev      | 11. Kiseleff      |
| 2. Lenin         | 12. Andrieff      |
| 3. Trotzky       | 14. Losovsky      |
| 4. Kameneff      | 14. Autipoff      |
| 5. Kollontai     | 15. Kobetzky      |
| 6. Dzerjinsky    | 16. Arupskaya     |
| 7. Radek         | 17. Kl. Nicolacha |
| 8. Rikoff        | 18. Shatzkin      |
| 9. Steklov       | 19. Rivkin        |
| 10. Lunarcharsky | 20. Zetlin        |

### II. Consultative votes.

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Artem         | 15. Milutin      |
| 2. Mulatoff      | 16. Gusieff      |
| 3. Schliapnikoff | 17. Kuibisheff   |
| 4. Preobrajensky | 18. Saponoff     |
| 5. Pokrobsky     | 19. Feodakoff    |
| 6. Smedowitch    | 20. Perepckho    |
| 7. Michailoff    | 21. Osoc         |
| 8. Pavlovitch    | 22. Mamaeff      |
| 9. Zalutzky      | 23. Darnvishieff |
| 10. Krivet       | 24. Kosileff     |
| 11. Tchemerinsky | 25. Yerob        |
| 12. Frumkina     | 26. Lebedeff     |
| 13. Tarahta      | 27. Tataraff     |
| 14. Schmidt      | 28. Buanikoff    |

### Reserve Delegates.

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Lashevitch  | 1. Kyzmin       |
| 2. Charitanoff | 2. Tziperowitch |
| 3. Ogorodnikov | 3. Niclominadze |

### Local Delegates.

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| Tula.             | Ivanovosnesensk.     |
| 1. Meerson        | 1. Beichick          |
|                   | 2. Balanchin         |
| Germans in Volga. | Tartar Republic.     |
| 1. Klinger        | 1. Fige (Cons. vote) |

Besides the above mentioned the Third Congress allotted seven more seats for other local organisations:

- Ural—Bureau, Karelia Commune Turk-  
 estan Bureau, Kirghiz—Bureau, Tartar  
 Province Commune, Bashkir Commune,  
 Upper Dagestan Commune.

## A Few Words on Our New Policy.

The fundamental motives which inspired our Party to change its attitude towards small industry, and primarily its attitude towards small peasant industry have been made well known by our congresses and conference and party literature. I would like to add a few words to what has already been said, dealing with the role of peasant industry in our system of socialist construction, independent of any policy of the Soviet regime.

All the Russian economists know well enough the role which the peasant industry of Russia played in our national economy before the war. It is sufficient to mention that during the most prosperous period of our industrial life, peasant industry was responsible for as much as half of the value of goods produced in the country.

The crisis or prosperity of all industry, depends on the harvest. All are aware of the connection between the industrial boom in Russia during the year of 1910. The method of distributing the national income before the war was such that the overwhelmingly greater portion of the peasants produce, was used not only to support the parasite classes, the payment of interest on foreign loans etc, but by various means it was used for the reinforcement of the resources of the large capitalist industry. As the most glaring example of this we have this fact that the average domestic budget of the average peasant of European Russia was several times less than the average budget of a skilled worker in a large industry.

The imperialist war, the revolution, and the civil war absolutely shattered the whole of the country's industry. Our total national income is now a half or possibly a little more than that, of our pre-war national income. Peasant industry has also suffered intensely, but it has suffered relatively less than our large industry. Unfortunately we have no accurate figures, giving the total value of our production and its distribution throughout all the socialist and non-socialised industries (this is at present being calculated) but preliminary figures show that three quarters of our national income, is derived from outside the socialist industry, i. e. from small industry. These figures themselves pretty clearly demonstrate, the conditions under which our party must carry out the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and if any question arises it can be only one, viz: how could the Russian Communists, existing in such petty bourgeois surroundings, have accomplished that which they accomplished during the war?

But the present policy of the Soviet government becomes still clearer if we take into consideration the participation of the peasants in the production of the Soviets and the re-establishment of socialist industry up to the present. We will disregard in this instance the participation of the peasants in the Red Army to an extent of 60% of its numbers and any of their sacrifices other than material losses.

Small industry for the three years of the revolution i. e. 1918—1920 delivered its products to the Soviet government in the form of requisitions and sales in exchange for government paper money of an annual value of from 600 to 620 millions of gold roubles at pre-war prices. If we subtract the value of goods received by the villages from the government and the value of the labour embodied in them we see that the peasants delivered to the government without payment, goods of an annual value of half a milliard roubles or about an eighth of the whole of their budget or over a quarter of the real budget of socialist production. From this one can see that the role small industry played in its struggle for Soviets and the role which it plays today in feeding the recovering socialist industry with part of its necessary sap. We will not mention here the most important need of Russia, the preparation of fuel, the primary need upon which depends any attempt to resuscitate industry, and which cannot be achieved without the help of the peasants horses. We will not speak further of other kinds of labor obligations which the peasants bear



# Women's Congress.

## Report of Morning Session of July 13th.

The Conference opened at 11.30 a.m. with Comrade Clara Zetkin in the chair. Greetings were conveyed by the delegate from the Persian C. P. and a delegate from the Russian Young Communists.

Greetings were conveyed by a delegate from Finland in the name of the Finnish Women Communists, who vividly described the horrors of the White Terror in Finland.

After that followed the discussion on the report of Comrade Kolontai read on June 12th on the form and methods of work amongst women.

Comrade Smedovitch illustrated the work amongst women in Russia, by pointing to the arrangements of delegate meetings and Communist groups in the factories. The delegates, as experience has proved, presents a powerful means of drawing the broad masses of women workers into the Communist Party and Soviet work. The circumstance that the delegate meetings are called periodically — in Moscow every 3—4 months imbues every delegate with the thought of the responsibility of her work. At the delegate meetings, all practical women workers are called to the various Departments of the Soviet, which in its turn imbues the mass of women electors with confidence in the Soviet institutions, which in this manner comes under their control. The delegate meetings must become actual schools for Communism: during the 3—4 months the delegate unconsciously goes through the whole course of the program of the Communist Party. With regard to the immediate work in localities; in enterprises, and factories such work has only commenced recently, and with this aim, the chief tasks are placed on the Communist Groups organisers conjointly with the delegates to penetrate into the very midst of the women workers.

The delegate from the Dutch Communist Party spoke next. She said that the question of where and how to influence the women and to capture them for Communism, is one of the most important questions which we have to decide. The Communist Party of Holland has already commenced its communist propaganda amongst women.

A commission has now been formed at Amsterdam for Communist propaganda amongst women. A large number of women-housekeepers, and factory workers are quite consciously attracted into our Party. The speaker emphasized the fact that the centre of gravity of the whole work, must be transferred to the Communist Groups in the factories, and workshops. At all other enterprises we must utilise the forces of the Women Communists, for work among women.

Comrade Clara Zetkin followed next: "We have to thank comrade Kolontai," she said, "for the fundamental idea of her report. It is understood that our most important work, is the educational work amongst women. The weakness of the women proletariat is not due to lack of organisation, but in the weakness of Revolutionary Will power, in the lack of confidence in their own powers. However, I do not agree with comrade Kolontai on another point. She outlined the plan of our work too mechanically. Of course no one can deny that our chief task is the work amongst the women industrial proletariat. We will even have to bring pressure on the Congress of the Red Trade Unions, in order that they should put forward a special resolution dealing with the organisation of women workers. We must not forget the fact, for instance, that in Germany, only a fifth part of all the women are occupied in independent productive labour. The great majority of women—even proletarian women are housekeepers. This applies not only to Germany but also to France, Italy, Switzerland and to all countries of Western Europe. Therefore it is absolutely necessary, that we draw into the struggle these proletarian women who are engaged in housekeeping. We must not regard this as of second rate importance. These are—two aspects of the same task. How stands the matter with the peasant women? Our agitation in the villages must apply to men and women. A great part of the peasant women, are already proletarianised they present a favourable ground for Communist agitation. The conduct of the peasants farm largely depends on the peasant woman. In the event of her illness or death, the thing goes to pieces. The peasant woman lives under as great a yoke of capitalism, as the proletarian woman, it is only Communism that can give freedom. Comrade Zetkin also thought it very necessary to pay great attention to the work amongst

the educated women, working in Government Departments. They are connected with the political apparatus of the State. They are serving that apparatus which crushes and oppresses the proletariat. At the same time their position is a very difficult one. In times of crises or bankruptcy, women are the first to be thrown on the streets. The work of capturing this class cannot be left till the time when the apparatus of the bourgeois State will be wrecked. It is understood, that the whole of this work must go on without a shadow of abatement because of bourgeois opinion. Apart from that, it is quite clear that this work must not take one atom of our forces from the work amongst the women of the industrial proletariat."

The representative of Germany followed comrade Zetkin. She reported on how the work amongst women is organised in Germany. The work is conducted by an agitational committee, composed of five people. Every member of the committee has a special duty to perform: one takes charge of the agitational literature, another, the agitation of the domestic workers, the third, work in various enterprises etc. Separate groups are affiliated to district groups, the districts into counties. Every district group has a secretary. The essence of that organisation is that it is headed by a member of the Party Committee, and all the work is conducted under immediate leadership of that comrade. The work amongst the domestic workers is extremely difficult: usually it is done by comrades, who have streets specially assigned to them. In conclusion the comrade pointed out the necessity of conducting agitational work in all enterprises, and Trade Unions, in the direction of exposing the compromising policy of the Social Patriots, who have taken root there.

Comrade Bluer (America) spoke next. She expressed pleasure at the fact that the Third International will define the form and methods of work amongst the mass of the working women. Our Communist Party, she continued, is working underground, consequently it is extremely difficult to crystallise special forms of the women's movement. Our chief work is conducted in the Trade Unions. Comrade Bluer who is here as a representative of a Trade Union reported in detail by what methods the Communists get into the very midst of the American Women workers.

In conclusion Comrade Bluer again emphasized the need for working especially in the trade union movement.

Comrade Nikolaeva (Petrograd), analysing all the methods of working amongst women practised in Russia, especially the work of the "sections" and delegate meetings expressed conviction that delegate meetings play a tremendous part in instilling a communist spirit amongst the large masses of women workers which they attract. By means of these delegate meetings we create bands of agitators who reach right down into the heart of the masses; and from amongst whom, from time to time, many gifted and practical workers are drafted into the Soviet institutions. She illustrated by figures the growth of the women's Communist movement, which thanks to the activities of the Petrograd Women's Department, quickly attracted women into Soviet work. Thus, formerly there were 45 women members in the Petrograd Soviet, then 200, then 340 and now over 500.

Further comrade Nikolaeva pointed out the part which women take in public education and food departments. Dealing with the work amongst the peasant women Comrade Nikolaeva described the deep interest which is shown by peasant women in large non-party conferences. These conferences are now part of the scheme of work amongst women, and considerable attention is to be devoted to them, in view of the fact that the change in internal conditions—the transition to peaceful economic re-construction—confronts the Women's Departments with new and more important questions—the attraction of foreign women workers and peasants and the fact that conditions abroad are almost the same as those which existed here under Kerenski in 1917. She spoke of the need of agitation for taking an active part in the proletariat's struggle for capturing political power. As delegate conferences abroad cannot yet be carried out it is therefore necessary to build special organisations to suit the special conditions of each country.

Comrade Krupskaya expressed her opinion that there seemed to be no difference in the points of view of comrade Zetkin

and Kolontai. She pointed out that the theses spoke of specific Russian conditions and emphasized the close relations between the women workers and women peasants.

The Swiss delegate then said a few words and observed that the report of comrade Kolontai gave the delegates a clear conception of the ways and means of working under Russian conditions, whereas they required a plan of action to suit the conditions of the countries where capitalism still existed. West European countries could be divided into two categories as regards the work being done amongst women. In the first group are those countries where hardly any agitation has been carried on amongst women. In the second group are such countries as Germany and some other states where attempts have already been made to found an organisation accepting the resolutions of the First International Women's Conference. The report of the comrade who dealt with the work in Germany seems to be exemplary. The organisation of a Central Secretariat and district secretaries seems to be almost ideal for us. I believe that these theses should be accepted. But first of all we must devote all our energies to put into action the theses and resolutions adopted at the former conference. Besides these we must strive at making the Comintern Congress seriously consider the question of beginning work amongst the women proletariat.

The next speaker was the Austrian delegate. She emphasized the necessity of adopting different tactics for Russia and for the capitalist countries. The workers in Russia have already passed those stages in which the Western proletariat still finds itself. The Russian men and women are now issuing their slogans of construction, we have as yet to make our slogans of destruction. If we were issuing our slogans of construction, we would have fallen into opportunism and have deserted our post of working in common with the Russian Proletariat. The speaker proposed that the work amongst women should be divided into the following three groups. 1) Housewives 2) Women workers who are at the same time housewives and factory workers and 3) Factory workers. It is natural that the first group should be the most backward. They must be approached in a special manner. One must talk to them of their children, of their daily economic life, of their domestic difficulties etc. The factory women feels herself a real part of the proletariat and as a class she is conscious and revolutionary. She can be directly approached on the revolution. But a careful approach is necessary for the intelligent working woman. We may not make an active communist of her, but we can undoubtedly arouse her sympathy towards us. The Russian worker must not forget the special circumstances under which the worker of the West lives, and the fight with petty-bourgeoisism and routine which hinders his revolutionary work.

Lucy Colliard from France then addressed the Conference. She pointed out that the syndicates offered a wide field for work among women. She emphasized the need for obtaining complete control of the syndicates by the party and believes that in the most reactionary syndicates strong attempts at communist work were being made. She emphasized the need for caution in propaganda amongst women and showed the necessity of putting party energy into working amongst women. The party up to the present has not devoted much energy to this work, but we lay strong hopes on the teachers who are being fortunately driven into it by the government. These modest workers, living side by side with the peasant masses will be the most active elements for instilling revolutionary consciousness into the masses of the peasant women, and will help to win them over to communism. The high cost of living, the struggle with profiteering, extremely prevalent in France and other countries, will show the manner of approaching this part of the population.

The representative of Germany said that in the sphere of work amongst housewives special attention must be paid to the consumers cooperatives, and clubs for mothers and housewives which we must penetrate with our communist propaganda. Special attention must be paid to the trade unions. In Germany we have 9,000,000 organised trade unionists, of whom about 2,000,000 are women. It is essential that the party in every country makes each of its members join a trade union. Our work is of such a nature that we have our groups in every institution

## Communication with Abroad.

The new Commissary of Post and Telegraph, comrade Dovgalevsky, reports the following on the successes achieved by us in establishing communication with abroad.

There was no representative present of Soviet Russia at last years Postal-Service Congress in Madrid. On the basis of one clause in the International Post & Telegraph Convention, which permits of countries uniting, we decided to organise a Baltic Post & Telegraph Conference, comprising Germany, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, all three small Baltic Republics and probably the Netherlands as well. On learning of this England, with whom we have already signed and agreement on post and telegraph relations, expressed the desire to take part in the Baltic conference. We then proposed England to take the initiative in the matter, to which she agreed. It should be mentioned, in passing, that post and telegraphic connections with England commenced previous to the signing of the agreement. In compliance with the proposal of Latvia the Conference, which is to take place at the end of June, will be held at Riga.

With Germany a preliminary agreement has already been signed for the exchange of post and telegraphic correspondence; Germany undertaking to further our letters to Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Denmark. Post and telegraphic transit through Lithuania and Latvia is secure.

An agreement has recently been made with the Danish Northern Telegraphic Agency for exploiting our transit lines of Kiachta-Peking and Chita-Vladivostok-Nagasakki. The agreement is most advantageous to us, for it will give us an annual income of 7 million gold francs. This sum will enable us to cover our expenditures for our foreign correspondence. The Danish Agency considered it expedient to come to an agreement with us because the southern cables to Asia are over-burdened.

In about three weeks time representatives of the Danish Northern Agency will arrive for the purpose of testing the lines. Communication will then be established on the line—Copenhagen, Petrograd, Irkatsk-Kiachta-Peking line and on the—Copenhagen-Petrograd-Irkatsk-Vladivostok-Nagasakki line.

We are already working with China, the gold rouble being determined as 7,000 Soviet roubles (Soviet money is willingly accepted in Mongolia). Our representative has been sent to Turkey to draft conditions for signing an agreement for mutual post and telegraphic exchange. Another agreement with Poland is also in the process of being drawn up. In reply to our proposal for exchanging postal correspondence, Holland stated that she would commence exchange immediately upon the drafting of instructions.

In the majority of cases exchange commenced immediately after the proposal, leaving its formal confirmation to the official signing of corresponding agreements.

## "Pacification"

The following is a letter of an officer to "L'information" published on May 29th. "The situation in Syria is still being presented in a totally false light. Nothing has changed since the famous London armistice. On the contrary, military operations have never been conducted on such a large scale and like many others I am still leading a life in war surroundings all this time. Sometime ago in the Djebel Lavige, we sustained heavy losses in officers and men. Nothing is being done to limit the purely military operations, and only a strong hand is applied, which costs money and many lives, when we could have adopted other methods to carry out the precisely formulated wishes of the central government; and this state of things will continue until civilians will be sent here armed with plenary powers. The more we fight, the greater becomes the gulf between the natives and ourselves — this much is clear. It is of urgent necessity to open our eyes to what is happening here. In a few months hence it will be too late. Here we are all baffled by the news contained in the French press, which do not in any way resemble the truth".

at whose conferences we must arouse sympathy and which must discuss all questions before they are touched by the trade union conferences. As for example, the Executive of the Engineering Union, where we have a communist majority. We have had two special organising conferences of the workers in the clothing industry. She proposed that the International Congress of Trade Unions have a special report of the question of work amongst women.

The conference then adjourned till 7 p. m.



# The Metallurgical Industry in Soviet Russia.

By A. Belyakov.

MOSCOW

JUNE 16th 1921.

Continued from yesterday.

## Notice to Delegates.

We beg to remind the delegates of the various countries of the arrangement by which the editor of "Moscow" was to receive a short article concerning the Communist movement in each country. It is requested that the manuscripts be sent in as soon as possible.

## To all the Delegates for the International Congress

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions announces

A MEETING for THURSDAY, JUNE 16th at 1 p. m. at the First House of Trade Unions in the office of Com. Lozovsky

Different national delegations who have not done so, are called upon to elect their representatives for this meeting, and for participation in the work of the Council

The order of business will be announced later

Administration of the International Trade Union Council

Aroseff.

## 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.

Continued from page 1, col. 4.

towns did the local Party groups take part in the elections and the votes received show a general increase which corresponds to the doubling of the number of votes, which is anticipated at the forthcoming political election next summer. Only in one small town, was a communist elected to the local town council, but he was included in a general 'Labour' list.

Written propaganda was mostly carried out by the Party organ the daily "Arbeider", printed in 2,500 copies, and in exceptional cases, much more. Besides, four different appeals were issued in a large number of copies. At the time of the elections various electioneering papers were sent out as well as a special leaflet in German to workers of Northern Schleswig, which has now been incorporated in Denmark. Finally, in the summer of 1920 a programme leaflet: "What do the left socialists want?" was issued in 10,000 copies and, in the spring 1921 a pamphlet entitled: "Social Democracy and the General Strike of 1920" in 2,000 copies.

In the course of the winter 1920-1921, the Communist Party of Denmark was negotiating with the Trade Union opposition which, up to then, was syndicalist, but was now gradually falling into line with communism. These negotiations resulted in the two organisations forming a "Communist Federation of Denmark", with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. This Federation will have to issue a joint organ of the two movements and undertake joint action. Within the Federation itself each of the two movements is provisionally allowed to have to its programme, but the Communist Party will do its best to transform this Federation into a single Party with a purely Communist programme.

On May 20th. the first number of the new organ of the Federation was issued under the title of "Arbeider Bladet" which has since been appearing daily and takes the place of the two previous papers "Solidaritët" and "Arbejdet".

In the future, the task of the Danish communists will consist in making the union of Danish revolutionary workers a purely communist body and to gather within its folds all the Danish workers

Ernst Christiansen.

The table shows clearly, on the one hand, the reduction in the number of working blast furnaces from 206 in 1904 to 167 in 1913. On the other hand, it shows the increase in the average yearly smelting output of each furnace from 878 thousand poods in 1904 to 1,551 thousand poods in 1913, and simultaneously the increase in the average smelting per head of each worker from 5,700 in 1894 and 9,000 poods in 1904, to 12,500 poods in 1913. This is a typical illustration of the concentration of the metallurgical industry, the concentration of work in big well-equipped works.

The natural course of this concentration of the metallurgical industry, coupled with exceptional favourable industrial conditions (coal and ore in the same locality, bread at hand, good communications) pointed out to our economic organs the simple program of work, especially since there was a limited supply of accessories and workers' supplies. This program is reduced to the selection of 5-8 giant works with a productivity of 50-80 million poods and the concentration on them, to supply them with everything necessary for their normal production in order to double or treble the program of production for 1921 mapped out by the Supreme Economic Council.

As is the case in all other branches of industry (textile, paper, etc.) this has not been achieved. A large number of workers in various localities were set going and thus workers, craftsmen, engineers, specialists, accessories, food and clothing for the workers, instead of being concentrated, were scattered. Several blast furnaces were used in an irrational, uneconomical way. Hugo blast furnaces were filled, heated, and then plastered up owing to insufficiency of fuel. This caused a 66 percent extra consumption of fuel. These irregularities, the irrational happy-go-lucky, want of system in the work of the Donetz Basin was shown up in "Izvestia", "Something about coal and iron" № 78 of April 12th.

Our economic organs have overlooked the lessons derived from the natural course of our metallurgy, as expressed in the following, very short table of the same "Review", published by the Mining Department (Petrograd 1915).

although they fully deserved it. It is precisely such an attitude that causes the complete collapse of our output programs, even in such branches of industry as metallurgy, without which we will be quite powerless to do away with wretched poverty and to consolidate our peasant economy. We fully understand that for the last three years the hirelings of the Entente, such as Wrangel, Denikin, Makhno, Balakhovitch, Kolchak, and others, prevented the Republic from restoring the economic life of the country. They were responsible for all manner of hardships which the workers had to undergo, but now that they are defeated our constructive work depends only on the leaders of our industrial life.

We must consistently carry out the policy of concentration and cease scattering our resources, a dissipation which destroys our industry. This can easily be achieved and unless we act accordingly we shall be faced with economic catastrophe.

Small industry, which is now the hope of many people will not avail us in this matter. Electrification as the only way out of misery, as the only plan of State economy, is still a thing of the future, and moreover it cannot be realised without metals.

The very life and course of the Revolution point out the primary importance of rational concentration, the intense and intelligent utilisation of works which are technically well-equipped. This task is capable of realisation for a considerable proportion of the works that have been well preserved and can start work at once. The Supreme Economic Council required to adopt the right method of distributing its work and choose judiciously a few works capable of producing large quantities of metal. After all the "catastrophe" in the metallurgical industry has not come about suddenly as a result of war and the inevitable course of events. To a considerable extent we were able to watch its growth as a result of our muddle-headedness, disorganisation, want of skill in using specialists in the interests of production, and in our taking part in the intrigues, subtleties, and tricks of the specialists, whereby we destroyed with our right hand, what our left hand done.

This is a big question, one that deals

in 1861 hit the metallurgical works. In 1862 the output fell to 15 million poods, a decrease of 25 per cent. Six years of slow up-hillwork were necessary to bring it back to its former level, and in 1869 the output was again 20 million poods. Nevertheless, the reform brought the output down only 75 per cent, while now in 1921 we get only 2,7 percent of our output of metals before the war. In spite of the hard economic conditions, and the fact that Western Europe were slow in giving us their help, there are no doubts, vacillations, or dismay in the rank and file of Russian Communists, and you comrades, members of the Third Congress, who have come from every corner of the study the experiments of the Workers' Revolution and to revise the plan of work, should boldly face the nightmare of our present day conditions. The unspeakably hard situation, in which our heroic proletariat has the work and fight makes us fully confident that Communism is bound to triumph all over the world.

Our disorganisation is great and therefore we must definitely and boldly scrap our economic policy.

The tremendous territory of the Republic cannot consolidate itself economically with out restoring its metallurgical works rapid as possible, and it is idle, nay ridiculous, to pin our faith on the import of metals from abroad. This would be like expecting to extinguish a fire, which has set a whole town ablaze, by a single a puny-fire extinguisher. It is sufficient to recall the output of the metallurgical industry in 1914, which gave 20 million poods more than the year before in order to realize that no purchases abroad can help us. In 1914, our works produced, in round figures the following.

	Million poods.
Beams . . . . .	16
Large normal shaped rails . . . . .	40
Special iron . . . . .	76.5
Barbed Wire . . . . .	14.5
Boiler Iron and Steel . . . . .	31.0
Roof Iron and Steel . . . . .	24.0
Universal Iron . . . . .	6.5
Other kinds . . . . .	31.5

These huge quantities of metal were required yearly for the normal development of our economic life at a time when the country was not exposed to all kinds of wretchedness, and now after 6 and 1/2 years of intensive destruction the 264 million poods necessary in 1914 will only half cover our requirements.

If we wanted 264 million poods from abroad at one gold dollar per pood, we should have to spend 264 million dollars in gold. We can scarcely afford such an expenditure. It is both dangerous and impracticable to hope that we can create under conditions of unparalleled disorganisation a stock of goods for export, which will be equivalent to this quantity of metals. We must hold out until the outbreak of the Workers' Revolution in the West, which will deliver us from our economic straits. We must therefore, bear in mind that at the present time we can hold out only if we revive our great metallurgical industry, failing which our small home industries will be of no use, thus making it impossible for us to develop agriculture and effect electrification.

We can get enough workers and specialists, bread and technical means, but we must as soon as possible make our choice and not on paper alone, of a group of Southern and Ural works, and the works in the Bogoslovsky Mining District, in order to supply the Republic with metals, and to prevent the useless consumption of fuel and rations, which leads to the demoralisation of the proletariat. We must remember that it is not small industry, but the revival of big industry that will save us. This revival can be brought about by proper concentration; it will supply us with a sound foundation for State capitalism and turn all our attention to our disjointed socialist economy. The possibilities of our economic renaissance are broad and limitless, I shall deal with them another time.

## Calling in Wrangel.

London, June 11. Reuter wires from Vladivostok that the provisional government have taken steps to establish communications with Wrangel.

Nauen, June 8. (Wireless.) The French Chamber ratified the treaty of Trianon by 418 votes against 75.

YEAR	THE SMELTING OF PIG-IRON IN MILLIONS OF POODS							
	South Russia	Ural Region	Central Russia	Northern Russia	Poland	Western Eastern Siberia	Finland	TOTAL
1864	0.1	12.4	2.7	0.2	1.5	0.6	0.8	18.3
1874	0.9	14.9	3.5	0.2	1.9	0.4	1.4	29.2
1884	2.0	20.9	3.7	0.2	2.5	0.5	1.3	31.1
1894	27.4	33.2	7.7	0.3	11.0	0.5	1.3	81.3
1904	110.9	89.7	5.8	0.8	23.0	0.3	1.0	181.5
1913	189.7	55.8	10.8	0.1	25.6	?	?	283.0
1914	186.2	52.4	10.5	0.1	14.9	?	?	264.1

From 1864 to 1914 the Metallurgical industry in the South has increased 1862 times, in Ural 4.2 times, in Central Russia 3.9 times, but in Northern Russia the production of pig-iron has fallen to one half of what it was. The data from January 1st to April 1st are expressed in the following instructive table (Ekonimicheskay Zhizn, № 103 April 14th).

MATERIAL	Central Russia.	The North.	The South.	The Urals.	TOTAL.
Pig-Iron . . . . .	172.933	165.919	236.375	1.123.378	1.699.105
Assorted Iron . . . . .	261.776	11.866	406.379	516.873	1.196.894
Sheet Iron . . . . .	97.907	—	214.818	151.257	463.992
Drawn Wire . . . . .	—	—	50.458	6.496	56.894
Tires . . . . .	89.119	—	6.436	—	95.423
Tubes . . . . .	33.221	—	—	5.970	46.902
Beams and girders . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—

The following table quoted in the same papers, giving the percentage falling to each district in comparison with the whole industry is even more instructive.

MATERIAL	Central Russia.	Northern Russia.	Southern Russia.	The Urals.	TOTAL.
Pig Iron . . . . .	10.2	9.8	14.0	66.0	100
The rolling of metals . . . . .	25.4	0.6	37.0	37.0	100

The centre of gravity of the metallurgical industry, as is shown by the above-quoted tables has been shifted from the powerful modern well equipped South, which was growing rapidly to the declining technically backward Urals with its wood fuel. It is characteristic that the modern well-equipped Nadezhinsky Works in the Urals failed to attract the attention of the economic organs.

Russia in 1861, a reform which preserved intact the whole machinery of administration, caused a violent disruption of industry which was in a state of infancy; but this shock was not so stupendous as to break the back of our economic life.

The smelting of pig-iron in Russia in the "sixties" reached 20 million poods. The liberation of peasants from serfdom